CHAPTER I

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The period before and after Henry Louis Vivian Derozio's appointment as a teacher in the Hindu College was marked by educational controversies and turn or change in the educational policy of the Government. It was after 1823 that symptoms of a turn in the official policy were evident. Such a turn had an interesting history behind it. The East India Company after 1757 was for long busy with wars and conquests. But after 1818, or by early eighteen twenties, the Company became a paramount power in India and its Home and the Indian Government necessarily began to pay greater attention to the problems of administration, in particular, to the evolution of an educational policy. In this, as in other matters, Bengal, the most developed of the Company's provinces, followed a special policy of its own.¹

1. British Orientalism:

For long after 1757 the Company's Government adopted the expediency of non-inteference with Indian society, tradition and education. In the early period after Plassey the English felt too inexperienced and unready to contemplate taking the Government of the country in their hands and had to resort to the expediency of a puppet Indian

Government. Even when Robert Clive obtained from the titular Mughal ruler, Shah Alam II, the grant of the formal right to collect the land revenue and administer Civil Justice (the grant of Dewani in 1765), he was determined that the native administration and its officers should be continued and the Company's power still held in the background. The result was Clive's famous Double Government. When the Double Government was abandoned and all effective administrative authority taken into English hands, the East India Company (which was still regarded by a number of Englishmen as a legatee of Mughal rule) did not like to disrespect the religion and habits of the people and decided to preserve their special laws. 2 During the period of Warren Hastings's rule the foundation of the Supreme Court in Calcutta—a Court to be governed by English laws—was a conscious attempt at anglicisation of the prevailing judicial system; 3 yet Warren Hastings was anxious to retain as far as possible the traditional Indian methods and forms of Government. 4 He was eager to preserve Indian society and its institutions against the English impact. His encouragement of oriental scholarship and, in particular, of Nathaniel Halhed's translation of Hindu laws partly reflected his orientalist bias. 5 Cornwallis's desire to subject the Company's servants

4. Ibid, pp. 35-36
5. Ibid, p. 3.
not merely as individuals but as members of a system of Government to the rule of English constitutional principles or for the introduction of the Permanent Settlement (1793) involving the application of a limited sense of English aristocracy or landlordism and the Whig philosophy of government, particularly the separation of power, and policy of virtual exclusion of Indians from higher services—all these constituted perhaps a major breach with Indian methods and forms of Government during the administration of Cornwallis. Yet Cornwallis's attitude was essentially one of non-interference with Indian society. The Cornwallis Code (May, 1793) enshrined the elements of Hindu and Islamic legal scriptures. Cornwallis allowed freedom of religion to the subjects. He had no sympathy for the Evangelical hopes of conversion of the heathen. His aims were consistent with the old mercantalist conception and the idea of insulating India from the shock of a collision with the West by restricting the settlement of Europeans. His cautious and conservative policy of non-interference with Indian society and education was followed by Wellesely, and pursued up to 1623. It was after 1823 that the Government at Home and

7. Stokes, Eric, The English Utilitarians And India, p. 36.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., p. 76.
10. Ibid., pp. 7-8.
in India, in abandonment of this policy of non-interference, tilted towards an anglicist policy in place of professed orientalism. Such a turn was not, however, without a long movement.

II. The Evangelicals And the Liberals - The First Phase Of Their Movement:

The Evangelical group in England, which belonged to the Clapham Sect, had two great objects in view, the abolition of slave trade and the opening of India to missionary enterprise. This group launched an attack on the British policy of orientalism in India at the close of the 18th century. The Evangelicals started a frontal assault on Indian society, religion, tradition and morals, and stood for the transplantation of English education, culture and civilization in India. They sought to carry their aims by harnessing their cause to the most powerful force of the time, the interests of British commerce.

Two of the leading members of the Evangelicals were Charles Grant (1746-1823) M.P., and for sometime a Director or a Chairman or a Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, and William Wilberforce (1759-1833), a personal friend of

Pitt and a parliamentarian of some repute. Charles Grant's views were embodied in his treatise entitled 'Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals, and on the Means of Improving it'. It was written in 1792, privately printed and laid before the Court of Directors in 1797. It was published as a parliamentary paper in 1813 and again in 1832. Wilberforce's views were echoed in his speeches and parliamentary debates.

Both Grant and Wilberforce maintained that the Indians were morally degenerate. Grant found in the people of Hindusthan "a race of men lamentably degenerate and base, retaining but a feeble sense of moral obligations."

13. It is interesting to note that Wilberforce was deeply influenced by Reverend John Newton, who began his career as a sailor of a ship engaged in Slave-Trade. John Newton himself was a slave-trader, a drunkard and a debauchee. He later sought redemption in Christianity, became a preacher, and confessed his sins in his preachings. He supported the movement for the abolition of slavery. John Newton was Wilberforce's "Counsel" - Haley, Alex, "The Amazing Grace of John Newton", Reader's Digest, August, 1987, Vol. 131, pp. 35-39.


15. Ibid, p. 27, Also Stokes, Eric, op. cit., p. 31.

They attributed this degradation primarily to what they considered the perverse and base influence of the Hindu religion and tradition. Wilberforce held that "their (The Hindus') religious system is one of grand abomination." Grant condemned not merely the religions of India but everything associated with Indian civilization - their laws, arts, agriculture, handicrafts and their personal manners and habits. Grant maintained that the great moral force in India was the Hindu form of government and law, and above all the Hindu religion, which were all despotic in character. Despotism, he argued, destroyed the autonomy of the individual soul and extinguished the source of virtue. In his attack upon the Hindu religion he pointed out persistent tyranny of the priests and Brahmans over the Indian mind through craft and cunning, and its debasing influence. He opined that the tyranny over the mind persisted due to the ignorance of the people, and could not be dispelled by mere reformation in the law or legislation. What was required was the awakening of individual consciousness through education and thereby individual emancipation from the tyranny of priestcraft and religious superstitions.

18. *India*, pp. 31-32.
The most important features of the Evangelical movement were intense individualism and exaltation of individual consciousness, its belief that human character could be suddenly and totally transformed by a direct assault on the mind, and finally its conviction that this required an educative process. 19

The panacea the Evangelicals suggested was the introduction of English education, Christian learning and instruction in the Holy tenets for individual emancipation. They stood for the opening of India to missionary enterprise and the evangelization of India's heathen millions. 20 Grant believed that Christianity could best be promoted not solely by attack upon the religion of others but by opening up Indian mind to the cultural impact of a similar type of English reformation - an Indian counterpart of European reformation. 21 He put forward a plan for civilization of the Indians along the Christian or the western line. The outcome, he thought (and Wilberforce echoed his thought in his speech during

the Charter debates of 1813) would be not only spiritual and moral but also material, and would bring about the improvement of the people.\textsuperscript{22} The beneficiary would be British commerce. Hitherto British manufactures had found only a limited market in India because of the poverty of the people and their unformed taste. Education and Christianity would now remove these obstacles.\textsuperscript{23} The sanctimonious 'idealism' of men like Grant and Wilberforce was based on a calculation of purely commercial gains and losses, and was, therefore, highly suspect.

In demonstrating the natural alliance between his views and the interests of British commerce Grant argued that the principle of British policy must be mainly the principle of assimilation. If India were anglicized, a community of interest would be established.\textsuperscript{24} In his speech on the occasion of the Charter Act in 1813 Wilberforce voiced the full-blooded doctrine of assimilation.

\textit{Let us endeavour to strike our roots into the soil by the gradual introduction and establishment of our principles and opinions, of our laws, institutions and manners, and above all, the source of every other improvement of our religion and consequently of our morals.}\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid, p. 33.  
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid, pp. 33-34.  
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid, p. 34.  
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid, p. 35.
The policy of assimilation and its identification with the interest of British Commerce could rest on no other grounds than the closest and freest intercourse with India, and the end of all barriers which opposed the progress of the west. The logical corollary of their policy was free trade, free European settlement and the complete abolition of the Company as a commercial organ. 26

The first generation of the Clapham Sect were, however, unfit to cement this alliance between the civilizing mission and commerce. In English policy they were decidedly conservative, numbering themselves among the Tories of the period. 27 Charles Grant delivered speeches in defence of the Company in 1813 and continued to defend it as late as 1823. 28 The alliance between the Evangelicals and Free Traders was yet to be firmly established, and Free Traders were yet to be reckoned as a force in English politics. The anglicising and civilizing mission of the Evangelicals was crowned with a limited success in 1813 against their powerful conservative opponents. After years of public controversy, a large measure of freedom was won

26. Ibid.
27. Ibid, p. 36.
by the missionary enterprise in the Charter Act of 1813, and an Indian Church with a bishop and three archdeacons was established. Moreover, the Evangelicals succeeded in getting a clause inserted in the Charter Act of 1813 to the effect that a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees would be set apart out of the surplus revenues of British India not only for the promotion of indigenous learning but also for "the introduction or promotion of a knowledge of the science among the inhabitants of British territories in India." But it was only after 1823 that the Government encouraged English learning in India.

The Evangelicals And/Liberals - The Second Phase of Their Movement:

By the early twenties the Evangelicals and the Commercial group drew closer. Charles Grant, who defended the Company as late as 1823, passed over to the whig side, and was the minister for framing the Bill, which finally brought the commercial functions of the Company to an end in 1833. His principal assistant on the occasion was the celebrated son of Zachury Macaulay who, to his father's alarm, had


first imbibed "Radical doctrine at Cambridge." 31

The full implications of the principle of assimilation were grasped by the free-trade merchants, who ranged themselves against the Company when the renewal of the Charter was drafted in 1813. By 1813 the British territories no longer afforded a surplus of revenue after the Company's administrative and debt charges had been paid. The Free Traders quickly seized upon this opportunity to attack the mercantalist policy of extracting tribute from India in the form of surplus revenue, and the Company's monopoly, and its policy of non-interference with Indian customs and institutions. They contended that the notion of tribute meant draining the country of wealth and impairing its power to purchase British goods. Under free trade India would rise rapidly into a promising field for British manufacturers and a source of raw materials for British manufactories. If India "becomes open to a free trade under one mild, liberal and effective government that could protect the property, laws, lives and liberties of the subjects, ... a trade might suddenly grow up beyond the Cape of Hope, to take off all the surplus manufactures that British can produce." 32

The Free Traders countered the Company's chief argument against the opening up of the Indian trade (based on the witness of Warren Hastings, Teignmouth and Thomas Munro before the Parliamentary Committee) that the country was incapable of any rapid improvement, its people being too rooted in poverty and inveterate habits and tastes ever to have the means or desire to purchase British manufactures on any considerable scale. They urged that a rapid change in the native character was certainly possible, and that once the establishment of law and order and light taxation had assured the Indians of the enjoyment of the fruits of their labour they would not be backward in requiring the requisite means and taste for British manufactures.33

In the twenties the British merchants - having won freedom of trade with India in 1813 - witnessed with delight and astonishment the cloth and twist of Lancashire displacing even the famed "Muslin" of Dacca in the Indian market. So unexpected a development confirmed their dearest prejudices, and intensified their interest in the measures of the Government for the introduction of free trade.34

33. Ibid., p. 39.
34. Ibid., pp. 40-41.
John Crawfurd was one of the chief spokesman of Calcutta traders in England. He upheld their views in his pamphlet, "A View of the Present State and Future Prospects of Free Trade and Colonisation of India" in 1829, and in his speeches before the Parliamentary Committee in 1832. Crawfurd and his fellow associates urged the removal of restrictions upon the flow of British skill and capital into India and settlement of Europeans in the country, the reduction of the complexities of the Indian land tenure system and the extended application of a Zamindari type of settlement of Bengal so as to facilitate the purchase of land by Europeans, the introduction of English law and procedure with certain modifications in the country, and above all, the advancement of India with the progressive adaptation of English institutions. Crawfurd himself openly advocated competition and collision between Europeans and Indians as "the only means of sharpening and invigorating their faculties and of raising them in the scale of society." He raised the voice for the use of English in place of Persian as the official language, the introduction of English education, and "the assertion of superior civilization" i.e. English civilization. 35

35. Ibid, pp. 41-43.
The Calcutta mercantile community was no less aggressive than their counterpart in England. As an article in the Sunday Times (reprinted in the Bengal Hurkarau in 1828) expressed: - "It must be our policy ... to build our greatness on a surer foundation by stretching our dominion over the wants of the universe." 36 The most eloquent expression of this English liberalism is to be found in Macaulay. If the new British empire were to be dominion not over territory but over the wants of the universe, it followed that it was more important to civilize than to subdue. For Macaulay (in his speech on the English Reform Bill, 16 December, 1831) or for many of his contemporaries, to civilize India was ("on the most selfish view of the case") the proper British policy, for it would create a wealthy and orderly society linked in the closest commercial connection with England. Macaulay observed (in his speech in Charter Debate, July 10, 1833): "It would be, on the most selfish view of the case, far better for us that the people of India were well-governed and independent of us than ill-governed and subject to us; that they were ruled [over] by their kings, but wearing our broad cloth and working with our cutlery, than that they were performing their "salam" to English Collectors and English Magistrates, but were too poor to buy English manufactures." 37 The permanent and the

36. Ibid, p. 44.
37. Ibid, pp. 13-44.
most profitable form of conquest was that over the mind, and this was the species of conquest which Macaulay held out to the Commons at the close of his great Charter speech of 1833: "That empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws." 38

Macaulay had said little that was new. Everywhere his speech rang with ideas which Charles Grant and William Wilberforce had uttered. But never was the doctrine of assimilation crudely preached. 39 Macaulay expressed high contempt for oriental learning, literature and civilization, and love of everything English in his Minute (dated February 2, 1835), 40 writing to his father (Zachury Macaulay) on October 12, 1836, he said that it was his firm belief that if the plans for English education were followed up, there would not be a single idolater among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence; that this would be effected without any efforts to proselytize; without the smallest interference with religious liberty; merely by the natural operation of knowledge and reflection. 41 Explaining in his Minute his support for the

"diffusion" theory, which envisaged applying the Bell and Lancaster technique of instruction to the mass of the Indian population, Macaulay said that the first object must be to raise up an English educated middle class, "who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern" - a class of persons Indian in character and blood but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and intellect. 42

Macaulay found the most ardent support for his education plan in his young brother-in-law, Charles Travelyan. Travelyan thought it desirable to set the natives "on a process of European improvement to which they are already sufficiently inclined." He concluded: "Trained by us to happiness and independence and endowed with learning and political institutions, India will remain the proudest monument of British benevolence and we shall long continue to reap in the affectionate attachment of the people and in a great commercial intercourse with the splendid country the fruit of that liberal and enlightened policy". 43 Travelyan thus upheld Macaulay's policy of anglicization.

42. Cited in Stokes, Eric. loc. cit., p. 46.
43. Travelyan, C.E. On The Education Of The People Of India (1836). pp. 192-195.
Macaulay was backed by the great bulk of the Calcutta mercantile community in his fight for English education. He was a member of the Council of Calcutta. He found a warm patron for English education in Lord William Bentinck, and placed himself at the head of a school which, in Bentinck's phrase, saw general education as the panacea for the regeneration of India. As a result Macaulay and his associates succeeded in exerting great influence upon the Government in proclaiming the official resolution in favour of English education in 1835.

IV. The Utilitarians:

It has been usual to associate the Utilitarians, particularly the name of James Mill, with the movement for English education, which Macaulay carried to its height in his Education Minute of 1835. Of the Utilitarians the most notable were James Mill and Jeremy Bentham. John Stuart Mill, son of James Mill, who remained in the Company's service from 1823 to 1838, was primarily occupied with the handling of political relations with the Indian states, though he drafted some of the early despatches on education, preaching the word of utility. James Mill, whose 'History of British India (1818) brought him to the Director's

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44. Stokes, Eric loc cit., pp. 45-46.
45. Stokes, Eric op. cit., p. 49.
notice,\textsuperscript{46} was appointed an Assistant Examiner and succeeded to the post of the Chief Executive and that of the Examiner in 1831. He was at the very centre of power.\textsuperscript{47} Bentham had always been eager to take a hand in framing the legal system in India.\textsuperscript{48} He had great influence over Lord William Bentinck,\textsuperscript{49} Edward Strachey (appointed an Assistant Examiner with James Mill in 1819) and the young civilians educated at the Haileybury College. William Empson, the Edinburgh Reviewer, who in 1824 succeeded Sir James Mackintosh as Professor of general polity and laws in the College, was greatly impressed by Bentham.\textsuperscript{50} It would be natural to expect that the Utilitarians like James Mill and Bentham exerted their influence upon the Government in moulding the British policy in India, especially the new education policy.

\textsuperscript{46} Phillips, C.H. loc. cit., p. 18.
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid; Stokes, Eric, op. cit., p. 48.
\textsuperscript{48} Stokes, Eric, \textit{The English Utilitarians And India}, p. 49.
\textsuperscript{49} Before leaving for India in December, 1827, Bentinck was given a farewell dinner at Grote's house, where he was feasted 'on the pure milk of Benthamite word'. His professions in reply gave every satisfaction: 'I am going to British India, but I shall not be Governor-General. It is you that will be Governor-General', James Mill reported him as saying. - Bentham to Col. J. Young, December 28, 1827, Ibid, p. 51.
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid, pp. 50-52.
James Mill shared the Evangelical contempt of Indian culture and tradition. In fact, in 'History of British India' (Vol. II) Mill's indictment of the Hindu and Muslim civilizations was more formidable in its relentless piling of evidence than even Grant's treatise. In India there was 'a hideous state of society' much more inferior in acquirements to Europe even in its darkest feudal age. Mill's view of the entire population of India as being morally degenerate and degraded was not different from that of the Evangelicals. Secondly, Mill agreed with Grant and the Evangelicals in ascribing the degradation of the India to the despotic tradition of government, law and religion, particularly to the tyranny of the priests, or the Brahmins.

Certain broad similarities have often been detected in the thinking of the Evangelicals and the Utilitarians like James Mill. Both had turned against the tolerance and respect for Indian civilization characteristic of the ages of Clive and Warren Hastings. Again, both agreed in many general aims. Evangelicalism and Utilitarianism were movements of the philosophy of individualism, both seeking to liberate the individual from the slavery of

customs and from the tyranny of the noble and the priest. Their end was to make the individual in every society a free and autonomous agent, who would like a life of conscious deliberation and choice. Moreover, the assumptions of Evangelical theology and Utilitarian philosophy were remarkably similar. For both man was a creature of sensation of pleasure and pain. His failure to attain his end of happiness was the result of ignorance or miscalculation. Because of these he tended to prefer the present pleasure to a more remote but lasting happiness. 53

But James Mill did not share the Evangelical view of education, particularly English education as the chief panacea for the ills of India or the regeneration of individuals and society in India. Mill in his History of British India (Vol. I) primarily attributed the retrograde and debased state of Indian society to the despotism of native Government. 54 Mill, therefore, suggested reform of the Government, laws, and mode of taxation as the important measure. According to Mill, the form of government and laws, which he called 'political education', determined directly the moral forces acting upon the individual,

53. Ibid, p. 54.

and those more indirect forces arising out of the physical condition of the people - forces upon which the moral character of the people and effectiveness of education depended. The vices and defects of the mass of mankind, Mill said, arose not from a lack of schooling but from poverty. Again, ignorance was the natural concomitant of poverty, and poverty the effect of bad laws and bad government. It was, therefore, necessary that the poverty of the people should be redressed by the beneficial operation of the laws and government before education could operate to any great extent. Without an adequate amount of food and leisure in the great body of people all education, according to Mill, was to prove impotent. A fundamental change had first to take place in the state of government and law before education could operate beneficially on the society. Mill, therefore, considered education as a secondary superficial measure. Even then he, in his article on Education published in Encyclopaedia Britanica, regarded domestic or social education i.e. informal education as more important than any formal education.\footnote{Stokes, Eric. The English Utilitarians And India, pp, 55-57.} It is noteworthy that Bentham, like Mill, concerned himself with legislative protection and security to the people for the maximization of happiness in the society or for the realization of his ideal of 'the greatest good of the greatest number.'\footnote{Ibid, p. 57.}
A writer contended that Macaulay's Minute on Education was "James Mill's philosophy expressed" in his (Macaulay's) language. According to Eric Stokes, it is true that Macaulay shared with Mill a profound contempt for oriental learning, but his Minute owed more to Charles Grant's treatise in every way. James Mill was no Anglicist. He was convinced that the vernacular languages were far better vehicles of instruction. Eric Stokes, however, cites no evidence in favour of his contention. His observation may, therefore, be open to discussion. He makes an interesting remark in this connection: the passion for English education was for him (Mill) the outcome of a narrow patriotic prejudice, while in contrast the only true scientific criterion for judging the content and medium of instruction was utility.

Some Indian writers think that the persistent advocacy of useful knowledge by the Court of Directors in their Despatches from 1824 onwards was inspired above all by the influence of James Mill, Bentham's disciple. Mill by virtue of his position at the India House embodied in

58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
his Despatches the recurrent theme of utility as the only touchstone of education and pressed upon the Indian Government the need to follow the principle of utility in all matters relating to education. But Mill was sceptic about the effectiveness of any type of formal education, whether in English or vernacular. In his evidence before the Select Committee on February 22, 1832 he made no attempt to conceal his pessimism.

The Court of Directors, which in its plea for the introduction of English education wanted to reduce the costs of administration by employing increasing number of English educated Indians in government services, might be said to have been influenced by James Mill's principle of economy in the management of the business of government. But in his evidence before the Commons Committee of 1831 James Mill confessed that he did not share in the widely entertained opinion that the natives of India should be more largely employed in the business of government. The great concern of the people of India, Mill argued, was that the business of government should be well and cheaply performed, but that was of little or no consequence who were the people who performed it. He rejected the suggestion put to him that the employment of Indians in

60. Majumdar, R.C. (ed.) op. cit., pp. 43-44.
the higher branches of administration would lead to elevate the character of the people as a whole. To elevate the character of the people the important thing was to protect them. It may be noted in this connection that Macaulay declared that he would be proud of having assisted in framing the Bill of 1833, which contained a clause that no native of Indian empire should by reason of his colour, his descent, or his religion be incapable of holding office. 62 However, in so far as the Court of Directors brought James Mill's principle of economy to bear on the cheap management of the Government in India by introducing English education, James Mill had shaded indirect, if not direct, impact upon the evolution of the new educational policy.

In the movement for English education the Evangelicals proved to be a powerful element because they were allied with the Free Traders and supported the latter's anglicist zeal and narrow political and economic interests. But James Mill differed from the English mercantile community. He disliked their selfish prejudices. He argued that free trade was correct as a principle but refused to be carried away by the tide of popular prejudice, which regarded it as the key to happiness. He would never join with those clamourous partisans, who held out prospects of

visionary wealth if once India were open to free trade. He, as noted before, had belittled the hopes of the English merchants centred on education. He had also attacked two of their dearest convictions — their faith in the virtues of English law and English courts. In his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee he insisted that Englishmen in the interior should be subject to the same laws and courts as the Indians. It is noteworthy that he favoured Thomas Munro's idea of the reorganization of the Ryotwari System and entertained antipathy against Cornwallis's Permanent Settlement — a sentiment shared by Bentham. These views and sentiments of Mill might account for his isolation from the Free Traders, who vigorously championed the movement for the introduction of English education and culture in India and were influential elements in the Company's Directorate since the early twenties of 19th century.

Yet Mill's or Bentham's ideas had attractions for the Home Government so far as the evolution of its policy in India was concerned. In the first place, Mill rejected any proposal for representative institutions for India as put forward by some liberal enthusiasts like Alexander Johnstone and Robert Rickards. He made a plea for the

63. Ibid, pp. 59-60.  
64. Ibid, pp. 58-62, 64, 69-70, 75-77.
supreme sovereign control of the British Parliament over India. This idea was relevant for the imperial consideration of the British Home Government. Secondly, Mill and Bentham held up the idea of a sovereign legislative body, which would issue the body of codes, which was to cause India's regeneration. Bentham looked to the example of the French centralized bureaucracy. The authoritarian implication of Mill's or Bentham's idea of a centralized hierarchy was to suit to the need of the Home Government in bringing the semi-independent presidencies like Madras and Bombay under a strong central command. Bentham's plea for speed, efficiency, regularity and uniformity in his constitutional theory of centralized bureaucracy was to rationalize such an imperial requirement. Thirdly, by the eighteen-twenties there was a pressing need to make bureaucracy more economical and more efficient. Mill's or Bentham's principle of economy in the conduct of administration had an obvious attraction for the Home Government. It wanted to reduce the expenditures in the management of the Indian Government by various means, particularly by creating native agency in government services through English education. Finally, Mill's concept of utility was to serve as a rationale to the Home authority in its insistence on

65. Ibid, pp. 66, 68
66. Ibid, pp. 71-73, 75,
the introduction of useful learning or English learning and science in India. Hence the ideas of Mill and Bentham had some indirect, if not direct, impact upon the evolution of the British policy in India, and upon that of new education policy.

V. Turn In The Policy Of The Home Government

In the period between 1823 and 1834, the Free Traders, who backed the Evangelical movement for English education, proved to be influential elements in Company's Direction. The influence of the Private Trade interest in the India House increased mainly at the expense of the Indian interest. It had become increasingly difficult for the Company's servants to make large fortunes within a short time in India, and consequently, the Indian interest in the Court of Proprietors and Directors had steadily grown weaker. On the other hand, the opening of the India trade in 1813 had given the private traders an opportunity to amass money more quickly and in the twenties of the nineteenth century the increase of their influence at the India House became clearly perceptible. Much of their strength was wielded by the East India Agency Houses in London and Calcutta. By 1820 there were about a score

of them established of which the firms of Alexander and Co. and Forbes and Co. were the prominent ones. These Houses undertook the remittance to England of the fortunes of British merchants and of the Company's servants. Much of this money was invested in India Stock, and the votes thereby in the Court of Proprietors were usually put at the service of the Agency House, which used them, specially in the election of the Directors, to increase the strength of the Private Trade and City interests. By 1826, there were eight representatives of the Private Trade interest in the Direction. By 1831 of the thirty Directors (including the 6 ones out by rotation) seventeen represented this interest. The Agency House not only formed the bulwark of Private Trade interest but also acted as a connecting link between the interest and the City and Shipping interest. In the period 1823-33, the City and Shipping interests maintained on the average three representatives in the Court of Directors most of whom probably, on account of their election pledges and of common aims, supported the Private Trade interest. The Indian interest was represented by a small group, in number seldom more than four and these mainly among the junior members; even they were usually dependent upon the Private Trade and City interests for the retention of their position.

68. Ibid, p. 243-244.
The "Private Traders" in the Court of Directors, especially, John Loch and William Thornton Astell were eager to promote the spread of everything English in India, including English education. Charles Watkin William Wynn, the President of the Board of Control and a true representative of the progressive ideas on India policy enunciated by Lord Grenville in 1813, was no less eager. Moreover, in James Mill and Thomas Love Peacock, the India House possessed two highly intellectual Examiners, who were deeply interested in the problem. Consequently, on the whole, the Home Government revealed a greater comprehension than the Bengal Government of the essence of a sound educational policy.\textsuperscript{69} It became interested in the promotion of useful knowledge and English learning. It enjoined the Bengal Government primarily to concern itself with the quality rather than the quantity of education:

It should be borne in mind that were the country to be studded with schools, they would be wholly unprofitable both to the Government and the people, unless the branches of knowledge taught in them were fully useful and their machinery to degenerate were closely watched and provided against.\textsuperscript{70}

\textsuperscript{69} Ibid, p. 247.
\textsuperscript{70} Ibid, p. 247.
The Home Government in its note of March, 1825, expressed its readiness to sanction expenses for adequate supply of trained teachers and suitable text books for the purpose of useful education.  

The Home Government was no less influenced by the utilitarian principle of economy, though contrary to the opinion of James Mill, it wanted to implement it by embracing the idea of native agency in government services as conceived of by Macaulay later. Throughout this period, the Directors were constantly pressing their Indian Governments drastically to reduce the costs of administration. This could not be done without a vast expansion of the use of Indian personnel and, therefore, for the Home Government the problem of education became closely knit with the problem of providing trained Indians for the government services. To increase the number of western-educated Indians in the government service, the Home authorities advised the Bengal Government in March, 1825, to give preference to appointment in the law courts to Indians possessing suitable educational qualifications, a proposal which was incorporated in Regulation XI of 1826. A year later the Directors declared, "The first object of improved education should be to prepare a body of individuals for discharging public duties."  

71. Ibid.  
The Select Committee of the House of Commons of the British Parliament, in its note on English education in 1832, considered Directors' encouragement of English learning, particularly the Directors' motive of creating a native agency in government services through English education. The report of the Committee reads as follows. "It is, on all hands, allowed that the general cultivation of the English language is most highly desirable. With a view to the introduction of Natives into Places of Trust, and as a powerful means of operating favourably on their Habits and Character, ... a greater partiality prevails in favour of English language and literature, in both of which many natives have made considerable progress; but that the subject has not hitherto met with that consideration and encouragement from the Government which it seems to merit." 73 It was suggested that "the most powerful stimulus would be to make a certain degree of proficiency a condition of qualification for civil appointment." 74

73. Parliamentary papers, H.C. Reports from Committees, Vol. 9, 1831-32, paper No. 7351, section I, public (August 16, 1832), Extract from the Reports of the Committee, 2. Education : Natives, P. XVIII.

74. Ibid.
The Home Government was naturally insistent on English education. In 1823 the Governor-General appointed the General Committee of Public Instruction, composed of civil servants entrusted with the disbursement of Government's educational funds, to concert measures "for better instruction of the people and the introduction of useful knowledge, including the arts and sciences of Europe." Between 1824 and 1830, the Home Government continually urged the General Committee of Public Instruction to increase the means available for the study of English language and literature in Bengal. In February, 1824, although sanctioning the foundation of the Sanskrit College in Calcutta, the Court pointedly commented:

The great end should not have been to teach Hindu learning but useful learning.... In professing to establish seminaries for the purpose of teaching more Hindu or more Muhammadan literature, you bind yourself to teach a great deal of what was purely mischievous.

A year later, on learning that the General Committee of Public Instruction was spending much money in printing books in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian and in providing literary endowments for promising students of Indian classical

literature, the Home Government repeated: 'There is nothing (as we have often informed you) which we regard as of greater importance than the diffusion of English language and European arts and Sciences among the natives of India'.

Partly as a result of Home Government's pressure, the General Committee of Public Instruction began to attach English classes to some of the oriental colleges, and drew up plans for a separate English College in Calcutta to instruct advanced pupils in English literature and science through the medium of English. The Home Government welcomed these activities and later went on to say: "The higher classes of our Hindu and Muhammadan subjects are ripe for a still further extension among them of European education and European science and literature.... The means should be afforded." 78

The Home Government seemed concerned at that time, however, to spread useful education among the people in general through vernacular languages but did not allocate any fund necessary for the execution of the project. 79

Ultimately, from the motives of economy, it was at one with the General Committee of Public Instruction in paying scant regard to indigenous education. 80 It was the urge of the

78. Ibid.
79. Ibid., pp. 248-249.
80. Ibid., p. 249.
Home authorities for the reduction of the costs of administration through increasing employment of Indians in government services that was ultimately to frustrate the plan of vernacular education, as put forward by Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, and by Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras. In most respects the Directors' orders on education policy between 1825 and 1830 anticipated Macaulay's statements and proposals of 1835, though lying more stress than he did on the importance of cultivating the vernaculars. 81

VI. The General Committee Of Public Instruction And New Learning.

The General Committee of Public Instruction (hereafter GCPI) showed interest in the promotion of the new learning. The Hindu College, founded for the purpose of oriental and occidental education, engaged the attention of the Committee. In 1824 J.H. Harrington, the President of the GCPI, acquiesced in a proposal that the Hindu College, which "presents the most favourable opening of any for the introduction of improvement in Literature and Science amongst the Hindus at least", should be raised "to a level with the establishment provided for Mohammadan and Brahmanical learning." 82

81. Ibid.
82. General Committee of Public Instruction (GCPI), Proceedings, Vol. 3, Part I (1823-1838), April 7, 1824, p. 146; April 15, 1824, p. 172.
The President of the GCPI not unoften graced the annual examination or the prize distribution ceremony by his presence since 1825. J.H. Harrington, the President of the GCPI, was present on the occasion of the annual examination in 1825 and on that of the prize distribution ceremony in 1827, and W.B. Bayley, the next President, was present on the latter occasion in 1828, 1829 and 1830. The Committee was so much moved by the reports on the annual results of the College examinations of 1825 and 1826 that they pressed upon the Government "the expediency of certain steps to be taken for its improvement." The favourable attitude of the GCPI towards the Hindu College or the association of its Presidents with the annual prize-giving ceremony did not necessarily mean that it was so much enthusiastic for English learning in preference to oriental education as was implied by the Directors' Despatch of February 18, 1824 to the Governor-General-in-Council of Bengal. In 1823-1824 the GCPI members

83. Extracts from a public letter from Hon'ble The Court of Directors to General Department dated September 5, 1827, transmitted by S. Frazier, Officiating Persian Secretary to Government, Persian Office, May 23, 1828, GCPI (Copy Book of letters, March 1 - December, 1828), Vol. 6, 1828, p. 215; Also the Government Gazette January 17, 1827; January 17, 1828, February 19, 1829, February 22, 1830.

84. GCPI (Copy Book of letters), Vol. 6, 1828, p. 215.

85. The Despatch of the Court of Directors, dated February 18, 1824, showed contempt for traditional learning. It stressed very clearly the superiority of western education. It insisted on spending money on useful learning and not the useless fables of Hindu mythology or the tenets of the wuran. Majumdar, P.C. (Ed.), loc. cit., p. 44.
consisted of Englishmen like J.H. Harrington, J.P. Larkins, W.B. Bayley, H. Shakespeare, Holt Mackenzie, H.T. Prinsep, A Stirling, H.H. Wilson and J.C.C. Sutherland. In a letter dated October 6, 1823 to the Governor-General it intimated that it did not want to offend the prejudices of the literate people, particularly the Brahmanical order of people, and preferred to combine European and Hindu learning in every department. In a letter dated August 18, 1824 to Lord Amherest it wrote as follows. The native subjects in general "continue to hold European literature and science in a very slight estimation." A few natives, employed by Europeans, and accustomed to an intimate intercourse with their masters, might perceive that "their countrymen have something in the way of practical science to learn." But the impressions in favour of western learning were "still very partial". The 'Moulavi' and the 'Pundit', satisfied with their own learning, "are little inquisitive as to anything beyond it and are not disposed to regard the literature and science of the West as worth the labour of attainment". The actual state of public feeling "is ... still an impediment to any general introduction of Western literature or science." Although "the prejudices of the natives against European interference with their education are considerably abated", they "are by no means annihilated

87. Ibid, p. 87.
88. Ibid.
89. Ibid.
and might very easily be roused by any abrupt and injudicious attempt to innovation."\textsuperscript{90} Instructions in the English language and literature could have been attempted only on the most limited scale.\textsuperscript{91} The GCPI desired the combination of Asiatic and European learning and stressed "the value of those accessions which may be made from European science and literature, to the sum total of Asiatic knowledge."\textsuperscript{92} The Committee wanted the Court of Directors to approve of its plan of education for the natives.\textsuperscript{93}

Thanks possibly to the pressure of the Home Government, a shift in the attitude of atleast some members of the GCPI was noticeable. It is noteworthy that W.B. Bayley in his \textit{Minute} of 1830 pleaded for the extension of the benefits of English education among the mofussil zamindars for their intellectual and moral improvement.\textsuperscript{94} Bayley's sentiments met with the concurrence of the Government.\textsuperscript{95} It is also noteworthy that a GCPI - report of 1831 left a gleeful note on the progress of English education in Hindu College.\textsuperscript{96}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{90} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{91} Ibid, pp. 94 & 96.
\item \textsuperscript{92} Ibid, p. 98.
\item \textsuperscript{93} Ibid, p. 97.
\item \textsuperscript{94} GCPI (Copy Book of letters), Vol. 8, 1830, pp. 647-649; Miscellaneous Revenue Department, Vol. 12, August 12, 1830, pp. 151-153.
\item \textsuperscript{95} In a letter to the Sudder Board dated August 12, 1830 W.H. Macnaughten, the Officiating Deputy Secretary to Government, communicated the concurrence of the Governor General-in-Council in the sentiments embodied in the \textit{Minutes}, Miscellaneous Revenue Department, Vol. 12, August 12, 1830, pp. 153-157; GCPI, Vol. 8, 1830, pp. 647-651.
\item \textsuperscript{96} GCPI (Proceedings, 1829-1841), Vol. 5, Part II, October 27, 1831 (Paragraph 1041), pp. 586 - 588.
\end{itemize}
The Anglicist group in the Committee was to be strengthened by the nomination of Macaulay (a law member of the Governor-General's Council) as its President and by the induction of Alexander Duff into it as a member during Bentinck's Governor-Generalship.

VII. The Governor-General & The New Education

The encouragement of English learning in the period 1823-1834 by the Board of Directors was bound to have influence upon the mind of the Governor-General. In 1826 the Governor-General declared the "Hindu College to be the Chief object of the patronage of the Government."97 Sooner or later the annual prize distribution ceremony came to be graced by the presence of His Excellency.98 Wilson's annual reports of the College alluded to the state of western and oriental learning.99 His Excellency appeared to have taken a keen interest in the papers relating to the progress of western learning and expressed jubilation at the acquirements of the students in it. In 1830 His Excellency was, however,

97. A stirling (Persian Secretary to the Government) to the GCPI, February 3, 1826, GCPI (Copy Book of letters), Vol. 3, 1826, pp. 80-81.
98. The Government Gazette, January 17, 1828; February 19, 1829; February 22, 1830.
not satisfied with the progress made by the students. 100 However, the Governor-General was so much enthusiastic for western learning that by 1831 there was a provision for English education not only in the Hindu College but also in the Sanskrit College and the Madrasa. 101 In 1831 measures for the promotion of English learning among the higher classes were in contemplation of the Governor-General. 102

Wilson in a number of his reports suggested measures for the promotion of occidental and oriental education. 103 The Governor-General was not, however, lukewarm to oriental learning. His Highness endorsed Wilson's proposal of the year 1829 for the publication of a new and improved Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, and sanctioned money for the purchase of Sanskrit manuscripts in compliance with his request in that year. 104 The Governor-General, however,

100. A stirling to the GCPI, February 1, 1828 & June 26, 1829, GCPI (Copy Book of letters), Vol. 5, Part II, 1828, pp. 614-615; Vol. 7, 1829, p. 700. S. Frazer (Deputy Secretary to Government in charge) to the GCPI, July 16, 1830, GCPI (Copy Book of letters), Vol. 8, 1830, p. 570; Also GCPI (Copy Book of letters), Vol. 9, 1831, pp. 123-125.


seemed highly eager for the development of western education. The proposed division of the Hindu College into lower and higher schools of English learning was approved of. Moreover, the Governor-General accepted Wilson's proposals, particularly his proposal for the publication of a series of miscellaneous selections in useful and elegant extracts in prose and verse from English authors ("adapted to supply the wants experienced in carrying on the business of English education in the country") in 1828, the printing of a series of English books for use in the native schools and colleges and the purchase for the college library of several useful and required works both for the literary and scientific departments (according to Wilson's list in 1829) and his plan for the introduction of a course of Law and Political Economy.  

That the Governor-General in his measures for the promotion of English learning enjoyed the patronage of the Board of Directors is evident. In consideration of Wilson's proposal to engage the services of some thoroughly English scholars in the conduct of the Hindu College establishment


the Court of Directors, in a letter dated March 13, 1828, declared its intention immediately to take steps for procuring two preceptors. 107

Bentinck was directed by the Home authorities to introduce stringent measures of economy in Bengal. 108 The public employment of Indians in places where the number of Europeans could be curtailed on grounds of economy gave stimulus to education. 109 The Home authorities encouraged Bentinck to pursue the policy of making Indians qualified for services through English education. In a letter to the Bengal Government in September, 1830 the Court of Directors wrote: "There is no point of view in which we look with greater interest at the exertions you are now making for the instruction of natives than as being calculated to raise up a class of persons qualified by their intelligence and morality for high employments in civil administration of India." 110 William Astell, the Chairman of the Court of Directors, wrote to Bentinck in October, 1830: "Your

107. Wilson's Annual Report to the GCPI, dated January 14, 1830, GCPI (Copy Book of letters), Vol. 8, 1830, p. 9. S. Frazer (Deputy Secretary to Government in Charge) to the GCPI, July 16, 1830, GCPI (Copy Book of letters), Vol. 8, Part II, 1830, pp. 570-571.


Lordship will perceive from the Court's despatches how anxious we are to afford every reasonable facility to the education of the natives and to their employment/under our Governments for which they may be qualified.\textsuperscript{110(a)} Lord Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control, wrote to Bentinck on September 23, 1830: "I am sure you will do all you can to educate the natives for office and to encourage them by the possession of it."\textsuperscript{110(b)} With a view to giving the natives an additional motive to the acquisition of the English language Bentinck had it in contemplation gradually to introduce English as the language of public business in all its departments, including the judiciary, and of correspondence with native prince or all persons of rank. From the meditated change in the language of public business including judicial proceedings, Bentinck anticipated collateral advantages.\textsuperscript{110(c)}


\textsuperscript{110(c).} Philips, C.H. (ed.), loc. cit., p. 526; Majumdar, R.C. \textit{Glimpses Of Bengal In Nineteenth Century}, p. 44; \textit{A Hundred Years Of The University Of Calcutta} (Centenary edition), pp. 16-17.
Due to heated controversy between the Anglicists and the Orientalists in the General Committee of Public Instruction, the press and public meetings Bentinck began to think in April, 1834 whether he ought to "put off the development of views on the great question of national education until the public mind should be prepared for their reception." He was far from convinced that the interference by the Government in the field of traditional education was called for. He, therefore, readily agreed when the proposal was put to him, that it would be useful preliminary to prepare a report on village education in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in order 'to understand the native mind', and to assess the extent to which it was possible to absorb the existing traditional system into "a national plan", and deputed an eager Christian Missionary, William Adam, to do this.

But this was a long-term matter, and meanwhile there were urgent practical priorities on which action could not be put off. Bentinck held: "General education is my panacea for the regeneration of India. The ground must be

prepared and the jungle cleared away, before the human mind can receive with any prospect of real benefit the seeds of improvement." 110(h) With the increasing taste of the Bengali middle class for English education and the arrival in India of Macaulay, the new law member of the Council and a declared Anglicist, the Government felt encouraged to found a medical college in Calcutta in 1835 for the purpose of imparting instruction in various branches of medical science and anatomy through English 110(i) and to proceed to pass a resolution in favour of English education.

But the detailed proposals of Government which finally emerged in February, 1835, were more cautious than Macaulay's Minute had urged. 110(j) The Calcutta Madrassa, for example, was in spite of Macaulay not to be abolished, nor were funds to be diverted from oriental languages. Although Government stipends in future were not to be awarded for traditional classical studies or to assist publication in these languages, no existing stipends

110(h). Ibid, p. 1287
were to be discontinued. Such modest official funds as were otherwise available were to be used to foster knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of English. 110(k)

VIII. The Conservatives:

The resistance to the policy of anglicization (anglicization of any kind, political, economic, social and educational) came somewhat surprisingly from the brilliant group of subordinates, which served Wellesley - from Thomas Munro, Sir John Malcolm, Mountstuart Elphinstone, and Sir Charles Metcalfe. 111 Of them Nunro was to be the Governor of Madras in 1820, Elephinstone, the Governor of Bombay in 1819, 112 and Metcalfe, a Resident of Hyderabad in December, 1820 and later of the Delhi territory and a member of the Governor-General’s Council subsequently. 113 They were opposed to the policy of applying British constitutional principles to the Indian administration or to an anglicized form of administration as carried on by Lord Cornwallis. They did not share Cornwallis’s ideal of the

Permanent (or the Zamindari) Settlement and the separation of the Executive and judicial functions of the Collector. They stood for the reorganization and development of the Ryotwari system and the union of executive and magisterial functions in the collector.\textsuperscript{114}

In the history of British India they appear as the true conservative elements. But the term needs definition. It is not to be confused with a desire to return to the pre-Cornwallis era, to the ambiguities and deceits of dual rule and the tradition of the Nabobs. The reform of morals by which Burke sought to sanctify public life, and the Evangelicals to purify private and social life, had left its mark in the austerity of their lives and their commanding sense of public duty.\textsuperscript{115}

They could not renounce the entire philosophy of the Cornwallis system, because in the end it represented the permanent English political instinct. But they sought to rectify that philosophy in the manner in which Burke had redeemed Whiggism from its superficiality and crudeness. They brought to the Indian problem Burke's notion of history—that conception, which regards human society as a continuous community of the past, present and future. The Bengal system

\textsuperscript{114} Stokes, Eric, \textit{The English Utilitarians And India}, pp. 9 & 18-19.

\textsuperscript{115} Ibid, p. 14.
they saw as the denial of this touch-stone of history and experience. To them it was the ignorant application of a priori political ideas without regard to the circumstances of Indian history. It rested on the fallacy that a political society could be constructed anew on the basis of abstract principles wrung from an alien tradition. They did not deny the theoretical virtue of the rule of law and division of the powers. But they denied that these could be introduced into India without any modification. They revolted against what they considered to be the cold, lifeless and mechanical principles underlying the Cornwallis system, its a priori unhistorical attitude, which would impose English ideas and institutions on Indian society.

None of them, not even Munro, the oldest of them, was hostile to reform. Indeed, they all boasted of their liberal opinion. But their political instincts were traditional and sentimental. They distrusted the chilly dogmatics of the reforming spirit, which was to eradicate in the name of utility all the historical associations connected with the rise of British power, and in the cause of efficiency, simplicity and economy, sought to reduce the historical modes of government into one, centralized, uniform practice. Against the tendency that would transform the British rule

from a personal paternal government into an impersonal mechanical administration they took their stand. 117

In contrast to the abstractions of the rule of law, and the blind automatic operation of an impersonal bureaucracy Munro's school looked to the continuation of the Indian tradition of paternal government. Apart from the reservations of Metcalfe, they saw in the preservation of the Indian states one method of pursuing their aim, and, at the same time of providing a possible haven for the culture and higher graces of Indian life. 118

Despite differences in the attitude of Malcolm and Metcalfe towards the Indian princes - Malcolm seeking to conciliate them and Metcalfe being opposed to it, 119 the common aim of the paternalist school was to conserve the original institutions of Indian society rather than to construct it anew. Even Metcalfe, who was schooled in Wellesely's haughtiness towards the Indian aristocracy, entertained the vision of a benevolent paternalism founded on the unchanging "Village Republics". He never contemplated a system of direct rule, that would remould India in the image of the west. 120

120. Ibid, p. 18.
They were largely in agreement with certain aspects of the utilitarian viewpoint. The Union of Judicial and executive powers in the Collector, the simplification of the chaotic jungle of the law into a compact intelligible code which respected Indian custom, the prejudice for a ryotwari form of land settlement and an accurate survey and record of landed rights — in all these reforms they were in agreement with the radical authoritarian strain in utilitarian thought. 121

But the passion for uniformity, for mechanistic administration and legislative regulation, which possessed the utilitarians, found no favour with them. Except for Elphinstone, they had little but contempt for the doctrine of the 'philosophers'. They rejected that theory, which attributed to government a preponderant influence in the shaping of society. They were convinced that all the great changes in human society came from sources much deeper than the superficial activities of politicians. Great and beneficial alterations of society, to be complete, must be produced within the society itself. 122

121. Ibid, p. 23.
They also did not subscribe to the Evangelical idea of sudden and violent change along the western line. Munro once wrote: "I have no faith in the modern doctrine of the rapid improvement of the Hindoos, or of any other people." The views of Munro and his fellow associates are expressed in the following manner:

We must divest our minds of all arrogant pretensions arising from the supposed superiority of our knowledge... time may gradually effect a change... but... it must be... the work of society itself. All that Government can do is, by maintaining the external peace of the country, and by adapting its principles to the various feelings, habits, and character of its inhabitants, to give time for the slow and silent operation of the desired improvement with a constant impression that every attempt to accelerate this end will be attended with the danger of its defeat. 

They suggested reforms of great importance to the Indian community. Even Metcalfe stood for the freedom of the press. Munro's school favoured admission of Indians to higher posts in the civil service or a broad-based educational scheme.

125. Ibid, p. 18.
126. Ibid, p. 22.
Both Munro and Elphinstone paid great attention to indigenous education. Munro in his Minute dated June 25, 1822, underlined the necessity for ascertaining the proper state of indigenous instruction. He recommended no "interference whatever in the native schools". He proposed to facilitate the operations of these schools by seeking to provide them with necessary funds. Elphinstone, in his Report dated October 25, 1829, on the territories conquered from the Peshwa, observed:

I do not perceive anything that we can do to improve the morals of the people except in improving their education.

He added that there existed in the Hindu languages many tales and fables that would be generally read and that would circulate sound morals. Again, there must be religious books tending more directly to the same end. He suggested that if many of these were printed and distributed cheaply or gratuitously, the effect would without doubt be great and beneficial. He, however, liked to silently omit all precepts of questionable morality. Elphinstone, when Governor of Bombay, reiterated the same sentiment in a

Minute dated April 6, 1821. He recommended the circulation of cheap editions of such native books already popular as might have a tendency to improve the morals of the people without strengthening religious prejudices. He wrote - passages remarkable for bigotry or false maxims of morality might be silently omitted, but not a syllable of attack on the religion of the country should be allowed. 130 Munro and Elphinstone saw the desirability of conducting higher teaching through the medium of the Vernaculars. 131

At a time when Grant and Wilberforce were delivering speeches in the Parliament in favour of the idea of disseminating English, particularly Christian learning in India as a panacea for her ills, moral and social, Malcolm and Munro 132 gave their evidence against the propagation of Christianity. The Consenatives gained large measure of success in the first round of their battle with the Evangelicals. As such, the latter, as noted before, won limited success as evidenced by the Charter Act of 1813.

XX. Horace Hayman Wilson (1786 - 1860)

It was in early 20s or after 1823 when the Evangelicals, backed by Free Traders, proved to be powerful elements in influencing the Home Government in securing a leverage in favour of English learning, H.H. Wilson was a visitor of the Hindu College and Secretary to the GCPI. Born on September 26, 1786 in London, H.H. Wilson received his education in a school in the Soho Square of the City. While a student, he gathered knowledge of Chemistry, Metallurgy and works of different departments of a mint. After his arrival in Calcutta in 1809, he joined the mint of Calcutta as an Assistant Assay Master under Dr. John Leyden, who was an indologist. It is likely that Leyden excited interest in indology in Wilson, Wilson read the biography of Sir William Jones and started studying Sanskrit. He was introduced by Leyden to Mr. Colebrook, a famous orientalist, who fostered his interest in Sanskrit. Colebrook, the then President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, appointed Wilson Secretary to the Society. Between 1821 and 1827 he edited the Quarterly Oriental Journal of the Society. Meanwhile in 1816 he became the Assay Master of the mint of Calcutta. But in 1819 he was entrusted by the Government with the work of organizing the Sanskrit College of Benaras. While he was in Benaras, he came in close touch with many Sanskrit "Pundits". In 1819 he composed a dictionary in Sanskrit-English. As a Secretary to the GCPI he took great initiative in the foundation of the Sanskrit College in
Calcutta in 1824. In 1827 his work named *Select Specimen Of The Hindoo Theatre* was published. In 1830 he was appointed Boden Professor in Sanskrit in the University of Oxford. He left India early in 1833. While in England, he was a Director of the Royal Asiatic Society of Britain. He continually laboured to compose works on ancient India, particularly on the coinage of Gandhara and Kashmir and on religious sects of the Hindus. He also completed English translations of the *Vishnu Purana* and the *Rig-Veda*. After his death on May 8, 1860 his works were published in twelve volumes. Among his notable works were *Lectures On The Religious And Philosophical System of Hindoos*, *Grammar Of The Sanskrit Language*, *Arina Antiqua*, English translations of the *Rig-Veda*, the *Meghduta*, and the *Vishnu-Puran*. Among his notable students were Sir M.M. Williams and E.B. Cowell. Wilson was a celebrated Orientalist. He was

conservative in temperament. He could not be expected to see eye to eye with the Evangelicals. In his edition of James Mill's *The History Of British India*, Wilson, in the copious footnotes, very frequently criticizes the concept of Mill, and shows his errors. 134(a)

Wilson was, however, no less interested in English education. In his annual reports on the Hindu College he put forward a number of proposals for the promotion of English learning.

1) An interesting feature of Wilson's recommendations in 1827 was that he wanted the senior students to have "a very extensive conservancy with/whole body of English literature". He also suggested the publication of the new edition of the lectures on Belles'sLetters. 135

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134. Benoy Ghose observes: "The conservatives, including orientalists like H.H. Wilson, were in favour of governing India in the traditional style of Indian Rajas and Nababs, and of pursuing a policy of non-interference with socio-religious customs and institutions of the Indian people" - Ghose, Benoy, *Selections From English Periodicals Of 19th Century Bengal*. Vol. I. Editorial, p. XI.

134(a). J. Majeed observes: "In his footnotes and additions to Mill's History, he defended Jones against Mill's strictures, and was much less ambivalent than Mill about the British involvement in India" - Majeed, J. "James Mill's 'The History Of British India' And Utilitarianism As A Rhetoric of Reform", *Modern Asian Studies*, 24 : 2, 1990 (Printed in Great Britain), p.222.

2) In 1828 one of his important proposals was the printing of a series of miscellaneous selections ranging from lower to higher grade of learning, or useful and elegant extracts in prose and verse from English authors, covering History, Natural History, biographical narratives, perceptive pieces, poetry, dramas and novels.  

3) In 1829 an interesting proposal of Wilson was the introduction of the students of the first class to metaphysics, which was fascinating to David Drummond and his student, Derozio. Another noteworthy proposal of Wilson was to add books to the library of Dr. Tytler (a teacher in Mathematics in the Hindu College) as also to the general library. He reported that the College library was "liberally resorted to by the pupils of the college" who, as a result, were "in possession of an extent of variety of informations which their class rooms could not supply". A list of sixty-five books, recommended by him for the general library, included among others Sir William Blackstone's (an English Jurist, 1723-1780) 'Commentaries On The Law Of England' (between 1765 and 1769), Lord Byron's (1788-1824) works, Colebrook's Algebra, Gillies's Ethics Of Aristotle, David Hume's (1711-1766) Treatise On Human Nature (1739-1740),

Thomas Robert Malthus's (1766-1834) Principles Of Political Economy (considered with a view to their practical application - 1820), Voltaire's (1694-1778) Charles XII (1731), and Montesquieu's (1689-1755) Spirit Of Laws (1750). It is significant that the list included liberal, utilitarian and radical authors and works of writers like Voltaire and Hume, who were noted for their scepticism.

4) In 1830, while alluding to the state of English learning, he regretted that "they could not procure the exclusive services of some zealous and intelligent persons, who had enjoyed the advantage of superior English education, to take an active part in the conduct of the establishment." 138

5) In 1831 and 1832 he strongly pleaded for the introduction of a course in Political Economy and in Law "commencing with chief points of English jurisprudence and proceeding through such parts of Mehomidan and Hindu Law as were in force, to the principal civil and criminal regulations of the Indian Government." In his view such a course would open up avenues to honour and employment to the youths, who would form in short time more efficient and trustworthy


functionaries than any description of native servants. He thus anticipated Macaulay's idea of loyal native agency in government employments.

But Wilson did not share the contempt of the Evangelicals for oriental learning. He sharply differed from James Mill's highly prejudiced view of Indian civilization. Wilson was greatly worried over the decline of oriental learning that followed in the wake of English education. He submitted a number of proposals for the improvement of oriental education.

1) He suggested an arrangement necessitating the rotational attendance of English teachers in Persian and Bengali classes following the break-up of English classes (the effect of which was evident in the first year), or the inclusion of oriental studies in the day-time (when the English classes went on).

2) He also suggested that the oriental language and grammar be explained through English for the convenience of the students, who were inclined to spare less time and energy for the pursuit of them. He observed in 1829:

The progress of tuition is so tedious that it demands the whole of a student's time and the pupils of the Anglo-Indian College had little or no time to spare. Until therefore we can teach these languages through the medium of English, little good can be expected from their forming a part of the College course. 142

Already in 1828 he suggested that the republication of a small grammar and dictionary of Persian language explained through English would afford every important assistance to the scholars of the Hindu College and other seminaries. 143

3) In 1829 Wilson proposed that for proper cultivation of Bengali and Sanskrit a short grammar and dictionary in English should be prepared. 144 He also suggested a new and improved Sanskrit grammar and dictionary. 145

Wilson also did not share the Evangelical idea of sudden and rash transformation of the Indian society along the western line. In his opinion the diffusion of liberal feeling among the Hindus was just in progress. There were many Hindus who were opposed to all deviations from established usages. The Hindu liberals were not free from

prejudices. The Hindu society was not ripe for abrupt and total change. Any attempt to accelerate it was to defeat its object by rousing alarm and opposition. He wrote:

It has always been my wish and that of the majority of the Managers to accustom the friends of pupils gently and insensibly to the altered principles and conduct by which sound knowledge must infallibly be followed.\footnote{146}

He concluded:

In order, however, to give it (The Hindu College) the opportunity of accomplishing all the good it is capable of rendering it is absolutely indispensable to persevere in a cautious and prudent course and avoid as much as possible the violation of the prejudices and feelings of the parents whilst we prevent the same from taking root in the minds of the rising generation.\footnote{147}

He stood for slow and gradual change of Hindu society from within and not sudden and violent change from without. In these notions he went very close to the English Conservatives. His ideas and steps were to strengthen the orientalists led by James Prinsep who succeeded him as the visitor of the Hindu College, and not the Anglicists.

\footnote{146. GCPI (Copy Book of Letters), Vol. 10, Part I, 1832, p. 39.}
\footnote{147. Ibid, p. 41.}
It is noteworthy that when in the early thirties the Anglicists led by Macaulay were emerging as an influential group, Bentinck appointed William Adam a Commissioner to enquire into the state of education in Bengal and to suggest measures for its development. Adam was appointed about six weeks before the famous Resolution of Bentinck in favour of English education on March 1, 1835. Different questions might then arise - was Bentinck in double mind as to his plan? or did he intend his Resolution to be a tentative or a provisional scheme? 148

Adam, a Unitarian and a close friend of Raja Rammohun Roy, was perhaps a conservative in his educational ideas and plans. He found faults with the indigenous system of learning. 149 But he had a great love of it. He pointed out how in the indigenous elementary school teachers and scholars were recruited from different castes and races. 150 He also made a startling revelation of the fraternal feelings shared by the Hindus and the Mussalmans towards each other in the matter of giving and receiving instruction. 151 He had

respect for Persian and Arabic learning. The respect and compliment paid by him to Sanskrit scholars is rare or scant. He saw the importance and necessity of the study of Sanskrit. Speaking of "Hindu schools of learning", he remarked that there were sufficient "materials for a Hindu University in which all branches of Sanskrit learning might be taught."

He advocated non-interference with indigenous institutions. He believed that "these are the institutions, closely interwoven with the habits of the people and customs of the country through which, primarily, although not exclusively, we may hope to improve the morals and intellects of the native population". For reorientation of the institutions he wanted to integrate into the curriculum moral instruction, useful not merely to its possessors. In fact, he sought to turn them into "excellent account" in a

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gradual process. His plan was to give "that stimulus to native mind which it needs on the subject of education" and to elicit "exertions of the natives themselves for their own improvement."\(^{157}\) He, however, desired the Government to take the lead in the adoption and direction of measures for the future moulding and development of the native institutions.\(^ {158}\) But he turned down the idea of establishing new schools under the superintendence of paid agents of the Government.\(^ {159}\)

Adam stated that "European knowledge must be the chief matter of instruction."\(^ {160}\) In this connection he observed: "Learned Mussalmans are in general much better prepared for the reception of European learning than learned Hindus."\(^ {161}\) This observation was in direct contradiction of the allegation about the apathy of the Muslims towards the new system of education. However, he did not subscribe

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to the view that the English language should be the sole or the chief medium of conveying knowledge to the natives.\textsuperscript{162}

He did not share Macaulay's idea of "Filtration". He observed that the primary objection to this plan was that it overlooked the entire system of native institutions, Hindu and Mohamedan.\textsuperscript{163} He added:

The plan assumes that the country is to be indebted to us for schools, teachers, books, everything necessary for its moral and intellectual improvement and that in the prosecution of our views we are to reject all the aids which the ancient institutions of the country and the actual attainment of the people afford towards their advancement.\textsuperscript{164}

But he reminded that they had to deal in this country principally with the Hindus and Mohammedans, the former, creators of one of the earliest civilized nations of the earth, while the latter in some of the brightest periods of history were distinguished promoters of science, and both even in their present retrogradestages of civilization still presenting a profound love and veneration after learning.\textsuperscript{165}

\textsuperscript{162} (Third Report, Chapter I, Section XII), Ibid, p.308.
\textsuperscript{163} (Third Report, Second Chapter, Section I, 'Preliminary considerations'), Ibid, p. 357.
\textsuperscript{164} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{165} Ibid.
He was of opinion that to make the superstructure lofty and firm, the foundation should be broad and deep; and thus building from the foundation, all classes of institutions and every grade of instruction might be combined with harmonious and salutary effect. 166

In his opinion the best course would be to employ the existing institutions and organizations as the instruments of national education for the improvement and furtherance of education among the people of this country. 167 The medium of national instruction was to be vernacular tongue. 168

He devoted considerable thought to the improvement and extension of vernacular education of the people. 169 He drew up some parallel between the prevalence of crime and the want of instruction among the people. 170 He quoted the opinion of some English Conservatives like Munro and Elphinstone in support of his plea for vernacular education of the people. 171

166. Ibid, p. 358.
167. (Third Report, Chapter II, Section II, 'Plan, Proposal and Its Application to the Improvement and Extension of Vernacular Education'), Ibid, pp. 358-359; also, introduction, P. XIV
Among his proposals were the preparation of books in Bengali, Hindi, Urdu and Hindusthani for the convenience of the people as also the periodic training and examination of the teachers through Normal schools and the appointment of inspectors for proper supervision over the educational system.  

Adam thus did not share the anglicist zeal of Macaulay. That explains why the Minute of the Governor-General-in-Council, endorsing the appointment of Adam, did not bear the signature of Macaulay. Bentinck, who, without waiting for the results of Adam's investigations, gave effect to his plan of English education on March 7, 1835, was greatly influenced by Macaulay. Macaulay's ideas gained much ground. Lord Auckland was averse to revise the decision, and the General Committee of Public Instruction (GCPI) called Adam's scheme impracticable. Western education got the monopoly of state patronage and protection. Adam's plan of building up a national system of education based on language and culture of the people was not carried into effect. In

173. Ibid, Introduction, P. XXX.
1844 during Lord Hardinge's Governor-Generalship an attempt was once made to give effect to Adam's proposal. One hundred and one (101) "Hardinge schools" came to be established in rural districts. But for want of enthusiasm on the part of the local Government and various other reasons these schools proved a failure. 176

XI. English Education In Bengal: Public Opinion

In Bengal there was a great demand for English education. The Bengali "Muhurris", who conducted private coaching in English (in lieu of money) towards the close of the 18th century, may be said to have made pioneering attempts to introduce English education in Bengal. They imparted mere elementary knowledge of English, which was barely necessary for earning money in those days. 177 In the years to come, private initiatives to introduce English education, missionary and non-missionary, through private institutions fructified, although the Government did not come forward to patronize the new learning. Between 1780 and 1813 there came into existence many schools in Calcutta—say, schools of Archar, George Farley (near the 'Kabar-Khana'), Genard (in Meredith buildings) and of Lawson Bibi, Homes's

176. Adam, William, loc. cit., Introduction, p. XVIII.
Academy, Cunningham's Academy etc. Among the Bengalis, who started English schools, were Ramjay Dut, Anadi Ram Basu, Ramlochan Napit, Krishna Mohan Basu, Bhuban (Bhabani?) Dutt, and Shibu Dutt. A list of a few other institutions in and outside Calcutta is given below:

A. A list of Missionary Institutions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Founder</th>
<th>School/College</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William Carey &amp; his associates</td>
<td>The Baptist Mission College</td>
<td>Serampore</td>
<td>1818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Lord Bishop of Calcutta</td>
<td>A College</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert May</td>
<td>A School</td>
<td>Chinsura</td>
<td>1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hutteman</td>
<td></td>
<td>Boitkhanah, Calcutta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martine Bowle</td>
<td></td>
<td>Amratola, Calcutta</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aratoon Peters</td>
<td></td>
<td>Central Calcutta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Duff</td>
<td></td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>1830</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

178. Basu, Swapan, Banglay Nabachetanar Itihas (Bengali), p.9. Ramjay Dutt was perhaps the first among the Bengalis, who had started English school, Ibid.

### B. List of Non-Missionary Institutions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Founder</th>
<th>School/College</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>A School</td>
<td>Bhowanipore, a suburb of Calcutta</td>
<td>1800</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sherbourne</td>
<td>A School</td>
<td>Chitpore, Calcutta</td>
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<tr>
<td>Farewell</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lindstedt</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Drummond</td>
<td>Dharmatollah Academy</td>
<td>Dharmatollah, Calcutta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rammohun Roy</td>
<td>A School</td>
<td>Manicktollah Street, Calcutta</td>
<td>1822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Anglo-Hindu School</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macaulay (an</td>
<td>A School</td>
<td>Simla to the east</td>
<td>1817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Englishman, not</td>
<td></td>
<td>of Amherest Street,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord Macaulay of</td>
<td></td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bentinck's Council</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tejaschandra</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Burdwan</td>
<td>1828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gour Mohan Auddy</td>
<td>Oriental Seminary</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. The Baptist Missionaries of Serampore

Among the early promoters of English education were the Baptist Missionaries of Serampore. Rev. William Ward (1769-1823) was one of them. He was in large agreement with the Evangelicals. He considered the natives as men of degraded morals. He ascribed this degradation largely to the Hindu religion and tradition. "The formularies used before the images, so far from conveying any moral sentiment", he wrote, "have the greatest possible tendency to corrupt the mind with love of riches and pleasures." He added: "what must be the state of morals in a country, when its religious institutions and public shows ... satisfy vice." He contended that Hindu legends and mythology, interwoven with the quarrels and revels of the gods and goddesses, had obviously an adverse impact upon the morals of the Hindus. He argued that the pantheistic notion of the unity of individual soul and God, inculcated in the Hindoo writings, was to destroy the fear

181. Rev. William Ward observed: "It is a common sentiment among this people, that in secular transactions lying is absolutely necessary, and perjury is so common that it is impossible to rely upon the testimony of Hindu witnesses. The natives ridicule the idea of administering justice by oral testimony" - Ward, W., A View Of The History, Literature And Religion Of The Hindoos (abridged in two volumes, 3rd edition, 1817), Vol. I, p. XCIII.
182. Ibid, p. XV.
183. Ibid, p. L.
184. Ibid.
of His Judgement. He was highly critical of the Hindu customs of widowhood and Sati. He asked: "what must be the moral state of that country, where the sacred festivals and the very forms of religion lead men to every species of vice?" He held that the priest-craft was responsible for the continuance of abominable superstitions, which reduced the Hindus to abject degradation. Again, it was for the Brahmanical dominance that the Sudras had "to be contented with ignorance". He made a startling remark that "the victims of the Brahmanical religion" were annually no less than 10,500, or perhaps more. He again remarked, "The Hindoo system ... is the most puerile impure and bloody of any system of idolatry that was ever established on earth."

In his opinion the fascination of European orientalists like Sir William Jones for Hindu religious texts or literature was tantamount to partiality towards "heathenism" or towards Hindoo idolatry, which was degrading to man and

185. Ibid, p. Xci
186. Ibid, pp. XCIV-XCV.
187. Ibid, p. XCIV
188. Ibid, p. LXV, XCIii-Xciv
189. Ibid, p. xcvi
190. Ibid, p. xcviii
dishonourable to God, which Christianity did not allow. He maintained that Christianity inculcated the concept of a living God and the dread of His punishment. It was as if Christianity and British rule were to bring the golden millennium to India.

In a letter to the Right Honourable J.C. Villiers, "On The Education of the Natives of India" in 1820 Ward wrote that there was nothing in the Hindu educational system, Hindu institutions or Hindu religion, which would promote virtuous dispositions among them. He urged the introduction of Christian scriptural learning for the moral improvement of the Hindus. He also stood for the dissemination of English learning and scientific instruction. It is noteworthy that he desired the

194. Ward wrote: "Let the indispensable darkness cover them till the Judgement of the great day" - Ibid, p. XCiv. He wrote further: "The state of things seem(s) to explain the mysterious dispensations of Providence in permitting the Hindoos to remain long in darkness, and in causing them to suffer so much formerly under their Mahomadan oppressors. The murder of so many myriads of victims has armed heaven against them. Let us hope that now in the midst of Judgement a glorious Providence has remembered Mercy, and placed them under the fosterly care of the British Government that they may enjoy happiness to which they have been hitherto strangers", Ibid, p. XCvi.
formation of a medical college for the instruction in medical science and enlightened education of Hindu females with the assistance of English ladies. 194(d) He held that Western learning and science would help the Hindus in emancipating them from the bondage of ignorance, prejudices and superstitions and elevating them in the scale of morality and civilization. He added that it would thereby provide men of information and character for the government service (even in the lowest offices) and secure the loyalty of the natives to the Government 194(e) - a consideration, which weighed with the Home authorities, Bentinck and Macaulay. He, however, advocated English medium of instruction in western knowledge and science for "the most opulent and respectable families in the metropolis of India" and verna­cular medium for the people at large 194(f) anticipating Macaulay's idea in an inchoate form.

It is noteworthy that Joshua Marshman in his pamphlet, "Hints Relating To Native Schools" (1816), held that the mother tongue should be the medium of instruction and that the Bengalis be given learning or instruction in science through Bengali. 194(g)

William Carey (1781-1831) published translation of the Bible in Bengali or in Indian languages\(^{194(h)}\) obviously for the purpose of propagating the cause of Christianity in the country. But Carey, who was a Professor of Bengali and Sanskrit and a teacher of Marathi in the Fort William College, provided impetus to the composition of works in Bengali or in oriental languages.\(^{194(i)}\)

J.C. Marshman (1794-1877) had no less contempt for Hindu religion and tradition than Ward. He, however, composed historical works on India and Bengal and edited the Bengali monthly named the *Digdarshana* (April, 1818)\(^{194(j)}\) and the Bengali weekly, the *Samachar Durpan* (May, 1818).

\(^{194(h)}\) Asit Kumar Bandopadhyay writes that the Bible was translated into forty Indian Languages - Bandopadhyay, Asit Kumar *Unabimsa Satabdir Prathamardha - O- Bangla Sahitya* (Bengali), 4th edition, p. 37.

\(^{194(i)}\) Ibid, pp. 55 & 59.

\(^{194(j)}\) Bandopadhyay, Asit Kumar, loc. cit., p.41. Sengupta, Gouranga Gopal, op. cit., p. 274.
B. David Hare (1775-1842)

Besides the Baptist Missionaries of Serampore, a number of civilians, European and native, took an important part in promoting English education in Bengal. David Hare was one of them. To improve the condition of the country "nothing appeared to him more essential than a dissemination of European learning and science among her people".\textsuperscript{195} He regarded western learning as "a far more effective means of enlightening their minds" and "as the best means for social and moral upliftment."\textsuperscript{196}

But David Hare did not ignore oriental learning. He was a member of the Calcutta School Book Society (1817) which was founded with the object of making available good text books, both in English and Indian languages, suitable for schools (at a cheap price or sometimes distributed freely). He was a European Secretary to the Calcutta School Society, founded shortly after the establishment of the School Book Society, with an object of the reorientation of the indigenous schools along

\textsuperscript{195.} Mitra, Peary Chand, \textit{A Biographical Sketch Of David Hare}, p. 39.

\textsuperscript{196.} Ibid, pp. 12 & 14.
the modern line. In these societies his intimate associate was Raja Radhakanta Deb. 197

C. Radhakanta Deb (1793-1867)

Radhakanta Deb, the son of Gopimohan Deb (of Sobhabazar, Calcutta), belonged to the newly rising landed aristocrats of Bengal. He had a fairly good knowledge of English. But he was an accomplished scholar in Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. He was eager to introduce English learning among the natives. He and his father, Gopi Mohan Deb, played a key role in the foundation of the Hindu College. But he was opposed to colonization or settlement of Europeans in India. He was conservative at heart. He was greatly interested in oriental learning. He was the author of the famous Sanskrit Dictionary, "Sabdakalpadruma". He was a member of the Calcutta School Society and the native Secretary to the Calcutta School Book Society. He compiled, translated and corrected several publications for the School Book Society. In 1821 he published a Bengali spelling book after Lindley Murray's plan, and also an abridgement thereof in 1827. He translated a collection of

fables (Nitikatha) from English into Bengali and revised
the Bengali translation of an English book named *Easy
Introduction of Astronomy*. He made his house a depository
of the Society's publications, distributed them among
the natives and persuaded the school masters to use
them. 198

D. **Rammohun Roy (1772(?)/1774-1833)**

Rammohun Roy took great initiative to spread English
learning. A Zamindar of Radhanagar (then in Burdwan
district, but now in Hugli district), Rammohun, after
his arrival in Calcutta, got involved in business and
commerce. He acquired knowledge of English, Arabic,
Persian and Sanskrit in *Calcutta*. 199 He was in favour of
the Zamindari system, the European settlement in the
interior of India and flow of European skill and capital
to India, and English education. He was a liberal in
socio-religious conviction. But he did not stand for

198. Bengal Jogesh Chandra, "Radha Kanta Deb" (Bengali)
*Sahitya Sadhak Charitmala*, Vol. 2, pp. 7-9;
*The Calcutta Review* Vol. 45, 1867, pp. 319-320;
Kopf, David, *British Orientalism and Bengal Renaissance*, The Dynamics of Indian Modernization,
1773-1835, pp. 194-195; Also Radhakanta Deb's
letter to Secretary to Government in the Secret
Political and Persian Department, dated November 9,
1833, Home Public Department, November 25, 1833,
pp. 490-491.

radical and violent change of the Indian society along the western line.

He founded an "English Free School for the education of Hindoo children on a liberal scale" and the Anglo-Hindu School (1822) with the help of his friend, Adam. He actively helped Alexander Duff, a Scottish Missionary, in establishing a school in 1830, and even procured students for it. It is striking that in 1823 he sent a letter of protest to Lord Amherest against the proposed Sanskrit College of Calcutta. One of his chief contentions was that the Sanskrit system of instruction was to load the minds of the youth with grammatical niceties of little or no practical use to the possessers of it or to the society. He criticised it as a scholastic system to be of little or no practical utility. He stressed the paramount importance of Western learning and science as being useful and the consequent superiority of it over the Sanskrit learning. He also argued that if the Baconian philosophy of knowledge was not allowed to replace the old system of schoolmen in Europe, she would certainly not have advanced in learning and civilization. He, therefore, appealed to the Government

to promote a liberal system of instruction embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry and Anatomy with other useful sciences, keeping in view the improvement of Indians. 201 The proposal for a course in Anatomy suggests that he was contemplating the introduction of medical and applied science.

The letter of Rammohun was passed on to Lord Amherest by R. Heber, the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, and remained unanswered. But the Committee of Public Instruction regarded it as representing one individual alone whose opinions were known to be hostile to those entertained by all his countrymen. 202

Rammohun was, however, not an anglicist. Inspite of his trenchant criticism of Sanskrit learning in the above letter, he showed a flair of respect for it. He wrote:

"If it were thought necessary to perpetuate this language


(Sanskrit) for the sake of valuable information it contains, this might be more easily accomplished by other means than the establishment of a new Sanskrit College." In 1826, i.e., three years after the despatch of the above letter, he established a Vedanta College in Calcutta with the object of imparting Vedantic teachings along with English learning through Bengali or Sanskrit medium.

Thus dominant public opinion in Bengal was not favourable for a purely anglicist experiment. In fact, the Baptist Missionaries of Serampore, W. Adam and a number of educated Bengalis lent support to the orientalist idea of vernacular medium of instruction in the Anglo-oriental controversy of the early thirties - a controversy which may be said to have originated in the debate between the Evangelicals and the English conservatives over English education at the beginning of the 19th Century. It was amidst such controversies that Derozio was appointed a teacher in the Hindu College.

XII. The Hindu College: The Appointment of Derozio:

The Hindu College in which Derozio was a teacher in English and History was an experiment of the orientalists or the pro-orientalist elements. There is, however, a controversy regarding the foundation of the Hindu College. The theory that the College was the brain-child of David Hare and that Rammohan Roy had a role in the foundation of the College has been challenged by Dr. R.C. Majumdar. Dr. Majumdar is of the view that "it was, really speaking, conceived by the orthodox Hindus and established by the orthodox Hindus, for the orthodox Hindus". In his opinion, the credit for bringing the Institution into life "belongs to Sir Hyde East alone, and not to David Hare or Rammohun Roy". For his view he relies mainly on Hyde East's record of the first meeting held in his house on May 14, 1816, and on the rule of admission into the College. But Prof. Dilip Kumar Biswas is not prepared to accept Dr. Majumdar's view that David Hare or Rammohun had no connection with the foundation of the Hindu College.

206. Ibid. Hyde East was the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Calcutta.
207. Ibid.
Both scholars, however, agree on one point, i.e. the orthodox Hindus had an important role to play in the establishment of the College. David Kopf's researches point out that the orthodox Hindus like Radhakanta Deb or the orthodox Pundits, who attended the meeting held in Hyde East's house, were orientalists rather than westerners.209

The Hindu College was started in a hired house of Gorachand Bysack on January 20, 1817.210 It was an Institution "in which the sons of the Hindus might receive tuition not only in the Asiatic languages and sciences but in those of Europe, particularly in the language and literature of England."211 The proposed curriculum of the College decided upon at the meeting of the Hindu inhabitants in East's house on May 14, 1816 was to include both English and oriental learning. In fact, the syllabus of the lower classes comprised of English, Bengali, writing and Arithmetic, Hindu and European. In the upper division western history, western literature and the natural sciences were stressed from the beginning. But in stressing


211. GCPI (Proceedings and Correspondence, March 1-December, 30, 1828), Vol. 6, 1828, Paragraph 18, p.219.
these subjects it was not the aim of the Hindu promoters to anglicize the Hindu youths. There were oriental departments where Bengali and Persian were taught to the English educated youths. Besides, they were provided with the facility of studying Sanskrit in the Sanskrit College.

The Hindu College Committee was composed mostly of conservative Hindus. They did not see English education a threat to Hindu culture and tradition. They believed that such education served as a stimulus for changing indigenous culture from within. They were very close to the English conservatives in their idea of gradual and peaceful reorientation of native society from within rather than violent and sweeping change from without.

The College Committee at the time of Derozio's appointment included men like Radhakanta Deb, a conservative, Prosunno Cookar Tagore, a liberal and a follower of Rammohun, Wilson and David Hare. The dominance of the

212. Sir Hyde East, who was struck up with enthusiasm of the prominent pundits and Sanskrit scholars for the introduction of English literature and science at the meeting held in his house on May 14, 1816, wrote: "When they were about to depart, the Head Pundit, in the name of himself and others, said that they rejoiced in having lived to see the day when literature (many parts of which had formerly been cultivated with considerable success but which are now extinct) was about to be revived with great lustre and prospect." - Cited in Majumdar, R.C. (ed.) Bharetiya Bidya Bhaban Series, Vol. X, British Paramountcy And Indian Renaissance, Part II, p.33, Kopf, David, op. cit., p. 182.

conservative elements over the Committee was proved by the dismissal of Derozio (April, 1831) against whom several charges were brought by Ram Comul Sen, a leader of the conservative Hindus and a friend of H.H. Wilson. Hare and Wilson did nothing to prevent Derozio's dismissal.

Derozio was recruited when Wilson was the visitor of the College. As we have noted before, Wilson's programme of revitalization of the College was the promotion of both English and Oriental learning.

It is noteworthy that Derozio owned his appointment to the backing of Dr. John Grant, the editor of the India Gazette. Dr. J.P. Grant was a medicalman in the service of the East India Company. It is not unnatural that Grant was known to H.H. Wilson, who was originally appointed a medicalman in the Company's military department. Grant was the editor of the India Gazette from August, 1822 to December, 1828. In December, 1828 he withdrew from the editorial work in compliance with the order of the Directors of the East India Company prohibiting the Company's servants from having any relation with the press. Under Grant the India Gazette was a paper of "established reputation"

216. Ibid, pp. 5-6.
with very "extensive" circulation and "strongly whiggish in politics."\(^\text{217}\) In 1827 the gleeful note of the India Gazette on an opportunity of repeating an experiment made in London with chloride of lime\(^\text{217(a)}\) is revealing. It is likely that Grant was in favour of flow of British skill and enterprise into India. He loved English culture.\(^\text{218}\) He was no less evangelical in zeal. Grant was among those who circulated the story of Derozio's death-bed recantation of his avowed infidelity.\(^\text{219}\)

The connection between Grant and Derozio was obviously made when Derozio had been serving as an assistant in his uncle's indigo plantation in Bhagalpur wherefrom he sent his poetical contributions to the India Gazette under the pseudonym of "Juvenis."\(^\text{220}\) It is no

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\(^{217}\) Ibid, p. 6.

After the withdrawal of Grant the India Gazette was edited by W. Adam since 1829. Ultimately it passed into the control of Dwarakanath Tagore in 1834 (Ibid, pp. 6-7). The Paper advocated colonization and free trade in 1832 (The India Gazette, January 27, 1832).

\(^{217(a)}\) The India Gazette quoted in the Government Gazette August 13, 1827.

\(^{218}\) He was a man of great information, and of infinite quotation; could rap you out a paragraph of 'Cicero' or half a page of Bolingbroke; simmered easily into poetry; and after dinner on his legs could pour you forth a stream of rhetoric, which if it had any religion in it, would have done for a Scotch sermon - Edwards, Thomas, loc. cit., pp. 28-29.

\(^{219}\) Madge, E.W. op. cit., p. 16 (Footnote).

less significant that Derozio wrote in favour of coloniza-
tion in the India Gazette.\textsuperscript{221} Gloseness between Derozio and
Grant thus began to grow.\textsuperscript{222} As such Grant appointed Derozio
the sub-editor of the India Gazette and backed his appoint-
ment in the Hindu College. It was as an expression of his
gratitude to Grant that Derozio dedicated the first volume
of his poetry (published in 1827) to him.\textsuperscript{223}

It was quite likely that there would be no objection
of the Home Government to Derozio's appointment. Two
volumes of Derozio's poems were published - 'poems' in
1827 and 'the Fakeer of Jungheera, a metrical tale and
other poems' in 1828. There must be many more poems strewn
here and there in contemporary papers. It is stated in
an article in the India Gazette that in 1827 he published
poems, which attracted the notice and excited the applause
of a section of the London Press.\textsuperscript{224} Despite the criticism

\textsuperscript{221.} Edwards, Thomas, "Selection From The Inedited Prose

\textsuperscript{222.} Edwards, Thomas, op. cit., p. 28.


\textsuperscript{224.} Madge, E.W. loc. cit., p. 6.
of his poems, particularly of the "Fakeer of Junghera", the British Press - The Oriental Herald, for example, stated that Derozio developed into a poet of promise in circumstances apparently the most unfavourable to poetic excellence. It is but natural that the Home Government or the Court of Directors, being swayed by the pressure of public opinion, would put its seal of approval upon the appointment of Derozio as a teacher in English and History in the Hindu College.

Derozio had certain unambiguous views concerning the value of English education. He wrote an article titled 'Education In India' in August 1826, i.e., about three months after his appointment in May, 1826. In this article he asked - "who ... will deny that Education in India is in a very backward stage?" He added - "An appeal to the East Indians to discontinue the practice of sending their children to England for instructions is wholly useless until

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education here assumes that tone which will preclude the necessity of adopting the useful method".\textsuperscript{228} He added further: "No parent (how patriotic so ever he might be) would educate his children in India merely to try the experiment of improving the tone of education thereby".\textsuperscript{229} Again, "will he risk the welfare of his child by educating him in his native country, while advantages to be derived from foreign education are very superior?"\textsuperscript{230} Finally, "I have a brother in Scotland, where he is to study a profession which here he could never learn."\textsuperscript{231} Three things are worth noting in this connection. Firstly, in the above article he lamented the indifference of the people at large to the backward state of native education\textsuperscript{231(a)} but did not put forward any definite suggestion for the improvement of it. Secondly, he was alive to the superiority of foreign education (particularly education prevalent in England) system of over the native/education in points of advantage and utility. Thirdly, he was chiefly concerned with the interests and prospects of the East Indians, though he wrote- "I am proud to acknowledge my country".\textsuperscript{232} At any rate, the article, insisting on the necessity of foreign education

\textsuperscript{228} Ibid, p. 107.
\textsuperscript{229} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{230} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{231} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{231(a)} Ibid, p. 105.
\textsuperscript{232} Ibid., p. 107.
for the East Indians suggests a limited view with regard to foreign or English education. This might be ascribable to his soci-cultural background.

XIII. Derozio: From His Early Years To His College Service

Henry Louis Vivian Derozio was brought up in an English cultural background. Born in a Eurasian or East Indian family on April 18, 1809, in Lower Circular Road of Calcutta, Derozio was the son of Francis Derozio, a son of Michael Derozio (a Portuguese Merchant and Agent in Calcutta), the Chief Accountant in the mercantile house of Messrs James Scott and Co. in Calcutta. His mother was Sophia Johnson, an English lady, a sister of Arthur Johnson (1782-1847), an indigo planter in Bhagalpur. Derozio lost his mother in 1815 and was brought up by his step mother, an English lady of good family, education and common sense.

Among Derozio's playmates were the elder lads of the De Souza family, eminent for its philanthropy, Charles Porte, the Eurasian painter whose portrait of Lord Metcalfe adorns the Calcutta Town Hall, Wale Byrne whose

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brother, Colonel John Byrne, C.B. was successively A.D.C. to Lord William Bentinck and Auckland, and William Kirkpatrick. Their amusement was cricketing on the Maidan in the winter, and on hot-weather morning, swimming in the Baman Basti Tank (identified by some with the present Victoria Square). 238

Derozio received his education in the western intellectual tradition of David Drummond's (1787-1843) Dharamatollah Academy. The Academy taught not merely English literature but also English dancing. 239 He was educated in the Institution for eight years from the age of six (i.e. from 1815). He attracted attention of all for good progress in his studies and received "his medal with a descant on his merits from his admiring master". 240 A favourite student of Drummond, Derozio shared his master's interest not in classics and Mathematics but in modern European literature. He soon became intimately acquainted with European, particularly English literature and thought as expressed in the works of poets, novelists, dramatists

238. Ibid, pp. 4-5.
and philosophers of England and Scotland. 241

Thomas Edwards speaks highly of his attainment in English literature. In his opinion, before the age of twenty six years his acquaintance with the literature and thought of England (and so far as those could be attained through the medium of an English translation) was remarkable. His knowledge of the best thinkers and writers of European celebrity was of such a character as to mark him off, at that early age, as a man not in any degree inferior to, and in some respects, far in advance of any of his contemporaries of any nationality in India. 242 This is a tall claim. He was certainly not "in advance" of Raja Rammohun Roy, who was an intellectual giant.

Till the last day of his short-life, poetry and philosophy were the chief charms of his existence. There were two places in India where the most recent works issued from the press of Britain could be found. These were the shelves of the most enterprising book-sellers and the library of Derozio — frequently the latter alone. 243

In fact, he became much interested in English literature. While a mere school boy, he ably recited Shylock


from the *Merchant of Venice*. He also took part in the dramatic performances organized by his school. Drummond started a small theatre in the Dharmatollah Academy. The drama named *Douglas* (a tragedy popular to Europeans at that time) was staged on January 20, 1824. Derozio wrote "a highly appropriate and neatly written prologue" to the drama. He himself recited the Prologue before the audience. In a long article on Derozio in the *Calcutta Literary Gazette* of November 10, 1833, Dr. John Grant recorded: "the prologue was recited in a very becoming manner. His very correct accent was extraordinary".  

After leaving the school, Derozio entered the mercantile firm of Messrs. James Scott and Co. where his father was holding the responsible position of Chief Accountant. But the cash and ledger had no charm for him. After a couple of years he resigned the drudgery of desk to join the Tarapur indigo concern belonging to Arthur Johnson (born at Ringhood, Hampshire), who had served for some years in the Royal Navy before settling in India. The natural scene and scenery of Bhagalpur kindled poetic fancy  

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in Derozio and inspired him to scribe the verses which he, as noted before, attempted in his school life. 

From his uncle's plantation at Bhagalpur Derozio had the opportunity of publishing his poems in the India Gazette edited by Grant. The letters that passed between Derozio and Grant are unfortunately lost. They are, however, characterized by some as highly creditable to both, and marked by high chivalrous feeling and admiration on both sides, and mutual respect. Pecuniary matters were touched on with a delicacy of phraseology and feeling which was not common. Derozio and Grant agreed to differ and in their difference mutually respected each other. Of Grant it has been said: "He rocked the cradle of his genius and followed his hearse" to the grave. The unexpected encouragement, which Derozio received from the editor of the India Gazette, induced him to venture on the publication of his poems. Accordingly, he came down to Calcutta from Bhagalpur in 1826 and hurried the first volume through the press, which was published in 1827. The reception it met with was

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encouraging. In the following year he not only reprinted his former volume but added another ambitions poem entitled 'The Fakeer of Jungheera'. Two volumes were received by the public with great approbation and Derozio's fame was supposed by many to be firmly established. Shortly, he was appointed assistant editor of the Indian Gazette and editor of the Calcutta Literary Gazette. He was also a contributor to the Calcutta Magazine, the Indian Magazine and the Bengal Annual. As a result he found himself famous in the literary circle of Calcutta. It was at this time that he obtained an appointment in the Hindu College through the kind assistance of Dr. John Grant. In May, 1826 Derozio was appointed a teacher in English and History in the Hindu College.

249. Edwards, Thomas, op. cit., p. 28.
250. Supplement to the Calcutta Gazette, November 23, 1829.
Derozio as a teacher and thinker was greatly influenced by his teacher, David Drummond. Drummond whose departure from Scotland was due to his strained relations with his brothers was a teacher and later the proprietor of the Dharmatollah Academy. Drummond who claimed to have improved the tone of education in the Academy, was a versatile scholar keenly interested in English literature, classics and mathematics. Derozio shared his "Guru's" interest in English literature, though not in classics and mathematics.

Drummond encouraged theatrical performances among his students, although he expressed unwillingness to take part in Mr. Wallace's (a proprietor of the Dharmatollah Academy while Drummond was a teacher) Theatre. Drummond established a theatre-hall for the performances of his students at the expense of 3000 rupees. One peculiar feature (borrowed from England and hitherto unknown here) in the system of education pursued at the Academy was the teaching of dancing.


257. For details Chapter IV, Section II. p. 203.

as Cawper called it "the turning out of the toes". Derozio evinced interest in theatrical performances, if not in dancing. Of course, he did not encourage his students to stage English drama for a consideration of his own.

The free atmosphere in which European, Eurasian and native lads strove together for academic honour in Drummond's Academy greatly impressed Derozio.

Drummond spared no expense to further the interests and accelerate the progress of his pupils. As each class was called up, he detailed minutely the studies and progress of the lands, and passed a high praise on their assiduity and application. Derozio was impressed by his teacher's keen interest in the pursuit of his students.

As a man Drummond was amiable and courteous. He was foppish in his style of life. These personal traits of Drummond influenced his student, Derozio.

260. For details, Chapter IV, Section II. pp. 203-204.
262. For details, Chapter III, Section I. pp. 163-164.
265. For details, Chapter IV, Section IV. p. 213.
267. For details, Chapter IV, Sections II & IV. pp. 208, 213.
As a teacher Drummond observed:

I am determined to pay every attention to the religious and moral instruction of the boys—which had as yet been little attended to. I will take them to church with me on Sunday, and assume every decency of demeanour; this, too mean either for Mr. Measures or Wallace will not hurt my pride; and while it will be fulfilling my duty towards God, will also be well conceived in the opinion of men. 268

The above observation of Drummond tends to contradict the opinion of Thomas Edwards about the secular system of education in the Academy which was, according to Edwards, a cause of the lack of the popularity of the Institution. 269 But one cannot safely say that there was any definite provision for moral and religious instruction in the Academy. C.J. Montague's observation with regard to the decline and fall of the Academy that "men perceived the necessity of attending to the moral and religious education of children" 270 is revealing. According to Thomas Edwards, Drummond was looked on by many of the orthodox inhabitants of Calcutta as, it not an open disciple of David Hume, a very doubtful person

269. For Edwards's opinion Edwards, Thomas, loc. cit., p. 15.
who might imbue his pupils with independence of thought and lead them to reason on subjects which they had been taught to accept with implicit faith.\textsuperscript{271} Edwards adds: "The feeling amongst many parents was that, on the whole, there was some danger of the faith, implicit, unreasoned faith, of their fathers being unsettled by the fearless and independent thinking for themselves which characterised some of Drummond's pupils."\textsuperscript{272} The following observation of Edwards is revealing:

\begin{quote}
Tradition and antiquity were to him no authority; and he built up his system of faith and the universe on a basis not much broader than the 'cogito ergo sum' of Descartes; but he had neither health nor leisure to think it out and formulate it. Had both been granted him, the name of David Drummond would in all likelihood have ranked with that of his own great countryman, David Hume, in the roll of Philosophical Sceptics.\textsuperscript{273}
\end{quote}

Drummond had the power of imparting the culture and power of independent thought in an unusual degree, and on none of his pupils did the more distinctly impress his own individuality than on Young Derozio.\textsuperscript{274}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[271] Edwards, Thomas, op. cit., p. 5.
\item[272] Ibid.
\item[273] Ibid, pp. 19-20.
\item[274] Ibid, p. 5.
\end{footnotes}
Drummond had profound acquaintance with metaphysics. He read all the writers on metaphysics and had a very clear and far-sighted knowledge of their opinions. His acuteness in metaphysics was displayed in a very eminent degree in his "Objections To Phrenology". One of his chief contentions was that "the very essence of Phrenology involves the abandonment both of reason and memory." With an enquiring mind, he analysed every question, until he denuded it of all adventitious circumstances and held it up to view, naked and alone. It may be thought that Derozio derived from Drummond his interest in metaphysics.

Drummond was a good debator. He, however, "fancied himself infallible." Derozio, like Drummond, was keenly interested in debate and discussion on an issue. But like his "Guru", Derozio was not intolerant of other's opinion. He allowed ample freedom of debate and discussion to his students.

Drummond had keen interest in Journalism. He along with Derozio edited the Kaleidoscope since January 24, 1828.

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278. Ibid, pp. 212-213.
279. For details Chapter III, Section III. pp. 174-176.
280. For details Chapter II, Section III (Footnote - 34). p. 106.
It may be noted that towards the close of his career Drummond conducted the **Weekly Examiner** (March, 1840 - July, 1841). 281

Drummond was a poet of some note. It is likely that the close contact of Derozio with Drummond stirred up the former's poetic fancy. In fact, Derozio, while a student of Drummond's Academy, attempted poetic composition. 282 C.J. Montague writes - "The Fakeer of Jungheera" received emendations and additions from the Muse of Drummond. 283 But biographers of Derozio like Thomas Edwards and E.W. Madge are silent on this point.

Among Drummond's poems were "Elegy", "Lines To The Memory Of Robert Burns", and "Address Of Death". 284 Drummond seems to have imbued the mind of Derozio with love of Robert Burns.

In fine, Drummond composed an ode in honour of Charles Metcalfe who restored liberty to the press of India in 1835. 285 In the present state of our knowledge

nothing is known about Derozio's view of the freedom of the press, though a writer in the *Kaleidoscope* of 1829 did not favour the idea of the liberty of the press. 286

However, it may be said that Derozio, who kept up a close touch with Drummond till the close of his life, was largely influenced by him. Derozio came to play his part in 19th century Bengal at a time when there was going on an educational controversy or political and economic agitation of a number of Bengali intellectuals and of the Eurasians.

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286. For details Chapter II, Section III. p. 110.