TOWARDS A NEW POLICY

Policy

1. Education, under Lord William Bentinck:

In this chapter an attempt has been made to examine the various aspects of the British educational policy in Bengal from the promulgation of Bentinck Resolution, 7 March 1935 to Lord Stanley's Despatch, 7 April 1859. The General Committee of Public Instruction was set up in 31 July 1823 to chalk out education policy in Bengal presidency in terms of the Charter Act of 1813. The General Committee's support to the Oriental programme of education in keeping with the tradition built up since the administration of Warren Hastings, was however opposed by the Court of Directors in their Despatch, dated 18 February 1824, to the Governor-General in Council, Bengal which pressed the Government in favour of the use of English and the concept of education as the acquisition of "Useful Knowledge". The General Committee of public instruction tried to defend their Orientalist policy in a letter to the Governor-General, dated 18 August 1824 by saying that popular feeling was against this innovation and that Oriental lore was excellent pabulum.

Rammohan Roy in a letter 11 Dec. 1923, to Governor-General Lord Amherst, boldly asked for the introduction of Mathematics, natural philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy and
other useful sciences which the natives of Europe carried to a degree of perfection that raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world." The Anglo-Oriental educational controversy, which came to a head in 1823, dragged on and finally led to a crisis in 1835. Bentinck thus inherited the dual tradition in respect of educational matters - revival and patronage of classical Indian literature and science; and promotion of Western literature and science. The crucial question that awaited Bentinck's decision was whether Government educational grant would be exclusively devoted to the cultivation of Western literature and science or Oriental literature and science.

Bentinck Resolution, 7 March 1835, was once called "the most important fact in the history of English education in India", set at rest for the time being the rival claims of two distinct educational views without any pretence of being the basis of a well-thought-out scheme of education. With Bentinck a new epoch began, that of the subordination of Oriental to European ideas of education. The issues involved in the new education policy have been studied from two distinct points of view - educational and administrative which have been analysed here in detail.

It would be a naive assumption to suppose that the controversy came to an end with the Resolution of Bentinck.
It lingered on for about five years and was finally closed in a Minute, dated 24 November 1839, by Lord Auckland who was then the Governor-General of India. By 1839 much of the heat of the Anglo-Orientalist controversy had cooled down. The Orientalist party had come to realise the futility of resisting the spread of English, it had accordingly moderated their demands. The ground was, therefore, quite ready for a compromise.

The next important landmark in the evolution of British educational policy in Bengal was the Resolution of Lord Hardinge (10 October 1844). It was formulated mainly to add an artificial incentive to the general desire for English education and conceived in the spirit of Bentinck's Resolution, by which Western knowledge was made sum and substance of new education in Bengal. It does not accord with Auckland's more moderate views which were designed to reconcile conflicting opinions and to correct the undue bias in favour of English. C.B. Travelyan justified the Government support to English education in terms of the need of the Civil Service for natives of a higher type and better education. "We want native functionaries of new stamp", he argued, "trained in a new school; and adding to acuteness, patience, and intimate acquaintance with the language and manners of the people which may always be expected in natives,
some degree of the enlightened views and integrity which distinguish the European officers.  

The educational Despatch of 19 July 1854, drafted during Sir Charles Wood's Presidency of the Board of Control, forms a great landmark in the history of education in modern India. If the beginnings of English education on a firm basis are to be traced to the momentous decision of 1835, the evolution of a comprehensive and co-ordinated system of education had to wait for the Despatch of 1854. It set forth an education scheme for all India, far more comprehensive than the local or Supreme Governments could propose.

Sir Charles Wood saw the problem of education as integral to the regeneration of India Society. The spread of education did not depend upon a process of filtration from a class of "westernised" interpreters. The emphasis that he gave to useful and practical knowledge in elementary and higher education and his conviction that progress must be made without jettisoning the existing languages and religions, gave promise of substantial achievement in short time.

The Education Despatch of 7 April 1859 was a fitting close to the crucial decades in which the foundations of the modern education system were laid. While rejecting the theory of Downward Filtration, the Despatch of 1859
emphasized the importance of direct support of the state for mass education through vernacular schools and rehearsed the arguments in favour of strengthening the educational base. In the post-Mutiny financial straits of the Government, the best way of implementing the policy of 1854 was to build up the lower by depriving the higher. But these pious wishes for carrying out primary education came to little when funds ran low, and Bengal was left with a top-heavy educational system.

Bentinck's accession to the Governor-Generalship in 1828 foreshadowed the definitive educational policy for which his administration is particularly remembered. Bentinck's Minute of 30 May, 1829 showed where his heart lay in educational matters. He took great pride in the spread of European enlightenment among the Calcutta Hindus, paid frequent visits to the Hindu college during the brief intervals when he was not touring in upper India, and was reputed to possess a marked bias for English education. Having induced the Ministry in Westminster to open the civil service to natives, he planned further reforms and toyed with the idea of substituting English for Persian as the official language of India. His views regarding native education were shared by Charles Trevelyan, and other influential officials including Andrew Stirling, Persian Secretary to the Government, and Holt Mackenzie, Secretary in the General Department.
The immediate background of the composition of Macaulay Minute, 2 February 1835, was an impasse over the question of maintenance of an English class for the students of the Calcutta Madrasa and, in a larger sense, of what should be the suitable medium and contents of higher education sponsored by the Government. The outcome was the adoption of a policy by the Government, on 7 March 1835 which went far beyond anything which the matters in dispute demanded.

The Resolution of 7 March 1835 said: "His Lordship in Council is of the opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone."

It is obvious from the terms of the above Resolution that Bentinck's aim was not only to extend English education to the furthest limits possible but to weaken by drastic cut in the assistance from Government to the Oriental colleges. The Resolution indeed stopped short of dealing an immediate deathblow to the Oriental seminaries but nonetheless the intention was clearly to discourage them by a gradual withdrawal of what Bentinck called "artificial encouragement" to Oriental studies. The idea was, by
depriving those seminaries of stipends and by discontinuing the appointment of new professors to vacancies except in a case of absolute necessity, to extirpate by withdrawal of government support. They were thus virtually labelled as institutions that had outlived their utility if ever they had any, and the mere right to exist in the corner of an unsympathetic world till they died a natural death was conceded to them. 17

So far we have analysed the Resolution as a formal declaration for the introduction of English language and education on a comprehensive scale. It was not, indeed, a pattern of constructive statesmanship; but it had the redeeming virtue of definiteness, while that of the Orientalists had been hesitating and even haphazard. The Orientalists, instead of aiming at a synthesis of the two cultures - Hindu and Muslim, tried to cater for people with different tastes and needs by maintaining two types of institutions. Their fascination for Oriental culture had been genuine; but they had no conviction that in it were to be sought the real meaning and the latent possibilities of social structures that they saw around them. 18 The Anglicists, on the other hand, had a decided advantage over the Orientalists because they examined the defects of Indian society from the viewpoint of the West and came to the
conclusion that the diffusion of the new light should reach most, if not all, of them.

At first glance, the Resolution appeared to have covered only the matters under dispute between the Anglicists and the Orientalists, namely, the proper use of money assigned to education from the public funds. That money it was finally settled, was to be used for the spread of Western "knowledge taught through the medium of English languages." This new policy of the Govt. was gradually unfolded by several laws and regulations found in the main proceedings of the General Committee of Public Instruction. The first implication of the new policy was the priority which was assigned to Western literature and science as the proper content of higher education and to this object all educational funds would be devoted. The traditional learning of India, described in the Resolution as "a branch of learning which in the natural course of things would be superseded by more useful studies," was replaced in favour of the learning of the West, and therefore if Indians still desired to cultivate the old learning, they must do so at their own expense. Secondly, Western literature and science were to be taught through the medium of English language, because the classical languages were too remote from the mass of the people and the vernaculars
were too crude to be a suitable medium of instruction for the new learning. Thirdly, for administrative convenience, English was to become the official language in place of Persian and the language of record in the Courts of law. Fourthly, the doctrine of Downward Filtration of knowledge from the higher classes to the masses was adopted and it was therefore resolved to use the available funds to encourage higher English education rather than elementary education. By these means, it was hoped that a knowledge of the English language and of "useful knowledge" in the Western sense, would percolate from the upper to the lower classes, and that the classical Hindu and Mohammedan systems would be steadily undermined.

The great significance of the new education policy was that Indian culture and education was of no value, and was ripe, not for enrichment by Western knowledge, but for replacement by Western civilization. Traditional Indian educational institutions and ideas were labelled as vested interests only and not as things of intrinsic value. This is the great significance of the Resolution of 7 March, 1835 which was a radical departure from the existing education policy. The new policy was sharply different from the Orientalist approach to education which held (in 1835) that Indian culture though not comparable to that of Europe, had a value of its own. A second significance
of the new policy was that the only possible medium for the new learning was the English language. This meant that not only the classical languages were set aside, but the claims of vernaculars, ably championed by Brian Hodgson, were also neglected. It is true that they were not altogether ignored. Macaulay, at the end of his Minute, suggested the use of vernaculars as a medium of education after their enrichment by English as they were not sufficiently developed to be suitable vehicles of education immediately. Hodgson's argument that the development of vernaculars comes from their patronage by Government was disregarded. It was further assumed that the study of Persian was entirely dependent on its official use in revenue and judicial matters. A prominent member of the General Committee of Public Instruction, Holt Mackenzie, had pointed out that Persian "was essentially a foreign language" and doubted that the intrinsic claims of Persian as the fund of useful knowledge would seem to be even less than those of Sanskrit and Arabic. The Orientalists did not oppose the introduction of Western knowledge. As H.T. Prinsep explained their policy thus, "the true principle in his opinion is that of leaving the natives to choose their own courses of education and to encourage all equally on the part of Govt. making it our business to give to them the direction to true science and good taste which the
superior lights of Europe ought to enable us to bestow."$^{25}$

What the Orientalists wanted was for the two systems to exist side by side and for the old gradually to assimilate the new by means of translations and mutual intercourse. In this they were following Burke's$^{25a}$ teaching of the supreme importance of tradition as against the new Benthamite doctrine of improving legislation.

So far we have examined the Resolution as a categorical declaration for the promotion of the English language and education on a systematic scale. But the question that next demands consideration is, how far was Bentinck's Resolution successful in promoting the spread of English education in the Lower province of Bengal? An examination of this issue involves a thorough analysis of the effects of the Resolution on the cultivation of Oriental learning under official auspices. To achieve this, some reorganisation of the General Committee of Public Instruction was undertaken. Two prominent members$^{26}$ of the General committee, who subscribed to Orientalist viewpoint, withdrew from that body. Previous to 1835 the member of the committee was ten and it was increased to seventeen$^{27}$ in 1835. For the first time two distinguished Hindoos Radhakant Dev and Rassomoy Dutt were admitted to the membership in view of their acquiescence in the new ideas which were to be carried out by the committee.
The second effect of the Bentinck Resolution was to cause a change in the aims and principles of the education policy of the General Committee. Its immediate aim was to diffuse European knowledge through the medium of English language; but its ultimate aim was to create a vernacular literature and to develop vernacular tongues. The exclusive terms in which the Resolution of 7 March indicated preference for English education had led some to question whether, together with the learned Oriental languages, the vernacular had also been intended to be superseded by English. But the General committee repudiated so narrow an interpretation. It affirmed its faith in the ultimate importance and destiny of the vernacular tongues. It expressed itself in no uncertain terms in favour of encouraging their cultivation. "We conceive the formation of a vernacular literature," declared the General Committee, "to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed. At present, the extensive cultivation of some foreign language, which is always very improving to the mind, is rendered indispensable by the almost total absence of a vernacular literature and the consequent impossibility of obtaining a tolerable education from that source only."29

In two important respects, the scheme of education outlined by the new General Committee showed no substantial departure from that pursued by the old General Committee.
In the first place, the scheme of education of the mass of the people was, premature one, was an off-reiterated objection advanced to all plans which tended to take into account the masses rather than certain classes; and, like the old, the new committee waited for a favourable time to launch on the uncharted sea of mass education.

In the second place, the new General Committee appears to have committed the same mistake with regard to vernacular as the old had with regard to English instruction. The former, with the idea of encouraging the study of vernaculars, began to attach a vernacular class or teacher to each of the English teaching institutions under its control just as the latter had appended English classes to the Oriental institutions. By that plan the orientalists had been disappointed so far as the object of diffusing the knowledge of English was concerned; and by a similar plan the Anglicists were to reap no better harvest with respect to the object of developing vernaculars.29

The plan of employing educated and upright natives in responsible offices in the Civil administration of India, is no new proposal. Since the administration of Cornwallis Indians were, however, excluded from all responsible administrative offices under the Government, except the lowest, the practice which appeared to be untenable
from administrative interest. Some modifications in Cornwallis's judicial system were urged as early as 1814 by the Home authorities.\textsuperscript{29A} The question was taken up in right earnest just before arrival of Bentinck as Governor-General by Bengal Government under the direction of Butterworth Bayley and J.H.Harington to consider the proposals first made by Home authorities in 1814. In a lengthy despatch of 1827,\textsuperscript{29B} they accepted the need to multiply the number of Courts on large scale, in order to overthrow Cornwallis's virtual prohibition of an extensive use of Indians as sub-ordinate judges.\textsuperscript{30} But they would not contemplate any radical alteration of Cornwallis's structure. As Trevelyan said: "the system established by Lord Cornwallis was based upon the principle of doing everything by European agency. Europeans are, no doubt, superior to the natives in some of the most important qualities of administrators; but the public revenue did not admit of the employment of a sufficient number of them

The plan which Lord William Bentinck substituted for it was, to transact the public business by native agency, under European Superintendence; and this change is now in progress in all the different branches of the administration."\textsuperscript{30A} But it is to be noted that this reform was rendered imperative by considerations of public economy and Utilitarian influence.
The introduction of Indian agency in the administration of the country placed an added necessity for a wide diffusion of education among the people. This altered view of the intimate connection between European knowledge and administrative necessity was repeatedly mentioned in the Despatches of the Court of Directors on 5 September 1827 and on 29 September 1830. The Court of Directors, in their public letter to the Governor-General in Council of Bengal 5 September 1827, pointed out that the encouragement of English education was peculiarly important, because it was calculated "not only to produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages and so to supply you with servants to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust." The principal point in the Despatch of the Court of Directors, 18 February 1829, to the Governor-General in Council of Bengal directed attention to be paid to the moral as well as intellectual characters of the students, so as to render them in the highest degree available to the public service. The Despatch of 29 September 1830 to the Government of Bengal directed the employment of natives duly certified to have attained the necessary qualifications in the Court of law as law officers and pleaders. Auckland, in his Minute of 4 September 1838, put forward a scheme for the appointment of
Indians in the Judicial offices of Moonsiffs and Sadar Ameens. He proposed that in the selection of these candidates, general character should be given as much weight as their educational performance in an examination. The following observations formed part of a public Despatch from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General, dated 29 September 1830: "There is no point of view in which we look with greater interest at the exertions you are now making for the instruction of the Natives, than as being calculated to raise up a class of persons qualified, by their intelligence and morality, for high employments in the Civil administration of India. We wish you to consider this as our deliberate view of the scope and end to which all our endeavours with respect to the education of the natives should refer." A further stimulus was given by the Charter Act of 1833 which threw open India to unrestricted European immigration but no person by reason of his birth or creed, colour should be disqualified from holding any office in the service of the East India company.

It is well-known that Bentinck acted upon these views, by opening to the natives numerous situations of responsibility and influence in the judicial and revenue branches of the public service. Accordingly, the promoters of education sought to devise some direct means by which those students, who had passed through the educational
institutions with credit, might obtain a share of this valuable patronage. The General Committee had to face this problem in 1835 and gave their verdict in their annual report for that year to the following effect. "What is at present most required, is the establishment of some regular channel through which the most distinguished students could obtain admission into the public service, without having to go through the ordeal of a long attendance at the Courts of Justice and the Revenue Offices, which may oblige them to Court the favour of ministerial officers and often to become dependent upon them. A plan has been adopted at the Mahomedan College, and more recently at the Agra College, to circulate among the neighbouring functionaries, after each annual Examination, a list of the students whom the Committee can recommend for appointments, that those who have the disposal of patronage may have the opportunity of providing for deserving students." 36

English education continued to be the order of the day since 7 March 1835, but there was a considerable prejudice in the minds of some members of the civil service and the Officers of Govt., against the employment in Public Service of those who had received this English education. The handy excuse which they gave for that objection was, that men who were crammed, as they said, with mathematics and were able
to recite Shakespeare and to quote Johnson and Addison, were unfitted for the duties of the Public Service, which required a great deal of official knowledge and experience; but in proportion as the men who had adopted those prejudices left the service, the feeling gradually died out, and in course of time a conviction arose in the minds of influential members of the service, that though seminaries ought to be made the nursery of Public Service and that the Government which had spent so generously for the purposes of education, should get some benefit from it by employing the advanced students in responsible government positions. Despite the little success which had attended the scheme, by making the public educational institutions directly related to the improvement of the Native Unconvenanted service, was too reasonable to be hastily rejected and the Government was favourable to it.

ii. Education Policy under Lord Auckland

The resentment, caused by Lord Bentinck's Resolution of 7 March 1835 and the uncompromising spirit in which it was executed by the General Committee, was too deep-seated to be easily removed. The resentment may be traced back to the following measures, which the General Committee had adopted in carrying out Bentinck Resolution: -
1) The General Committee had acted upon the decision that in those educational institutions even "after a fair trial", the system of combined English and Vernacular instruction did not "take root", they would not hesitate to transfer the appropriations to others.

2) The abolition of classes, wherever they existed, for separate instruction in the Vernacular language; and generally the preference was given to English over the Vernacular language as the principal medium of instruction.

3) The abolition of stipends, which was viewed with deep dissatisfaction as instruction was traditionally considered as a thing to be given in charity. It was held in many quarters, that without some inducement in the form of alimentary allowances, poverty would force the students to withdraw from the institutions before their education was completed. One of the main grievances of the Orientalists against Bentinck's policy was the transfer of appropriations from the Sanskrit College and Madrassa to the support of English classes under the same roof and the discontinuance of stipends to the alumni of these institutions, though many of them were too poor to continue their studies without alimentary allowances.

The immediate reaction of the Home Government to Bentinck's policy was similarly not encouraging. In the
Despatch of 14 April 1836\textsuperscript{39}, the Court of Directors clearly stated that any further changes in policy without prior reference to home would be seriously taken into account.

While Bentinck's policy was under heavy fire at home in 1836, Lord Auckland, on succeeding Sir Charles Metcalfe as Governor-General in 1836, was trying by private correspondence to persuade the Home Government not to reverse it. On 17 June 1836 he wrote to Carnack, the Chairman of the Court of Directors, "I shall be sorry if by any order you should revive the differences upon which so much heat prevailed at the beginning of last year in regard to education. I cannot say that I attach much importance to ancient Oriental literature, I shall think it strange if you compel us to spend large sums upon these branches of literature and education, whether they should be useful or useless, sought after or neglected.\textsuperscript{40} Auckland realized that the Resolution of Bentinck could not be the basis of a long-term educational policy. He prudently decided to maintain a judicious impartiality between the ardent Anglicist and Orientalist points of view.

In his long Minute of 24 November 1839\textsuperscript{41} Auckland discussed in detail the three important problems namely,
the exact nature of patronage to be given to Oriental Education, the future of stipendiary system, and the claim of Vernacular as the medium of education. He had watched the education system carefully for four years. He came to the conclusion that though the Indians were very much interested in English education, yet they were also highly suspicious about the Government's patronage of the institutions of Oriental learning which they regarded with a peculiar reverence. Some modification of the Anglicist bias of Bentinck's Resolution was inevitable in the light of close scrutiny of the problem by Auckland. He thus ordered the abolition of English class at the Calcutta Sanskrit College, which was viewed by the natives as a reversal of Bentinck's policy. In the Madrasa also, the experiment of compulsory English classes did not make sufficient progress. Hence English instruction was made free of charge, but no one was compelled to study it against his will. The Orientalists scored another triumph by securing the renewal of publication of Oriental books, which had been abruptly stopped under Bentinck's Order. It was realized soon after that some exceptions would have to be made in case of books like the Persian translation of Harington's Analysis, which was invaluable to law students and Government officers. This question was taken up by J.R. Colvin in the General Committee
and he ultimately succeeded in convincing the majority of the members about the validity of his views so that even Macaulay withdrew his opposition.  

Auckland proposed that all the funds which, previous to Bentinck's Resolution, had been appropriated to Oriental institutions, should be restored to Oriental Colleges, and that any additional funds which might be required for the promotion of English instruction should be supplied by a new grant from the public fund. The Court of Directors concurred in this view of the Governor-General of maintaining the full efficiency of Oriental institutions with the promotion of instruction through anglo-vernacular medium.  

Further, Auckland examined with great care the question whether English or the Vernacular language was to be viewed as the most suitable medium of instruction. On a careful review of the entire Anglo-vernacular controversy, he was of the opinion that the time had "not yet arrived when the Government can join in those attempts with reasonable hope of practical good." "The first step", he considered, "must be to diffuse wider information and better sentiments amongst the upper and middle classes", and only when a proper series of school text-books had been published and
its utility proved that Adam's recommendations "may be
taken up with some fairer prospect of advantage." He
considered that, under the existing circumstances in the
Bengal Presidency, any departure from the principle of
combined English and Vernacular instruction, which had
been acted upon since the promulgation of Lord Bentinck's
Resolution, would be an injudicious step. But, when a
series of good vernacular text-books been prepared, the
case would be somewhat altered. It might then well be a
question whether, in the provincial schools, instruction
should be conveyed in English or in the vernacular
language. In the present stage of development, it would
not be absolutely necessary to make either the study of
English or the vernacular compulsory. It would be more
advisable to extend to the pupils unrestricted liberty
of choice in this respect, and to allow them "to attend
the full course of English or vernacular tuition as they
might themselves prefer." 49

The proposal of Adam was not to be postponed for
good. Aware of its ultimate importance, Auckland decided
to refer it to the Court of Directors 50 and also to seek
information from the Govt. of the Presidency of Bombay,
where a scheme of rural education was already being tried
and forwarded Adam's plan for their approval, if possible.
He also wanted to get information about the past operations
of the Calcutta School Book Society and concluded his observations by expressing the opinion that "when such a scheme as that proposed by Mr. Adam comes to be tried, the arrangements for introducing it should be on a liberal and effective scale, and that it ought not to be undertaken at all until the Government is satisfied that it has at command a thoroughly zealous and qualified superintendence." In this context, among those consulted by Auckland, and whose experience and individual attainments add weight to their opinions, may be mentioned Mr. Wilkinson, the political agent of Bhopal. He had achieved considerable success in his attempts to instruct the natives in European science through Sanskrit and the vernacular language. His educational venture was largely successful due to its remoteness from European influence. He was too well-informed to imagine that in Bengal and at the large European stations throughout India, the cultivation of English "calls for every encouragement."53

Auckland's view on the issue of media of instruction is partly influenced by the previous experience of the General Committee, which sought to extend the complete education in European literature, philosophy and science to the upper and middle classes of the people. He was in favour of combining instruction in English and vernacular medium as he saw little prospect of higher education to be
utilised save by small portion of the people, the greater part of whom must be content with a less perfect education through the vernacular medium. As regards the suggestion put forward by Brian Hodgson of imparting education exclusively through the vernacular tongue, Auckland pointed out the "extreme practical difficulty" of preparing such class books and in conclusion quoted the sentiments of the Directors that "the higher tone and better spirit of European literature can produce the full effect only on those who become familiar with them in the original languages."55

Auckland was aware that the students educated at Government seminaries were not able to find employment suited to their high qualifications. There was also a general dislike among the educated youngmen to take up humbler types of posts.56 Auckland hoped to overcome these handicaps by providing suitable means for the acquisition of knowledge most requisite in public life, he would stimulate Indians to seek "an advanced English education comprising those branches of study, conversancy with which would place an instructed native gentleman on a level with our best European Officers."57

To put this plan of higher English education into operation, Auckland directed the formation of Anglo-vernacular schools in every district to be linked up by a
system of scholarships with Central colleges to be established at such populous and important centres as Dacca, Patna, Benaras, Agra, Delhi etc. While admitting the value of vernaculars, he opposed the feasibility of their immediate use because, apart from the lack of textbooks, they suffered in comparison with English. The Central colleges were to be established without much delay to provide for the education of the advanced students of Zilla schools. Strictly adhering to the Filtration theory, Auckland decided to render the highest instruction efficient in a certain number of Central Colleges, rather than employing their funds in the extension of the plan of founding ordinary Zilla Schools. He expected that through the instrumentality of pupils who obtained in these institutions a thorough acquaintance with the knowledge of the West, the improvement would extend throughout the country and its "benefits be ultimately felt by all classes of population".

Before 1835, stipends were liberally bestowed on the students of Oriental Colleges, including the Sanskrit Colleges of Calcutta and Benares and the Mohammed College of Calcutta. A few stipends were also attached to the Hindu College of Calcutta.

It may be said that the stipends were granted to students before they had given any proof of diligence or
or intellectual capacity. The intention seems to have been to bestow these rewards on those who had exhibited a certain degree of proficiency before getting admission into the Government Colleges, the holders being subjected to examination to show their progress. Bentinck's Resolution of 7 March 1835 absorbed the stipendiary system gradually.

As early as 1836, the subject had attracted serious attention, when Auckland wrote a Minute, dated 24 August 1836, on getting the petitions for restoration of stipends to the Mahommedan and Sanskrit Colleges. "By the stipendiary system I understand an indiscriminating payment of allowances to students to induce them to attend a place of instruction, and I think that it will be found to have been generally unsuccessful in all countries. On the other hand, I hope that scholarships, limited in number, given for a limited time, to the best students, upon fair and severe competition may be considered as amongst the best stimulants to emulation and learning;..."

Auckland directed the General Committee in 1839 to report on a scheme for the establishment of a new scheme of scholarships, limited in number and to be held only by those who had afforded proofs of "peculiar capacity and industry" in a public examination.
The foregoing table shows a gradual diminution of stipends from 1835 to 1841 (J.Kerr: A Review of Public Instruction in Bengal (1835-51) - P. 106.)
The General Committee lost no time in organizing a scheme of scholarship on the principles laid down by Lord Auckland. The Committee also divided scholarships into two categories, junior and senior. The former, valued at Rs.8/- per month, were to be allowed to the most meritorious students of the district schools to be tenable for four years or more. The senior scholars were assigned Rs.30/- each per month for the first two years and Rs.40/- for the next four years. This high rate was considered necessary to induce students to stay at colleges long enough to complete their studies. Some of the scholarships were required to be competed in a general Examination and candidates outside the Govt. institutions were eligible for it. Auckland regarded the scholarship system as indispensable to retain some young men of promise in the prosecution of advanced study. On 20 January, 1841, the Court of Directors approved the measure of Auckland and lent the weight of their authority to the principle that scholarships should be offered as rewards of merit and continued for good conduct afterwards.

Auckland, besides expressing his ideas on the three leading questions which have come under review, took the opportunity of drawing the attention of the General Committee to some other points of considerable importance,
which may be briefly indicated here. The most prominent of these was that Govt. should assume direct control of higher education in the country. The General Committee of Public Instruction was abolished and the Council of Education was formed in its place in 10 January 1842 with the principal officers in Calcutta as its members and a Deputy Secretary to Govt. as its Secretary. But the new Council was not entrusted with the important administrative functions embracing "general and financial matters" which had belonged to its predecessor.

Lord Auckland's Minute, 24 November 1839, came to be regarded as an authoritative pronouncement on the question at issue between the advocates of Oriental learning on the one hand and of English on the other. The last trace of Anglo-Oriental controversy, however, was kept alive in the Presidency of Bengal by Anglicists holding extreme views of whom Rev. A. Duff of the Church of Scotland Mission was most conspicuous for the acrimonious tone in which he expressed his objections to the study of Oriental languages. This he did in three open letters addressed to Lord Auckland in 1841. The echoes of the controversy however grew fainter after the receipt of the Despatch of the Court of Directors dated 20 January 1841, approving the main principles laid down in Auckland's Minute. The Despatch of the 20 January 1841
did not express any decided opinion as to the medium of instruction and on this question a famous Education Despatch of 1854 gave the final authoritative pronouncement.

iii. Lord Hardinge Resolution, 10 October 1844

Towards the close of the year 1844, Governor-General Lord Hardinge adopted an important Resolution (10 October 1944) which threw open the public services to qualified young men from the educational institutions recently established in the Province. This measure ultimately gave a great impetus to English education. Success in obtaining employment had been from the first one of the incentives to English education; but Hardinge's resolution of 10 October 1844 definitely enjoined selection on educational grounds as a principle. For Hardinge's resolution had endowed English education its value in terms of livelihood. The Rules which the Council of Education framed in 23 July 1845 to give effect to this Resolution laid down that the minimum standard of qualification for public employment should be the same as that for gaining a senior English Scholarship. Naturally, this created an artificial incentive for English education and thus indirectly harmed the cause of Vernacular
education by diverting public attention away from it. The last paragraph of the Resolution laid down that, "Even in the selection of persons to fill the lowest offices under the Government, a man who can read and write be preferred to one who cannot." The result was that this part of the Resolution, which was intended to promote education among the humbler classes of the people, remained a "dead letter", in a general way. But averse to take any positive steps towards carrying it out systematically, Auckland was not inclined to sanction any measure which would be "to withhold anything like a monopoly of public service from the scholars of the Govt. Schools". The Resolution was as follows:

"The Governor-General having taken into his consideration the existing state of education in Bengal, and being of the opinion that it is highly desirable to afford it every reasonable encouragement by holding out to those who have taken advantage of the opportunity of instruction afforded to them, a fair prospect of employment in the public service, and thereby not only to reward individual merit, but to enable the state to profit as largely and as early as possible by the result of the measures adopted of late years for the instruction of the people as well by Govt. as by private individuals and societies, has resolved that in every possible case a
preference shall be given in the selection of candidates for public employment to those who have been educated in the institutions thus established, and especially to those who have distinguished themselves therein by a more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment."\textsuperscript{75}

Shortly after the promulgation of the Resolution, obstacles presented themselves towards carrying it into effect. Certain "subsidiary" instructions, suggested by the Council of Education, were issued, which it was hoped would remove every difficulty. These instructions\textsuperscript{76} included the following points:

The annual returns were to be limited to a record of "really meritorious and distinguished youths"; it was not considered necessary to provide for the examination of past students; and no one was to be allowed to compete who was under 18 years of age, and who did not bring adequate proof of good moral character. It was also added that insertion in the Returns was not to considered a sure passport to employment, the selection depending upon "other qualifications more essential even than the acquirement of literary and scientific knowledge."

"The Council determined that the minimum standard of qualification for employment, should be the same as that for gaining a Senior English scholarship. The Examinations
were to be held in Calcutta and at each of the Central Colleges, and the answers of the candidates were to be examined by the Council of Education or by persons appointed by the Council. It was carefully explained that insertion in the Returns must not be regarded as "a sure pledge" of employment. 77

"It cannot but be observed that these arrangements were at variance, in some respects, with the spirit of the Resolution, a prominent feature of which, as it came from the Governor-General, was that the annual returns should embrace a large number of candidates of different "degrees of merit and capacity" and not solely those who came up to the high standard required for gaining a senior scholarship. It appears also to have been distinctly contemplated by the original Resolution, that the selection of candidates recommended for employment should chiefly rest with the Superintendents of education Institutions." 78

After the Council had tried their plan for two or three years, it was found that very few candidates from any of the private seminaries presented themselves for examination. The matter attracted the attention of the Government and the Council were directed to put themselves in touch with the managers of private school, and to ascertain correctly the objections of the latter to the
existing plan of examination. Some of the leading private schools at Calcutta, the Calcutta Martiniere, Institutions supported by the Church Missionary Society, the Established Church of Scotland, Free Church of Scotland, London Missionary Society, Baptist Missionary Society, Parental Academy and Oriental Seminary opposed the system of examination on the practical ground, as the pupils of those Institutions were usually withdrawn at the age of 16, and could not thus pass the examination while still pupils of those Institutions, as the Council admitted none under 18 years of age. The authorities of those schools also added that the attention of pupils was largely directed to subjects not included in the Council's scheme of examination. This last objection was stated in 1848 with more fullness in the Resolutions adopted by the proprietors of Missionary and Private institutions. The objection to the Council's plan of examination was mainly this, that it was framed exclusively on the model of the Government Course of study, so that those educated in missionary or private schools were debarred from competing, except at a disadvantage, much of their time being devoted to the study of subjects which did not form part of the examination.

The Court of Directors, in its despatch dated May 12, 1847, observed that the standard of examination was
too high even for those who were familiar with English. But a still graver objection was that it shut out from the benefits of the Resolution, the students of Oriental colleges. "It appears to us that the standard can only be attained by the students in the Government Colleges, and that therefore virtually gives to them a monopoly of public patronage." "We are also of opinion that this high test, instead of promoting, will in effect discourage the general acquisition of the English language. Those who can not hope to pass this test will not think it worth their while to bestow any time upon learning the English language, at least with a view to employment in the public service". They further deprecated too much emphasis on scholastic knowledge as an essential qualification for public service. They opined that a moderate knowledge of English, with a thorough command of the Vernacular language, and evidences of regularity, steadiness, diligence and good conduct would best secure the largest number of competent officers in the Revenue and Judicial departments. 81

To this criticism on the part of the Court of Directors, the Council of Education's reply to Govt. was in substance as follows :-

1. Firstly, that the great object the Council have had in view "is not immediately the improvement of the native
Civil servants..., but rather the general improvement of the great body of the people, by the increased value which the universal desire such employment must give, in their estimation to the training, by which they hope to see their children placed in a favourable position for gaining it."

2. Secondly, that the Orientalists have no right to complain, as sufficient facilities are afforded to all who seek a learned Oriental education.

3. Thirdly, the Council of Education do not agree with the view that to place English on an equal footing with Sanskrit or Arabic would mean a complete reversal of the policy which had been followed since 1835.

4. Fourthly, the leading objection about the contents and standards of examinations conducted by Govt. is simply to afford disproportionate preference to the Government institutions as against private and missionary institutions. In this examination, young men educated in Govt. institutions, who devoted their entire time and energy to English secular literature and science, get undue preference over the students of Christian and private educational institutions. But the Council firmly held the view that the present standard of examination has been and can be readily attained by the pupils of any efficient and well-organised public or private schools "to reduce it, would
tend to encourage pupils to become contented with a superficial amount of knowledge, and to enter upon the active duties of life before the maturity of their reasoning faculties, the formation of their character and the principles implanted by a more extended course of study had time to produce their full efforts."  

iv. Despatches of 1854, 1859

It will be seen from the events of the period between 1835 and 1853 narrated in this chapter that, by 1853, a stage had been reached when a comprehensive survey of the whole field of education in India was essential. Since Bentinck's famous Resolution of 1835, several educational experiments had been tried; a number of agencies had been at work to promote education; several controversies had been raised and some of them still needed a final decision; the Court of Directors left open the question of the medium of instruction even after their despatch of 20 January 1841.  

The occasion for the Despatch was provided by the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1853. At this time, a Select Committee of the House of Commons held a very thorough enquiry into educational developments in India. On the basis of this enquiry, the Court of Directors sent
down their great Educational Despatch on 19 July 1854. In the educational development of modern India, the importance of the 1854 Despatch cannot be exaggerated. The 1854 Despatch prescribed "a much-needed blue-print of education for all India" by providing a detailed scheme of educational reconstruction of general and technical education, "integrated from indigenous education at the lowest level to the university at the highest, all this under governmental control and aid."84

To begin with, the Despatch explained why the Company undertook the organisation of education in India and the results that it expected therefrom:

"Among many subjects of importance, none can have a stronger claim to our attention than that of education...

... We have, moreover, always looked upon the encouragement of education as peculiarly important, because calculated 'not only to produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages, and so to supply with servants to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust"... 85

The Despatch then referred to the Educational controversy between the Orientalists and Anglicists in Bengal. It is significant to note that the Despatch did not condemn the view of the Orientalists in a summary
fashion as Macaulay did.\textsuperscript{86} The Despatch paid a fitting tribute to the antiquarian and historical interest of the Classical languages of India and to the honourable and influential position of those who maintain the traditional learning. It explicitly repudiated any aim or desire "to substitute the English language for the Vernacular dialects of the country."\textsuperscript{87} At the same time the Despatch declared as plainly as Macaulay that "the systems of science and philosophy which form the learning of the East abound with grave errors, and Eastern literature is at best very deficient as regards all modern discovery and improvements; Asiatic learning, therefore, however widely diffused, would but little advance our object."\textsuperscript{88}

The Despatch of 1854 clearly laid down that though "the mastery of the English language as a Key to the literature of Europe" and "a knowledge of English will always be essential to those who aspire to a high order of education" yet a tendency towards undue neglect of the study of Vernacular language should be deprecated.\textsuperscript{89} It further pointed out that, "in any general system of education the English language should be taught where there is a demand for it; but such instruction should always be combined with a careful attention to the study of the Vernacular language of the district," and while the English language continues to be made use of as by far the
most perfect medium for the education of those persons who have acquired a sufficient knowledge of it... the Vernacular languages must be employed to teach the far larger classes who are ignorant of, or imperfectly acquainted with, English."90

For the mass of the people, the authors of the Despatch hold, the only possible medium of instruction was the mothertongue; but it is significant that while this conviction was stated very plainly, it was also indicated that the teachers themselves should know English.91 It will be seen that all the problems dealt with in the Despatch regarding the medium of instruction between the Anglicists and orientalists were old controversies, and the Despatch did nothing more than sum up the conclusions already reached.

The Despatch next proceeds to explain the new schemes that were to be introduced. The first of these was the creation of a Department of Public Instruction to be placed under an important officer to be called the Director of Public Instruction for the systematic superintendence and direction of extended educational efforts in the five provinces of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the North-Western Province and the Punjab.92 The second scheme related to the establishment of universities. Universities were recommended in the three Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay
and Madras, holding examinations and conferring degrees on students from their affiliated institutions, which included private, missionary, Government, professional and Oriental Colleges. Professorships in law, civil engineering, vernaculars and classical studies were authorized to be attached to the universities. The proposal for the establishment of a university at Calcutta, made by the Council of Education in 1845, had been negatived by the Directors on the ground that it was then premature. But now they were prepared to reconsider their decision and said: "The rapid spread of a liberal education among the natives of India since that time, the high attainments shown by the native candidates for Government scholarships and by native students in private institutions, the success of the Medical Colleges, and the requirements of an increasing European and Anglo-Indian population, have led us to the conclusion that the time is now arrived for the establishment of universities in India." Having described the two new schemes mentioned above, the Despatch proceeds to explain the network of graded schools which the Directors desired to spread all over the country. At the one end of this gradation stood the University and the affiliated colleges which gave instruction in the various branches of art and science. Below these came the high schools which offer instruction through
English or through a modern Indian language, and at the bottom came the indigenous primary schools.

The above proposal of the Despatch had three important features - the rejection of the Downward Filtration Theory, the adoption of the modern Indian Languages as media of instruction at the secondary stage, and the inclusion of indigenous schools as the very foundation of a national system of education.

It was observed in the Despatch of 1854 that the requisition for lists of meritorious students for public employment as proposed by Lord Hardinge's resolution, dated 10 October 1844, had failed, but the object in view would be attainable on the establishment of universities as "the acquisition of a degree and still more the attainment of university distinctions will bring highly educated young men under the notice of Government." The despatch of 1854 further explained the object in view of the above resolution in the following words: - "what we desire is that, where the other qualifications of the candidates for appointments under the Government are equal, the person who has received a good education, irrespective of the place or manner in which it may have been acquired, should be preferred to one who has not; and that, even in lower situations a man who can read and write be preferred to one who cannot, if he is equally eligible in other
respects. Regarding employment in the lower grades, the Despatch of 1854 recommended "that all officers having in their hands the selection of persons for such employment should be guided by the general as well as special qualifications of the candidates and give the preference to those who were well-qualified for the special duty required." As a connecting link between these various grades of schools, it was proposed to institute scholarships to be given to promising pupils to enable them to continue their studies at a higher stage.

In this connexion, the attitude of the Despatch towards the system of grant-in-aid is also worthy of note. It says: "The consideration of the impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done in order to provide adequate means for the education of the natives of India, and of the ready assistance which may be derived from efforts which have hitherto received but little encouragement from the state has led us to the natural conclusion that the most effectual method of providing for the wants of India in this respect will be to combine with the agency of the Government the aid which may be derived from the exertions and liberality of the educated and wealthy natives of India and of other benevolent persons. We have, therefore, resolved to adopt in India the system of grants-in-aid which has been carried out in
this country with great success; and we confidently anticipate by thus drawing support from local resources, in addition to contributions from the state, a more rapid progress of education than would follow a mere increase of expenditure by Government. The Despatch then suggested certain general principles in the light of which each Provincial Government was expected to frame its own rules of grant-in-aid. For instance, aid was to be given to all schools which:

(i) impart a good secular education,
(ii) possess good local management,
(iii) agree to submit to inspection by Government officers,
(iv) levy a fee, however small from the pupils.

Finally, after a brief review of the educational activities in each Province, the Despatch concludes with the following significant words: "We have declared that our object is to extend European knowledge throughout all classes of the people. We have shown that this object must be effected by means of the English language in the higher branches of instruction, and by that of the vernacular languages of India to the great mass of the people. We have directed such a system of general superintendence and inspection by Government to be established, as will, if properly carried out, give efficiency and uniformity to your efforts, we propose by the institution of universities to
provide the highest test and encouragement, of liberal education.

To imbue a vast and ignorant population with a

To imbue a vast and ignorant population with a
general desire for knowledge and to take advantage of that
desire, when excited, to improve the means for diffusing
education amongst them, must be a work of many years.

It is a matter of great regret that some of the most
important recommendations of the Despatch of 1854 were not
carried out for a long time; while some more have yet to be
acted upon. The plans of mass education visualised by
the Despatch were not realised, nor were High schools
imparting education through the mother tongue. The encoura-
gement of Indian languages which it promised remained a pious
with for a long time to come and the languages spoken and
understood by the people continued to languish. However,
the Despatch did a lot towards the evolution of a good
system of education in India.

The Despatch of 7 April 1859.

Prior to 1854, every important educational decision
was settled by a Despatch from the Court of Directors in
London, and Parliament showed keen interest in Indian
education, particularly when the Charter of the Company were
reviewed in 1813, 1833 and 1853. This Parliamentary interest
in Indian affairs in general, and Indian education in
particular, was greatly minimised as soon as the rule of India was directly taken up by the Crown.104A

It is true that the Secretary of state for India, the new representative of the British cabinet who took the place of the Court of Directors as well as the president of the Board of Control of the Board of Control 104B wrote the Educational Despatch of 7 April 1859 (No.4) and took stock of the development of education since 1854. He supervised Indian education in a general manner just as he supervised all other departments of the Indian administration. But his control was general and, therefore, the most effective authority in Indian education after 1858 was the Government of India, rather than any authority at Home.105 The occasion for the Despatch was the transfer of the governance of India from the Company to the Crown (1858).

A major change like this required that the new authorities should review education and either confirm or amend them as early as possible. Lord Stanley106, the first Secretary of State for India, reviewed the whole position, confirmed all the directions of the Despatch of 1854, viz., necessity of direct official attempts for mass education, encouragement of the education of women, grants-in-aid to Anglo-Vernacular schools, (except in primary education) and put an end to the storm raised by Lord Ellenborough.107 The Despatch dated 28 April 1858 from Lord
Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control, was written shortly after the "Mutiny" and is a panicky document which tried to reverse the policies laid down by the Despatch of 1854 on the ground that they had led to the events of 1857.

Ellenborough attributed the Mutiny mainly to the new education scheme. Female education was forced on the unwilling parents. "Education and Civilization may descend from the higher to the inferior classes... but they will never ascend from the lower classes to those above them; they can only, if imparted solely to the lower classes, lead to general convulsion, of which foreigners would be the first victims." Grants-in-aid to missionary schools, whose primary object was proselytism, should be withheld in order to tranquillise Indian minds.

The Despatch from the Secretary of State, Lord Stanley of 7 April 1859 (No.4) had to solve two main difficulties, viz., applicability of the then existing rules of grant-in-aid to primary schools and the lack of adequate resources for the spread of education in general and of primary education in particular. In the first place, the grant-in-aid rules themselves were defective in so far as they had not been framed with special reference to the working of indigenous schools. "On the whole... the grant-in-aid system... is unsuited to the supply of vernacular
Education to the masses of population... elementary education should be provided by the direct instrumentality of the officers of Government." This decision of Stanley was hasty and somewhat premature. His recommendations regarding the ways and means of financing primary education, however, marked a great advance. Finally, the Despatch of 1859 summed up official attitude towards intimate connexion between education and public employment. "It has long been the object of the several Governments to raise the qualifications of the Public servants even in the lowest appointments, and elaborate rules have been framed, by which a gradually ascending scale of scholastic qualification is required in those entering the higher ranks of the service."


2. Vide, Chapter III, Sect.2, P.130.

3. Extract from the despatch, dt. 18 February 1824, to the Governor-General in Council, Bengal. Sharp, op. cit., P.91-93.

4. Letter, dated 18 August 1824, from the General Committee of Public Instruction to the Governor-General. Sharp, op. cit., P.93-98.


7. Minute by the Hon'ble Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, dated 24 November 1839. Sharp, op. cit., 147-170.


14. Extract from a Minute by H.T. Prinsep, 9 July 1834, Sharp, op. cit, P.103.
16. Ibid.
17. J. Ghose, Higher Education in Bengal under British Rule, Calcutta, 1926, p. 98.
18. India Public Proceedings, 22 January 1835.
20. Ibid.
22. B.H. Hodgson (1800-94) came to India in 1818, Resident of Nepal; removed by Lord Ellenborough from service and resigned. Pre-eminence of the Vernaculars or Miscellaneous Essays relating to Indian subjects (London, 1880) was originally published in the forms of letters in "Friend of India", 1842-43, and in book form 1847.
25. Public Consultation, 3 June 1835.
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25A. Edmund Burke, the whig politician and thinker, visualised Britain's role in India in the following terms: India had to be governed according to Indian experience and tradition, lest the fabric of Indian society be destroyed. He was really more concerned with expounding conservative principles than with defending the laws, customs and civilization of India.


28A. The humble petition of the students of the Government Sanskrit College of Calcutta, to Lord Auckland, Governor-General, 9 August 1836, Sharp, op. cit., P. 145-146.

29. Ibid.

29A. Judicial Despatch to Bengal, 9 Nov. 1814.


30. By 1821 various amendments had already raised the powers of Indian subordinate judges in Bengal, known as Amins and Sadar Amins dealing with cases more than Rs. 300/- and under Rs. 500/-

30A. C.E. Trevelyan, op. cit, P. 156.


33. The Public Despatch, dated 29 September 1830 to the Governor-General in Council, Bengal, (The Minutes of evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, 1832, (Public I), App. I, No. 11. (334).
34. Minute by Governor-General Lord Auckland, 4 September 1838 - India Public Consultation, No.5, dt.8 May 1839.

35. The Public Despatch, dated 29 September 1830 to the Governor-General in Council, Bengal (Para 20).


37. Despatch from The Court of Directors, dt.12 May 1847, Richey, op. cit., P.91.


39. Legislative Despatch to India, 14 April 1836.


40A. J.Kerr, op. cit., P.12.


46. Home Public Con. dt. 20 January 1836, No.7.
47. The Minute by Lord Auckland, 24 November 1839, Sharp, op. cit., P.150-52.


49. The Minute by Auckland, 24 Nov.1839, Sharp, op. cit., P.152.
49A. J. Kerr, op. cit, P.12.

50. The Minute by Auckland, 24 Nov. 1839, Sharp, op. cit., P.155 (The expected reply does not appear to have been received until 20 January, 1841).

51. The authority of the Maratha Chief Peshwa was virtually broken by 1818 and the British Governor of the Presidency M. Alphinstone was instrumental in establishing "the Bombay Native Education Society" as the principal agency for the spread of education among the people (1818-1840). The Society set up four English schools but attached much greater importance to the spread of Western Knowledge through the mother tongue. It had under its direct control 115 Vernacular schools. The Government of Bombay conducted 63 Vernacular schools on indigenous model in the Purandar taluka of the Poona district, 1837-40.
52. The Minute by Auckland, 24 Nov. 1839, (Para 6), Sharp, op. cit., P.153.
53. The Minute by Auckland, 24 Nov. 1839, para 24,25 and 26, sharp, op. cit. P.162.
55. Public Despatch to Bengal, 29 September, 1830, (Para 13).
56. The Minute by Auckland, 24 Nov.1839, (Para 13), Sharp, op. cit., P.157.
57. The Minute by Auckland, 24 Nov.1839, (Para 16), Sharp, op. cit., 159.
59. The Minute by Auckland, 24 Nov. 1839, (Para 35), Sharp, op. cit., P.167.
60. The Minute by Auckland, 24 Nov. 1839, Sharp, op.cit., p. 166-167.
61. The Minute by Auckland, 24 August 1836, Sharp, op. cit., p.147.
62. The Despatch from The Court of Directors, 20 January 1841 (Para 5), Richey, op. cit., P.3-4.
63. J.Kerr, op. cit., P.106.
64. The Minute by Auckland, 24 Aug. 1836, Sharp, op. cit., p.147.
65. The Minute by Auckland, 24 Nov. 1839, Para. 16, Sharp, op. cit., P. 159.
67. Ibid, P.86-87
69. The Despatch from the Court of Directors, 20 January 1841, Richey, op. cit., P.3-5.
71. H.R. James, Education and Statesmanship in India, 1797-1910, (London, 1911) P.32.
73. J.Kerr, op. cit., P.193.
76. Education Progs, No.6, dt. 23 July 1845, Rules for the Examination of candidates for insertion in the list directed to be annually furnished to Govt. by the notification of the Governor-General, 10 Oct., 1844.

77. J. Kerr, op. cit., p.188.

78. Richey, op. cit., Letter, dated 29 June 1848 from the Council of Education to the Court of Directors, p. 94-95.

79. Richey, op. cit., Letter, dated 29 June 1848 from the Council of Education to the Court of Directors, p. 95-96.


83. Despatch from the Court of Directors, dated 20 January 1841. Richey, op. cit., p.3-5.

85. Despatch of 1854 (Para 3) - quotes with approval from Public letter to Bengal, 5 Sept. 1827, Richey, op. cit., P. 365.


87. Despatch of 1854 (Para 13), Richey, op. cit., P.367.

88. Despatch of 1854 (Para 8), Richey, op. cit., P.366.

89. The Despatch of 1854 (Paras 11, 12), Richey, op. cit., P. 367.

90. The Despatch of 1854 (Para 14), Richey, op. cit., P.367-368.

91. The Despatch of 1854 (Para 14), Richey, Ibid. P.367-368.

92. The Despatch of 1854 (Para 17, 18), Richey, op. cit., P. 369.

93. The Despatch of 1854 (Paras 24, 25, 27, 28, 30-32, 37, Richey, op. cit, P. 371-375.


96. The Despatch of 1854, (Para 75), Richey, op. cit., P.385.


100. Despatch of 1854 (Paras 52,53,54,55,56,61), Richey, op. cit., P.378-381.

102. Despatch of 1854 (Para 99), Richen, op. cit., P. 393.

103. S. Nurullah and J. P. Naik, A History of Education in India, (Bombay, 1951), P. 214.

104A. S. Nurullah and J. P. Naik, A History of Education in India (During the British Period), Bombay, 1951, P. 219.


106. Edward Henry Stanley (1826-93) : President of India Board, May 1858; Secretary of State for India, Sept. 1858 June 1859; Foreign Secretary 1866-68.

107. Lord Ellenborough (1790-1871) : President of India Board, 1828-30, 1834-35, 1841; Gov-General of India, 1842-44; recalled by Court of Directors June 1844; President of India Board, Feb. 1858 - May 1858. His Despatch, dated 28 April 1858, was written shortly after the "Mutiny" which tried to reverse the policies laid down by the Despatch of 1854.


109. Richen, op. cit, the Despatch of 1859, para 50-52, P. 445-446.