

THE CONTRIBUTION OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES TO EDUCATION
IN BENGAL, 1793 - 1837

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by

M. A. Laird

School of Oriental and African Studies,

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with the educational activities of Christian missionaries in Bengal between 1793 and 1837. An attempt has also been made to relate them to the educational and religious situation in the home countries of the missionaries, principally England and Scotland, which is explored in parts of Chapters I and V.

The greater part of the thesis consists of an account of the development of the missionaries' schools for boys. This is traced from the early experiments made by William Carey shortly after his arrival in Bengal in 1793, through the great extension of the schools which took place during the administration of the Marquess of Hastings under the auspices of several different societies; but which was followed by a decline in the late 1820s and finally by a revival and further progress, with a new emphasis on English, consequent on the arrival in 1830 of Alexander Duff. Some analysis is made of the educational methods used by the missionaries, the subjects taught, the type of religious teaching given, the languages used, the compilation of textbooks, the caste of pupils and teachers, and the missionaries' relationship with Indians, lay British sympathisers, and with each other. Some account is also given of the schools for girls, and of the two institutions for higher education - Serampore and Bishop's Colleges - which the missionaries founded.

The thesis is based mainly on manuscript letters from the missionaries in Bengal, found in the archives of the main English missionary societies

and in the National Library of Scotland; and complemented by Indian Government records and by contemporary printed reports, newspapers, and periodicals of missionary, official and general provenance.

CONTENTS

Abbreviations.

Introduction.

	PART 1: THE ENGLISH	<u>Page</u>
Chapter I:	Background - some aspects of education and religion in England, Wales and Bengal, c.1780 - 1840.	1
Chapter II:	The development of mission schools, 1793 - 1823.	75
Chapter III:	Girls' schools and higher education, 1817 - 1837.	171
Chapter IV:	Boys' schools, 1823 - 1830.	202
	PART 2: THE SCOTS	
Chapter V:	The origins and development of the Church of Scotland's mission to Bengal.	231
Chapter VI:	Scottish and English missionaries, 1830 - 1837.	292
Conclusion.		347
Bibliography.		
Map.		

ABBREVIATIONS

B.A.M.S.	-	Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society.
B.F.B.S.	-	British and Foreign Bible Society.
B.F.S.S.	-	British and Foreign School Society.
B.J.C.P.	-	Bengal Judicial (Criminal) Proceedings.
B.M.S.	-	Baptist Missionary Society.
<u>BSI</u>	-	<u>The British System of Instruction.</u>
(C).C.A.C.M.S.	-	(Committee of) the Calcutta Auxiliary Church Missionary Society.
<u>C.C.O.</u>	-	<u>Calcutta Christian Observer.</u>
C.D.C.	-	Calcutta District Committee (of L.M.S.) <u>or</u> Calcutta Diocesan Committee (of S.P.C.K.).
C.M.S.	-	Church Missionary Society.
<u>C.R.</u>	-	<u>Calcutta Review.</u>
C.S.B.S.	-	Calcutta School Book Society.
C.S.S.	-	Calcutta School Society.
<u>F. of I.</u>	-	<u>Friend of India.</u>
G.C.P.I.	-	General Committee of Public Instruction.
<u>IIM</u>	-	<u>India and India Missions.</u>
I.O.L.	-	India Office Library.
I.O.L.M.	-	India Office Library Microfilms.
I.O.R.	-	India Office Records.
L.M.S.	-	London Missionary Society.
M.M.S.	-	Methodist Missionary Society.
N.L.S.	-	National Library of Scotland.
N.L.W.	-	National Library of Wales.

Northampton MS.	-	MS at College Street Baptist Church, Northampton.
<u>Per. Accts.</u>	-	<u>Periodical Accounts</u> of the Baptist Missionary Society.
<u>P.P.</u>	-	<u>Parliamentary Papers.</u>
R.E.MS.	-	MS at Ridley Hall, Cambridge.
<u>S.C.L.</u>	-	<u>Serampore Circular Letters.</u>
<u>S.E.R.</u>	-	<u>Selections from Educational Records</u> (ed. Sharp and Richey).
<u>S.P.A.</u>	-	<u>Serampore Periodical Accounts.</u>
S.P.C.K.	-	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
S.P.G.	-	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
S.S.P.C.K.	-	Society in Scotland for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
W.M.M.S.	-	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an attempt to describe and analyse the contribution of Christian missionaries to education in Bengal in the early nineteenth century. In recent years several scholars have made general studies of the work of missionaries in that province and period, notably Dr. E.D. Potts in British Baptist missionaries in India 1793-1837: the history of Serampore and its missions (Cambridge 1967), and Dr. K.P. Sen Gupta in The Christian missionaries in Bengal 1793-1833 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London, 1966). On an all-India scale Dr. Kenneth Ingham's Reformers in India (Cambridge 1956) was a valuable pioneering work which at the time set a new standard for historians of missions in India: it combined scholarship, objectivity and understanding in a way which contrasted with most earlier work on the subject.

Each of these works contains a chapter on education, just as histories of education in that period contain references to the missionary contribution, but what has hitherto been lacking has been a detailed study of this department of missionary work, which was important not just because it occupied a major part of the missionaries' time and energy, but because of its effects on the cultural history of modern Bengal. A network of schools had existed in the province for long before the coming of the missionaries, but it is arguable that those of the latter were more efficiently conducted, and there is no doubt that the missionaries were pioneers in introducing the elements of western science into the curriculum, in compiling textbooks, and in starting schools for girls. In the main they used Bengali as the medium for their educational experiments, and in so doing helped to extend

the scope of the language, but from 1819 onwards they also pioneered the teaching of English, and before the end of the period an outstandingly successful English school had been started in Calcutta by Alexander Duff. But perhaps most important of all was their concern that their pupils should arrive at a personal understanding of what they learnt: although in most of their schools the missionaries had to rely on a system which involved much learning by heart, they realised that this would not in itself necessarily be meaningful, and they expected that if the 'new learning' was fully understood it would undermine their pupils' Hindu (or Muslim) faith. It was thus seen as an intellectual preparation for the acceptance of Christianity, as well as an inspiration for the reformation of society.

I have tried to set the missionary educationists in their proper perspective by relating their work to that of the Government and of Indians: the importance of the missionary contribution was perhaps most marked during the administration of Lord Hastings (1813-23). At that time the Government did little for education on its own, and the new Indian enterprise was only just beginning to make itself felt, so the activities of the missionaries assumed particular importance during that decade. Throughout the period I have also examined the work of those bishops, chaplains and laymen who cooperated closely with the missionaries and made essential contributions to their work.

An attempt has been made to analyse relevant aspects of the religious-educational situation in contemporary Great Britain. The purpose of this is partly to examine the British educational influences which affected the work of the missionaries - for example the monitorial system in

England and the Edinburgh Sessional School in Scotland; and partly because it provides many interesting comparisons - notably between curricula of schools in the different countries, the motives of their educationists, and the use of the various languages. In general it can be indicated that the education given by missionaries in Bengal, inspired by religious rather than by politico-social motives, was broader in scope and aim than that of contemporary educationists, especially in England. It seems that no very adequate attempt has been made hitherto to relate educational trends in Bengal to those of Great Britain in the early nineteenth century at least. I have tried to distinguish the work of the Scottish missionaries clearly from that of the English: this seemed only proper in view of the important differences between the two countries in education and religion. Many of the distinctive emphases of Scottish education - for example, the concern for a curriculum integrated by either philosophy or religion, and for a full development of the intellectual potentialities of the students - were clearly manifested in Duff's work in Bengal.

The year 1793 seemed an appropriate starting-point for this investigation because, although the main development of missionary educational work did not take place until after the passing of the Charter Act of 1813, it saw the arrival in Bengal of William Carey. During the next twenty years the Serampore missionaries - probably the most notable of the various groups who worked in Bengal during the early nineteenth century - made their preliminary experiments and formulated plans for the great expansion of their schools which became possible in 1816. 1793 was also the year of the first attempt - albeit abortive - of the English Evangelicals to

persuade the East India Company to relax its opposition to the entry of missionaries; in connection with this Charles Grant had the previous year written the original version of his influential pamphlet Observations on the state of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain - an early expression of the new Evangelical attitude towards India. The choice of 1837 as the finishing-point was dictated mainly by the wish to explore the missionaries' reaction to the Government's decision of two years earlier to devote its funds thenceforth to English-medium education. Their attitude is perhaps of particular interest as they were not all, as has usually been assumed, wholeheartedly 'Anglicist' - indeed on this as on many other subjects there was no such thing as a common missionary policy. Coincidentally, 1837 was an important year for the missions for several different reasons - it saw the death of Joshua Marshman and the reunion of the independent Serampore mission with the B.M.S.; the retirement of W.H. Mill, the first Principal of Bishop's College; and the establishment of the Bhowanipore Institution by the L.M.S. - the last of the series of English schools which were founded in this period by the missions working in Calcutta, and which were to play a major part in the education of the youth of the metropolis.

This thesis is concerned with the educational efforts of the missionaries within the boundaries of Bengal proper - an area roughly corresponding to the present Indian State of West Bengal together with East Pakistan, and not to the whole Bengal Presidency as it existed in the early nineteenth century.

I have relied largely on the reports which the missionaries sent

back to the headquarters of their societies in the United Kingdom - mainly in the form of hitherto unpublished letters - supplemented by records in the India Office Library and contemporary newspapers and periodicals. I found the archives of the Baptist, Church, and London Missionary Societies to be of particular value for my purpose, and I owe a special debt of gratitude to the library and archives staff of those Societies for their friendly cooperation. I would also like to thank those of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Methodist Missionary Society, and the Department of Overseas Mission of the Church of Scotland; the Trustees of the British Museum; the Librarian and staff of the India Office Library, the School of Oriental and African Studies, the London University Institute of Education, the National Library of Scotland, and the National Library of Wales; the Bodleian Library, the Libraries of the Universities of Cambridge, Edinburgh, London, Nottingham, and St. Andrews, and the National Society Religious Education Office; the Principals and Librarians of Ridley Hall, Cambridge, Regents Park College, Oxford, and the Bristol Baptist College; Mr. G.H. Hainton, Borough Road College, Isleworth; Rev. E.F. Clipsham, Baptist Church House, London; and the ministers of the College Street Baptist Church, Northampton, and Broadmead Baptist Church, Bristol, for the help they gave me in locating books and manuscripts in their possession. I must also thank the Governing Body of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, for awarding me an Exhibition which enabled me to complete this thesis; and Miss Judith Burn for typing it for me. Finally, I would like to pay a very warm tribute to my supervisor, Professor K.A. Ballhatchet, for his never-failing help and encouragement.

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PART 1: THE ENGLISH

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND: SOME ASPECTS OF EDUCATION AND RELIGION IN ENGLAND, WALES, AND BENGAL, c.1780 - 1840

a. Elementary education.

Elementary education in eighteenth-century England was provided by Dame Schools, conducted by women, and Common Day Schools, by men, in both of which fees were payable. There were also free Charity Schools, mostly founded under the auspices of the (Anglican) Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge since 1698, and a few by Dissenters. The instruction given in these schools was very limited, comprising in the case of the Charity Schools reading, denominational religious teaching, writing and arithmetic for the more advanced pupils, and in a few practical subjects such as spinning and knitting. The ability of the teachers varied but was on the whole not high, especially in the Common Day Schools: elementary school-teaching was far from being a respected profession at that time, and people tended to drift into it who had previously failed at something else. They were often brutal and ignorant.¹

The Charity School movement, like all organised schemes for education in England before the nineteenth century, had a strong religious basis: religious instruction held the most prominent place in the syllabus, and the children were expected to attend church services regularly. 'Train up

(1) H.C. Barnard, A history of English education from 1760, 2nd edition, London, 1961, 2-7.

a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it',¹ was the favourite text of contemporary educationists. In the Middle Ages education had been one of the functions of the Church, and this tradition had continued after the Reformation - which gave an additional impetus of its own to education, as it was thought that an educated populace would be proof against the wiles of the Pope. Furthermore, Protestantism generally exalted the Bible as the ultimate source of authority, and taught that by using it the individual could learn to worship God aright - but in order to do so he must be able to read. In fact however in England and Wales during the centuries following the Reformation it was only Dissenters, Methodists and Evangelicals who stressed the importance of education as a prerequisite for individual Bible-reading as an end in itself. In the mainstream of the Church of England it was emphasised that the Bible should be read in schools in conjunction with the Prayer Book and the Catechism and under the interpretation of the Church itself: under these conditions it could be not only an authority for social morality but a support for the existing social order. As their very limited curriculum indicates, the Charity Schools were designed only for the children of the lowest class of society, as an education complete in itself and appropriate for the needs and duties of that class.² The motives of those who supported them was a mixture of genuine philanthropy and concern to stabilise the social order. 'The children were to be rescued from idleness and vagrancy, washed and combed, and instructed in their duties by the

(1) Proverbs XXII:6.

(2) M.G. Jones, The charity school movement, Cambridge, 1938, 23.

catechism, that they might become good men and women and useful servants. The schools did not exist to develop their intellectual powers, nor to steer them towards equality of opportunity.¹ It is an illuminating commentary on eighteenth-century social attitudes that the main criticism which was directed towards them was on the grounds that they were teaching their pupils too much rather than too little: throughout the century there was indeed considerable opposition to any education for the poor at all.² In fact however a Charity School education did qualify some of their pupils to rise somewhat in social status: they were enabled thereby to learn trades, to become shopkeepers, or to obtain superior positions in domestic service.³ And the long-term effect of the religious instruction, however tightly controlled by the Church, was not always what their supporters had envisaged: even if it was intended as the opium of the people, it did not always have that result. This was particularly true of the reading of the Bible, a book which contains rather more than principles tending to support the eighteenth-century social order: as Miss M.G. Jones has commented: 'the liberal value of charity school education is constantly underrated. It would be difficult to find a textbook which clothed instruction in so perfect a literary form, or to find teaching more conducive to intelligent criticism of social conditions than the gospel of the poor historians who are surprised by the rapid reception of radical thought in the early nineteenth century, show themselves ignorant

(1) Ibid., 74; cf. 4-5.

(2) Ibid., 13-4, 85-6, 95; cf. Barnard, op.cit., 55; A.E. Dobbs, Education and social movements, London, 1919, 148.

(3) Jones, op.cit., 86.

of New Testament ethics and unaware of the innumerable charities bestowed for the express purpose of teaching the poor to read.¹

Facilities for elementary education were never adequate, but they became even less so in the second half of the eighteenth century. The original impetus of the Charity School movement was exhausted by about 1730, and on the other hand the population began to increase rapidly and small towns mushroomed into big industrial cities. The middle and upper classes felt themselves threatened by revolutionary outbreaks by urban mobs, and there was in consequence a new emphasis on the possibilities of education as a prophylactic against crime, and as a factor which could stabilise the social order. These motives, combined again with a genuine concern for the material and spiritual well-being of poor children, were strongly marked in the work of Robert Raikes, who founded the Sunday School movement in Gloucester in 1780. Its basic purpose was simply to teach children to read the Bible, though in most schools the catechism and other religious literature was also read, and in a few writing and arithmetic were taught - often in classes on weekday evenings.² In 1785 the Society for the Establishment and Support of Sunday Schools was formed, with local committees comprising people of all denominations: for a few years the Sunday School movement thus provided an unusual example of

(1) Ibid., 345.

(2) A. Gregory, Robert Raikes: journalist and philanthropist - a history of the origin of Sunday Schools, London, 1877; Barnard, op.cit., 9-10; J.E. Watson, The educational activities of Baptists in England during the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries with particular reference to the north-west, unpublished M.A. thesis, Liverpool, 1947, 294-5; 'Cannon Street Sunday Schools - An Historical Sketch, 1795-1895', Mount Zion Messenger, Birmingham, July, 1895, 3-6.

Church of England - Dissenting cooperation, but by 1800 the High Church Anglicans were condemning this procedure¹ and thereafter the Sunday Schools developed more on denominational lines. By 1833 there were reckoned to be 1½ million children attending them; one factor that contributed to their success was that members of congregations to which they were attached^a often served gratuitously as teachers, especially in the Dissenters' schools.² An important reason for the widespread approval which the Sunday Schools received was that they did not interfere with child-labour during the week: by the same token they represent a retrograde step in comparison with the Charity Schools, which at least insisted on full-time education for young children. Nevertheless they were useful in providing at least the rudiments of an education for the poor at the time of the Industrial Revolution.

The real successors of the Charity Schools were the monitorial schools founded by Bell and Lancaster after 1800. A major obstacle to the increase of schools giving efficient instruction was the shortage of qualified teachers - a problem which Bell and Lancaster tried to solve (or perhaps to evade) by using the abler pupils as monitors. The idea came to Andrew Bell in Madras, where between 1789 and 1796 he was superintendent of the Male Military Asylum, a charity school for soldiers' orphans. He had a genuine interest in teaching and tried to improve the standards of the school, but found himself frustrated by the teachers, who were incompetent and uncooperative. One day he watched some children in a local Tamil

(1) Jones, op.cit., 153; F.K. Brown, Fathers of the Victorians, Cambridge,
 (2) Gregory, op.cit., 108-10; Wright, thes.cit., 147. (1961, 168-9.

school learning to write by tracing the letters of the alphabet with their fingers in the sand. He thought that his own pupils would make faster progress if this method was adopted, but his ushers refused to cooperate, so he successfully trained the ablest boys to teach it to the others. He returned to England convinced that he had made a discovery of the greatest importance for elementary education.¹

Meanwhile Joseph Lancaster was also experimenting with monitors; he opened a successful school in Borough Road, Southwark, in 1801 and received support from business-men, aristocrats, and ultimately from King George III, with whom he had an interview at Weymouth in 1805.² Lancaster was, however, a Quaker, and the religious teaching at his school was non-denominational, using the Bible only: his success therefore aroused the jealousy of High Churchmen, who feared that the traditional preponderance of the Church of England in education was being undermined. So Bell, who although a Scotsman had become an Anglican, was summoned from the comparative obscurity of his Swanage rectory to organise monitorial schools on an Anglican basis, and his early cordiality towards Lancaster turned to a jealous rivalry when High Churchmen represented to him that Lancaster had plagiarised his 'discovery'.³ A few years later two rival societies were formed to multiply schools on Bell's and Lancaster's systems respectively -- the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church, throughout England and Wales (1811)

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- (1) D. Salmon (ed.), The practical parts of Lancaster's 'Experiment' and Bell's 'Improvements', Cambridge, 1932, xvii-xix.
 - (2) Salmon, op.cit., vii-ix.
 - (3) Ibid., xix-xx.

and the British and Foreign School Society (1814). The Archbishop of Canterbury was the President of the former, and all the bishops were vice-presidents; it had the aspect therefore not so much of a voluntary society as of an educational department of the Established Church.¹ The B.F.S.S., on the other hand, was managed by a mixed company of Whig aristocrats, Radical politicians, Utilitarians, Dissenters, and a few Anglican Evangelicals.

In spite of the bitter denominational rivalry between them, the systems of Lancaster and Bell had a great deal in common with each other. In both the task of the master of the school was not so much to teach the pupils as to see that the system ran according to plan; the actual teaching, if such it could be called, was in the hands of the monitors. Lancaster and Bell devised graded series of lessons comprising the alphabet, reading, spelling, writing and simple arithmetic, which the pupils were expected to learn by imitation and by rote from the monitors. For example, for arithmetic in Lancaster's plan 'The monitor ... has a written [i.e. printed] book of sums, which his class are to do; and he has another written book, containing a key to the sums.

'He dictates: 27935
 3963
 8679
 14327

'He then takes the key, and reads as follows: FIRST COLUMN - 7 and 9 are 16, and 3 are 19, and 5 are 24. Set down 4 under the 7, and carry 2 to the next.

'This is written by every boy in the class' - and so on through the

(1) A.B.Webster, Joshua Watson, the story of a layman 1771-1855, London, 1954, 34-35.

remaining columns, until the total was produced.¹ It seems that the boys learnt to add simply by obeying mechanically the process as dictated by the monitor from his 'key'; as Lancaster proudly explained, each boy 'is told by the teacher [i.e. monitor] all he is to do; and his sole business is to do it, so often as to become quite familiar with it By this means, every boy of eight years old, who can barely read writing, and numerate well, is, by means of the guide containing the sums, and the key thereto, qualified to teach the first four rules of arithmetic ... with as much accuracy as mathematicians who may have kept school for twenty years.'²

In the age of the Industrial Revolution this mechanisation of the process of learning and teaching, combined with the apparent efficiency and the genuine cheapness of the schools, appealed strongly to contemporaries; in retrospect however it is clear that the dependence on rote-learning and the lack of any real explanation of what was taught rendered the two systems quite inadequate as vehicles for elementary education.³ In other respects however they marked a great improvement on the average eighteenth-century elementary school; there was a graded course of lessons appropriate textbooks were used; the children were divided into classes and took their position within their class according to merit; punishments were mild and rewards were given to stimulate good work. Lancaster and Bell both had a real understanding and affection for children, and

(1) Salmon, op.cit., 23-4.

(2) Ibid, 26.

(3) C. Birchenough, A History of elementary education in England and Wales, 3rd edition, London, 1938, 247.

tried 'to enlist on their side and attach to their educational efforts all the feelings and powers of nature that they could find.'¹ Bell claimed that his system 'engages the attention, interests the mind, and wins the affection of youth. Their natural love of activity is gratified by the occupation which it furnishes them', and the system inculcates 'punctuality, diligence, impartiality, and justice.'²

Apart from the burning question of religious teaching, the differences between the two systems were matters of detail only. Lancaster outdid Bell in devising elaborate rules for keeping hats, slates and pencils in their proper places, while in the use of monitors Bell, but not Lancaster, paired off the boys of each class into 'tutors' and 'pupils', the former to sit beside the latter and help them with their lessons.³ Lancaster's classes were smaller than Bell's, and under his system the alphabet and spelling were learnt from placards hung on the walls of the schoolroom; but Bell preferred small textbooks for this purpose.⁴ As far as the curriculum was concerned the staple of both systems was reading, writing, arithmetic and religious instruction, though the 'Lancasterians' did show a slightly greater enthusiasm for a broader curriculum than the 'Bellists': this reflected the differing attitudes of the Whig-Dissenting supporters of the one and the Tory-Anglican supporters of the other. Bell indeed declared in the second, third and fourth editions of his

(1) J.M.D. Meiklejohn, An old educational reformer: Dr. Andrew Bell, Edinburgh, 1881, 137.

(2) Salmon, op.cit., 68.

(3) Ibid, 57.

(4) Birchenough, op.cit., 244.

Experiment in Education (1805-8) that the poor need not be taught more than reading and Anglican religious instruction, lest the social order be imperilled, whereupon Lancaster accused him of "advocating the universal limitation of knowledge."¹ In practice, however, writing and arithmetic were taught in the National Society's schools,² and conservative prejudice against the education of the poor gradually declined. The changing times can be measured by the attitude of Hannah More, the Evangelical leader (nicknamed the 'she-bishop') who in the 1790s must be counted as an educational pioneer; she established some schools in the villages of north Somerset in the face of considerable opposition from the local farmers, although she taught her pupils only reading, the Bible, and "such coarse works as may fit them for servants."³ This essentially eighteenth-century figure - she was born in 1745 - was most disturbed by the relatively wide curriculum of the National Society.⁴

Partly in order to soothe conservative qualms, both Societies laid the greatest emphasis on religious teaching and moral training. In 1815 the Rev. Richard Warner congratulated the boys of the B.F.S.S. school at Bath on their good examination results and went on to summarise the Society's purpose - 'that you may gain a plain but useful education; be taught the principles and duties of your religion; and be trained to habits of decency, order, and virtue, or, in other words, be afforded

(1) Salmon, op.cit., xlv-xlvi.

(2) Education in the principles of the Established Church, London, 1812, 46; 4th Report of the National Society, 1815, 94-5.

(3) M.G. Jones, Hannah More, Cambridge, 1952, 152.

(4) Ibid., 211-2.

the means of comfort in this life, and of happiness in the next'. He went on to adjure them to come to the school clean and punctually, and when at play not to swear, and - a refreshing touch - to be kind to animals.¹ But in the next decade the first occasional reports of a wider curriculum in the B.F.S.S. schools began to appear; at the Central School in London - which acted as the main teachers' training establishment - some of the boys 'whose diligence and good conduct have been rewarded with extra instruction' were by 1825 learning geography, geometry and grammar.² In the same report there is a mention of a library attached to the Newcastle school, in which the abler boys could acquire 'useful knowledge'. By 1837 the wider curriculum had spread to a few more schools, but probably to only a small minority of the total; the reader of the report for that year was informed that in the schools at Bloomsbury and St. Pancras, for example, 'The course of instruction...is at once simple, unobjectionable, and sufficient' - comprising only reading, writing, arithmetic, religious instruction, and - for the girls - needlework; and varied by occasional outings to the British Museum and the Zoo.³ Even in the '30s most local committees opposed a wider curriculum, and the Bible was still the only reading-book officially sanctioned by the B.F.S.S.⁴ The National Society was even less enterprising; the 1837 report stated complacently that 'In consequence of...the simplicity...and the soundness of the principles which were adopted at the first proceedings, it can hardly be said that

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- (1) Report of the British and Foreign School Society to the General Meeting, November 1815, 32-3.
 (2) 20th Report of B.F.S.S., 1825, 6.
 (3) 32nd Report of B.F.S.S., 1837, 46.
 (4) Birchenough, op.cit., 274.

the operations of the NATIONAL SOCIETY have undergone any change since its establishment in 1811...there has been little at any time...which may be described as novelty, or fresh invention'.¹

There is no doubt that in the second decade of the nineteenth century the monitorial system represented a real step forward in mass elementary education, in spite of its limitations. The two Societies enjoyed enthusiastic and widespread support which enabled them to multiply schools rapidly; in 1821 the National Society reported that it had founded nearly 1800 free schools, with 235,000 children² - a number which doubled during the following decade. The system, especially in its Lancasterian form, spread overseas into several European countries; it was introduced into the Edinburgh High School and into Charterhouse, and Bentham planned his "Chrestomathic School" on the monitorial pattern. By 1840 however its inadequacies were becoming obvious to a generation whose educational standards were rising, and by then the Government had been persuaded to undertake some responsibility for elementary education. There was no question of this before the end of the eighteenth century; inasmuch as any official body was concerned with education, it was the Church. The first serious attempt to introduce any kind of state system of elementary education was made by Samuel Whitbread with his Parochial Schools' Bill (1807), but it was defeated partly by the general conservative antipathy to education and partly by the opposition of the Church of England, which thought that

(1) 26th Report of the National Society, 1837, 10-11.

(2) 10th Report of the National Society, 1821, 13, 18.

the proposed system would be substantially outside its control.¹ The next attempt was made by Brougham in 1820; it was equally abortive, but for the opposite reason. Determined to conciliate the Church, he proposed a network of parish schools over which the clergy would have considerable authority, and thereby aroused the opposition of the Dissenters.² The first measure that actually won Parliamentary approval was much less ambitious than these: a resolution to grant £20,000 per year 'in aid of Private Subscriptions for the Erection of School Houses' which was carried in 1833; the money was in practice divided between the National Society and the B.F.S.S.³ Denominational rivalry helped to stimulate the various private schemes for education - there is no doubt that the foundation of the National Society owed much to Lancaster's example - but it was also an important factor in retarding the development of a state system of education⁴: in this respect England was by the 1830s among the more backward countries of Europe. Caught between the persisting Anglican desire for ultimate Church control over all education, and the Dissenters' suspicion of intervention by a Government with which the Church of England had a privileged connexion, that Government had ample excuse to shelve the problem almost indefinitely. Not that denominational rivalries were the only obstacle; it was significant that the first Government grant for education should have been given in the year in which the first effective

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- (1) Barnard, op.cit., 54-5; A.V.Judges (ed.), Pioneers of English education, London, 1952, 22.
 - (2) Ibid., 23; C.W. New, The life of Henry Brougham to 1830, Oxford, 1961, 328-9.
 - (3) Barnard, op.cit., 69.
 - (4) Judges, op.cit., 22.

Factory Act was passed: until something was done to curb the use of child-labour, Whig industrialists were often little more enthusiastic about mass elementary education than Tory traditionalists.¹

The eighteenth century saw notable developments in elementary education in Wales, whose particular interest is that they illustrate with unusual clarity the importance of Protestant evangelism as a reason for the spread of schools. Welsh society was then more egalitarian than that of England, consisting overwhelmingly of peasant farmers, which helps to explain why education in Wales was much less concerned with conditioning the poor to accept their position in society.² Some Charity Schools were established in the early eighteenth century under S.P.C.K. auspices, but much more important was the Circulating School movement, led by Griffith Jones, the Rector of Llanddowror, between 1737 and 1761 - a period which saw the decline of the Charity Schools in England. Itinerant teachers settled in villages, especially during the winter months, and gave an intensive course in reading and religious instruction: their object was simply 'the promotion of piety'.³ The movement declined in the last two decades of the century, but the work of the Circulating Schools was continued to some extent in the Sunday Schools founded by Thomas Charles, the Methodist leader. In England the Methodists had not played an important part in organising nation-wide schemes of elementary education,

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- (1) B. Simon, Studies in the history of education, 1780-1870, London, 1960, 152; Webster, op.cit., 38.
 - (2) Jones, Charity schools, 266-9.
 - (3) Ibid., 298-313.

although Methodist parents were expected to give religious instruction to their children. In general however the Methodist leaders concentrated on preaching to adults¹; but Thomas Charles believed that if his preaching was to be really effective the people must be educated, and after 1789 he founded a large number of Sunday Schools.²

Eighteenth-century Welsh educationists were thus primarily concerned with the salvation of souls, and so they used the vernacular as their most effective medium. The pupils were taught first to read Welsh, and the Welsh Bible, catechisms, tracts and devotional works were used in the schools.³ All this was of crucial importance for the development - indeed for the survival - of the language: the few grammar schools in the country had long before adopted English and there were of course no universities, while the gentry and the administration had been anglicised since the sixteenth century. But the work of Griffith Jones and Thomas Charles ensured that Welsh would become the medium for much religious literature and discussion, and before long for other matters too. In 1799 Charles launched a Welsh periodical, Drysorfa Ysbrydol, which became the main organ of Methodist opinion in Wales and which did not confine itself to purely religious questions, and it is generally agreed that all this paved the way for the development of modern Welsh literature

(1) Ibid., 135-42.

(2) Ibid., C.E. Gittins (ed.), Pioneers of Welsh education, Swansea, n.d. - I.G. Jones, 'Thomas Charles'; D. Williams, A history of modern Wales, London, 1950, 154-5.

(3) Jones, op.cit., 311-3; Gittins, op.cit., 46-7.

and even for political nationalism.¹ There is an interesting parallel in the work of the missionaries in Bengal from 1793 onwards: they too used the vernacular as a matter of course as the most direct medium of communication with the local people, whether through preaching or education; Drysorfa Ysbrydol had its Bengali counterpart in J.C. Marshman's Samachar Darpan; and the modern development and use of Bengali owes almost as much as Welsh to evangelical concern for the salvation of souls.

In contrast to Bengal however the use of the vernacular in schools in Wales declined after the beginning of the nineteenth century. No Welsh-speaking educationists appeared to continue the work of Jones and Charles, and the London-based National Society seems to have become the most important sponsor of day-schools in Wales; but its leaders did not appreciate the importance of Welsh, which was scarcely taught in its schools. The 1826 Report included the astonishing statement that, as most of the people of Anglesey spoke only Welsh, 'consequently it must take a long time before they come to a competent knowledge of their duty to God and man'. They were to be taught English, then the Gospels - in that order.² By this time many Welsh people were indeed very keen to learn English - another parallel to contemporary Bengal: the population

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- (1) Jones, op.cit., 321-4; Williams, op.cit., 156; Gittins, op.cit., 53; Welsh in education and life: being the report of the departmental committee appointed by the President of the Board of Education to inquire into the position of the Welsh language and to advise as to its promotion in the educational system of Wales, London, 1927, 35ff.
 - (2) 15th Report of the National Society, 1826; cf. Welsh in education and life, 51-2.

was rising, and new industries in the south and in England were offering a greater variety of employment, and a knowledge of English was thought to give an opportunity to improve one's position.¹ But although one cannot see this 'Anglicist' phase as simply the imposition of an alien tongue upon a small and unwilling people, there is no doubt that educationally it was disastrous. A Royal Commission found education in Wales to be in a deplorable condition (1847): many parishes were without schools; the masters taught only English through the medium of English, but had themselves a quite inadequate grasp of the language; and such textbooks as existed were also in English.² It was found that on leaving school the children "cannot read with intelligence the most ordinary work upon subjects of common information, and are unacquainted with the limits, capabilities, general history or language of their own country, and are unable to comprehend a word which expresses an unfamiliar relation".³ Nevertheless the Commissioners were Anglicists to a degree far beyond anything seen in contemporary India: for them, education and teaching English were virtually synonymous, and they solemnly pronounced Welsh to be a hindrance to 'the moral progress and commercial prosperity' of the Principality.⁴ In spite of their prejudices however they were

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- (1) Jones, op.cit., 317-8; Welsh in education and life, 50-1; Birchenough, op.cit., 81.
 - (2) T. Phillips, Wales: the language, social condition, moral character, and religious opinions of the people, considered in their relation to education, London, 1849, 409; Welsh in education and life, 55-6; Williams, op.cit., 254-6.
 - (3) Phillips, op.cit., 410.
 - (4) Ibid., 14; Welsh in education and life, 55.

forced to acknowledge that the Welsh-medium Sunday Schools gave on the whole a much better education than the English-medium day schools.¹

b. Secondary education.

There were in England and Wales by 1800 seven public schools² and about 400 grammar schools, some of which had been founded and endowed in the Middle Ages and others in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But by 1800 they were on the whole in a decadent condition: the founders of the public schools had in most cases intended their pupils to be selected on the basis of academic rather than social qualifications, but they had developed into fee-paying institutions for the education of the upper and wealthy middle classes³. Many of the grammar schools, on the other hand, had declined almost to vanishing-point: a major problem was that their headmasters, once installed, were usually very difficult to remove, so there was nothing to stop them from drawing the salary assigned by the endowment, augmenting it by taking private fee-paying pupils, and neglecting the free scholars for whom the school had been originally intended.⁴

Furthermore, the curriculum of the old endowed schools had in most cases not been changed to take account of the advance in knowledge. The 'grammar' which they had been established to teach was of course Latin

(1) Ibid., 56-7.

(2) Winchester, Eton, Westminster, Charterhouse, Shrewsbury, Harrow, Rugby. Merchant Taylors' and St. Paul's are often included to make a total of nine.

(3) E.C. Mack, Public schools and British opinion, 1780-1860, London, 1938, 15-20.

(4) Simon, op.cit., 96-7.

and Greek, but by the late eighteenth century there was a growing demand also for some education in mathematics, science, modern languages, history and geography, which the old endowed schools did little to meet. In some cases, such as Ashby de la Zouche, Loughborough and Leeds, the managers tried to persuade the master to introduce modern subjects, but he stood by the letter of the founder's intentions and refused. There was a famous case in 1805 when the Governors of Leeds Grammar School went to court over the matter, but Lord Eldon upheld the master's contention, suggesting only that modern studies might be introduced into the school as subordinate subjects.¹ A few Grammar schools, including Dartmouth, Rochester, Manchester and Hull, did introduce modern subjects in the late eighteenth century,² but they were not typical. In other schools non-classical subjects were sometimes taught as 'extras' by part-time masters hired for the purpose, and this was true of the public schools also.³ This was no doubt better than nothing, but the additional fees were sometimes considerable, and the time and importance given to these subjects was small in comparison with the classics.

In any case, the problem was not just that the time-table was almost monopolised by the classics, but that even they were badly taught. Learning the classics at the public and grammar schools was by 1800 'an exceedingly dreary process...more likely to depress than to stimulate the mind.'⁴

(1) Ibid., 105-7.

(2) N. Hans, New trends in education in the eighteenth century, London, 1951, 38-41.

(3) J.W. Adamson, English Education, 1789-1902, Cambridge, 1930, 45; Mack, op.cit., 26, fn. 2; Simon, op.cit., 104.

(4) Mack, op.cit., 28.

It 'consisted solely in learning Latin and Greek grammar rules by heart, in memorising portions of Latin writers and the names and dates of generals out of ancient history, and in writing Latin verses...Classroom procedure was formal, strict, and dull: the master sat in glowering majesty...and listened to boys' droning recitations of incompletely mastered rules of grammar or passages from Latin literature, ready to mete out punishment for the slightest error'. There were no examinations, or incentives for good work.¹ Texts 'were rarely expounded or understood,² and there was no attempt to give the pupil a glimpse of the deeper significance of classical civilisation. Inasmuch as those who carried on this moribund system were conscious of any constructive purpose, it was simply to perfect their pupils' literary style. It was a system which valued 'manner more than matter'; in which a false quantity was regarded as a most serious error.³

For some time educational reformers had been pointing out that children developed best in an atmosphere in which kindly encouragement was combined with firmness; something which Lancaster and Bell, for example, understood very well. But in the old endowed schools discipline continued to be very harsh: the emphasis was still on chastening boys and thereby civilising their naturally evil instincts,⁴ and what was worse, especially in the public schools, was the brutal bullying of the smaller by the bigger boys.⁵

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- (1) Ibid., 26-7; A. Whitridge, Dr. Arnold of Rugby, London, 1928, 59-62.
 - (2) Simon, op.cit., 98.
 - (3) F.W. Farrar (ed.), Essays on a liberal education, London, 1867, 221-3.
 - (4) Mack, op.cit., 30-1.
 - (5) Ibid., 39-43; G.F. Lamb, The happiest days, London, 1959, 13-28.

Furthermore, although most of the founders were pious men who intended their schools to be places of 'true religion and sound learning', during the eighteenth century religion in the schools declined into a barren formality¹ - reflecting of course the general position in the country at large. In a chapter appropriately entitled 'Dim Religious Light', G.F. Lamb has argued that even in the mid-nineteenth century, when the situation had started to improve, school services were mostly tedious and not particularly meaningful. He concluded by remarking that 'dissipation and brutality were never more rife in our schools than when most of the staff were clerics'.² All this is not to say that every public and grammar schoolboy in the late eighteenth century was totally miserable and learnt nothing of value; nevertheless there was plenty of justification for the demand for reform, moral and intellectual, which began to be made with growing urgency at about that time.

By 1837 some sign of improvement was at least becoming apparent. The attempt by Russell at Charterhouse to abolish fagging and introduce the monitorial system (1813) was not a success,³ but Samuel Butler, Headmaster of Shrewsbury (1798-1836) introduced marks and examinations which provided a stimulus to the able boys to distinguish themselves - the idea of 'emulation', fashionable among contemporary educational reformers, thus began to affect the public schools. Butler was a most effective teacher of the classics and himself an excellent scholar, and he was prepared to

(1) Mack, op.cit., 34; Lamb, op.cit., 213-6.
 (2) Ibid., 217.
 (3) Mack, op.cit., 225-7.

trust his boys, allowing the 'praepostors' a certain degree of authority in the school. This was significant because hitherto a chronic state of hostility had been assumed to exist between masters and boys, seniors as well as juniors. Shrewsbury flourished under Butler's rule,¹ and he himself represents a transitional stage between the old type of headmaster and Dr. Thomas Arnold and those who derived their inspiration from him.

Arnold was much more than a great headmaster, but the other aspects of his career will be noted briefly below. As headmaster of Rugby (1828-1842) he carried further Butler's use of prefects, making them his trusted lieutenants in the government of the school, and he also succeeded in welding his assistant masters into a team, each member of which could feel that he had some responsibility for the well-being of the school as a whole²: a new concept in the public schools at that time. As far as the curriculum was concerned, Arnold's title to fame is not that he introduced modern subjects, which he did only to a very limited extent, but that he breathed new life into the teaching of classics. At Rugby in 1834 the week was divided into 20 periods, of which two were devoted to mathematics, two to modern languages (French and German), and the remaining 16 to an interlocking course of Greek and Latin, History, and Scripture. The history was mainly but not entirely classical; a little geography was taught but no science³, although Arnold was by no means

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- (1) Ibid., 228-33; Barnard, op.cit., 72-3; Lamb, op.cit., 123-4.
 - (2) Ibid., 138-9; Whitridge, op.cit., 98-9.
 - (3) D. Newsome, Godliness and good learning, London, 1961, 64-5; Whitridge, op.cit., 114-7.

devoid of interest in the subject and encouraged his boys to observe the workings of nature in their walks abroad.¹ Arnold in fact strongly disliked the fashionable craze for 'useful knowledge' associated especially with the Utilitarians; the last thing he wanted was a curriculum made up of smatterings of many different subjects with no integrating principle.² On the other hand, he believed that a study of Greek and Latin literature, history and philosophy gave a good liberal education - provided that the classics were taught in such a way as to bring out their eternal moral and aesthetic significance; as illuminating guides for contemporary man, and not just as formal linguistic exercises. In contrast to his predecessors, he was primarily concerned with the content rather than the form of classical literature,³ and his answer to Utilitarian reformers was not to cast them down from their central place in the curriculum but to show that the embers of the Renaissance humanism could be rekindled into a flame. In order to do this effectively he abandoned the traditional reliance on rote-learning: 'His whole method was founded on the principle of awakening the intellect of every individual boy. Hence it was his practice to teach by questioning...and his questions were of the kind to call the attention of the boys to the real point of every subject and to disclose to them the exact boundaries of what they knew or did not know'.⁴

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- (1) Newsome, op.cit., 68; T.W. Bamford, Thomas Arnold, London, 1960,
 (2) Ibid., 120; Newsome, op.cit., 4-5. (118-20.
 (3) Mack, op.cit., 247, 269; A.P. Stanley, The life and correspondence of Thomas Arnold, 2nd edition, London, 1844, Vol.I, 131; Whitridge, op.cit., 103-6.
 (4) Stanley, op.cit., I, 135-6.

But Arnold was more than an unusually stimulating teacher of classical literature: he was ultimately concerned more with religious and moral rather than with intellectual training. He believed that the whole atmosphere of the school should be permeated by the spirit of Christianity, which should provide the 'integrating principle' for all its diverse activities.¹ Just as he had reaffirmed the significance of the classical curriculum, so also did he breathe new life into the old concept of 'godliness and good learning'², which had come to seem such a hollow sham by the end of the eighteenth century. Unlike his predecessors he was also the school chaplain, which expressed his pastoral concern for the proper development of the total personality of his pupils. He was evidently a most effective preacher, and in his weekly sermons he used to exhort the boys actually to live the Christian life in the school - to make it a microcosm of the Christian society he so longed to see in the country as a whole. Sunday sermons would, in themselves, have had little more effect than the barren formalities of eighteenth-century public school religion, but Arnold succeeded in giving the boys through this means 'an image of high principle and feeling, which they felt was not put on for the occasion, but was constantly living amongst them'.³ Christian principles were not invoked 'as a rhetorical flourish, or [as] a temporary appeal to the feelings; [but] as the natural expression of what was constantly applied'.⁴ David Newsome has recently noted the combination of

(1) Ibid., 102-3.

(2) Newsome, op.cit., 2.

(3) Stanley, op.cit., I, 164.

(4) Ibid., 103.

'intellectual toughness, moral earnestness, and deep spiritual conviction'¹ which characterised Arnold among other early Victorian thinkers; it was these qualities, blended together in his personality, which enabled Arnold to make such a deep ^Rimpression on Rugby School.

Arnold thus infused a more elevated religious and moral tone into Rugby, and demonstrated afresh the potentiality of classical literature as a liberal education - principles which his disciples applied to the reformation of other public schools in the 1840s and '50s, and which redeemed their reputation in the eyes of the affluent early Victorian middle and upper classes. But he had not solved the problem of integrating modern studies into the traditional classical curriculum, a process which went forward very slowly indeed during the mid-nineteenth century: it was not until 1864 that science appeared on the Rugby curriculum², and at about the same time in Wellington College. In this new and comparatively progressive school it was taught by a local doctor as a sideline; 'the original apparatus appears to have been a box of sand and a poker'.³ Indeed the most conspicuous feature of endowed schools - and universities - in England up to this time was their conservatism; the classics, learnt under threat of flogging, had after all been the staple of English secondary education since the time of the Anglo-Saxons.⁴

The public and grammar schools were however by no means the only sources of secondary education in the late eighteenth century. During

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- (1) Newsome, op.cit., 25.
 - (2) Farrar, op.cit., 244.
 - (3) Newsome, op.cit., 68.
 - (4) Lamb, op.cit., 165.

this period there was a proliferation of private schools of every conceivable variety: in some, the children were treated as harshly as in the old schools; others reflected the more humane ideals of educational reformers. Some concentrated on classics, while others offered also a wide range of modern subjects; there were elementary as well as secondary schools - the line between them was in any case less clear-cut than now - and there were schools conducted by Dissenters as well as by Anglicans.¹ For example, at Leicester by 1820 - at a time when the old Grammar School had practically ceased to function - there existed alternatives in the shape of an Anglican school for the sons of the gentry, a 'Classical and Commercial Academy' conducted by a Dissenting minister, and several other private schools.² Many private schools were ephemeral, conducted by men (and women) who were more interested in profit than education, and assisted by incompetent ushers;³ nevertheless as a whole they made a vital contribution to education at this period.

This was particularly so in that they were much readier to introduce modern subjects than the old schools. Pressure for a wider curriculum increased steadily during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, coming mainly from the middle class engaged in the country's growing industry and trade; such people found the traditional classical curriculum

(1) R.L. Archer, Secondary education in the nineteenth century, Cambridge, 1937, 84-7; Hans, op.cit., 63-9; Simon, op.cit., 110.

(2) Simon, op.cit., 112-3.

(3) Cf. Simon, op.cit., 114. Dickens portrayed the private school at its worst in Nicholas Nickleby (Dotheboys Hall). An example of a better kind was the school kept by an Evangelical clergyman near Cambridge in which T.B. Macaulay, James Thomason and one of Wilberforce's sons were educated. The Evangelical atmosphere was uncongenial to some of the boys but its proprietor was a conscientious teacher and living conditions were comfortable.

of little use for the kind of career for which their sons were destined.¹ In a survey of 28 private 'academies' in the eighteenth century, Nicholas Hans found that their basic course consisted of English and mathematics, beyond which the majority offered also geography, astronomy, drawing, French, natural philosophy, Latin and dancing. In addition many also offered technical subjects including navigation (for a naval career), fortification and gunnery (for the Army), accountancy, surveying and architecture.²

Closely connected with these 'private academies' was the group usually referred to as 'Dissenting academies'; indeed the division was not clear-cut as many of the former were conducted by Dissenters. Perhaps the main distinction is that the Dissenting academies originated (in the later seventeenth century) primarily as theological seminaries for their respective denominations, and although they subsequently broadened their scope immensely they never ceased to offer theological training. From the educational point of view at least their greatest period was the second half of the eighteenth century, when the narrow Calvinist orthodoxy of the denominations had mellowed, and interest in literature and science increased.³ The most famous was the Warrington Academy (1756-83), at which Joseph Priestley was a lecturer, and where a wide variety of subjects in arts, science and theology was offered, including vocational training in accountancy, surveying and navigation.⁴ They tended to be liberal,

(1) Ibid., 105-10; Hans, op.cit., 38.

(2) Ibid., 64-7.

(3) Ibid., 55-62.

(4) H. MacLachlan, English education under the Test Acts, Manchester, 1931, 209-27.

even radical, in politics; in 1792 Tom Paine was the chief guest at a 'Republican Supper' at the Hackney Academy¹, but this kind of thing was suppressed by the Government's counter-revolutionary measures in the following years; in any case the secularism of the later stages of the French Revolution alienated the more orthodox Dissenters, and a revival of the original emphasis on theology took place in most of the academies.² At the Gosport Academy which was founded after 1789 to train Congregationalist ministers and L.M.S. missionaries, 'the object was not to make great scholars, but useful preachers of the Gospel', and much more importance was attached to a study of the Bible than to 'metaphysical discussions'.³ The Baptist academies had similar principles at that period.⁴ The Dissenting academies, and probably the private schools generally, were more willing than the older institutions to use the vernacular as the medium of education. At Oxford towards the end of the eighteenth century many lectures were still delivered in Latin⁵ but Doddridge, who conducted the Northampton Academy from 1729 to 1751, lectured in English⁶, and

(1) Ibid., 38, 253.

(2) E. Halévy, A history of the English people in 1815, London, 1924, Vol.III, 40-1; Simon, op.cit., 69.

(3) J. Morrison, The fathers and founders of the London Missionary Society, London, 1839, Vol.I, 491-2.

(4) S.A. Swaine, Faithful men, or, memorials of Bristol Baptist College, London, 1884, 162-7; An account of the Bristol Education Society, Bristol, 1804, 4.

(5) C.E. Mallet, A history of the university of Oxford, London, 1924-7, Vol.III, 139, cf. 162-7; J.Shore, Lord Teignmouth, Memoirs of the life, writings, and correspondence, of Sir William Jones, London, 1804, 31.

(6) MacLachlan, op.cit., 21; I.Parker, Dissenting academies in England, Cambridge, 1914, 92; W.T. Whitley, 'The Contribution of Nonconformity to Education until the Victorian Era', Educational Record, June 1915, 10-11.

English textbooks began to supersede the traditional Latin books. Many of these were written by teachers in the academies; indeed the first English dictionary (1721-7) was produced by Nathan Bailey, a Baptist and superintendent of an academy at Stepney.¹ On the other hand in the public schools Latin grammars which were not only unnecessarily complex and detailed but which were actually written in Latin continued to be used until far into the nineteenth century; Samuel Butler was the first headmaster who produced a simplified grammar in English.²

Even the private classical schools represented a reforming spirit; the masters of the best of them anticipated Arnold in trying to give their pupils a real understanding of classical civilisation, and deprecated the endless rote-learning of the old schools. In contrast to the 'modern' schools, they were often conducted by an Anglican priest - sometimes by the parish clergyman himself - who presided as a paterfamilias over a small private boarding-school. The curriculum was not necessarily limited to the classics; arithmetic, French, drawing and dancing were among the other subjects sometimes taught.³

c. Higher education.

The best of the Dissenting academies provided an education at university level, and indeed it can reasonably be claimed that they offered

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- (1) D.N.B. There is an interesting comparison between Bailey and the Baptist missionary, William Carey, who compiled a Bengali dictionary (and grammar) eighty years later.
 - (2) Archer, op.cit., 19; Barnard, op.cit., 72.
 - (3) Hans, op.cit., 63, 66, 117-25.

the most stimulating higher education in late eighteenth-century England.¹ For this was not a glorious period in the history of the two old Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. In the first place non-Anglicans were still excluded from them, in contrast to the Dissenting academies which were open to all; and like the public and grammar schools, they were little concerned with modern subjects. Archbishop Laud had ordained a seven-year course of studies for Oxford, from matriculation to M.A., embracing not only classical literature and philosophy but also some mathematics and science, after which students of divinity, law, and medicine could specialise in their own fields; but this ambitious curriculum was not in practice followed in the eighteenth century². The chairs of Modern History, Common Law, and various sciences were indeed established during the century, but by 1800 it was estimated that only one-third of the Professors gave lectures, and when they did they did not necessarily attract an audience.³ This is not to say that all the students were idle, still less totally dissipated; one could study French, chemistry or music if one wanted to; but the general atmosphere in the University, especially from about 1760 to 1790, was not conducive to hard work.⁴ The average Fellow was a 'gentleman of leisure waiting for a living',⁵ and tended to regard earnest students as a nuisance.⁶ The same kind of situation

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- (1) Barnard, op.cit., 28; H.H. Bellot, University College London 1826-1926, London, 1929, 7; Whitley, art.cit., 14.
 - (2) A.D. Godley, Oxford in the eighteenth century, London, 1908, 56-8.
 - (3) Ibid., 43-51.
 - (4) Ibid., 59-67; Archer, op.cit., 7-9; Hans, op.cit., 42-53; cf. Shore, Sir. W. Jones, 31-3.
 - (5) Godley, op.cit., 100.
 - (6) Archer, op.cit., 9.

prevailed at Cambridge, but to a lesser extent.¹

Moreover, neither University 'was abreast of modern knowledge in the fields of learning it mainly cultivated. At Oxford, the home of theological and classical studies, there was almost complete ignorance of the great advances in historical criticism and philology in Germany. ...At Cambridge, where mathematical studies had held an important place since the days of Newton and formed the main subject in honours degrees, the recent advances of French mathematical physicists were comparatively unknown.'² Oxford's philosophy still revolved around Aristotle - a prominent legacy of the Middle Ages - and as in the case of the public schools, there was a pre-occupation with style rather than content.³ The universities' Orientalists made little contribution to the great advance in knowledge of Asian civilisations which took place in the eighteenth century in comparison with travellers, missionaries and officials.⁴ Sir William Jones indeed learnt Arabic at Oxford, but he was encouraged to do so by a fellow-student and his teacher was a Syrian whom he had met in London: as his most recent biographer has commented, he and like-minded fellow students 'did not get much help in their Oriental pursuits' from the authorities'.⁵

The worst period for the Universities was probably c.1760-80, when the number of students dropped to their lowest level; at Oxford especially the proportion of upper-class students was then rising towards a majority

(1) Ibid., 9; Godley, op.cit., 13-14; Halévy, op.cit., III, 171-8.

(2) Simon, op.cit., 87.

(3) Godley, op.cit., 50, 96; Archer, op.cit., 6-7; Mallet, op.cit., III, 127-8.

(4) S.N. Mukherjee, Sir William Jones, Cambridge, 1968, 16.

(5) Mukherjee, op.cit., 23; cf. Shore, op.cit., 32-3.

and these were much more inclined than the poorer students to spend their time there in social rather than intellectual pursuits.¹ This was possible because examinations were perfunctory, and the reform of the examination system which took place at the beginning of the nineteenth century was a landmark in the gradual recovery of the University from the depths of its eighteenth-century decline. The New Examinations Statute (1800) tightened up the methods of conducting the B.A. examination and instituted one for an honours degree; during the first quarter of the nineteenth century the Literae Humaniores and Mathematics Honours Schools developed.² The Statute was partly the work of John Eveleigh, Provost of Oriel between 1781 and 1814: during his régime and that of his successor Coplestone Fellowships in the College were given on the basis of academic merit - an innovation at that period³ - as a result of which Oriel became a society filled with 'a spirit of free enquiry'.⁴ These Fellows, who included Whately, Thomas Arnold, and the future Tractarians Keble and Pusey, came to be known as the 'Noetics'; they took an interest in modern French and German philosophy as well as Aristotle, in ancient and modern history and literature, and 'applied an unsparing logic to received opinions'.⁵ It was this experience which led Arnold to encourage the boys of Rugby to think for themselves, and which lay behind his conviction that the classics

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- (1) Ibid., 7; Halévy, op.cit., III, 178; Hans, op.cit., 46-7.
 - (2) Godley, op.cit., 180-1; G.C. Brodrick, A history of the University of Oxford, 2nd edition, London, 1891, 191-3.
 - (3) H. Tuckwell, Pre-Tractarian Oxford, London, 1909, 2-3; Whitridge, op.cit., 19.
 - (4) Tuckwell, op.cit., 15.
 - (5) Brodrick, op.cit., 205-6; cf. Newsome, op.cit., 10.

were worth teaching for content rather than style.¹ It is however worth noting that the early nineteenth-century revival of learning at Oxford, like the similar process at the public schools, resulted from breathing new life into the old curriculum rather than from introducing modern studies; just as Arnold defended the classical curriculum of the former against Utilitarian criticism, so did Coplestone defend Oxford's concentration on Aristotle against the attacks of the Edinburgh Review². Baden Powell, Savilian Professor of Geometry and himself formerly a student at Oriel, complained in 1832 that 'not more than two or three Oxford degree candidates could add vulgar fractions, tell the cause of day or night, or the principle of the pump.'³ It was said that the Universities 'are the great schools by which established opinions are inculcated and perpetuated'⁴ - a fair summary of their position in the eighteenth century and for some time after.

During this period Dissenters, and indeed all who wanted something more than the traditional higher education in the rather soporific atmosphere of Oxford or Cambridge, had a number of alternatives: they could go to one of the more distinguished Dissenting academies, or to a Scottish university, or abroad. Apart from these they could attend the lectures and discussions held under the auspices of the various 'literary and philosophical societies' that were founded towards the end of the century in big cities like Manchester and Birmingham.⁵ During the first quarter of

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- (1) Archer, op.cit., 36.
 - (2) Tuckwell, op.cit., 30.
 - (3) Simon, op.cit., 92.
 - (4) Ibid., 88.
 - (5) Halévy, op.cit., III, 188-92.

the nineteenth century, however, feeling was growing especially among Dissenters and radicals that a new university should be established in London to meet their needs for higher education. The Congregationalist leader David Bogue, tutor of the Congregationalist Academy at Gosport, proposed a Dissenting University in 1812¹, and his idea was taken up by some of the Baptists, especially F.A. Cox, who was the minister at Hackney and mathematics tutor at the Baptist seminary at Stepney.² In 1825-6 the Dissenters decided to cooperate with Thomas Campbell, Henry Brougham and other radicals to found University College, London as a secular institution offering a very wide range of subjects in arts and science.³ It owed most to the example of the Scottish universities; something to those of Germany and the United States, and indirectly to the Dissenting academies; nothing to Oxford or Cambridge.⁴ Largely because of the prospect of disagreements between Anglicans and Dissenters, theology was excluded.⁵ The Dissenters continued to develop their theological seminaries - the Baptists, for example, had four by this time in England and Wales⁶ - but the Anglicans felt that a counterblast in London was needed, and established King's College with a curriculum embracing theology on a Church of England pattern in addition to arts and science subjects, and also the

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- (1) MacLachlan, op.cit., 8; Bellot, op.cit., 20.
 - (2) Ibid., 21-2; New, op.cit., 362; The Baptist Magazine, May 1820; Prospectus of a college for the education of ministerial and lay students on a university system, London, 25 February, 1825.
 - (3) Bellot, op.cit., 22-29.
 - (4) Ibid., 1-8; New, op.cit., 374-5.
 - (5) Ibid., 363, 379; Bellot, op.cit., 22-3.
 - (6) At Bristol, Stepney, Bradford and Abergavenny.

University of Durham. After protracted wrangling King's and University Colleges combined to form the University of London (1836). Arnold accepted a fellowship in the Senate but resigned when it refused to institute a compulsory non-denominational examination in Scripture for degree candidates (1838); he regarded Christianity as the essential basis for a sound education, not merely as an optional extra subject.¹

The establishment of London University was a major landmark in the development of English higher education: official recognition had at last been given to an institution which emphasised modern studies. For the century and more prior to this event, secondary and higher education resembled an iceberg: Oxford and Cambridge, the public and grammar schools, long-established, comparatively wealthy and prestigious, still enjoyed the limelight, but beneath them it was the new private schools and the Dissenting academies which represented the ideas of educational reformers the more accurately, and which were much more significant pointers to the future development of education. Finally, one should not forget that the history of education is not identical with the history of schools; many children in the wealthy middle and upper classes were not sent to school at all, but were educated at home by private tutors.² And a significant number of the men who distinguished themselves during the period, especially in science and technology, had received no formal secondary or higher education at all, but were virtually self-taught³;

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- (1) Stanley, op.cit., II, 10-12; Whitridge, op.cit., 193-5.
 - (2) Hans, op.cit., 23, 182-9; Simon, op.cit., 28.
 - (3) Hans, op.cit., 189-93.

a somewhat damning commentary on the whole system.

Just as the government in England was slow, compared with other European countries, to assume any responsibility for education, so also the greatest educational pioneers on the period - Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Fellenberg - were continental Europeans and not Englishmen. The ideas of these three varied considerably but they held certain things in common: they had an insight into child-psychology which led them to emphasise that educational programmes should be devised to suit the real nature and needs of children: in contrast to the traditional orthodoxy, their reforms were child-centred rather than adult-centred. They disapproved of rote-learning and stressed that children would learn best by experience: that they should be encouraged to observe and to think things out for themselves.¹ Implicit in all this was a rejection of the idea of original sin as especially applicable to children; Rousseau in fact went to the opposite extreme and developed a theory of 'original virtue', which the usual type of education could only corrupt.² The natural effect of this trend of thought was of course to mitigate the harshness of school life. These ideas were not unknown in England by 1837 - even the systems of Lancaster and Bell show signs of their influence - but they were certainly not predominant.³

(1) Barnard, op.cit., 32-41.

(2) Ibid., 34-5.

(3) Ibid., 40-1; Judges, op.cit., 10.

d. Religion.

The Church of England during the eighteenth century was greatly affected by the rationalist temper of the age, as was seen in the work of the Latitudinarians, who tried to show that the Biblical revelation of God could be confirmed by reason.¹ The Deists went much further and denied the necessity of revelation altogether: the Bible was historically and morally suspect, priestcraft was a fraud, and an all-sufficient 'natural theology' could be constructed from a study of God's creation - the true 'revelation' was nature.² Although the Deist-Latitudinarian controversy reached its climax in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the issues that it raised continued to be argued by Christian apologists and their opponents - both in England and in India - until the middle of the nineteenth. Orthodox opinion was meanwhile summarised by William Paley in his Evidences of Christianity (1794) and Natural Theology (1802): he claimed that the validity of Christianity was attested primarily by Christ's miracles, which were conclusive proofs of his divinity. Supporting evidence included the labours and hardships of his early apostles, which they would not have undergone for any ordinary reason, and the prophecies of the Old Testament, which he understood as actual predictions of the life and work of Christ. He regarded Christ's ethical teaching as superior to any other, but stressed that the main purpose of the Christian revelation as regards ethics was to 'influence

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- (1) G.R. Cragg, The church and the Age of Reason, London, 1960, 71, 160.
 (2) Ibid., 77-8, 159-61; F.E. Manuel, The eighteenth century confronts the gods, Cambridge, Mass., 1959, 69.

the conduct of human life, by establishing the proof of a future state of reward and punishment'.¹ His works had a great vogue in the nineteenth century as textbooks, for example at Cambridge² and in Christian schools in India.

The Church of England in the eighteenth century stressed ethics, reason and common sense, and deprecated enthusiasm, emotion and imagination. In its practice there was a tendency for its services to degenerate into dry formalities, and for the clergy to neglect their pastoral duties, while its organisation did not prove sufficiently flexible to cope with the growth of population in the industrial centres. The Methodist movement, led by John Wesley after 1738, represented a religious protest against all this; its main success was among the poor, and it restored emotion to religion. Methodism was indirectly an inspiration for the Evangelical movement, which crystallised within the Church of England in the later 1780s under the leadership of William Wilberforce. The Evangelicals stressed the authority of personal religious experience, confirmed by the test of Scripture³; they were very conscious of the innate sinfulness of man, and were primarily concerned with the conversion of individuals to a belief in the Atonement of Christ as the only means of salvation.⁴ In theology they were vaguely Calvinist, but did not hold the extreme

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- (1) W. Paley, A View of the evidences of Christianity, 3rd edition, London, 1795, Vol.II, 24-5.
 - (2) A.R. Vidler, The church in an age of revolution, London, 1961, 39.
 - (3) G.V. Bennett and J.D. Walsh (eds.), Essays in modern church history, in memory of Norman Sykes, London, 1966, 139.
 - (4) E.J. Sharpe, Not to destroy but to fulfil, Uppsala, 1965, 25; S. Neill, Anglicanism, London, 1958, 193.

Calvinist view of election and reprobation - they believed that salvation was offered freely to all, not just to a predetermined Elect.¹ In fact they were not systematic theologians at all:² their interest was rather in practical measures of moral and social reform, including the abolition of the slave-trade and of slavery itself, curbing drunkenness, cruel sports and duelling, and promoting Sunday observance³. As regards education they were mainly but not solely interested in undenominational Scriptural teaching in elementary schools; thus they supported Sunday schools and the B.F.S.S., not to mention Hannah More's schools in Somerset, and they were among the critics of the moral condition of the public schools. Their methods included the mobilisation of the moral indignation of the public on a nation-wide scale, parliamentary pressure, and the formation of literally dozens of charitable societies for the achievement of specific aims, to which they contributed liberally. They believed that the moral reform of the nation could not be fully achieved unless its people became 'truly Christian' (in the Evangelical sense), and they lost no opportunity of including a religious message in their charitable work, but in practice their humanitarian interests went beyond the range of their effective religious influence. Yet in politics they were basically conservative, like the philanthropists of the early eighteenth century: they never stopped to consider whether the evils against which they campaigned so insistently might not be the natural result of an iniquitous

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- (1) Halévy, op.cit., III, 59-60; Jones, Hannah More, 97-100; J. van den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' love, Kampen, 1956, 117-9.
 (2) Ibid., 118; Jones, Hannah More, 97-100; Cragg, op.cit., 154.
 (3) E.M. Howse, Saints in politics, Toronto, 1952, 130-1.

political and social structure; rather did they believe that all men should conscientiously fulfil the responsibilities proper to their position in society as it was - to the situation in which God had placed them. Thus they reacted as strongly as anyone against 'Jacobinism'; Hannah More produced a series of tracts to counter the effects of Tom Paine on the lower classes in the 1790s, and proved to be one of the most effective conservative propagandists of the period.¹

The Evangelicals were particularly concerned about the clergy of the Church of England, whom they criticised as being in general spiritually and morally incapable of discharging their proper pastoral duty. Two parties therefore emerged within the Church - the Evangelicals and the High Churchmen, who 'stressed the apostolic order, continuity, authority and discipline of the visible Church, the necessity of the apostolic succession for the constitution of a true priesthood, the role of baptism in bringing the Christian within the Covenant of Grace, and of the Eucharist in sustaining him therein, the value of a strict attachment to the ordinances, liturgy and festivals of the Church'.² Politically they were Tories, but of a much more rigid type than the Evangelicals, whom they regarded with the deepest suspicion; they feared a schism in the Church on the pattern of the early seventeenth century, with the Evangelicals playing the part of the Puritans whom in so many respects they resembled.³ The High Churchmen of the early nineteenth century were indeed much more

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- (1) Jones, Hannah More, 132-46; F.K.Brown, Fathers of the Victorians, Cambridge, 1961, 123-40.
 - (2) Bennett and Walsh, op.cit., 138.
 - (3) Brown, op.cit., 156-70, 371.

the successors of Laud and Sheldon than the forerunners of the Tractarians, of 1833 and after; they were as hostile to Roman Catholics as to Dissenters, having, unlike the later Anglo-Catholics, no doubt that they belonged to a Protestant Church.¹ The Evangelicals were in fact no less loyal to the Church of England, and of course no less consciously Protestant, but unlike the High Churchmen they were prepared to cooperate with Dissenters - and radicals - in humanitarian causes; the B.F.S.S. is a good example of this. They were also liberal enough to support Roman Catholic Emancipation in 1829.

Neither the Evangelicals nor the High Churchmen had original theological or social insights; they continued to accept the Bible literally, ignoring the beginnings of criticism in Germany², and they did nothing to prepare English Christians for the mid-nineteenth century challenge of science. Nevertheless the Evangelicals' moral earnestness and genuine concern for the spiritual and material well-being of their neighbours make a refreshing contrast to the callousness and frivolity which characterised much of eighteenth-century life. F.K. Brown, in his generally critical study, estimated that they 'far exceed' any other group, whether High Churchmen, radicals, or contemporary writers and artists, in their support for charitable societies,³ and even if their humanitarianism seems superficial in an era of socialism, the spirit which they had evoked contributed to subsequent reforms which they themselves had never visualised.⁴

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- (1) E.L. Woodward, The Age of reform, 1815-1870, Oxford, 1938, 487.
 - (2) With the notable exception of Dr. Herbert Marsh.
 - (3) Brown, op.cit., 358.
 - (4) Howse, op.cit., 137.

Of the three Old Dissenting denominations, the Presbyterians during the eighteenth century turned increasingly to a rationalist Unitarianism;¹ it was they who made the most notable contribution to education, through Academies such as Warrington.² The Particular³ Baptists during most of the century held extreme Calvinist views, including the doctrine of election and reprobation; as a consequence, they naturally tended towards antinomianism.⁴ From this position they were rescued after about 1770 by Robert Hall and especially Andrew Fuller, under whose leadership the denomination fell into line with the Anglican Evangelicals in the belief that Christ's grace was available to all.⁵ At this time the Dissenters tended to be radical in politics, and many of them hailed the outbreak of the French Revolution with joy - which turned to disapproval as they watched the excesses of the Terror.⁶ The last years of the century was a period of a general revival of religious orthodoxy; the groundwork for this had been laid by the Methodists, and it was stimulated by a reaction against liberal, rationalistic theology which, it seemed, had resulted in assaults against the fundamentals of Christianity as exemplified in the later stages of the French Revolution. This trend affected Anglicans and Dissenters alike; of the latter, the Presbyterians declined markedly, while Baptists and Congregationalists, permeated by the Evangelical spirit, increased in

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- (1) Halévy, op.cit., III, 28; H.S. Skeats and C.S. Miall, History of the free churches of England, London, 1891, 425.
 - (2) MacLachlan, op.cit., 27; Simon, op.cit., 18.
 - (3) i.e. Calvinist, as opposed to the Arminian General Baptists.
 - (4) A.C. Underwood, A history of the English Baptists, London, 1947, 134.
 - (5) Ibid., 160-3.
 - (6) Van den Berg, op.cit., 112; Halévy, op.cit., III, 39-40, 48-9; J. Morrison, op.cit., I, 495-504.

numbers.¹ Their scattered self-governing churches were given a kind of central organisation in the denominational unions which were formed in 1812 and 1831 respectively. Many of the Dissenters' remaining civil disabilities - though not the ban on their entry to Oxford and Cambridge - were removed in 1828, when the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed, but paradoxically this helped to inaugurate a long period of increased strife with the Anglicans, especially over education. Arnold's vision of a National Church, with bounds drawn wide enough to comprehend the orthodox Dissenters², was not appreciated by many at the time.

The two great challenges which were destined to shake orthodox Christianity - of whatever denomination - most severely during the nineteenth century were modern science and biblical criticism. Neither of these problems had become by any means acute or inescapable before 1837, but there were enough straws in the wind to suggest to thoughtful observers that the Churches were living in a fool's paradise. A hundred years and more before, scientists such as Boyle and Newton had believed that their researches were revealing God's handiwork; nature was a great mechanism created and sustained by God; and for their part, Latitudinarian churchmen had taken an intelligent and sympathetic interest in scientific discovery.³ On the other hand the orthodox calculation, based on a literal reading of Genesis, that the world had been created in B.C. 4004 was questioned by some eighteenth-century scientists and

(1) Halévy, op.cit., III, 39-40; Neill, op.cit., 244.

(2) Ibid., 245; Woodward, op.cit., 488.

(3) C.C. Gillispie, Genesis and geology, New York, 1951, 3-40; cf. Cragg, op.cit., 72-4.

intellectuals.¹ Their speculations on this point were confirmed by the researches of Hutton and Buckland,² and Lyell argued that the Flood could not have covered the whole surface of the earth.³ But in 1837 it was still accepted that man had been created comparatively recently, and that the species were immutable:⁴ British scientists at any rate believed that there was no fundamental conflict between religion and science, and continued the Newtonian tradition of praising God for His creation.⁵ The conflict did not really begin in earnest until 1859, with the publication of Darwin's Origin of Species⁶; it was much more difficult for the orthodox to accept the idea of evolution than to revise their ideas about the antiquity of the earth.

In the early nineteenth century the Bible was still accepted by the vast majority of English Christians 'as a compendium of infallible oracles, equally inspired and authoritative in all its parts'.⁷ English Christians took little account of the Biblical criticism which was being done by German scholars in the eighteenth century, the implications of which could not be reconciled with the traditional view.⁸ The great German theologian

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- (1) Manuel, op.cit., 132-3; K.S. Latourette, Christianity in a revolutionary age, London, 1959-63, Vol.I, 132-3.
 - (2) Gillispie, op.cit., 46-9, 106.
 - (3) Ibid., 128-30.
 - (4) Ibid., 130-2, 147-8.
 - (5) W.O. Chadwick, The Victorian church, London, 1966, Vol.I, 558-62; Woodward, op.cit., 544-5, 552-3; Gillispie, op.cit., 104-5.
 - (6) Vidler, op.cit., 116.
 - (7) Ibid., 80; cf. 114; B. Willey, Nineteenth century studies, London, 1949, 39.
 - (8) Cragg, op.cit., 248-9; New Cambridge Modern History, Vol.IX, 167-9; A.L. Drummond, German Protestantism since Luther, London, 1951, 87; Halévy, op.cit., III, 13.

Schleiermacher (1763-1834), who did take note of the advances of criticism and of natural science and who based religion on man's innate experience and need of God¹, had no contemporary counterpart in England, where even the routine theological education for prospective clergy of the Anglican Church was of the most perfunctory kind.² It was for this reason that English Christians were not well prepared for the intellectual challenges of the nineteenth century.³

The first Englishman who could possibly be thought to have reconciled Biblical criticism with the essentials of Christian belief was not a professional theologian or even a clergyman, but the philosopher-poet, Coleridge. He studied in Germany, and came to believe that the Bible 'should be read and studied like any other literature, and then it would be found to be unlike any other literature, a book in which deep answers to deep. The divinity of Scripture rested not in the letter but in the spirit.'⁴ Like Schleiermacher, he believed that the proof of Christianity's validity was not the 'evidences' so beloved of contemporary apologists, but man's moral nature and experience, and his need for the kind of God whom he met in Scripture⁵. One contemporary whom Coleridge influenced was Arnold, who agreed with him that the essence of Christianity was spiritual and moral, and that it could not be 'disproved' by the advance of science, whether history or geology⁶. Arnold was thus more far-sighted

(1) NCMH, IX, 169; Vidler, op.cit., 22-7.

(2) Halévy, op.cit., III, 13; cf. Stanley, op.cit., I, 20.

(3) Vidler, op.cit., 114.

(4) Ibid., 81.

(5) Willey, op.cit., 31-4.

(6) Ibid., 67-8.

than either the Evangelicals, whose limitations he realised clearly, or the Tractarians, whom he condemned for their 'priestly inutilities'¹. But Coleridge and Arnold were by no means typical representatives of English Christians, either in the 1830s or for decades to come.

e. Missions.

Until nearly the end of the eighteenth century there were only two English missionary societies - the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded in 1699, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1701): both Anglican. The former had a particular responsibility for publishing and circulating Christian literature, but it also engaged in missionary work in India. In 1706 the first Protestant mission to India was established at the Danish colony of Tranquebar on the Tamilnad coast, on the initiative of King Frederick IV. Nearly all the missionaries were Germans, trained at the Pietist centre of Halle, and the S.P.C.K. was increasingly responsible for their financial support, especially as the missionaries extended their operations beyond the small Danish territory.² The mid-eighteenth century saw little interest in missionary work, but a great revival of enthusiasm followed which resulted in the foundation of three new societies in the 1790s. The reasons for this included the Evangelical revival, the example of Moravian missionaries, the growth of British power in India which seemed to bring with it both a responsibility and an opportunity, and - important for the

(1) Ibid., 54; cf. Whitridge, op.cit., 198.
 (2) Neill, op.cit., 197.

Particular Baptists - the decline of extreme Calvinism; if one believed in election and reprobation, missions seemed pointless. The first of the new societies was in fact that of the Particular Baptists, whose foundation in 1792 marks the beginning of a new era in the English missionary movement. Its first missionary was William Carey, who along with Andrew Fuller had played the leading part in its foundation: he arrived in Bengal in November 1793.

The foundation of the London Missionary Society followed in 1795: it was, like all the new societies, Evangelical, but unlike them it was interdenominational, including both Dissenters and Anglicans. But the Anglican Evangelicals soon felt that they should have a society of their own: the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G. were by this time dominated by High Churchmen and were in any case not showing much enthusiasm for the extension of their work, so in 1799 the Church Missionary Society was founded, and during the nineteenth century the L.M.S. became increasingly the preserve of the Congregationalists. One should also mention the beginnings of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804; its object was to translate and circulate the Scriptures in as many languages as possible, and it worked closely with the missionary societies.

This growth of enthusiasm for missionary work among non-Christians overseas was the natural extension of the basic Evangelical concern for the conversion of 'nominal Christians' at home to a living personal faith in Christ as the only saviour; indeed for Evangelicals the great spiritual division in the world was not between Christians and 'heathen', but between Evangelical Christians and everyone else. While they would not set rigid

limits to God's mercy,¹ Evangelical missionaries shared the basic belief of their party that all those who did not have the right type of faith were, to say the least, in serious danger of everlasting damnation,² and they felt bound to do all they could to rescue men from this awful fate. Their fears were, perhaps, groundless, but one cannot deny that the basic motive which led them to adopt such a difficult and uncomfortable career was in its way profoundly humanitarian. Their fundamental purpose was thus purely religious - the salvation of individual souls;³ and in this they contrast with earlier missionary efforts in which the spiritual issue had been inextricably bound up with the extension of the power and the culture of the Christian State.⁴ In practice, Evangelical missionaries in India during the nineteenth century usually found some degree of British political control and cultural influence helpful, if not indispensable, to their religious purpose, but they never entirely forgot their original belief that these things were fundamentally matters of indifference. Of the various groups that worked in India prior to 1837 it was the Serampore Baptists who showed this most clearly: they aimed to Christianise, but not to Anglicise, India, believing that the two things

(1) Van den Berg, op.cit., 158.

(2) They were inclined to think that most men were in that position. Charles Simeon, the leading Evangelical clergyman at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, estimated that out of the 10,000 inhabitants of Cambridge - one of the main Evangelical centres - there were only 110 'certainly vital Christians'. (Brown, op.cit., 293-4).

(3) 'Form of Agreement respecting the great principles upon which the brethren of the Mission at Serampore think it their duty to act in the work of instructing the heathen', Periodical Accounts relative to the Baptist Missionary Society, 1805, 199; cf. Van den Berg, op.cit., 146. 148; K.P.Sen Gupta, The Christian missionaries in Bengal, 1793-1833, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1966, 115.

(4) Van den Berg, op.cit., 167-71.

were not identical.

The missionaries who went to India between 1793 and 1837 naturally reflected the characteristics of the more zealous sector of contemporary English Christianity: that is to say they were earnest, sincere, of high moral character; they understood the Bible literally; they put faith in prophetic and miraculous 'evidences' as intellectual buttresses for their religion; and they thought that science confirmed the Biblical revelation of the work of God. At that time the most usual attitude of these men to the non-Christian religions was based on their literal understanding of Genesis: Adam was the ancestor of all mankind, and he had originally worshipped God rightly, but since his Fall, his descendants had deviated in various ways from the true religion. Christians were therefore ready to detect traces of God's original revelation in Hinduism, for example, but believed that it had been hopelessly corrupted during the passage of time, and that it was for them, the ambassadors of the second revelation through Christ, to lead non-Christians back to innocence.¹ There was no essential difference between Evangelicals and High Churchmen up to this point; that lay in their respective prescriptions for salvation. Whereas the Evangelicals stressed the personal turning to Christ, for High Churchmen the main things were baptism and confirmation into the Church of

(1) 'A Charge delivered before the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, on the 23rd March, 1813, to the Rev. C.A. Jacobi, then about to proceed as one of their Missionaries to India; by T.F. Middleton, D.D., Archdeacon of Huntingdon' [and subsequently the first Bishop of Calcutta], S.P.C.K. Report, 1813, 58ff.; 16th Report of the Church Missionary Society, 1816, 21ff.; C. Buchanan, Christian researches in Asia, London, 1811, 243-51; cf. A. Duff, Missions the chief end of the Christian Church, Edinburgh, 1839, 48-9.

England. Neither of them could agree with the usual Hindu view - expressed in Europe by Lessing and, up to a point, by the Deists¹ - that it is possible to find God through any of the great religions. Moreover, the basic theological prejudice against Hinduism was confirmed by what the missionaries - and by no means only they - regarded as the very low ethical and social practices of its followers;² at that time self-torture and even self-immolation at certain religious festivals, sati, and the exposure of the sick on river-banks were much more in evidence than the profound religious insights of the Vedas and the Upanishads.

Nevertheless Western scholars were then beginning to realise the richness of the Indian cultural heritage; Sir William Jones (d.1794) was the most notable of the pioneers in this field, but their work was appreciated and indeed shared in by at least some of the early missionaries. William Carey had a deep admiration for the Sanskrit language and made important contributions to the development of the vernacular (especially Bengali) prose; his colleague William Ward could write 'No reasonable person will deny to the (ancient Hindus) the praise of very extensive learning. The variety of subjects upon which they wrote prove that almost every science was cultivated among them. ...The more their philosophical works and law books are studied, the more will the enquirer be convinced of the depth and wisdom possessed by the authors. ...Let the most learned and profound of the Hindoo writings be compared with the writings of any nation flourishing at the same period, and the decision...will be in

(1) Manuel, op.cit., 63.

(2) Sharpe, op.cit., 26.

favour of the Hindoos'.¹ And yet Carey and Ward fully shared the traditional Christian belief that salvation was impossible except through Christ: by faith, and not by works.² The clue to this apparent paradox is no doubt the view of Calvin (among others) that, as a consequence of the Fall, Man's reason was morally corrupted but not destroyed, and was therefore still capable of evolving a very considerable degree of civilisation.³ And the attitude of Sir William Jones had a good deal in common with that of Carey and Ward; he was indeed capable of composing some charming hymns to various Hindu deities, but he emphasised that the similarities between Christianity and Hinduism, for example in the Trinity, were apparent rather than real, and he took pains to synchronise the dates of Rama and Manu with those of Adam and Noah.⁴ And although he thought the Hindu doctrine of transmigration of souls to be "more rational" and "more pious" than the possibility of everlasting damnation offered by Christian theology,⁵ he regarded Old Testament prophecies as divinely-inspired predictions of Christ, whom he believed to be the Messiah and thus capable of working miracles.⁶

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- (1) W.Ward, A view of the history, literature, and mythology of the Hindoos, London, 1822, Vol.II, 499; cf. Northampton MS - Carey to Fuller, 23 April 1796.
 - (2) E.C.Dewick, The Christian Attitude to other religions, Cambridge, 1953, 111ff.
 - (3) A.Dakin, Calvinism, London, 1940, 38-43.
 - (4) G.Cannon, Oriental Jones, London, 1964, 157, 169-70; S.N.Mukherjee, Sir William Jones, 97-102. Jones and Carey also incidentally shared a profound appreciation of and delight in Nature, which they regarded as God's handiwork and therefore as a stimulus to worship.
 - (5) Mukherjee, op.cit., 119.
 - (6) Shore, op.cit., 65-6.

f. The Social and Educational Background of some Missionary Educationists.

The missionaries on the whole came from comparatively humble social backgrounds, and in most cases their educational qualifications would have been meagre indeed had it not been for the training that they received in their respective denominational or missionary colleges. William Carey¹, the greatest of them all in Bengal at this period, did not even have that much of formal education. Born at Paulerspury (Northamptonshire) in 1761, his father and grandfather were masters of the Anglican charity school in the village, in which he received some elementary education; beyond that he largely educated himself. He was fond of reading and a keen observer of nature, and a friendly weaver taught him the rudiments of Greek and Latin. He was apprenticed to a shoemaker at the age of 14; a few years later he joined the Baptists and became a minister to various small congregations, and had a brief and unsuccessful period as master of a village school². After several years of a rather precarious existence as cobbler, teacher and minister in rural Northamptonshire he moved in 1789 to a new ministry in Leicester. There he had better opportunities to pursue his scientific interests, for Leicester had a Philosophical Institute, complete with telescopes, electrical apparatus and library, where discussions and lectures were held and which Carey attended: Joseph Priestly² was among its lecturers.³ Throughout these years Carey was mastering foreign languages, for which he had a great aptitude, widening

(1) Arrived in Bengal, 1793; at Serampore, 1800-34.

(2) J.C. Marshman, The life and times of Carey, Marshman and Ward, London, 1859, Vol. I, 1-12; S.P. Carey, William Carey, 8th edition, London,

(3) Ibid., 66-7.

(1934, 1-52.

his knowledge of geography and history and science, and becoming possessed of the conviction that it was incumbent upon all Christians to strive with all their might for the conversion of the world.

Joshua Marshman¹ was born in 1768 at Westbury Leigh in Wiltshire; his father was a weaver and a deacon in the local Baptist church. He received an elementary education in the village school and, like Carey, was largely self-taught beyond that level; he was also an omnivorous reader.² In 1794 he was appointed master of the elementary charity school supported by the Broadmead Baptist Church, Bristol, where he was allowed to eke out his salary by giving a more advanced education to private pupils.³ One of these was C.J. Rich, who as the East India Company's Resident at Baghdad after 1808, investigated the history of Iraq and Kurdistan.⁴ Marshman's 'private seminary...rose rapidly in public estimation, and placed him at once in circumstances of independence'.⁵ During his stay in Bristol he met Dr. John Ryland, then Principal of the Baptist Academy in the city - and one of the staunchest supporters of the mission - who allowed him to attend classes in Greek, Latin, Hebrew and Syriac.⁶ Marshman thus gained experience as a teacher at both an elementary and a higher level before he sailed for Serampore in 1799, so he was not unqualified to assume the main responsibility for the educational work of the Baptist mission there.

(1) At Serampore, 1799-1826, 1829-37.

(2) J.C. Marshman, Carey, Marshman and Ward, I, 99-105.

(3) Ibid., 106; Minutes of Broadmead Baptist Church, Bristol, 20 May 1794.

(4) Friend of India, 14 December 1837; C.J. Rich, Narrative of a residence in Koordistan, London, 1836, xvi.

(5) F.ofI., 14 Dec., 1837.

(6) Per.Accts. 1799, 504; J.C. Marshman, Carey, Marshman and Ward, I, 107.

William Ward¹ was born at Derby in 1769; his father was a carpenter, and he himself was apprenticed to a printer, and about 1795 became the editor of the Hull Advertiser. A little later he became a Baptist and went to Dr. Fawcett's Academy at Ewood Hall, Yorkshire, where he studied classics and divinity; before his departure for Serampore in 1799 he was an assistant to Samuel Pearce, the minister at Birmingham, who had established some Sunday schools and taught the elements of science to the children of his congregation.²

Owen Leonard,³ who was master of the Serampore Missionaries' 'Benevolent Institution' in Calcutta from its foundation to 1816, and subsequently superintended their schools at Dacca with considerable success, was an Irishman and an ex-soldier who had served at Seringapatam before joining the mission⁴. He was succeeded in charge of the Benevolent Institution by James Penney⁵, who had the distinction of having been brought up by Lancaster himself: he was one of the many destitute but promising boys for whom the latter had been as a father. About 1809 he sent Penney to Shropshire, where he organised monitorial schools in the villages with great success⁶; in 1816-7 he was sent to Calcutta in response to the

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- (1) At Serampore 1799-1818, 1821-3.
 - (2) S. Stennett, Memoir of William Ward, London, 1825, 1-59; S.P. Carey, Samuel Pearce, London, n.d., 113; A.S. Langley, Birmingham Baptists, past and present, London, 1939, 32-4.
 - (3) At Calcutta 1810-16; Dacca 1816-48.
 - (4) J.C. Marshman, Carey, Marshman and Ward, I, 426.
 - (5) At Calcutta 1817-32, 1834-9.
 - (6) Report of J. Lancaster's progress from the year 1798, with the report of the finance committee for the year 1810, to which is prefixed an address of the Committee for promoting the Royal Lancasterian System for the education of the poor, London, 1811, 10-11.

Serampore Trio's request with a strong recommendation from Lancaster¹. Of the other 'Calcutta Baptists' Eustace Carey², (William's nephew), William Yates³ and W.H. Pearce⁴ (son of Samuel) were all students at the Bristol Baptist College⁵, but otherwise Yates' career in particular had some parallels to that of William Carey. He was born in 1792 at Loughborough, finished his formal education at the age of 11, and became a shoemaker and a teacher before going to Bristol.⁶

Of the L.M.S. missionaries, Robert May⁷ was born at Woodbridge, Suffolk in 1788; his father was a sailor, and his mother died when he was three. An 'aged relative' had him admitted to the Sunday school attached to the local chapel, where he learnt to read the Bible. As a youth he entered a gentleman's service 'to take care of his horse, etc.', and later became a teacher in a Sunday school, where he was 'happy and useful'. He decided to become a missionary and entered the Congregationalist academy at Gosport, of which David Bogue was the tutor. Here he continued to teach part-time and to preach to children, evidently with success - a practice which he continued during his year in the U.S.A. (1811-12).⁸ He had thus gained considerable experience as a teacher before he arrived in Bengal, though of a somewhat limited kind.

(1) S.C.L., 1817, 22-3; cf. A. Bain, James Mill, London, 1882, 149.

(2) At Calcutta, 1814-24.

(3) At Calcutta, 1815-26, 1829-45.

(4) At Calcutta, 1817-40.

(5) Esther Carey, Eustace Carey: missionary in India, London, 1857, 94, 121; Memoir of W.H. Pearce, 1-23.

(6) J. Hoby, Memoir of William Yates, London, 1847, 1-16.

(7) At Chinsura, 1812-8.

(8) L.M.S. Quarterly Chronicle, I, 510-11; L.M.S. MSS - May to L.M.S., 14th June, 2nd Nov. 1811.

J.D. Pearson¹ came from a slightly more elevated social background than most of the missionaries under consideration here; his father was a London merchant and an Anglican. He left home because of his liking for 'gospel preaching', worked in various merchantile offices, presumably as a clerk, and taught at and superintended Sunday schools, acquiring at the same time an admiration for the monitorial system and an eagerness to use it in mission schools overseas.² George Mundy³ was also a Sunday school teacher prior to his departure for Bengal; his formal education had extended only to reading, writing and arithmetic, and he was apprenticed as a retail linen draper at the age of 14.⁴ The rather different backgrounds of these two Chinsura missionaries was reflected in their letters - Pearson's were much superior in both style and construction than Mundy's - and it doubtless helps to account for the fact that they did not find it altogether easy to cooperate with one another.⁵ Of the English C.M.S. missionaries, John Perowne⁶ and Isaac Wilson⁷ were both given private tuition by clergymen with a view to qualifying them for missionary work under the auspices of the Society. Pratt, the Secretary of the C.M.S., wrote in 1819 that Perowne 'was brought up a Printer, and is a young man of vigorous and improved mind'.⁸ Wilson's tutor reported in 1816 that he was studying

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- (1) At Chinsura, 1817-23, 1826-31.
 - (2) L.M.S. MS - Pearson to L.M.S., 26 Feb.1816; G. Gogerly, The pioneers: a narrative of the Bengal mission, London, 1871, 62.
 - (3) At Chinsura, 1820-8, 1832-42.
 - (4) L.M.S. MS - Mundy to L.M.S., 25 Feb.1818.
 - (5) L.M.S. MS - Mundy to L.M.S., 9 Jan.1824.
 - (6) At Burdwan, 1820-7.
 - (7) At Calcutta, 1823-8.
 - (8) C.M.S. MSS - C.M.S. to Corrie, 29 Sep.1819; cf. Brereton to C.M.S., 25 June 1817.

Latin and Greek 'with very great assiduity and has made a very fair progress in Latin considering the disadvantages with which he came'.¹ By 1819 he had progressed to geography and astronomy, Euclid, Arabic and Hebrew, besides the inevitable Paley's Evidences, and was teaching in a local Sunday school.²

Of the two Anglican chaplains who played a major part in education in Bengal at this time, Thomas Thomason³ was born at Plymouth in 1774; his father died when he was a year old, leaving the family in difficult circumstances. Nevertheless he was able to go to a private school at Greenwich and ultimately to Cambridge. He became a Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Queen's College in 1797 - at that time the President of the College was the Evangelical leader Isaac Milner, who was more than ready to promote like-minded young men⁴ - and he lectured in Greek, Latin and mathematics. He was also for a time curate of Stapleford, where his work included some teaching in the parish; in this connection his biographer wrote 'his aptitude in teaching the young was unusual'.⁵ Daniel Corrie⁶ was at Cambridge as an undergraduate, where he fell under Simeon's influence. In 1802 he was ordained and became curate of Buckminster, Leicestershire.⁷

The English missionaries - as distinct from the chaplains - who

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- (1) C.M.S. MS - W. Wilson to J. Christian, 14 Aug. 1816.
 - (2) C.M.S. MSS- I. Wilson to C.M.S., 18 May 1819; Gauntlett to C.M.S., 6 Aug. 1819.
 - (3) At Calcutta, 1808-26, 1828-9.
 - (4) Brown, Fathers of the Victorians, 291.
 - (5) J. Sargent, The life of the Rev. T.T. Thomason, M.A., London, 1833, 1-183.
 - (6) At Calcutta, 1819-34.
 - (7) Memoirs of the Rt. Rev. Daniel Corrie, Ll.D., by his brothers, London, 1847, 1-4.

contributed most to the development of education in Bengal in the early nineteenth century thus tended to come from working- or lower middle-class backgrounds. Several of them received some kind of formal secondary education, either in denominational seminaries or through tuition arranged by their missionary society; others depended almost entirely on their own private reading and study. Many of them had had some teaching experience before they went to Bengal, especially in Sunday schools. They were above all individualists - a faculty which was stimulated and directed by their Evangelical religion, and further nurtured by the spirit of the age of the Industrial Revolution into which they had been born. Missionary service was seen as a life of acute discomfort leading probably to a premature death in the highest cause of all; also no doubt, subconsciously, as a means of bettering one's social position, of rising out of the mass into the middle class. M.A.C. Warren has perceptively commented that the missionary movement was 'in part an expression of...the social emancipation of the underprivileged classes'¹ - or at least of individual members thereof.

A few of the missionaries who worked for English societies - including Mack and Leechman of Serampore - were educated in Scotland, and form therefore a distinct category which will be briefly considered in a later chapter. One can deal most conveniently at this point, however, with the German missionaries of the C.M.S., who considerably outnumbered the Society's English recruits in the early nineteenth century. These men

(1) M.A.C. Warren, Social history and Christian mission, London, 1967, 37.

were mostly the products of the Pietist movement which had developed in Germany at the end of the seventeenth century, and whose main centre was Halle where the recruits for the South India mission of the eighteenth century were trained. Pietism had much in common with the Methodist and Evangelical movements in England, for which indeed it was an inspiration; its central concern was with the individual's religious experience, and it stressed the importance of missionary work both at home and abroad. It was based on emotion rather than reason, and indeed 'was suspicious of contemporary movements in science and philosophy';¹ nevertheless it gave a powerful stimulus to education, providing another example of the importance of the Protestant religious motive for the development of vernacular elementary education especially. Luther had wanted everybody to be able to read the Bible, the Word of God, but mass education was neglected as the Lutheran church fell under the control of the princes.² Secondary and higher education in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was almost wholly concerned with perfecting one's Latin style - as in England - and Latin was used as the medium;³ the main challenge to Latin came at first not from German but from French, which became increasingly fashionable among people with any pretence to education.⁴ It was the Pietists who recovered the fundamental Protestant emphasis on the vernacular, in the first place as the only means for evangelising the people and therefore

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- (1) Cragg, The Church and the Age of Reason, 104; A.L. Drummond, German Protestantism since Luther, 74.
 - (2) K.S. Pinson, Pietism as a factor in the rise of German nationalism, New York, 1934, 126.
 - (3) Ibid., 127, 156-7.
 - (4) Ibid., 157-8.

also in education, which they saw as an important auxiliary for this purpose¹; contributing thereby to the further development and use of the German language in literature and in speech². The vernacularist policy of eighteenth-century German Pietists, no less than of Welsh and English dissenters and evangelicals, was applied in Bengal as a matter of course by the missionaries from those groups, with similar results for Indian languages. In the linguistic history of Germany and India during the past 250 years, the position of Latin has corresponded to that of Sanskrit, French to English, and German to the Indian vernaculars.

Pietism declined in the late eighteenth century in its original centres in the middle and north of Germany in face of the growing spirit of rationalism; on the other hand it spread into Swabia, and especially Württemberg, in a somewhat more liberal form³. It is not surprising therefore that the Germans who offered themselves as missionaries to the C.M.S. after 1800 should mostly have come from that part of the country; J.A. Jetter⁴, W.J. Deerr⁵, J. Maisch⁶, J.T. Reichardt⁷ and J.J. Weitbrecht⁸ were all from Württemberg or Baden⁹, and all of these were educated in a Pietist

(1) Ibid., 123ff.

(2) Ibid., 159-79.

(3) Latourette, Christianity in a revolutionary age, I, 78, 162; II, 66-7; Cragg, The Church and the age of reason, 102; Drummond, German Protestantism, 65-7; Memoir of the Rev. John James Weitbrecht, by his widow, London, 1854, 565-6.

(4) At Burdwan, 1819-21; Calcutta, 1821-4.

(5) This name should properly be spelt Dürre. He worked at Burdwan, 1819-25, Kalna, 1825-7, Burdwan, 1827-32, Krishnanagar, 1835-42.

(6) At Burdwan, 1822-5.

(7) At Calcutta, 1822-8.

(8) At Burdwan, 1831-52.

(9) Church Missionary Society: Register of missionaries and native clergy, 1804-1904; Memoir of Weitbrecht, 3; Calcutta Christian Observer, Nov. 1836 - 'Short Memoir of the Rev. J.T. Reichardt'.

seminary which had recently been established for training missionaries at Basel, just across the frontier in Switzerland, where the curriculum included divinity, the classics, English and science¹. Before proceeding to Bengal, Jetter and Deerr spent a time in England, where they studied Bell's system with a view to the conduct of elementary schools in Bengal². Weitbrecht spent a short time as a student at the newly-established C.M.S. seminary at Islington, whose Principal - not a man who gave high recommendations lightly - testified in 1830 that he had a 'superior mind and serene piety'³.

g. Bengal.

The Bengal to which the missionaries went around 1800 had, like England, a network of institutions of elementary, secondary, and higher education, but to perhaps an even greater extent these stood in need of reform. Vernacular elementary education was catered for in pathsalas, which existed in most of the larger villages at least; in them were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, accounts, and some religious literature⁴. Writing and reading were taught simultaneously, in contrast to contemporary

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- (1) Latourette, Christianity in a revolutionary age, II, 67; Memoir of Weitbrecht, 8-9.
 - (2) C.M.S. MSS - C.M.S. to Thomason, 16 Apr. 1819; C.M.S. to Stewart, 26 May 1819.
 - (3) C.M.S. MS - J.N. Pearson to C.M.S., 9 June 1830.
 - (4) W. Adam, Reports on the state of education in Bengal, 1835-8, ed. A.N. Basu, Calcutta, 1941, 142-5, 242. Adam's Reports are probably the best authority for the state of indigenous education at this period; his second and third Reports were the product of painstaking personal investigations in certain districts and thanas of western Bengal, undertaken at the request of the Government. Cf. W. Ward, A Letter to the Rt. Hon. J.C. Villiers, on the education of the natives of India, London, 1820, 3.

English schools where reading was the first and sometimes the only subject to be taught. Boys learnt first to trace the letters of the alphabet on the earth; then they wrote letters and words with a reed-pen on palm-leaves, then sentences and simple forms of letters on plantain-leaves, and finally, on paper, more elaborate letters, including forms of petitions, grants, and leases. Simultaneously they were learning arithmetic: addition subtraction, and multiplication; tables of money, weights and measures; and the local systems of accounts¹. In general they achieved a much better standard of arithmetic than of writing and reading². All this comprised the main purpose of the schools, but often poems which Adam thought 'rank low as compositions and consist, for the most part, of the praises and exploits of the gods³', were also learnt - by rote from the oral recitation of teachers and monitors⁴. Some schools possessed manuscripts⁵, but printed textbooks were not known at all. Religious and moral teaching was thus not entirely lacking in the pathsalas, but it certainly did not have the prominent place which it occupied in English elementary schools, and British observers - whether missionaries such as William Ward or others such as William Adam or Francis Buchanan - agreed that it was very inadequate

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- (1) Adam, op.cit., 143-6; Ward, Hindoos, I, 160-1; F.Buchanan, A geographical, statistical, and historical description of the district, or zila, of Dinajpur in the province, or soubah, of Bengal, Calcutta, 1833, 81.
 - (2) Adam, op.cit., 8; Report of the provisional Committee of the Calcutta School Book Society, Calcutta, 1817, Appx.I, 7; 19th C.M.S. Report, 264-5; L.M.S. Quarterly Chronicle, I, 204; Hints relative to native schools, together with the outline of an institution for their extension and management, Serampore, 1816, 8; S.N. Sastri, Ramtanu Lahiri, translated by R. Lethbridge, London, 1907, 31.
 - (3) Adam, op.cit., 253; cf. Ward, Letter to J.C. Villiers, 3.
 - (4) Adam, op.cit., 142-3; Quarterly Chronicle, I, 204.
 - (5) Adam, op.cit., 142-3, 253.

It is clear at any rate that the main purpose of the pathsalas was the severely practical one of qualifying boys for jobs that required literacy; Adam commented that the syllabus 'if it were taught in all its parts, is well adapted to qualify the scholar for engaging in the actual business of native society', but that 'the popular mind is necessarily cabined, cribed [sic] and confined within the smallest possible range of ideas, and those of the most limited local and temporary interest...What is wanted is something to awaken and expand the mind, to unshackle it from the trammels of mere usage, and to teach it to employ its own powers'.¹ He recommended the introduction of much more ethical and religious teaching, and 'useful knowledge' in the shape of the elements of modern science, history and geography². Ward would have agreed; he had earlier summed up the typical pathsala as 'a mere shop, in which, by a certain process, the human being is prepared to act as a copying machine, or as a lithographic process. The culture of the mind is never contemplated in these seminaries'³.

Contemporary observers agreed that the teachers were of low calibre - as in contemporary England: Adam found them to be 'simple-minded but poor and ignorant'⁴. The profession was not highly regarded; teachers were poorly paid⁵ and had no aspirations to any moral influence for good over their pupils⁶; nor were they always qualified to teach even the limited

(1) Ibid., 147; cf. F. Buchanan, op.cit., 81.

(2) Adam, op.cit., 147, 370-7.

(3) Ward, Hindoos, I, xxxv; cf. Letter to J.C. Villiers, 4.

(4) Adam, op.cit., 138.

(5) F. Buchanan, op.cit., 80; L.M.S. MS - May to Forbes, 6 July 1816; N.L.S. MS, Vol.7530, Duff to Inglis, 23 Aug.1830.

(6) Adam, op.cit., 138; Sastri, op.cit., 34.

course of instruction that was theoretically available.¹ Discipline was harsh, and the boys retaliated by tormenting their teachers and by playing truant whenever they could;² the idea which was beginning to dawn on European educationists, that education would be more efficient inasmuch as it was made agreeable to the pupils, was apparently unknown to elementary school-teachers in Bengal. The process of learning was very slow; boys spent up to nine years in the pathsalas.³

In so far as the pathsalas had a religious character it was Hindu; the great majority of their pupils were Hindus, but there were a few Muslims.⁴ Facilities for 'secondary education' were provided by Persian schools; this language continued to be used for many official purposes in British India until the late 1830s, as a relic of the centuries of Muslim rule, and therefore had to be learnt by those who aspired to certain official positions. It was also an essential accomplishment for a cultured gentleman, as Persian literature still provided 'standards of conduct and deportment, of elegance and taste' throughout northern India.⁵ These two reasons, and especially perhaps the former, explain why Persian was studied by Hindus as much as by Muslims,⁶ in spite of its Islamic associations. Adam had a rather higher opinion of the Persian schools that he encountered than of the pathsalas: manuscripts were regularly used and a little

Duff⁷

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- (1) Ibid., 145.
 - (2) 'The state of indigenous education in Bengal and Behar' /By A.Duff/ Calcutta Review, Vol.II, No.4, 1844, 333-7.
 - (3) Adam, op.cit., 138, 143-5.
 - (4) Ibid., 251.
 - (5) T.G.P. Spear, 'Bentinck and Education', Cambridge Historical Journal, Vol.VI, 1938, 87; cf. F.Buchanan, op.cit., 83.
 - (6) Adam, op.cit., 292.

Muslim history and poetry was sometimes taught;¹ their teachers were 'much superior in intelligence' to those of the pathsalas, but exerted no more of a moral influence over their pupils.² Many students attained a standard which enabled them to read Persian books, and to use the language competently in official and private correspondence³. As in England, however, the well-to-do in many cases did not send their sons to school at all, but engaged private tutors to teach them both the vernacular and Persian. Contemporary observers agreed that the tutors' standard was usually not high.⁴

In both England and Bengal during the early nineteenth century many children received no education at all, but the available statistics indicate that the proportion which did not was much higher in the latter than in the former. The results of the British parliamentary enquiry set on foot in 1833 showed that 50 to 60% of children of both sexes received some form of elementary education - though many of them only in Sunday schools.⁵ Adam's almost exactly contemporaneous investigations, however, revealed that in Kalna thana, Burdwan district - the best of those which he sampled - only 25.4% of the boys received any education⁶; there was virtually none for girls⁷. Moreover these statistics conceal a still greater divergence,

(1) Ibid., 148, 279, 284.

(2) Ibid., 148, 295.

(3) Ibid., 291.

(4) F. Buchanan, op.cit., 83; A. Duff, India and India Missions, Edinburgh, 1839, 512; 'The Amusements of the Modern Baboo', Friend of India (Quarterly), No. XIV.

(5) J.W. Adamson, English education, 29.

(6) P. Hartog, Some aspects of Indian education, London, 1939, 85; cf. F. Buchanan, op.cit., 81; Report of the provisional committee of the C.S.B.S., Appx.I, 7; Serampore Circular Letters, March, 1808, 28; Per. Accts., 1808, 446-7.

(7) F. Buchanan, op.cit., 81; Ward, Hindoos, I, 161.

for the English figures refer to the lowest classes of that society, whereas it was the middling and higher castes that made most use of the pathsalas.¹ Fees were payable in the pathsalas², whereas there were by then a large number of free schools in England. The general situation there was slowly improving, thanks to the work of the Sunday schools, the National Society, and the B.F.S.S., but Adam believed that the indigenous schools in Bengal were declining.³ But in both countries education was severely limited by social conservatism; the caste system ensured that Indian education should be essentially vocational training, with higher religious studies confined to the Brahmins; in England, the governing classes permitted their lower orders to read the Scriptures, but were still uneasy about writing and arithmetic.

Indigenous higher education was carried on in the Arabic madrassas (for Muslims) and Sanskrit tols (for Hindus). There was a fairly comprehensive choice of subjects, including grammar, rhetoric, law, literature logic, philosophy, medicine and astrology, together with either Muslim theology, Euclid and Ptolemy or the Hindu scriptures.⁴ The tols were usually huts built of clay; Ward wrote: 'Sometimes three rooms are erected and in others eight or ten, in two side rows, with a reading room, open on all sides, at the further end'.⁵ The students did not pay fees to

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- (1) Per.Accts., 1808, 446, 450; L.M.S. MS - Mundy to H.H. Wilson, 1 April 1825; Adam, op.cit., 241.
 - (2) Ibid., 250-1; F.Buchanan, op.cit., 80.
 - (3) Adam, op.cit., 159.
 - (4) Ibid., 176-82, 253-72, 295; F. Buchanan, op.cit., 84-90; Ward, Hindoos II, 487; C.M.S. MS - W.J. Deerr, 'General Information respecting Burdwan and Culna and the Missionary operations there', 1829.
 - (5) Ward, Hindoos, II, 485-6.

their teachers; the tols were in fact dependent on wealthy benefactors, who sometimes endowed them with land, or supported them with periodic gifts.¹ Nadia was the most famous centre of Sanskrit learning in Bengal in 1800: its pandits specialised in the nyaya system of philosophy. Ward found 17 teachers of nyaya there, with 400 students, and tols also in Bansberia, Tribeni, Bali, Calcutta and other places.² He described the usual routine as follows: 'The school opens every morning early, by the teacher and pupils assembling in the college hall...when the different classes come up in turns. At the close of these labours, about three hours are devoted to bathing, worship, eating and sleep; and at three they resume their studies, which continue till twilight. Nearly two hours are then devoted to evening worship, to eating, smoking, and relaxation; and the studies are afterwards resumed, and continued till ten or eleven at night'.³

- a disciplined routine which resembled a Christian monastery rather than the easy-going life of eighteenth-century students in the two old English universities. Much of what was learnt was memorized, but it was also explained,⁴ and Adam found that the various subjects were 'in general thoroughly understood and digested'.⁵ The process of learning was time-consuming: the study of grammar could take up to twelve years, but many students who had made some progress in this subject would simultaneously read law or philosophy.⁶ Adam praised the intellectual and moral character

(1) Ibid., 486, 489.

(2) Ibid., 494-7.

(3) Ibid., 486-7.

(4) Ibid., 487-8.

(5) Adam, op.cit., 423-4.

(6) Ward, Hindoos, II, 488.

of some of the pandits whom he encountered¹; Ward's opinion was not unfavourable either, and as for the students, the worst that he had to report of them was that they sometimes indulged in 'night frolics, robbing orchards, etc.'²

Nevertheless all was not well with the tols in the early nineteenth century. In the first place the whole system was in decline as a result of the falling-off in benefactions consequent on the upheavals of the period.³ Secondly, to an even greater extent than the old institutions of learning in England, they were impervious to modern knowledge; thirdly, no less than in their English counterparts, the full moral and intellectual potential of the classical curriculum was not realised, or had been forgotten. There was no longer any spirit of original creativity among pandits or students: Ward commented that the contemporary Sanskrit scholar 'had no ambition to enlarge the bounds of knowledge; he makes no experiments; it never enters his mind that he can exceed his forefathers; to gain the smallest moiety of what they acquired, is almost more than he hopes to realise'⁴. A modern scholar has written that the pandits were simply concerned with 'the explanation and defence of ancient texts for which finality was very conveniently assumed. The pyramid of knowledge seemed to be complete and elaborate in every detail...they evinced a fatal ease in multiplying mere commentaries and digests' of ancient texts.⁵

(1) Adam, op.cit., 169-70, 274, 295.

(2) Ward, Hindoos, II, 498.

(3) Adam, op.cit., 183.

(4) Ward, Hindoos, II, 500.

(5) J. Ghosh, Higher education in Bengal under British rule, Calcutta, 1926, 19-20.

Finally the tols were exclusive to a degree surpassing that of Oxford and Cambridge with their Anglican monopoly; Adam found that in practice they were utilised mainly by Brahmins.¹ This does not mean that a knowledge of Sanskrit lore was confined to Brahmins, however; apart from the vaidyas - the doctors' caste - who read Sanskrit medical texts, there is evidence that some kshatriyas and even sudras knew the language and possessed manuscripts in it², but some of the religious literature was strictly reserved for Brahmins. Only a small minority of Brahmins, however, knew Sanskrit; Ward estimated that only 1,000 out of 100,000 had studied the grammar, of which 300 may have studied nyaya and only 5 or 6 the vedas.³

Like the older schools and universities in England, the tols were thus concerned with the perpetuation of traditional classical culture, in a somewhat petrified form; but compared with England, with its Dissenting academies and private schools, there was much less opportunity in Bengal to encounter modern knowledge. Not that it was totally lacking; there were in Calcutta some private elementary schools where the rudiments of English and arithmetic were taught, which had existed since the establishment of the British there at the end of the seventeenth century; but they were ephemeral and not of a high standard. They were conducted usually by Europeans (or Eurasians) who had failed at some other pursuits, or by widows, and they represent an overseas extension of the English

(1) Adam, op.cit., 273-4.

(2) Ward, Hindoos, I, 94; II, 501-2.

(3) Ibid., II, 500-1.

Common Day and Dame Schools.¹ But towards the end of the eighteenth century a few rather more ambitious schools appeared, again reflecting contemporary English educational trends: a 'Commercial School' existed in 1796, and the Rev. Peter Moss (d.1810) kept a 'Classical Academy'. Navigation was taught in some of these schools.² The best was probably the Dharamtala Academy, conducted during the second and third decades of the nineteenth century by the Scotsman David Drummond; he introduced English literature and grammar, 'the use of the globes', Latin and book-keeping, and his pupils demonstrated their prowess in annual public examinations.³ These 'mushroom schools' were intended primarily for British and Eurasian children, but in them some Indians also learnt the smattering of English that was necessary to qualify them for jobs as clerks in government and commercial offices, and as agents for business transactions with the British.⁴ The great majority of such men had nothing more than such a limited, practical end in view, but it was in schools of this kind also that Radha Kanta Deb, Ram Kamal Sen, Prasanna and Dwarkanath Tagore, and others who were destined to use English for a wider purpose received their elementary education around the turn of the century.⁵ Indians in Calcutta

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- (1) 'The Educational Establishments of Calcutta, Past and Present', Calcutta Review, Vol.XIII, 1850, 444-50; N.N.Law, Promotion of learning in India by early European settlers, London, 1915, 123.
 - (2) C.R., XIII, 450; E.W. Madge and K.N.Dhar, 'Old Calcutta: Its School-masters', C.R., No. 273, July 1913, 340-1.
 - (3) Ibid., 344-7; C.R., XIII, 450-1; Calcutta Journal, 31 Dec.1819.
 - (4) Ghosh, op.cit., 25-7; S.N.Sastri, 'The Rise and Progress of English Education in Bengal', East and West, Vol.I, No.4, Bombay, Feb.1902, 354-5.
 - (5) C.R., July 1913, 341-2; Vol.XLV, 1867, 317-8; Rammohun Roy: the man and his work, Centenary Publicity Booklet No.1, Calcutta, 1933, Appx.D: 'Friends and Followers of Rammohun', 124-5; P.C. Mittra, Life of Dewan Ramcomul, Calcutta, 1880, 6.

were thus aware of the possibility of an education with more potentialities than was provided in the indigenous schools, but the facilities for its acquisition given in the 'mushroom schools' were, to put it mildly, inadequate.

The main theme of the cultural history of Bengal during the nineteenth century was to be a great reawakening, the 'Bengal Renaissance', for which Western learning provided the essential stimulus especially in its early years. This might seem to be the inevitable consequence of East India Company rule, in practice established since 1757, but in fact until long after that date nothing of the sort was discernible. The Company was largely indifferent to education; it only slowly adjusted itself to its new situation of bearing the responsibilities of government, rather than functioning simply as a trading company, and in the field of education and culture, so intimately bound up with religion, it was afraid to make any innovation lest it aroused the hostility of the people. There was also the fear that the result of an effective educational programme would be to stimulate Indian opposition to its rule. In any case, an educational initiative would not readily be taken by rulers from a country in which education was not regarded as being among the concerns of Government. Warren Hastings did realise that this was not true of India; he founded the Calcutta Madrassa in 1780, and the Sanskrit College at Banaras followed in 1791, but these isolated examples of Government patronage were institutions of traditional Indian learning rather than pointers to future developments.

Well before the end of the eighteenth century, however, a group of Evangelical clergy and laity had begun to press the Company to introduce Western learning, to be grafted on to, or even to replace the existing educational systems. To this movement Charles Grant gave the first coherent expression; he had undergone 'conversion' in the Evangelical sense in Calcutta in 1776, and henceforward believed that British power in India could only be morally justified if it were used to reform Indian society on a Christian basis. He set out his ideas in A Proposal for Establishing a Protestant Mission in Bengal and Behar, (1787),¹ and much more fully in Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain (1792)². He painted a depressing picture of Indian social life, which he believed had been fundamentally corrupted by Hinduism, and which could only be reformed by the introduction of Christianity and the Western learning with which it was associated. After spending 22 years in Bengal, Grant returned to England in 1790, and so was in a position to try to get his programme incorporated in the East India Company's revised Charter of 1793.³ He was supported by Wilberforce and the 'Clapham Sect', and they drafted a clause which read: 'Whereas such measures ought to be adopted for the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, as may gradually

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- (1) H. Morris, The life of Charles Grant, London, 1904, 106ff.
 - (2) C. Grant, 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. - Written chiefly in the year 1792, P.P., 1813, Vol.XI, 1-112.
 - (3) A.T. Embree, Charles Grant and British rule in India, London, 1962, 120, 152.

tend to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their religious and moral improvement;...the...Court of Directors...are hereby empowered and required to send out, from time to time...fit and proper persons...as schoolmasters, missionaries, or otherwise. ...The said Court of Directors are hereby empowered and required to give directions to the governments... in India to settle the destination and to provide for the necessary and decent maintenance of the persons so to be sent out.'¹ The 'Pious Clause' was inserted in the Charter Bill but it was strongly criticised in the Court of Proprietors of the East India Company, and Dundas thought it prudent to withdraw it before the Bill came up for its third reading in the House of Commons. A further twenty years elapsed before the Company could be persuaded to undertake any responsibility for education in India or to permit missionary operations under the auspices of private societies.

Grant's Proposal and Observations are nevertheless important landmarks, and the ideas contained in them were increasingly influential during the half-century and more after their first appearance. The Government of India was never to accept his argument that it should itself sponsor Christian evangelism; the position which it came to occupy was rather that of religious neutrality. Most of those concerned with education in India, at least before about 1830, were reluctant to accept Grant's assertion that it was Western learning through the medium of English which they should provide;² during this period, educationists, whether missionaries, Government officials, or interested laymen, were trying rather to

(1) Ibid., 152.

(2) Grant, Observations, 77-9.

graft bits of Western learning onto the Indian heritage through the medium of the Indian vernacular and classical languages - a policy endorsed by William Adam.¹ But Grant's fundamental assumptions proved increasingly acceptable - that Indian society was corrupt, yet susceptible of improvement; that Britain held, under God, the responsibility for reform; and that this should be brought about by the infusion of Christianity and Western learning, modified and adapted as the local situation might demand. Grant's ideas indeed represent a potent combination of the major intellectual and religious movements of the late eighteenth century - the Enlightenment, with its insistence on the possibility - and desirability - of progress, especially through education², and the Evangelical Movement, with its urgent call for the conversion of men to God through Christ as the fundamental condition of well-being.

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(1) Adam, Reports, 369ff, 418ff.
 (2) Embree, op.cit., 150.

CHAPTER II

The development of mission schools, 1793-1823

a. From the arrival of Carey to the Charter Act, 1813.

1793 saw not only the defeat of the 'Pious Clause' but also the arrival in Calcutta of William Carey¹, the first missionary who was to make a lasting and significant contribution to the education of the people of Bengal. He was unable to operate openly as a missionary in the Company's territories and accepted a position as superintendent of an indigo-plantation at Madnabati kept by George Udny, an Evangelical friend of Charles Grant who had succeeded him as Commercial Resident at Malda.² In 1794 Carey started his first school there, with a few local boys whom he taught reading, writing, arithmetic, the local accounting system, and Christianity:³ a synthesis of the curriculum of elementary schools in England and Bengal. The children were expected to learn by heart simple catechisms, portions of scripture, and hymns, which were simultaneously used as exercises in reading and writing. Carey did not however mean to rest content with this very limited educational programme, and as early as January 1795 he outlined 'a plan for erecting two colleges (chowparries Bengalee)...in each of which we intend to educate twelve lads, six Musselmen, and six Hindoos: a Pundit is to have the charge of them, and they are to be taught the Shanscrit, Bengalee and Persian languages. The Bible is to be introduced

(1) J.C. Marshman, Carey, Marshman and Ward, I, 61.

(2) Ibid., 66-7; Embree, op.cit., 94.

(3) Per.Accts., 1795, 124; 1798, 436.

there, and perhaps a little philosophy and geography. The time of their education is to be seven years...¹ Although Carey was unable to implement this plan then, it is an indication of the educational ambitions that resulted in the foundation of Serampore College in 1818.

More Baptist missionaries arrived in Bengal in 1799; faced with the hostility of the Bengal Government they took refuge in the Danish enclave of Serampore, where Carey joined them in January 1800². Joshua Marshman and William Ward survived to form, with Carey, the famous 'Serampore Trio' which was only broken by Ward's death in 1823, and which made notable contributions to the general cultural development of India in the diverse fields of literature (especially Bengali), printing, and natural history,³ as well as education. Their most significant activities in this latter area had to wait until after the revision of the East India Company's Charter in 1813, but they were far from idle meanwhile. A Bengali elementary school was opened with forty boys at Serampore in 1800⁴, and as missionary operations were cautiously extended from this base a few more followed; by September 1804 there were three in villages in Jessore district and one at Dinajpur.⁵ Another was subsequently started at Katwa⁶, and in 1808 the mission took over five in Malda district which had been

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- (1) Ibid., 1795, 124-5; Northampton MS - Carey to Ryland, 27 Jan.1795.
 - (2) J.C. Marshman, op.cit., I, 124.
 - (3) The best general account of the work of the Serampore missionaries is E.D. Potts', British Baptist missionaries in India, Cambridge, 1967.
 - (4) Per.Accts., 1800, 70; N.L.W. MS - the Serampore missionaries to B.M.S., 25 Apr.1800.
 - (5) Per.Accts., 1804, 22-3.
 - (6) N.L.W. MS - J. Chamberlain to Sutcliffe, 27 Nov.1805; Per.Accts., 1804, 23.

conducted by the indigo-planter Henry Creighton - like Udny, one of Charles Grant's protégés.¹

Meanwhile Joshua Marshman, who had assumed the main responsibility for education among the Trio, was making himself acquainted with the works of Lancaster and Bell, and the monitorial system.² In 1811 he introduced the system into the 'Benevolent Institution', which they had recently opened for the destitute 'Portuguese' children of Calcutta, and at the same time began to envisage the indefinite expansion of mission schools throughout the country by means of the system.³ Carey's eldest son, William, who was then the missionary at Katwa, and Richard Mardon at Goamalty (Malda district) were urged to give special attention to the organisation of schools on this pattern in their districts,⁴ to which they applied themselves with considerable success; at least eight new schools were started during the year 1812 alone.⁵ This renewed interest in schools on the part of the missionaries seems to have coincided with a growing desire by the local people for education, particularly in the Malda area; Mardon's letters of 1810-12 (he died suddenly in May 1812) refer repeatedly to requests for schools by villagers. Earlier many had feared to lose caste if they attended the mission schools, but by now they were coming to realise that their fears were unfounded; they could take the education but leave the Christianity⁶. The fact that the masters

(1) Per.Accts., 1808, 521.

(2) B.M.S. MS - Marshman to Fuller, 31 Aug.1811.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Serampore Circular Letters, 1813, 7.

(5) Per.Accts., 1813, 181.

(6) S.C.L., 1811, 14.

and monitors of the new schools were non-Christians (unlike the converts who had managed the earlier, and apparently less successful, group in Jessore) was also doubtless reassuring; at any rate the Goamalty schools flourished and there was no objection to the Scriptures being read.¹ There was still opposition on this account at Katwa, however, and in August 1813 William Carey junior had to report that 'two schools are entirely broken up'.² But he persevered, and established some also in Birbhum district.³

Marshman's original motive for the extension of schools was that the opportunities for teaching the Scriptures would increase correspondingly,⁴ but he was soon making plans to widen the curriculum also. In the Review of the Mission at the Close of 1812, after an optimistic forecast of the 'general diffusion of pure scripture knowledge' which would surely result from the new system, he continued: 'Were it [the Bible] further accompanied at school with a concise but perspicuous compendium of Geography, and another of General History and Chronology, the minds of the children would be enlightened almost beyond conception'.⁵ Indeed by the time that the revised Charter was enacted in 1813, the experience and thinking of the Serampore missionaries on educational matters had developed to the point where they could make a most creative use of the opportunities which the new era offered.

(1) S.C.L., 1814, iv, 1-2.

(2) S.C.L., 1813, 170.

(3) S.C.L., 1815, 47.

(4) B.M.S. MS - Marshman to Fuller, 31 Aug. 1811.

(5) Per.Accts., 1813, 180.

During the period 1793-1813, which can be viewed as a kind of prologue to the great outburst of educational activity which immediately followed, the Serampore missionaries were not the only group concerned with education in Bengal. Charles Grant had given two Evangelicals, Henry Creighton and John Ellerton, positions on his indigo-plantation at Goamalty,¹ where they had befriended Carey.² By 1804 they had established some Bengali elementary schools in the area,³ which by the end of 1806 had increased to twelve, with an average of thirty boys in each.⁴ It was Creighton who was responsible for perhaps the most judicious and systematic plan for elementary education in Bengal during this period, in his Memoranda on the most obvious means of establishing Native Schools for the Introduction of the Scriptures and Useful Knowledge among the Natives of Bengal.⁵ In view of the high degree of illiteracy which he had found in the mufasil, he urged missionaries to establish schools - 'indispensible...for the introduction of knowledge, whether human or divine, in the interior of Bengal'. He suggested that 'Natural History, Geography, Astronomy, and other branches of the Mathematics might, in their outlines...be severally communicated', as well as Christian religious instruction, but the reading of Hindu religious works should also be allowed. He advised against the employment of Christian converts as teachers, on account of their unpopularity, suggesting instead that

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- (1) S.C.L., 1808, 24; Morris, op.cit., 131; I.O.L. MS - Creighton-Glyn papers: Grant to Creighton, 8 June 1795..
 - (2) J.C.Marshman, op.cit., I, 300..
 - (3) Per.Accts., 1804, 23.
 - (4) Memoirs of Daniel Corrie, 59-60.
 - (5) Per.Accts., 1808, 445-50.

the local people should choose their own teachers for the schools on condition that they agreed to teach the Scriptures, that they admitted boys of every caste, and that they agreed to periodic inspection by Europeans. He thought it would be possible both to improve the indigenous elementary schools and to found new ones wherever necessary.¹ Creighton died in 1807², but his Memoranda contain a striking number of the ideas which were to reappear in the various plans for elementary education evolved by private societies during the next fifteen years. His influence no doubt spread partly through his friendship with the Serampore Baptists, who printed his Memoranda in their Circular Letters, and partly through his, and Ellerton's, contacts with Anglicans, especially the chaplains Corrie and Thomason who were to play a large part in the educational activities of the Anglican missionary societies after 1813. Ellerton later compiled an Old Testament catechism which was used with success in the C.M.S. schools at Burdwan;³ Thomason, referring both to his skill as a translator and to his ideas on education, wrote that he was "sound, clear, acute; possesses a fine genius...the best Bengalee scholar in the country, confessedly; and altogether an extraordinary character".⁴ His daughter married Daniel Corrie.⁵

(1) Ibid.

(2) S.C.L., 1808, 24.

(3) 19th Report of the Church Missionary Society, 1818-9, 126-7.

(4) R.H. MS - Simeon to Grant, 8 Sep. 1813. James Long wrote subsequently that Ellerton 'was the first European, who established Bengali Schools'- vide Long's article 'Early Bengali Literature and Newspapers', The Calcutta Review, XIII, 1850, 136. In fact Long was mistaken as Ellerton did not go to Bengal until 1795, by which time Carey had established his first school (I.O.L.MS - Creighton - Glyn papers: Grant to Creighton, 8 June 1795).

(5) C.M.S. MS - Sandys to C.M.S., 17 June 1830.

The London Missionary Society was the only other body which was seriously concerned with education in Bengal prior to 1813, and its efforts had little success at that time. The East India Company refused to grant permission for a group of missionaries to go to India in 1796, but Nathaniel Forsyth was able to settle in the Dutch enclave of Chinsura in 1798. He wanted to establish elementary schools, which he believed would be valuable evangelistic agencies,¹ but in fact he does not seem to have done so. He took over an existing school in 1805, whose pupils were probably mainly non-Bengali, but in any case he was not a success as a teacher,² and he never learnt Bengali properly.³ When Robert May arrived at Chinsura in 1812, he wrote 'Mr. Forsyth makes no kind of exertions' for the benefit of the local people.⁴

Mainly as a result of pressure by Evangelicals and supporters of missions generally, the 1813 Charter Act contained a clause⁵ which in effect made it possible for missionaries to work in East India Company territories. 'It is the duty of this country', its Preamble declared, 'to promote the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British Dominions in India; and such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvements; and in furtherance of the above objects, sufficient

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- (1) L.M.S. MSS - Forsyth to L.M.S., 9 Feb.1801; Forsyth to Hardcastle, 9 July 1801; Forsyth to Cowie, 7 Sep.1801.
 - (2) Memoir of the late Rev. Nathaniel Forsyth, Minister in the Dutch Church, Chinsurah, C.C.O., Dec.1833, 594-5.
 - (3) J.C. Marshman, op.cit., II, 130.
 - (4) L.M.S. MS - May to L.M.S., 21 Nov.1812.
 - (5) 53 Geo.III, c.155, sec.xxxiii.

facilities ought to be afforded by law to persons desirous of accomplishing those benevolent designs'. The same Act also committed the East India Company to doing something for education in India: Section 43 stated that 'It shall be lawful for the Governor-General in Council to direct that out of any surplus revenues...a sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year shall be...applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of...India.'¹ The Act thus inaugurated a new era full of endless possibilities for missionary educationists.

It was not unwelcome also to the Bengal Government, many of whose officials were by this time concerned to do more for education. There seem to have been two distinct but connected motives for this: the first - a revival of Warren Hastings' policy - to undertake the responsibilities formerly exercised by Indian rulers as patrons of the traditional learning of the country, which found expression in a Minute by Lord Minto dated 6 March 1811. It seemed that unless Government interposed this culture would suffer an irretrievable decline, and he accordingly proposed to found two new institutions of Sanskrit learning at Nadia and Tirhut.² Secondly, as in contemporary England, there was the widespread concern with what appeared to be the low state of social morality among the people, for which education was thought to be the most likely cure. This was of

(1) Ibid., sec.xliii.
 (2) S.E.R., 19-21.

course emphasised by Charles Grant¹, and it is also manifest in Minto's Minute, which referred specifically to 'the prevalence of the crimes of perjury and forgery'; a little earlier, in 1809, Secretary Dowdeswell had advocated education as the remedy for the 'corrupt morals' of the people, and recommended the revival by Government of the traditional systems of Muslim and Hindu ethics, 'by which [the people] may be restrained not only from the commission of public crimes, but also from acts of immorality by a dread of the punishments denounced both in this world and in a future state by their respective religious opinions'.² Other officials in the Bengal judiciary echoed this call for some kind of education in ethics,³ but whereas Dowdeswell and Minto were thinking in terms of the revival of Hindu and Muslim systems, Watson, the fourth judge of the Calcutta circuit, used the same arguments to support his plea for a Government subsidy to the schools started in 1814 by the L.M.S. missionary at Chinsura, Robert May.⁴ Some decline of both learning and social morality was perhaps an inevitable result of the loss of creativity by the traditional Indian cultures, and of the relatively anarchic conditions that prevailed in Bengal for many years after the East India Company had siezed power there in 1757. The imposition of a totally alien government would tend in itself to loosen the bonds of society, especially as it was at first reluctant to assume the constructive responsibilities of

(1) Grant, *op.cit.*, 25ff.

(2) P.P. - Appendix 12 to 5th Report of East India Affairs, 1812, 617.

(3) I.O.R. - Bengal Judicial (Criminal) Proceedings, No.2, 28 June 1814; No.16, 2 Aug.1814; No.193, 27 Sep.1815; Cf. E. Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India*, Oxford, 1959, 56.

(4) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.6, 13 June 1815.

government, and as its rule created the conditions for the decay of much of the established aristocracy and for the rise of enterprising and individualistic businessmen. Society was being shaken up, and a decline, or at least uncertainty, in the field of social morality was the natural result.¹

On 3 June 1814 the Court of Directors sent a Despatch to the Bengal Government, in which it tried to give some interpretive guidance on the implementation of the educational clause of the Charter Act. Although it urged, for the first time, some encouragement for elementary education, it also continued the Warren Hastings - Minto policy of trying to revive traditional ethics and higher education through the medium of the Indian classical languages, hoping at the same time that 'the natives might gradually be led to adopt the modern improvements' of Western science.² The policy was summed up by J.H. Harington, a Bengal official who was to play a useful part in the educational experiments of Moira's administration, as one of 'engraftment': he wrote in June 1814 'To allure the learned natives of India to the study of European science and literature we must, I think, engraft this study upon their own established methods of scientific and literary instruction'.³ Apart from its political expediency, one might think that such a policy implied a considerable psychological insight into the difficulties and dangers arising from an attempt to introduce

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- (1) cf. J. Ghosh, op.cit., 7; A.Yusuf Ali, A cultural history of India during the British period, Bombay, 1940, 2, 52-3; A.R. Mallick, British policy and the Muslims in Bengal 1757-1856, Dacca, 1961, 168.
- (2) S.E.R., 22-4.
- (3) Adam, op.cit., 422.

foreign learning.¹

But the Earl of Moira,² who arrived in Bengal as Governor-General in October 1813, was unsympathetic to Oriental learning, and so could not agree with all of this policy; he preferred to emphasise the importance of vernacular elementary education and the introduction of Western learning.³ But in any case the Court of Directors' Despatch 'reached Bengal at a most inopportune moment'⁴: war with Nepal broke out in 1814, and was followed by the struggles with the Pindaris and Marathas, which not only preoccupied Moira's attention but precluded until 1821 the prospect of a revenue surplus from which a Government scheme for education could be financed.⁵ The chance of effective Government action looked good in 1813-4; there was the new commitment to education in London, and the personal interest of the new Governor-General and many of his officials in Bengal, but in fact they failed to work out even a coherent overall policy until almost the end of Moira's administration.

Nevertheless it was one of the most creative in modern Indian history

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- (1) For a useful discussion of this question, vide B.K. Boman-Behram, Educational controversies in India, Bombay, 1943.
 - (2) Created Marquess of Hastings in 1817.
 - (3) Minute by Lord Moira on the Judicial Administration of Fort William Presidency, 2 Oct. 1815 - S.E.R., 24-9; The private journal of the Marquess of Hastings, ed. by his daughter, the Marchioness of Bute, London, 1858, Vol. I, 128; I.O.R. - Bengal Revenue Consultations, No. 19, 21 Aug. 1821; cf. T.G.P. Spear, 'Bentinck and Education', Cambridge Historical Journal, Vol. VI, 1938, 79-80, 91.
 - (4) D.P. Sinha, The educational policy of the East India Company in Bengal to 1854, Calcutta, 1964, 30.
 - (5) Ibid., 34, 48; P.P.-Minutes of Evidence for the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, I - Public or Miscellaneous, 1832: evidence of Holt Mackenzie and C. Lushington.

as far as education was concerned, in spite of the failure at the official level. The Government was able to do little or nothing on its own, but the knowledge that in both London and Calcutta the authorities were now in favour of education was enough to evoke a great outburst of activity on the part of private individuals and societies,¹ building in most cases on the preliminary experiments and thinking of the previous twenty years; missionaries, chaplains, the Indians themselves, and British soldiers and officials acting in their personal capacity all participated. Experiments were made with elementary, secondary and higher education; with the medium of instruction, the curriculum, and methods of teaching; textbooks were written, and a beginning was made with the education of girls. Although some of the momentum was lost in subsequent decades, a foundation was laid for future development.

b. The establishment of mission schools, 1813-23.

The missionaries engaged in education at several places in Bengal, but during Moira's rule there were four centres of outstanding importance: Serampore, Chinsura, Burdwan, and Calcutta. Encouraged by the changed official attitude, the Serampore missionaries decided upon a great extension to their educational activities, and in 1816 they published Marshman's pamphlet Hints relative to Native Schools, in which his ideas on the

(1) 'A View of the Administration of the Most Noble Marquess of Hastings, in reference to the intellectual and moral Improvement of British India', The Friend of India (Quarterly) No.VII, 1822.

subject were set forth at length.¹ It was also a successful appeal for public support; Indians and Europeans contributed, from the Governor-General downwards,² and they were enabled in fifteen months during 1816-7 to establish no less than 103 elementary schools with 6703 regular pupils.³ In 1818 the emphasis was changed to the improvement of the existing indigenous schools, through the introduction of textbooks and periodic inspection,⁴ and in the same year Serampore College was founded for higher education in arts, science and theology - the crown of their educational system. Their ambitions outran their resources, however, and in 1824 the elementary schools had to be mostly given up because of inadequate finance.⁵

Meanwhile at Chinsura a direct partnership between missionaries and Government had been achieved, with elementary schools founded and superintended by Robert May and financed by the Bengal Government. May opened his first Bengali school in his house in July 1814; it rapidly increased in numbers, and Gordon Forbes, then the British Commissioner for the Foreign Settlements,⁶ allowed him to use a room in the Fort for it.⁷ Encouraged

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- (1) Hints relative to native schools, together with an outline of an institution for their extension and management, Serampore, 1816.
 - (2) View the subscription-lists at the back of the three Reports of the institution for the encouragement of native schools in India, Serampore 1817-20; also B.M.S. MSS, Moira to Marshman, 23 Dec.1816; Hyde East to Marshman, 25 Dec.1816; Macnaghten to Marshman, 29 Dec.1816.
 - (3) 1st Serampore Schools Report, 1817, 12.
 - (4) 2nd Serampore Schools Report, 1818, 29ff.
 - (5) J.C. Marshman, op.cit., II, 297-8.
 - (6) i.e. Chandannagar, Serampore and Chinsura, captured respectively from French, Danes and Dutch during the course of the Napoleonic wars.
 - (7) Transactions of The Missionary Society, Vol.IV, 218; I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.10, 11 July 1815.

by his success May opened more schools, until by the end of June 1815 he had fifteen in and around the town,¹ conducted according to a modified form of the monitorial system. By this time they had attracted Watson's attention: he wrote to Forbes that they 'are better calculated for the dissemination of morality and general improvement of society among natives of all persuasions without interfering with their religious prejudices than any which have been or perhaps can be introduced and I should be glad to see every District under the Presidency participating in the incalculable benefits which might be expected to result from an extension of this admirable plan'.² In a letter to the Government in Calcutta, Forbes echoed Watson's praise, emphasising May's 'extraordinary talents' as a teacher and the care he took not to arouse the hostility of the people by attacking their religion;³ whereupon the Vice-President in Council (N.B. Edmonstone) agreed to make a grant of Rs.600 per month for the schools, under the authority of the 1813 Charter Act.⁴ It was increased to Rs.800 in 1816.⁵

By 1818 May had increased the number of the schools to 36⁶, including some further up the Hooghly at Bankipur, which were started in 1817.⁷ 2695 boys were in regular attendance. He died in August 1818,⁸ and his place was taken by J.D. Pearson, another L.M.S. missionary, who found the

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- (1) Ibid.
 - (2) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.6, 13 June 1815.
 - (3) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.9, 11 July 1815.
 - (4) Ibid., No.11.
 - (5) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., Nos.4 and 6, 6 Sep.1816.
 - (6) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.14, 18 Sep.1818.
 - (7) Quarterly Chronicle, 205.
 - (8) L.M.S. MS - Townley to L.M.S., 12 Aug.1818.

schools too scattered for him to superintend efficiently and so reduced their number gradually to 21 (October 1823), including 9 at Bankipur, with 1800 boys in attendance altogether.¹ In addition to these Pearson started in 1822 four in which Christian religious instruction was systematically given, which were therefore regarded as 'mission schools' and not supported by Government.²

None of the Anglican missionary societies were able to begin any schools for Bengalis before the year 1816. The Danish-German-English mission in Tamilnad, in which the S.P.C.K. participated, had however a direct influence on education in Bengal through Dr. C.S. John, (d.1813) who experimented successfully with free schools: his work was known and admired by Bishop Middleton of Calcutta,³ the C.M.S.,⁴ and Robert May, who wrote to him for advice.⁵ In 1787 Charles Grant sent the S.P.C.K. a copy of his Proposal; it reacted favourably and recommended to the Court of Directors the establishment of English schools 'in the principle centres under their jurisdiction',⁶ but without success. The S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G. representing the High Church wing of the Church of England, were both very conscious of their position as part of the Establishment and therefore felt inhibited from missionary and educational work in India before Government sanction had been given, and the Bishopric of Calcutta set up, in 1813.

(1) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.57, 30 Oct.1823.

(2) L.M.S. MSS - Mundy to L.M.S., 6 Apr.1822; Pearson to L.M.S., 6 Oct.1823.

(3) S.P.C.K. Report, 1813, 68.

(4) 14th C.M.S. Report, 1814, 284ff.; cf. The Missionary Register, Aug., Nov., Dec., 1813, Apr.1814.

(5) L.M.S. MS - May to L.M.S., 26 Nov.1813.

(6) Morris, op.cit., 122.

The first Bishop, Thomas Fanshawe Middleton, was personally sympathetic to that wing of the Church, and although he took a very cautious attitude towards missionary work he encouraged these two societies to establish themselves in Bengal, setting up the Calcutta Diocesan Committee of the S.P.C.K. in 1815.¹ It began its educational work in 1818,² and by 1823 had established two 'circles' of six elementary schools each, in the suburbs to the north and south of Calcutta, with a total of about 800 boys.³ For higher education Middleton founded Bishop's College at Sibpur in 1820.

The Church Missionary Society had a greater sense of missionary urgency but it too achieved nothing in Bengal until after 1813. The ground was however prepared to some extent by the activities of the Evangelical chaplains in Calcutta, of whom the first, David Brown, arrived in 1786; they could do little or nothing for the Bengalis, but they did help to bring about a 'reformation of manners' among at least a section of the British residents, who were thus ready to give useful support to missionary and educational work when this got going in earnest after 1813. These chaplains were appointed by Charles Grant in the Court of Directors, on the recommendation of Simeon at Cambridge. The two who made the greatest contributions to education were Daniel Corrie and Thomas Thomason, and especially the latter. To him in fact must go the credit for having

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- (1) S.P.C.K. Report, 1816, 51.
 - (2) S.P.C.K. Report, 1818, 93; S.P.C.K. MS - Minutes of the Committee for Correspondence with the Diocesan and District Committees of the S.P.C.K. 5 July 1819.
 - (3) Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1824, 149-52.

devised, early in 1814, the first detailed and comprehensive plan for education in the Bengal Presidency, involving the establishment by the Government of a 'high school' in every district for the teaching of English and modern science, a 'Normal School' at Calcutta for the training of teachers, and the encouragement of elementary vernacular schools in the villages. A particular feature of interest was the plan for ethical teaching, which was to include selections from the Muslim, Christian and Hindu sacred books.¹ The scheme was thus for education at all levels, and took account of both the Indian cultural heritage and the new learning which had developed in the West. Moira was at first impressed with Thomason's plan and took him on his tour of North India; Thomason at first had high hopes that it would be accepted, but in December 1814 he had to write that they had been disappointed.² He believed that the members of the Governor-General's Council at Calcutta had exerted a decisive influence against the plan.³ They may well have feared that it would arouse the suspicions of the people on religious grounds,⁴ even though Thomason's approach to the delicate problem of evangelism was an extremely prudent one. But in any case it would almost certainly have been too expensive to implement. Compared with Thomason's plan, May's efforts around Chinsura were on a very limited scale, and the Government had correspondingly fewer qualms, on both religious and financial grounds, in giving it support as a 'pilot

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- (1) Sargent, Thomason, 214ff; cf. W.Carus (ed.), Memoirs of the life of the Rev. Charles Simeon, M.A., 3rd ed., London, 1848, 284; R.H. MSS - Simeon to C.Grant, 17 Dec.1814, 1 Feb., 5 Aug.1815; H.V. Hampton, Biographical studies in Indian education, Madras, 1947, 188.
- (2) C.M.S. MS - Thomason to C.M.S., 15 Dec.1814.
- (3) Sargent, op.cit., 234-5.
- (4) Hampton, op.cit., 189.

project' - especially as by the time that May's work came up for the Council's consideration in the summer of 1815, the stimulus of the Court of Directors' Despatch of 3 June 1814 had been received.

Thomason was an active member of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee of the C.M.S., and it was through this, rather than as an adviser to Government, that he did his most effective work for education. When Pratt, the Secretary of the C.M.S., heard of the Government's refusal to support Thomason's plan for schools, he commented 'this renders it the more important that we should embark more extensively in the business of education'.¹ At this juncture they got some practical encouragement from Kali Shankar Ghosal, a friend of Ram Mohan Roy² - one of the new class of well-to-do liberal-minded Bengalis which was a factor of rapidly-increasing importance for the educational development of the area. He gave some land for a school at Kidderpur on the southern outskirts of the city, and in November 1815 Thomason wrote to Pratt 'The building is complete and we wait only for ye favourable time for opening it. Our operations have been suspended in consequence of private intimation from a member of Government that they wished us to wait until ye result of an experiment now making at Chinsura shall be known'³ - an interesting sidelight on the anxiety with which the Government watched the progress of May's work in its early stages. The C.M.S. Kidderpur school in fact opened early in 1816.⁴

(1) C.M.S. MS - C.M.S. to Robertson, 8 July 1815.

(2) C.M.S. MS - Robertson to C.M.S., 5 Jan. 1816; cf. P. Sinha, 19th century Bengal: aspects of social history, Calcutta, 1965, 94 ftn.

(3) C.M.S. MS - Thomason to C.M.S., 1 Nov. 1815.

(4) C.M.S. MS - Minutes of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee of the C.M.S., 3 June 1816.

It was however at Burdwan, later in the same year, that the C.M.S. first emerged as a major factor in the education of Bengal, when the Calcutta Committee agreed to give financial support to some elementary schools which were being established by Captain James Stewart, an Army officer stationed there.¹ In 1819 the Society sent the German missionaries Andrew Jetter and W.J. Deerr to superintend them,² and they were joined in the following year by the Englishman John Perowne, whose particular responsibility was to supervise a 'Central School' in the town at which English was taught.³ By 1823 there were 55 boys in this school, and 1200 in 16 Bengali elementary schools;⁴ by the same year the C.M.S. had established in Calcutta also one English and eight Bengali schools.⁵

Calcutta also saw some activity by L.M.S. and Baptist missionaries. James Keith and Henry Townley, who arrived in 1816, were the first L.M.S. missionaries to work in the city, but although they opened two elementary schools in the following year they were much less enthusiastic about them than their brethren at Chinsura, as they believed that they were of little value unless the Christian Scriptures could be taught in them, but this was at first difficult owing to local opposition.⁶ By 1823 however there were five L.M.S. Bengali elementary schools in and around the city, in which religious instruction was given.⁷ The Baptist mission in Bengal

(1) C.M.S. MS - C.C.C. Minutes, 9 Sep.1816.

(2) 19th C.M.S. Report, 1818-9, 133.

(3) 22nd C.M.S. Report, 1821-2, 111; C.M.S. MS - Perowne to C.M.S., Jan.

(4) 24th C.M.S. Report, 1823-4, 121-2. (1821.

(5) Ibid., 118.

(6) L.M.S. MS - Keith to L.M.S., Mar.1817; Townley to L.M.S., 5 May, 30 Aug.1817, 3 Oct.1818.

(7) 30th L.M.S. Report, 1824, 60-1; L.M.S. MSS - M.Hill to L.M.S., 1 Nov. 1822; L.M.S. missionaries to L.M.S., 25 Sep.1823.

split into two parties in 1817, when a group of younger missionaries refused to cooperate with the Serampore Trio and set up a separate mission in Calcutta. They established a few Bengali elementary schools, of which three continued in 1823.¹ By the end of Hastings' administration there were thus about 28 of these schools run by four different missions in and around Calcutta.

The Serampore missionaries were the only ones who established schools outside the four main centres (Chinsura, Serampore, Burdwan and Calcutta) before 1823. They sent Owen Leonard, who had hitherto been the master of the Calcutta 'Benevolent Institution', to Dacca in 1816,² where he founded a Persian school and some Bengali elementary schools, of which there were 15 by 1823.³ A Bengali school was established at Murshidabad in 1817,⁴ but their work there did not endure for more than about five years. The Dacca and Murshidabad schools were supported financially by local committees.⁵ There were also in 1823 a few Bengali schools at Chittagong, Katwa, Dinajpur and in Birbhum and Jessore districts.⁶

c. Curriculum.

As compared with the indigenous schools, the mission schools did valuable work in increasing the speed and effectiveness of the teaching

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- (1) 4th and 5th Reports of the Calcutta Baptist Missionary Society, 1822, 1823.
 - (2) S.C.L., 1816, 262; B.M.S. MS - Leonard to Ward, 3 Nov. 1816.
 - (3) B.M.S. Report, 1824, 10.
 - (4) S.C.L., 1817, 61.
 - (5) 3rd Serampore Schools Report, 1820, 46, 54.
 - (6) B.M.S. Report, 1824.

of reading, writing and arithmetic, in introducing printed textbooks, and in widening the syllabus. The missionaries emphasised that a sound education must start with teaching the pupils effectively to read and write their mother-tongue, and anticipated William Adam with their strictures on the low standards which the pathsalas achieved in this.¹ Marshman devised a series of 'tables', based on Lancaster's, including the Bengali alphabet, words, paradigms of verbs, nouns and pronouns, sentences, numbers and arithmetical examples, which were printed in large type at the Serampore Press and posted up in the school-room so that all the pupils could use them as examples for reading and writing,² under the direction of the monitors. When they had mastered this elementary stage, the monitor dictated sentences from printed textbooks ('copy-books') - compiled by John Clark Marshman, Joshua's eldest son³ - which were written down by the pupils, read back and learnt by heart. The process was designed to give them practice in writing, spelling, grammar and reading, and simultaneously to convey 'clear and distinct ideas to the mind'.⁴ The textbooks were each divided into sections so as to provide a graduated course; they included Aesop's Fables and Historical Anecdotes, as reading lessons 'illustrative of justice, fidelity, probity and humanity'; arithmetic, including 'Jumidaree Papers' - local methods of accountancy and land conveyancing; a summary of the names and writings of Sanskrit

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- (1) Hints relative to native schools, 8; 18th C.M.S. Report, 1817-8, 212; 19th C.M.S. Report, 264.
 (2) Hints, 21; 1st Serampore Schools Report, 20.
 (3) B.M.S. MS - The Serampore Missionaries to the Society, 2 Apr. 1816.
 (4) Hints, 22.

authors; Dig Durshuna - 'a miscellaneous collection of Truths and Facts' on history, science and ethics; a 'View of the Solar System' with a glossary of technical terms; 'Epitome of Geography', including a map; and History and Chronology.¹ These booklets were composed of short sentences ('maxims'); for example; 'The earth turns round on its own axis, which forms day and night'. By 1818 a catechism of set questions and answers was appended to each, which was used by the Superintendents on their visits to the schools to test the boys' progress.² Marshman's course was thus designed to provide an effective grounding in the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic, together with an introduction to ethical values and to modern knowledge, as related to conditions of life and work in contemporary Bengal.

Like Marshman, May also was first attracted to the Lancasterian system as a promising means of spreading Christian religious teaching,³ but went on to use it for a relatively secular type of education. Whenever he wished to start a school, he was careful to announce his purpose in very practical terms which the people would readily understand; he 'composed a letter, had it translated, and painted on a board, stating that my design was to teach them to read, write and cypher on a more easy plan than their own; that they might be qualified to gain a subsistence for themselves, and assist their parents also when unable to work'.⁴ He studied the methods of the indigenous schools⁵ and used his 'Central

(1) 1st Serampore Schools Report, 20-9.

(2) 2nd Serampore Schools Report, 71-80; 3rd Serampore Schools Report, 24

(3) L.M.S. MS - May to L.M.S., 26 Nov. 1813.

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(4) L.M.S. MS - May to L.M.S., 4 July 1815.

(5) Transactions, IV, 219-20.

School' in Chinsura itself as a proving-ground for introducing Lancasterian methods into the indigenous system,¹ realising that 'All improvements must be gradually introduced that both teachers and children may comprehend them'.² In contrast to Marshman, he did not use printed 'tables' and textbooks - instead he relied upon wooden boards, on which the alphabet, sentences, etc. were painted.³ He thought this method had advantages: it was more flexible in that the lessons on the boards could be varied somewhat to meet the 'prejudices' of individual schools in different localities; and they seemed less alien to the people, who were not used to reading anything printed. They were also more durable than printed placards and books, and were less expensive to make.⁴ By the middle of 1815 he was able to report that he had a graded series of about 140 board-lessons in use among his 15 schools: 'They consist chiefly of arithmetic, pottahs, letters, leases, bonds, invitations, names of men, towns, villages, birds, beasts etc. etc. and some moral reading-lessons.'⁵ They were popular with the children,⁶ but this curriculum was limited compared with that of the Serampore missionaries. Before his death May did admit that printed matter must supersede his painted boards,⁷ and at the end of 1818 J.D. Pearson introduced textbooks into many of the schools without any difficulty.⁸ Pearson and his

(1) Ibid.

(2) L.M.S. MS - May to Forbes, 5 Oct.1815.

(3) L.M.S. MS - May to Forbes, 30 June 1815; Transactions, IV, 220-1.

(4) Ibid. L.M.S. MS - May to Forbes, 14 Feb.1817.

(5) L.M.S. MS - May to Forbes, 30 June 1815; Transactions, IV, 221.

(6) L.M.S. MS - May to Forbes, 8 Apr.1816.

(7) L.M.S. MSS - May to Forbes, 11 Oct.1817; Pearson to L.M.S., 9 May 1818.

(8) L.M.S. MS - Pearson to Forbes, 28 Dec.1818.

colleague John Harle, who was superintending the Bankipur schools, wrote several themselves, and they were greatly helped by the Calcutta School Book Society, which had been established in 1817 to commission and publish cheap books. Pearson was now able to try to extend the curriculum, but he was evidently less successful in this than the Serampore missionaries; before his departure to England on furlough at the end of 1823 all that he was able to report in this direction was that a little elementary geography was taught, and that some of the boys read the Serampore magazine Dig Darshan.¹

May expected his boys to come to their schools at sunrise, read and write until 9 a.m., after which they had an hour's break. They then did arithmetic until noon, when they went home for the hottest part of the day, returning to the school at 3 p.m. to stay until sunset.² There was a general consensus of opinion that his schools were better than the pathsalas: Forbes wrote that May's methods were 'far superior to and a most essential improvement on the mode of instruction at present in use among the natives',³ and Baidyanath Ray, like K.S. Ghosal a liberal-minded Bengali of a zamindari family, visited the schools in February 1817⁴ and praised the board-lessons and the good order of the children, who 'in a short time become qualified to gain their own livelihood, to be good members of society, and to be a comfort and assistance to their parents.' He thought May's system was a great improvement on that of the

(1) L.M.S. MS - Pearson to L.M.S., 6 Oct. 1823.

(2) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No. 6, 5 July 1816.

(3) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No. 9, 11 July 1815.

(4) P. Sinha, op.cit., 94 ftn.; Rammohun Ray Centenary Publicity Booklet, (130).

pathsalas, especially as his boys learnt to read and write more competently.¹

N.B. Edmonstone, the Vice President of the Council, permitted himself the hope in 1815 that May's scheme might prove 'the basis of a plan for the more general instruction of natives throughout the country',² and Gordon Forbes wrote a year later that the experiment was working so well that the only possible reason why it should not be indefinitely extended was the expense in which this would involve the Government.³ This was however reason enough; after schools had been established at Bankipur W.B. Bayley communicated the Government's approval - accompanied by a warning that the Government subsidy could not be increased beyond the existing level of Rs. 800 per month.⁴ It was in any case unwilling for the schools to be multiplied beyond the point where May could exercise personal superintendence;⁵ while it had confidence in his ability to disarm any possible local hostility to the new system, it could not be certain that the schools would automatically be acceptable in other areas. May was prepared to travel around the country extending the system,⁶ but the superintendence of the schools which he established would obviously require a team of men, each with something approaching his own peculiar blend of tact and enthusiasm, which did not exist at the time. The

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- (1) Quarterly Chronicle, I, 205; cf. L.M.S. MS - Mundy to Bayley, 2 Mar. (1824.
 - (2) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.7, 13 June 1815.
 - (3) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.4. 6 Sep.1816.
 - (4) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.21, 5 Aug.1817.
 - (5) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.6, 6 Sep.1816.
 - (6) L.M.S. MS - May to L.M.S., 31 Aug.1815.

decision of the Bengal Government not to extend May's plan indefinitely was endorsed by the Court of Directors.¹

Pearson thought that even the 36 schools bequeathed to him by May were too many for efficient management,² and the Government acquiesced in the closure of some of them.³ He was an admirer of Bell,⁴ some of whose ideas he introduced into the Chinsura schools; a few years later he described his synthesis of the methods of Bell, Lancaster, and the indigenous schools in The British system of Instruction, which together with Marshman's Hints were the most notable educational treatises produced in Bengal at this period. In it he first described the school-house: its roof should be thatched and its walls could be of bamboo, or preferably earthen, 'leaving in the centre, all round, a cubit of lattice work to admit light and air'.⁵ Across the end of the room there was to be a sand-board in which the lowest class would practice writing the alphabet; above them would be low narrow desks for five other classes - for those engaged in writing the alphabet on palm or plantain leaf, spelling, reading and arithmetic.⁶ Each class had two monitors, on whom the teaching mainly depended:⁷ the master should be able to 'read with fluency the printed character',⁸ but no other academic qualification was mentioned,

(1) I.O.R. - Judicial letter to Bengal, 13 Dec.1820.

(2) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.26, 20 Aug.1819.

(3) Ibid., No.27.

(4) Ibid., No. 26.

(5) J.D. Pearson, The British system of instruction, as adapted to native schools in India, Calcutta, 1830, 1-2.

(6) BSI, 2-3, 9-15.

(7) BSI, 4-5, 27-9.

(8) BSI, 6.

and it is clear that he was an administrator rather than an educationist, with a general responsibility for the organisation and discipline of the school. Pearson thought that in a properly-conducted school 'the barbarous kinds of punishment' used in the indigenous schools would not be necessary:¹ demotion in the class, 'or some mark of disgrace, will, in general, be sufficient' - combined with rewards for the boys who did well.² At Burdwan Captain Stewart also used Bell's system for his schools,³ though with some modifications. He followed the Serampore example in using printed placards and textbooks rather than painted boards,⁴ and in attempting at an early stage to introduce science, history and geography through their means.⁵

The introduction of the elements of Western learning was obviously a major landmark in the cultural history of Bengal, but the evidence of the degree of success which these attempts achieved is conflicting. William Butterworth Bayley, Chief Secretary to the Bengal Government and an active supporter of the educational experiments of the period, examined the Government-supported schools at Chinsura in 1821 and reported that many of the senior boys showed 'a great facility in reading, in writing and arithmetic', but they left school too early - owing to their parents' desire for them to earn - for there to be much hope of educating them further.⁶ George Mundy, Pearson's successor as superintendent, wrote in

(1) BSI, 27; cf. I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.20, 3 Dec.1819.

(2) BSI, 48-9.

(3) 19th C.M.S. Report, 130.

(4) Ibid., 126-7.

(5) Ibid., 264.

(6) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.1., 4 May 1821.

1825 that the boys were eager to learn accounts and forms of letter-writing as qualifications for employment, and they enjoyed stories and fables, but geography and astronomy and 'Books of general Science are usually disregarded', except by a few individuals. 'A Bengalee School Boy cannot see what advantage is to be derived from a knowledge of the shape of the Earth, its dimensions revolutions etc. hence emulation is unknown and the mind uninterested'.¹ This opinion was echoed by W.J. Deerr, one of the C.M.S. missionaries at Burdwan, who wrote in 1823 that no boy 'has any desire to read and learn simply for the love of it'; many left the schools at the age of 12, and 'after 14 or 15 none can be persuaded to stay without some specific acknowledged object...The poverty of their parents is such that they cannot spare them...a few only remain after a certain age in order to qualify themselves for situations in the schools and offices in the neighbourhood...No books would detain their attention for any considerable time except the accounts of their own gods, and traditions. General History has no attraction nor has Science of any kind except what is absolutely necessary in order to their obtaining a livelihood'.² His colleague Jetter had reported previously that some of the boys found the C.S.B.^{S.}'s publication on Geography and Astronomy 'very offensive...because this proves so visibly [sic] the falsehood of their Shastries'.³ On the other hand, Thomason was very pleased with the progress of the boys in the Bengali schools at Burdwan when he visited them

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- (1) L.M.S. MS - Annual Report of the Government Schools, 1 Apr.1825.
 - (2) C.M.S. MS - Thomason to Corrie, 23 Sep.1823.
 - (3) C.M.S. MS - Jetter to C.M.S., 23 July 1820.

in 1819. They were reading the Serampore and C.S.B.S. textbooks on history, geography and astronomy, and he found them able to explain the meaning of 'difficult words...and give the sense of the different passages in which they are used, in their own language not in the words of the book so as to make it evident that they really understood what they were taught'. In one school 'The head class not only manifested considerable proficiency in the books which they had been using, but also a quickness and a zeal which would have been creditable to any class of boys in Europe. It was delightful to observe with what eagerness they sought instruction, and with what apparent satisfaction they repeated the subjects which came before them'.¹ His favourable impression was confirmed when he revisited the schools in 1821,² and Jetter agreed that the boys 'had not only learned, but understood what they had learned'.³

The conflict between the views of Thomason and Deerr may be partly attributable to the fact that the latter was the man on the spot responsible for the regular supervision of the schools, whereas the former only came to Burdwan occasionally, to conduct the examinations - and Deerr believed that 'if there were no public examinations there would be little or no reading...The approach of an examination at the end of the year operates as fire on Powder. They labor day and night and spare no pains to prepare themselves, so great is their thirst for distinction'.⁴ More consistently encouraging reports came from the English school, however-

(1) C.M.S. MS - Thomason to Corrie, 4 Mar.1819.

(2) 22nd C.M.S. Report, 111-2.

(3) Ibid., 270; cf. C.M.S. MS - Perowne to C.M.S., 9 Apr.1822.

(4) C.M.S. MS - Thomason to Corrie, 23 Sep.1823.

not surprisingly, as it accepted only the boys who had done well in the Bengali elementary schools. Although premature school-leaving was a problem here too, Thomason found in 1823 that they had a good understanding of Goldsmith's History of England and of the Geography of Asia, and it seemed that the top class at least had begun 'to taste the pleasure of learning. They have a value for knowledge, as such'.¹ Perowne, the school's superintendent, thought that the boys were making real progress.² At Chinsura, Mundy wrote that an English school would provide the necessary stimulus and opportunity for further education there also, but the project was not pursued on the grounds of expense.³

The reports from Burdwan, even of the Bengali schools, were certainly more satisfactory than those of Chinsura. The reason for this may well have been that the C.M.S. missionaries Jetter, Deerr and Perowne gave more of their time to them than did Mundy and especially Pearson. The latter was at this stage mainly interested in direct evangelism (in contrast to his predecessor May), and Mundy wrote that he 'scarce gave [the schools] any personal attention'⁴; no doubt he thought that this would be less necessary after the introduction of some of Bell's ideas. Marshman also put great faith in system, but at Serampore the main difficulty was simply the large number of the schools; there were nearly 100 to be looked after by two superintendents and J.C. Marshman, under the general direction of his father, and with perhaps the occasional

(1) C.M.S. MS - Thomason to Corrie, 1 Oct.1823.

(2) *Ibid.*,; cf. Perowne to C.M.S., 9 Apr.1822, 23 June 1823.

(3) L.M.S. MS - Mundy to Bayley, 2 Mar.1824.

(4) L.M.S. MS - Mundy to L.M.S., 9 Jan.1824; cf. Mundy to Pearson, 5 Jan. (1824.

assistance of the other members of the Trio. In spite of this there were encouraging reports of the popularity of the textbooks, and Joshua Marshman felt able to comment that 'to the mind of a Hindoo youth knowledge is as grateful as pleasant food to the palate.'¹ In 1821 one of the itinerant superintendents wrote that the textbooks were 'well adapted for opening [the boys'] minds and giving them a taste for knowledge',² but apparently no detailed reports of the progress of the scheme were published after 1820, and it was terminated in 1824. It is fair to assume that one reason for this was that Marshman's hopes of a rapid spread in understanding of the elements of modern knowledge were disappointed - the boys around Serampore must have reacted in much the same way as their contemporaries at Chinsura and Burdwan.

The rather mixed results of the attempt to widen the curriculum is not surprising under the circumstances. Economic factors affected the pathsalas similarly - Adam noted the unwillingness of parents to allow their sons to continue in them longer than seemed absolutely necessary to qualify themselves for a job;³ and as there was at that time little that a Bengali could do which required a high standard of Western education,⁴ there was not much incentive to stay at school. This incidentally helps to account for the common opinion that while many boys had considerable natural ability, it somehow failed to develop any further after

(1) 1st Serampore Schools Report, 19.

(2) Per.Accts., 1822, 12.

(3) Adam, op.cit., 7.

(4) cf. J. Ghosh, op.cit., 26; P.Sinha, op.cit., 33-4.

they had attained their middle teens.¹ It is understandable that most of the boys should have found Western science at best alien and at worst subversive of their religion, and that they should not all at once have been able to undergo the mental revolution necessary to see how it might enable them to improve their situation. At least they would have needed the help of skilled and dedicated teachers who had themselves a real understanding of the subject, but except in a few cases like the C.M.S. English school at Burdwan, such men were of course not available. The only aids to comprehension which the boys could expect were explanations by the missionaries or superintendents in their periodic visits to the schools. The missionaries did their best to make the texts as self-explanatory as possible; an intelligent boy would perhaps not need much explanation of the sentence 'The clouds are never more than three miles above the earth'.² They also used local references to illustrate the 'new learning'; for example, 'The earth is globular...somewhat like the kudumba fruit'.³ Marshman believed that if the texts were thoroughly learnt by heart, even if their full implications were not understood at the time, they might under favourable circumstances bear fruit in the future, like a seed sown deep in the mind and silently germinating. He hoped that his system would 'furnish [the pupil's] mind with a treasure of ideas, which, duly

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- (1) C.M.S. MS - Perowne to C.M.S., 23 June 1823; P.P. - 6th Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Territories, 1853 - Minutes of Evidence by J.C. Marshman; C.M.S. MS - 'General Information respecting Burdwan and Culna and the Missionary Operations there' by W.J. Deerr, 1829, 36-7.
- (2) 3rd Serampore Schools Report, 25.
- (3) Hints, 14.

improved by reflection, might enable him hereafter to illuminate all around him'.¹ He was probably being over-optimistic as far as the majority were concerned, but the various reports do indicate that some individuals began to sense the possibilities, and they were to be a more important factor in the subsequent history of the region than those who did not. At least the missionaries were providing an opportunity which had not existed previously for the more intelligent boys to widen their horizons, and the obstacles in their way were not insurmountable.

Apart from a genuine desire to advance learning for its own sake, the missionaries also believed that Western science would undermine belief in the Hindu scriptures; the new geography, for example, could hardly be reconciled with the Puranas.² And their ultimate evangelistic purpose also helps to explain why, in spite of the fact that they had to rely on a system based on rote-learning, they were so concerned that the learning-process should be meaningful - that their pupils should be stimulated into a personal intellectual awakening. Perowne wrote bluntly in 1822 'What we want is to get the people to think', and reported with satisfaction that his boys now 'think and reason, and frequently pretty correctly, even in support of their own customs... Some...are very shrewd, requiring an explanation of every thing.'³ As Marshman had put it, the object of the schools was not to bring about immediate conversions, but

(1) 1st Serampore Schools Report, 31.

(2) Hints, 14; 1st Schools Report, 26; C.M.S. MSS - Jetter to C.M.S., 23 July 1820; I. Wilson to C.M.S., Dec.1823.

(3) C.M.S. MS - Perowne to C.M.S., 9 Apr.1822; cf. L.M.S. MSS - Mundy to Bayley, 2 Mar.1824; Mundy to H.H. Wilson, 1 June 1825.

rather to enable the people 'to see things just as they are when their understandings are matured'.¹ In the Chinsura schools the upper classes read short stories and connected passages from their textbooks, after which Pearson wrote, 'The monitor then examines the class as to the meaning'² - first by asking questions which members of the class answered by reading again from their books; then the books were closed and the questions answered from memory. 'The monitor then asks the meaning of words in the lesson that are more difficult, or the class is exercised in the spelling of such words.' Finally 'general questions, arising from the subject, are proposed, inferences deduced, instruction applied, etc. etc.'³ Pearson stressed the importance of this process of 'interrogation': conscious of the usual criticisms of the inadequacy of rote-learning, he emphasised that the lesson must be 'not only read, but understood. And without this, so far as mental improvement is concerned, it might as well not have been read at all'.⁴

The missionaries thus acted as instigators of an intellectual awakening, or even revolution, - because they believed that as an inevitable consequence their pupils would realise what they themselves regarded as the absurdity of the religion by which they seemed to be enslaved; and schools were obvious agents of such a Christian Enlightenment. There is incidentally an instructive contrast with contemporary England, where the wide curriculum that was beginning to appear in Bengal was still very

(1) Per.Accts., 1814-5, 659.

(2) BSI, 13; cf. 36.

(3) BSI, 36.

(4) BSI, 34; cf. 66-7.

unusual in elementary schools. The reason was of course that whereas the missionaries were trying to stimulate a religious and social revolution, this is precisely what the dominant public opinion in England wished to avoid. It is not surprising that the Serampore scheme in particular should have attracted the attention of the more progressive educationists in England; James Mill singled it out for enthusiastic praise, along with Bentham's Chrestomathia, in his article on education in the Supplement to the Encyclopaedia Britannica (1824).¹

The missionaries realised that the more their pupils could be brought to enjoy their schooling, the more effective the learning-process would be. In this they were following the principles of Lancaster and Bell - reinforced by the need to disarm the initial suspicion of the local people. An important condition for this was that the curriculum should be relevant to the needs and wants of the people; and to this end the missionaries experimented with various blends of exotic and indigenous elements. All of them included the local system of accountancy and forms of letters;² May compiled an arithmetic textbook based on indigenous methods,³ while the Serampore arithmetic tables included 'all the Weights and Measures, and modes of reckoning in use among the natives, from the Cowry to the Rupee'.⁴ Their history and geography was India-centred,

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- (1) John Foster, also referred to the Serampore scheme as an example from which England might profit, in An essay on the evils of popular ignorance, London, 1820, 297, ftn.
 - (2) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.2, 4 May 1821; 18th C.M.S. Report, 212; 1st Serampore Schools Report, 22.
 - (3) Calcutta School Book Society - 1st Report, 1818, 2; 2nd Report, 1819, 52-3.
 - (4) Hints, 35.

their geography textbook describing first Bengal, then Asia, and finally other parts of the world;¹ while another of their school-books offered 'a succinct view' of Sanskrit literature, and its achievements in the fields of religion, philosophy, law, astronomy, medicine and poetry.² Their desire to introduce Western learning did not for a moment induce them to think that they could simply transplant a curriculum from England to Bengal. As to methods, the monitorial system was of course peculiarly appropriate in view of its Indian origin: monitors and rote-learning were no innovations in elementary schools in Bengal. On the other hand there is also evidence that the 'novelties' which the missionaries introduced were also an attraction,³ however reassuring the familiar elements in their schools must have been.

d. Religious teaching.

Even in the delicate area of ethical and religious teaching, May at least thought it desirable to incorporate some of the writings of the Hindu moralist Ayyar into his board-lessons; Dr. C.S. John had given her an accolade of respectability in an article in Asiatic Researches, testifying that her works 'contain good general ideas grounded in the Science of Morality'.⁴ This was however a change from May's original policy: like the Serampore missionaries prior to 1816, he began with the intention of giving specifically Christian religious teaching - more than a year

(1) Dig Durshun, 1818-21; 1st Serampore Schools Report, 28-9.

(2) Ibid., 24-5.

(3) 1st Serampore Schools Report, 34.

(4) L.M.S. MS - May to Forbes, 10 July 1817; Asiatic Researches, Vol.VII, Calcutta, 1801, 345.

after his arrival at Chinsura he wrote to the L.M.S. 'It is among the rising generation that I look for the main success, by learning them to read the Scriptures and teaching them the grand principles of our holy religion'.¹ In practice, however, as his schools increased he modified his aims very considerably, and in any case direct Christian teaching could hardly be given after he had accepted Government subsidies for the schools, in view of the Government's refusal to give any kind of official support to the spreading of Christianity. So one finds merely vague reports of 'Moral lessons on general duties',² which were evidently quite acceptable to the local people, and officials accordingly praised May for his 'prudence and circumspection'.³ During the last four years of his life, in fact, the superintendent of Government-supported schools virtually replaced the missionary in May, at least as that profession was then usually understood. Pearson and Mundy, however, were unhappy about the exclusion of Christian teaching; the latter wrote to the L.M.S. shortly after his arrival at Chinsura, 'I am exceedingly disappointed respecting the state of the Schools, I had not the slightest idea but that they were conducted on Christian principles, and was much hurt when I found myself sent out to supd. schools where the Scriptures were not introduced and where not the least religious instruction is allowed to be given. These schools have no other end in view than to teach the Children to read and write. I fully accord with the sentiments of Mr. Pearson and

(1) L.M.S. MS - May to L.M.S., 26 Nov.1813.

(2) L.M.S. MS - May to Forbes, 5 Oct.1815.

(3) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.9, 24 Nov.1815; cf. No.14, 18 Sep.1818.

of all the Brethren in Cal. that the mere communication of literary knowledge is by no means the object of a Xtn. Missionary'.¹ Mundy and Pearson ventured in 1821 to introduce the Scriptures into some at least of the Government schools, to be used 'simply as a class book without admonition and explanation',² and they also started their 'mission schools', supported by themselves, in which this restriction did not apply.³ This naturally aroused the apprehensions of the Government, and Mundy had to write regretfully to the L.M.S. that Bayley had 'requested we would not attempt the introduction of the Scriptures any further'.⁴ Bayley was however privately sympathetic to the missionaries, and he apparently did not insist that the reading of the Scriptures should cease in the schools into which they had been introduced⁵; and in his report of March 1822 he reiterated his usual commendation of Pearson's 'zeal and discretion'.⁶ But after the G.C.P.I. had assumed responsibility for the schools the use of the Scriptures was discontinued.⁷

Under its L.M.S. superintendents, then, the Chinsura schools began in 1814 with an ethics syllabus based at least partly on the works of a Hindu philosopher, and which it was hoped would not conflict with any religious teachings, but during the course of the following decade the

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- (1) L.M.S. MS - Mundy to L.M.S., 12 June 1820.
 - (2) L.M.S. MS - Mundy to L.M.S., 20 Mar.1821; cf. Pearson to L.M.S., 9 June 1821.
 - (3) L.M.S. MSS - Mundy to L.M.S., 20 Mar.1821, 6 Apr.1822.
 - (4) L.M.S. MS - Mundy to L.M.S., 10 Oct.1821.
 - (5) L.M.S. MS - Mundy to L.M.S., 6 Apr.1822.
 - (6) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.5, 19 Mar.1822; cf. L.M.S. MSS - Mundy to L.M.S. 10 May 1823, 1 Apr.1825.
 - (7) Vide Infra, Chapter IV.

Christian scriptures were gradually introduced. The Serampore missionaries pursued a more consistent course between 1816 and 1824, not going quite as far in either direction. They hoped that their Aesop's Fables especially would not be without moral effect, but the core of the ethics syllabus was their Moral Tables, 'wholly in the words of Scripture, giving a brief idea of the creation of man, the introduction and nature of moral evil, the redemption of mankind, a future judgement, etc.'¹ During 1817 these were combined with sentences on history, science and geography to form 'A miscellaneous selection of Truths and Facts', of which the following are examples of the 'ethical maxims':-

'God has appointed all men once to die and after that to receive judgement.
 The soul of a man is of more value than the sun, the moon and all the stars.
 The eye of God is in every place beholding both the evil and the good.
 God hath created of one blood all the nations of the earth.'²

Marshman's aim at this stage was simply to give the boys a mental and moral preparation 'for the advantageous study of the Sacred Scriptures, when they meet with them. Hence every idea set before them of a moral nature is such as to correspond with the doctrines taught in the Sacred Scriptures':³ the sentences on the powers and attributes of God 'may one day lead them to reflect on the sin and folly of idolatry'.⁴ The Serampore system of moral instruction was therefore on a more distinctly Christian basis than that of May at Chinsura, which was no doubt

(1) Hints, 36.

(2) 3rd Serampore Schools Report, 24-7.

(3) Ibid., 35.

(4) Ibid., 27.

one reason why Marshman refrained from asking for Government support for his experiment. May was somewhat embarrassed by the Serampore example in his relations with the L.M.S. in London, which wanted of course as much Christian teaching in the schools as possible. Their letters to him have been lost, but he tried to justify his policy by telling them of his doubts as to whether the Christian teaching of the Serampore plan would be accepted by the local people, and continued 'I wish to introduce the Scriptures as much as any one...but...attempts to force the Scriptures...might be the means of driving the Children from the Schools'.¹ It is in fact quite possible that what Dr. Potts has called the 'Christian bias' of the Serampore syllabus was one of the obstacles to the successful working of the system there.²

Owen Leonard found the boys of Dacca averse to any form of Christian teaching when he started the Baptist schools there in 1816, and the 'Auxiliary School Society' which was formed locally in 1818 to contribute to their support disavowed any religious purpose.³ Nevertheless Leonard introduced first Christian tracts and in 1821 the Scriptures themselves into the schools.⁴ This departure from the methods used by the Serampore missionaries themselves may well have been the reason for the withdrawal of support from these schools by the Indian members of the Dacca society.⁵

(1) L.M.S. MS - May to L.M.S., 25 Oct.1816.

(2) Potts, op.cit., 121.

(3) 3rd Serampore Schools Report, 46.

(4) S.C.L., 1821, 30, 41-2; 3rd Report of the Dacca Auxiliary Society for the support of schools, 1823, 11.

(5) P.P. - Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1831-2, Vol.IX, I - Public: Appendix I, 'Memoir on Education of Indians', by T.Fisher, 440.

It was not at first thought wise to try to introduce openly Christian religious teaching into the schools at Burdwan; the Calcutta Committee of the C.M.S. observed in 1818 that 'The Servants of Christ...must...unite the wisdom of the serpent with the harmlessness of the dove. Sound policy requires us to proceed with caution, and to assail with a delicate and tender hand, deeply-rooted prejudices...it is folly to excite disgust, by an open and direct attack on hereditary superstitions. This would be to stir up strife and kindle animosities, when we ought to soothe, and convince, and draw with the cords of love. The Gospel of Christ requires us...to admit the light, by a wise system of adaptation to the strength of the visual organ; and to communicate instruction as men may be able to bear it.' At Burdwan 'By teaching a large body of children to read and write, affording them the means of obtaining useful knowledge, and training them up in the habits of moral reflection, a great benefit is surely conferred: a good foundation is laid of future improvement; and, if these humble labours be accompanied by prayers for the Divine Blessing, the Committee cannot doubt that they may prove eventually instrumental of the highest good'.¹ These sentiments echoed those of the Serampore missionaries, but the ethical teaching in the Burdwan schools was to a greater extent than theirs on a distinctly Christian basis. It included Ellerton's Scripture Dialogues - 'part of a series which, when completed will embrace the whole Scripture History, from the Creation to the Birth of Christ...intended to convey a knowledge of Scripture Facts, with

(1) 19th C.M.S. Report, 124-6.

appropriate Christian Instruction, in idiomatical language...The great interest excited by these little Tracts has occasioned a demand for them which the Committee have been utterly unable to satisfy'.¹ The boys also read fables, and Selections from the Beauties of History - stories 'enforcing the love of virtue', which Captain Stewart translated into Bengali.² After his examination of the boys in 1819, Thomason wrote 'I was particularly struck with their readiness and vivacity in giving the morals of fables out of their class books...[they] delight in a lively appreciation of a fable, and the attempt to give it sharpens their wit and improves their Language, not to mention the important circumstance of their acquiring a habit of thinking rightly on the grand distinctions of vice and virtue in their effect on Society, and on individuals.'³

At Burdwan this Christian moral instruction served in practice to prepare the ground for the introduction of the Scriptures themselves. This was easiest in the English school, where St. Matthew's Gospel was introduced by Jetter in 1820,⁴ as Thomason commented, however much the people 'may dislike Gospel Truth...they do not object to the learning of English from the Gospel itself'.⁵ The C.M.S. was the first mission to harness the eagerness of the Bengalis for English to the study of the Scriptures. In 1822 the Gospels were introduced into the Burdwan Bengali schools also,⁶ and in the following year into those at Calcutta.⁷

(1) Ibid., 126-7.

(2) Ibid., 126.

(3) C.M.S. MS - Thomason to Corrie, 4 Mar. 1819.

(4) C.M.S. MS - Jetter to C.M.S., 23 July 1820.

(5) 22nd C.M.S. Report, 113.

(6) 23rd C.M.S. Report, 105, 118.

(7) 24th C.M.S. Report, 118.

When the Calcutta Diocesan Committee of the S.P.C.K. started its elementary schools in 1818, 'it was found expedient that Christianity should not be made necessarily a part of the Committee's plans'. No doubt it could be introduced eventually, 'but the first step is to open the minds of the Natives for its reception', through a general education.¹ By 1823, however, Christian tracts were being read in the schools,² and the Report for 1824/5 stated that their pupils were being trained in Christian morality by means of Bengali New Testament selections.³

e. Language.

Arguments about language were an important feature of the educational history of the period. Warren Hastings and Minto emphasised the importance of traditional Indian learning through the media of the Oriental classical languages, and in spite of Moira's personal lack of enthusiasm this policy was reasserted in 1821 with the decision to found the Calcutta Sanskrit College.⁴ On the other hand Charles Grant stressed the need to introduce Western science and Christian culture, and he thought that while it would be possible to use the vernaculars for this purpose, it could more effectively be done through the medium of English.⁵ This view did not entirely lack supporters during Moira's rule, especially among Anglican educationists, but it was not actually to triumph until the 1830s,

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- (1) S.P.C.K. MS - Minutes of the Committee for Correspondence with the Diocesan and District Committees, 5 July 1819.
 - (2) Ibid., 6 Oct. 1823.
 - (3) S.P.C.K. Report, 1824/5, 63.
 - (4) I.O.R. - Bengal Revenue Consultations, No. 27, 21 Aug. 1821.
 - (5) C. Grant, op.cit., 77-8.

and meanwhile it was 'Orientalists' and 'Vernacularists' who held the field. Before 1830, the missionaries fell on the whole into the latter category¹ - indeed there were no more emphatic protagonists of the vernacular than the Serampore Trio. Like Grant, they believed that India could only be regenerated by Western knowledge and Christianity, but whereas he had proposed to enable Indians to help themselves to the whole store of Western learning through English, they preferred to translate it into the vernaculars, believing that 'any hope of imparting efficient instruction' for the people as a whole except through those media was 'completely fallacious'.² It seemed then that only a very small élite had the opportunity and ability to master English really thoroughly: while they were never opposed to this, and indeed themselves provided facilities for learning English at Serampore College,³ at the elementary level they aimed to provide an education for the mass of the people which would make them 'happy in their own sphere',⁴ and which they would be able to use for the improvement of the social and economic conditions of their lives. Just as the modern development of Europe had taken place through the medium of the vernaculars rather than of Latin, so would the same be true of India.⁵ Even if nothing was achieved beyond a really

(1) Their policy has been completely misunderstood by E.H. Cutts in his misleading article 'The Background of Macaulay's Minute', A.H.R., Vol.LVIII, No.4, July 1953.

(2) Hints, 10-11; cf. F. of I., 1 Sep.1836; A. Mukherjee, 'Missionaries and the New Education in Bengal (1757-1823)', The Calcutta Review, Oct.1964, 60ff.

(3) Serampore College Prospectus, 7-8; 2nd Serampore Schools Report, 47-8.

(4) Hints, 10-11.

(5) 1st Schools Report, 38.

effective teaching of reading and writing in the mother-tongue and arithmetic, 'something would have been done, a peasant, or an artificer...would be less liable to become a prey to fraud among his own countrymen, and far better able to claim for himself that protection from oppression, which is the desire of every enlightened government to grant.'¹ On the other hand, those who acquired a little knowledge of English 'would scarcely remain tilling the ground, or labouring at a manual occupation'; 'they would sally forth in hordes' in search of clerical jobs, and the result would be widespread urban unemployment.² While there is more than a trace of eighteenth-century English social conservatism in this argument - Marshman was nearly fifty when he wrote these words - it is true that up to that time such learning of English as had taken place, mostly by those who sought jobs in Government or merchantile offices, seemed to have little relevance either to the development of the countryside or to the widening of cultural and intellectual horizons. Ram Mohan Roy and his circle were the first Bengalis who appreciated the higher possibilities of English, and they were only beginning their work of reform in 1816.

The L.M.S. missionaries were also 'vernacularists' at this period, but they did not share the Serampore Trio's opposition to teaching English on grounds of principle. May reported in June 1815 that at his 'Central School' in Chinsura 'a few of the more advanced boys are taught English, as an encouragement or reward' for their progress in the Bengali schools.³

(1) Hints, 13.

(2) 1st Serampore Schools Report, 36; cf. P.Sinha, op.cit., 39-40.

(3) L.M.S. MS - May to Forbes, 30 June 1815.

But he decided to use it as a 'Normal School' to train teachers, and discovered after a year that most of the students did not really want to teach, but had come to the school simply to learn English, so he discontinued the English class.¹ The Bengal Government was disappointed and hoped that May would be able to re-start it, as it 'may eventually be productive of general as well as of individual benefit'² - an interestingly early expression of Government support for at least isolated experiments in English education, but which nevertheless apparently left May unmoved. Pearson and Mundy seriously considered starting an English school, but on second thoughts decided that it would take up too much of their time and be too costly; anyway they thought that 'a knowledge of English will do nothing towards the salvation of the soul'.³

Even before their vernacular schools were fairly started, however, the Calcutta Committee of the C.M.S. was contemplating the teaching of English: in April 1814 Daniel Corrie, then the chaplain at Agra, wrote to it to suggest that teachers should be appointed in all the towns where there was a substantial Eurasian population, to teach their children in the first place but also any Indians who cared to attend; and English was to be an important part of the syllabus.⁴ English was in fact taught from the start at the Kidderpur school; in August 1816 the Committee reported that Greenwood and Schroeter, the newly-arrived missionaries, 'have commenced their instructions in English of such Boys as were most

(1) L.M.S. MS - May to Forbes, 10 Oct.1816.

(2) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.53, 21 Feb.1817.

(3) L.M.S. MSS - Pearson to L.M.S., 6 Oct.1823; Mundy to Bayley, 2 Mar.

(4) C.M.S. MS - Corrie to Calcutta Committee, 6 Apr.1814. (1824.

proficient in the Bengalee Language, according to the wish of Colly Sunker [Kali Sankar Ghosal]...It is satisfactory to hear that [his] Anticipation.. respecting the increase of Boys in consequence of having English taught, has proved correct'.¹ The C.M.S. was thus much more responsive than Baptist and L.M.S. missionaries to the Indian desire for English. The year 1816 had already seen the preliminary arrangements for the foundation of the Hindu College, whose curriculum was to be mainly Western learning through the medium of English. The founders were a group of wealthy Bengalis in Calcutta, who at first asked Thomason for help in their project; but he, remembering the Government's rejection of his 1814 plan for education, advised them that they would have a better chance of success if they turned instead to Sir Edward Hyde East, the Chief Justice.² Although the College was a purely secular institution Thomason hailed its foundation with enthusiasm, and continued to take an interest in it in subsequent years; the more so as its management was in Indian rather than official hands. More than most of the enthusiasts for missionary work in this period, Thomason was a man of broad and generous outlook, who was ready to welcome every advance of learning. He certainly showed a remarkable degree of prophetic insight when he wrote that while most Calcutta Europeans expressed surprise and even contempt at the foundation of the Hindu College; 'For my own part, I feel solemnised with a sense of what God has done, and with the expectation of what He is doing'.³

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- (1) C.M.S. MS - Calcutta Committee Minutes, 12 Aug.1816.
 - (2) Sargent, op.cit., 263-4.
 - (3) Ibid., 265.

Indeed the Hindu College quickly established a new and much higher standard of English education in Bengal, and its foundation is therefore a landmark in the modern history of the province.

The C.M.S. Kidderpur school was a success, thanks to the opportunity it offered to the senior boys to study English, and in 1822 the Committee opened a new school at Mirzapur in north-central Calcutta, which was intended as a kind of secondary school in relation to the Bengali elementary schools, and to which the brighter pupils from the latter could proceed to learn English and generally to further their education.¹ A similar policy had already been adopted at Burdwan, where Captain Stewart opened the English school in 1819;² John Perowne arrived from England the following year,³ and under his superintendence it developed quite promisingly. Thomason hoped that it would produce 'a body of well-educated English Scholars, who may form a corps of Translators, and may be employed...in diffusing knowledge among their countrymen. Having once opened to them the treasures of our own language, they may with great advantage labour to enrich their country'⁴ - an interesting adumbration of the 'Downward Filtration' theory which was to dominate education policy after 1835. Unlike some of the Anglicist enthusiasts of the next decade, however, the C.M.S. continued to emphasise the importance of a thorough grounding in the vernacular for its students of English. After examining the Burdwan boys in 1823, Thomason wrote 'It was gratifying to observe

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- (1) 23rd C.M.S. Report, 112.
 - (2) 20th C.M.S. Report, 134.
 - (3) C.M.S. MS - Perowne to C.M.S., Jan.1821.
 - (4) 21st C.M.S. Report, 122.

that their attention to the English language, had not drawn them from their own. Mr. Perowne is justly sensible of the importance of Bengalee, in order to a full and efficient acquaintance with English. What they learn of English can only be acquired thru' the medium of Bengalee, and when they afterwards become employed as teachers and translators, their chief usefulness will be in the Bengalee language'. He went on to request a supply of Sanskrit grammars for the boys, as a philological aid to the acquisition of Bengali.¹ This report incidentally makes it clear that, unlike the institution founded by Duff in 1830, this was not an English- but a Bengali-medium school, in which English was simply one of the subjects taught.

By 1823 it seemed that the Burdwan English School's main problem was that of premature school-leaving. The Committee were very concerned about this, as the relatively expensive English education would not achieve its purpose if the boys emerged with nothing more than a smattering; as Thomason emphasised, 'it is by great proficiency alone in our language that we may raise a body of efficient labourers'. Perowne suggested giving a monthly stipend to the abler boys on condition that they stayed at school, which would counteract the economic compulsions on them to leave.²

Bishop Middleton was one of the most enthusiastic 'Anglicists' of this period; in his pronouncements on education he frequently emphasised the importance of English, and his original proposal for the establishment

(1) C.M.S. MS - Thomason to Corrie, 1 Oct.1823.
 (2) C.M.S. MS - Thomason to Corrie, 23 Sep.1823.

of Bishop's College (November 1818) included as one of its aims 'teaching the elements of European knowledge and the English language' to non-Christian students.¹ It was the Calcutta Diocesan Committee of the S.P.C.K. which laid down the relationship between its vernacular and its English schools with the greatest precision of any society at this time; it resolved that schools should be established 'primarily for the conveyance of knowledge, in the languages of the country; but that boys, distinguished by their proficiency in these, be removable to separate schools, where English shall be taught'.² In 1819 it decided to establish schools in 'circles' consisting of five Bengali and one 'central' school for the teaching of English³ - and which would thus correspond to the C.M.S. English schools at Burdwan and Mirzapur. It is in fact not surprising that these two societies in practice followed the same policy, as Bishop Middleton was forced to rely on Thomason and the other educational stalwarts of the C.M.S. for the management of the S.P.C.K. schools.⁴

With some justice, Thomason claimed that the systematic efforts of the Anglican societies to provide both Bengali elementary education for the masses and also an opportunity for the more intelligent and advanced boys to proceed to an English school combined the best of both 'Anglicist' and 'vernacularist' policies.⁵ Although their difference with the

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- (1) S.P.G. MS - Middleton to S.P.G., 16 Nov.1818; cf. R.I. and S. Wilberforce, The Correspondence of William Wilberforce, London 1840, Vol.II, 343. Vide infra, Chapter III.
 - (2) S.P.C.K. Report, 1818, 164.
 - (3) S.P.C.K. Report, 1819-20, 157.
 - (4) C.M.S. MS - Thomason to Owen, 24 Sep.1818.
 - (5) C.M.S. MS - Thomason to C.M.S., 18 Nov.1819.

Serampore views was more a matter of emphasis than of substance, in practice the Anglicans provided facilities for a much larger proportion of boys to learn English than did the former at Serampore College, at least in its early years. But in any case the teaching of English made progress at the expense not so much of the vernaculars as of Persian¹, which in 1820 still constituted the usual 'secondary education' in Bengal. Although it was to continue in use in the courts until the late 1830s, demands were already being made for its abolition, with which the missionaries and their friends were on the whole sympathetic; Charles Grant suggested this in 1792,² and the Friend of India campaigned against Persian in the 1820s.³ Nevertheless as long as it remained in official use there were requests for it in the schools, which the missionaries made some attempt to meet. Leonard established a Persian school at Dacca in 1816, and was soon able to report that it was 'the flower of our little garden here'.⁴ The students were youths 'of respectable families',⁵ predominantly Muslim but including some Hindus,⁶ who were so eager for instruction that they agreed to read the Scriptures also, before they could be introduced into the Bengali schools.⁷ At the C.M.S. Burdwan 'English' school also, it was thought worthwhile to offer Persian.⁸ Nevertheless the 1820s and '30s were the transitional period for the

(1) cf. J. Ghosh, op.cit., 24-5.

(2) C. Grant, op.cit., 78.

(3) F.of I., No.III, 1821; No.XIII, 1826.

(4) S.C.L., 1817, 182.

(5) Ibid; Per.Accts., 1825, 25; cf. Adam, op.cit., 292.

(6) Per.Accts., 1817, 306.

(7) S.C.L., 1817, 182; Per.Accts., 1817, 306.

(8) C.M.S. MS - Perowne to C.M.S., 23 June 1823.

replacement of Persian by English, and the youths of 'respectable families' who had previously sought to learn the former now turned increasingly to the latter.

f. The Calcutta School Book and School Societies.

One of the ^{most} significant contributions of the missionaries during this period was their compilation of textbooks, for both the introduction of the 'new learning' of the West into the Bengali education system, and the improvement of methods of teaching reading, writing and arithmetic. As already noted, in 1816 the Serampore missionaries began to produce a series covering the Bengali language and elements of history, geography, astronomy and ethics, and in this context one ought also to mention the monthly magazine Dig Darshan, which they edited from 1818 to 1821. It contained articles especially on history, geography and current affairs in Bengali and English. In 1818 they also started the weekly Samachar Darpan, the first Bengali newspaper ever to be published, which continued under J.C. Marshman's editorship until 1841, and on the whole set a high standard.¹ The histories of journalism and of education intermingle at this point, however, for both these papers were started by the missionaries primarily as agencies for further education. Having whetted the appetite for learning in the schools with their textbooks, the Samachar Darpan and Dig Darshan were started to 'nourish the desire for information

(1) cf. A.F.S. Ahmed, Social ideas and social change in Bengal, 1818-35, Leiden, 1965, 81-4.

as it arises in the youthful mind',¹ and to provide some useful and entertaining reading-matter for the new literates. In this they were not unsuccessful; by 1836 the Samachar Darpan had attained a circulation of 400, the highest of all the vernacular journals, while the Dig Darshan was reprinted by the C.S.B.S. and used not only at Serampore but in the Chinsura and Burdwan schools² and elsewhere. There were repeated testimonies to its popularity, and a supporter of the C.S.B.S. in the relatively backward Contai area - where there were no mission schools - wrote that 'it is handed from one to another in my neighbourhood, and read out to hundreds standing around the Orator at his door...the subjects afford matter for individual discussion...and probably employ much time in conjectural disquisition'.³ By 1821 the Society had found it necessary to print no less than 30,000 copies of this magazine - an enormous number for the period, and three times as many as the second most popular of their publications.⁴

The Serampore missionaries were talented linguists, and they had a good Press and a staff of pandits to help them, and so they were able to engage themselves in the preparation and publication of vernacular textbooks on a large scale. The other missionaries found it easier to work through the Calcutta School Book Society, for which the Serampore efforts

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- (1) F.of I., (Monthly), No.I, May 1818; cf. P.P. - 1st Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories, 1853 - Minutes of Evidence by J.C. Marshman.
 - (2) 19th C.M.S. Report, 264; I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., 4 May 1821.
 - (3) 2nd C.S.B.S. Report, 96.
 - (4) 4th C.S.B.S. Report, 20.

were an example and an inspiration.¹ It was founded in July 1817, including officials, businessmen, Hindus, Muslims, clergy and army officers on its first Managing Committee; representing in fact all sections of the educated society of Calcutta and district. It included Radha Kanta Deb and Ram Kamal Sen, William Carey and Thomas Thomason, W.B. Bayley and Sir Edward Hyde East, J.H. Harington and Captain Francis Irvine, all of whom played a leading part in the educational experiments of the period.² Lady Hastings was instrumental in the Society's foundation - she had started a school of her own in Barrackpur Park and therefore had personal experience of the need for textbooks;³ her husband the Governor-General became its first Patron,⁴ and from 1821 it received a monthly Government grant.⁵

The Society's managers included men of different religious views, and it was hoped that its books would be acceptable in all the elementary schools, so it was agreed that it should not publish books of any particular religious tendency; a ban which did not extend to general ethical teaching.⁶ Bishop Middleton felt that, while he could give general approval to its aims, he could not personally join it - 'how could a bishop sit down with Mohammedans and Hindoos, on the express condition

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- (1) Report of the Provisional Committee of the Calcutta School Book Society, Calcutta, 1817, 4.
 - (2) Proceedings of the General Meeting of the Calcutta School Book Society, 1 July 1817, 11.
 - (3) F.of I. (Monthly), No.XI, Mar.1819; Quarterly, No.VII, 1822.
 - (4) 2nd C.S.B.S. Report, 4.
 - (5) 4th C.S.B.S. Report, 1.
 - (6) Proceedings of the C.S.B.S., iii.

of reserve upon the subject of religion?' he wrote to a friend.¹ But the chaplains Thomason and Parson, and the missionaries in general, felt no such qualms; they welcomed the Society wholeheartedly as a valuable helper in their educational work, and wrote the majority of the books which it published in its early years. In 1818 the Society made an arrangement with the Serampore missionaries, 'to secure a copious supply on moderate terms' of some of their books, 'either by bespeaking a share in the edition of a work before it is printed' or by subsequent purchase; copies of the Dig Darshan and 18 other Serampore textbooks² were thus obtained for use in the schools at Chinsura, Burdwan and elsewhere. It was felt that the most pressing need was for Bengali books for the elementary schools, and the Committee accordingly decided to concentrate their resources on this language to start with,³ though other languages, including Sanskrit, Arabic and English, were not entirely neglected. By 1821 the following Bengali books had been published:-

<u>Title</u>	<u>Author</u>	<u>No. of copies</u>
Elementary Tables	Capt. Stewart	3850 (3 eds.)
Elementary Tables	Pearson	3000
Bengali Grammar	Keith	500
School-master's Manual	Pearson	500
Obidhan (vocabulary)	Ram Chandra Sarma	4400
Familiar Letters	Pearson	1000
Arithmetic	May	2000
Arithmetic	Harle	1000
Neeti Kotha ('Moral Tales') I	I	7000
Neeti Kotha II	Pearson	4000
Neeti Kotha III	R.K. Sen and the Serampore missionaries	5000

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- (1) C.W. Le Bas, The Life of Bishop Middleton, London, 1831, Vol.II, 249.
 (2) 1st C.S.B.S. Report, 6-8.
 (3) Report of Provisional Committee of C.S.B.S., 4; 1st C.S.B.S. Report, 2.

<u>Title</u>	<u>Author</u>	<u>No. of copies</u>	
Pleasing Tales	Tarachand Dutt	2000	
Tales of History	Capt. Stewart <u>et al.</u>	2000	
Goldsmith's History of England	Felix Carey	500	
Geography	W.H. Pearce	10,000	
Account of the Lion, etc.	Lawson	2000	1

About three-quarters of the 16 works listed here were written by missionaries and their close associates. The most notable individual contribution was Pearson's - indeed it is perhaps as a writer of textbooks that he most deserves to be known. He contributed four, out of a total L.M.S. share of seven - including the books of May, Harle and Keith. The 'Calcutta Baptists' also played an active part - indeed it was through the C.S.B.S. (and the Calcutta School Society) that they made their biggest contribution to education; they were never as confident as were the Serampore group that missionary society funds might properly be spent on schools unless the Scriptures could be read in them. Lawson and W.H. Pearce belonged to this group, and another member, William Yates, contributed a simplified Sanskrit grammar and vocabulary² and became one of the Secretaries of the C.S.B.S. in 1823.³ Felix Carey was the eldest son of William Carey of Serampore.

In one important respect some of the C.S.B.S. books marked an improvement over those produced by the Serampore missionaries. The latter had consisted simply of a series of disconnected sentences which had to be copied down and learnt by heart by the boys, but a sample of W.H. Pearce's

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- (1) 4th C.S.B.S. Report, 20.
 (2) 3rd C.S.B.S. Report, 9-10.
 (3) 5th C.S.B.S. Report, 2.

book on Geography, published by the C.S.B.S., shows first a statement of facts - 'The surface of the globe is divided into Land and Water, and the water occupies twice the extent of the land. All the water in the Ocean contains salt.' This sentence (ofcourse in Bengali) was to be copied down and learnt by heart, but the pupils were also furnished with a lucid and simple explanation of how the water on the earth's surface evaporates, forms clouds, is precipitated as rain, and forms rivers which irrigate the land and flow back into the sea: this was to be learnt by heart, but not copied down. As the Secretary (Captain Irvine) noted, 'the object of a judicious education being fully as much to exercise the faculties as to impart information, it is considered more contributive to the pupil's improvement to bring before him many connected facts and positions than a series of insulated ones, which will be but too apt in the case of the native youth to be passively imbibed'.¹

By 1823 the Society could well claim that it had become the main provider of books for the elementary schools of lower Bengal, and that its Bengali publications were meeting the immediate needs of those schools;² they were being used by the Calcutta School Society, at Burdwan, Chinsura and elsewhere. Together with the Serampore books, they provided a comprehensive introduction to arithmetic, ethics, geography, history and several branches of science, as well as the means for learning the Bengali language itself.³ They were of course crude in style and limited in

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- (1) 2nd C.S.B.S. Report, Appx.I; cf. BSI, 55-65.
 - (2) 5th C.S.B.S. Report, 5-6.
 - (3) Ibid., 8-9.

content, but it is hard nevertheless to exaggerate their significance - and not merely as the essential vehicles for a new education which was eventually to transform the province, but also simply because they were written in Bengali. They therefore continued the work begun by William Carey at Fort William College of extending the use of the language.¹

The most important work of the Calcutta School Society, which was founded in 1818, was the improvement of indigenous elementary schools by inducing their masters to accept C.S.B.S. textbooks, and to agree to regular inspection and examination of their pupils. As with the C.S.B.S., missionaries provided both direct inspiration for and active participation in its activities. The first suggestion that the pathsalas might be improved, as well as new schools founded, appears in Creighton's Memoranda: he thought that their 'teachers will agree, for the additional salary from any gentleman, to...admit of printed books being used in the school, and to admit poor children of all castes'² - an idea which was eventually taken up by the Serampore missionaries. At first indeed they dismissed the pathsalas as hopeless; Marshman wrote in 1816 'It will be obvious to those acquainted with native schools, that nothing can be expected from them on the plan upon which they are now conducted by the natives',³ and went on to outline his own ideas for a series of new schools to be conducted according to the Lancasterian system. But by 1818

(1) cf. J.C. Ghosh, Bengali literature, London, 1948, 101-6; S.K. De, Bengali literature in the nineteenth century, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1962, 221-67; J.K. Majumdar, Raja Rammohun Roy and progressive movements in India, Calcutta, 1941, 278.

(2) Per.Accts., 1808, 450.

(3) Hints, 20.

it was apparent that the pathsalas were continuing alongside the new schools in many areas, even though the latter were free while the former were not. Moreover, the missionaries wanted to extend their improvements as widely as possible, but 'on the present system this would involve an expense too great for private liberality to meet'. In any case the pathsalas were communicating literacy, however inefficiently, and the Trio decided that they could after all make their most useful contributions to education by improving and building further on to their achievements. They reckoned that 360,000 Bengali children were taught in them to read and write, but that two-thirds of them subsequently allowed their acquirements to rust away for want of practice.¹ Furthermore, as Ward wrote a little later, 'to expand the minds of the young, or to give them the elements of useful knowledge, is no part of the plan of these schools'; above all 'it is the want...of books containing the first elements of the sciences and of morals, which is most to be deplored'.² The Dig Darshan and Samachar Darpan were intended as partial solutions to these problems, but the missionaries also decided to make a major change in their schools system - to offer their textbooks of general knowledge and ethics to the masters of the indigenous schools, and to pay them on condition that they ensured that their boys copied them down and learnt them by heart. They experimented with the revised plan in the schools around Serampore during

(1) 2nd Serampore Schools Report, 29-40.

(2) W. Ward, A letter to the Rt. Hon. J.C. Villiers, on the education of the natives of India, London, 1820, 3-4.

1818¹ before applying it more widely, and two years later Marshman was able to report that the new system was functioning with some success: not the least of its virtues was that as the masters were still wholly responsible for the elementary stages they had an incentive to introduce quicker and more efficient methods in order to get their pupils ready to embark on the textbooks. Indeed, as the missionaries had hoped in 1818, some of them were experimenting with the Lancasterian system in the teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic.² This plan also encouraged the existing willingness of the people to contribute to the cost of their own education, instead of merely waiting to receive it free.³

The Serampore experiment set an example for the work of the Calcutta School Society.⁴ May's object at Chinsura, on the other hand, was not so much to reform the existing schools as to establish new schools on an improved plan which would eventually supersede them. Nevertheless the original idea for the C.S.S.' foundation came from May, who drew up a plan for it in 1817 which he sent to Gordon Forbes.⁵ He worked hard for it during the following year,⁶ but did not live to see the success of his efforts; he died 19 days before its foundation-meeting on 1 September 1818, but not before he had inspired Forbes⁷ and the other

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- (1) 2nd Serampore Schools Report, 44-5.
 - (2) 3rd Serampore Schools Report, 12-16.
 - (3) 2nd Serampore Schools Report, 29.
 - (4) 3rd Serampore Schools Report, 35; 2nd C.S.B.S. Report, 86-7; cf. 3rd C.S.B.S. Report, 70.
 - (5) L.M.S. MS - May to Forbes, 10 July 1817.
 - (6) L.M.S. MS - Keith and Townley to L.M.S., 1 Sep.1818; Quarterly Chronicle, I, 512.
 - (7) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.14, 18 Sep.1818.

L.M.S. missionaries with some of his own enthusiasm for the scheme.

Forbes and Townley were members of its first Managing Committee (which included also Carey, Yates, David Hare, Harington, Irvine and other stalwarts of the C.S.B.S.) and the L.M.S. gave the largest individual donation - Rs. 1000.¹

As its name implies, the Society restricted its activities to Calcutta, though it was hoped that its resources might eventually permit it to extend its operations.² In 1819 it decided to pursue a threefold policy, for which appropriate sub-committees were accordingly set up: the first, to establish and supervise a limited number of 'model schools'; secondly, to improve the existing indigenous schools; and thirdly, to facilitate the learning of English, and higher education generally.³ This was regarded as the least important immediate objective, and it was fulfilled by founding 20 scholarships at the Hindu College for boys who distinguished themselves in the elementary schools,⁴ and by the founding of the Society's own English School in 1823, which was ably supervised by David Hare.⁵ It was hoped in this way to form 'a body of qualified Teachers and Translators who may be instrumental in enlightening their countrymen'⁶ - an object which was emphasised in the original Rules of the Society, and which was adopted at about the same time by the Anglicans

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- (1) The Calcutta School Society, Calcutta, 1818; cf. L.M.S. MS - Irvine to L.M.S., etc., 23 Feb. 1820.
 - (2) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No. 14, 18 Sep. 1818.
 - (3) 2nd C.S.B.S. Report, 84-5.
 - (4) Ibid., 85.
 - (5) P.C. Mittra, David Hare, Calcutta, 1877, 57-60.
 - (6) Rules of the C.S.B.S.

for their schools. Hare also managed one of the five 'model schools' which the Society had established.¹ But as a whole this was perhaps the least successful department of its activities; it had to transfer three to the C.M.S. in 1821, for lack of funds,² and the fifth, a Hindustani school, was also eventually discontinued.³

By far the most important side of the C.S.S.' work was the reform of the pathsalas in Calcutta, along the lines indicated by the Serampore missionaries' experiments. Captain Irvine, one of the Society's Secretaries, was particularly impressed by their 1818 plan, and circulated copies to all the committee members.⁴ One of the Hindu members then made a survey of the city's pathsalas and found about 200, averaging 21 pupils each, in an 'extremely deplorable' condition, giving the usual very limited education.⁵ Following the Serampore example, it was decided to offer the C.S.B.S.' textbooks to their masters, on condition that the Hindu committee members should be allowed to visit the schools regularly to examine the progress of the children and to pay the masters according to their proficiency.⁶ The plan soon became popular; by the end of August 1819, a year after the Society's foundation, 95 schools had requested books on these conditions.⁷ Like its sister-society, the C.S.S. requested, and received, a Government grant, in 1823.⁸

(1) Ibid., 55.

(2) Ibid., 59; I.O.R. - Bengal Public Consultations, No.52, 23 Apr.1823; C.M.S. MS - Jetter to C.M.S., 15 June 1821.

(3) Adam, op.cit., 12-13.

(4) 2nd C.S.B.S. Report, 86-7.

(5) Ibid., 88-9.

(6) Ibid., 89.

(7) Ibid., 91.

(8) I.O.R. - Bengal Public Consultations, Nos.52-3, 23 Apr.1823.

Forbes was so impressed by the work of the C.S.S. in Calcutta that in July 1819 he suggested that Pearson should do the same for the pathsalas around Chinsura, where the Government-supported schools under his immediate superintendence would serve as the 'model schools' 'for the imitation of the Village Schoolmasters'.¹ Pearson, who was then engaged in reducing the number of the Government schools, would certainly have agreed with the C.S.S. Committee's opinion that any new elementary schools 'should be good of their kind rather than numerous',² but he did not take up Forbes' suggestion, even though it was endorsed by Bayley on behalf of the Government;³ no doubt he was unwilling to assume any extra burden of school-work. His refusal to convert Chinsura into an outpost of the C.S.S. system did however eventually help to raise the question, which was asked more and more urgently during the 1820s, of exactly what the purpose of the Chinsura schools was. It had been established that they could not be extended indefinitely throughout the countryside; on the other hand 'model schools' were a contradiction in terms if no attempt was made to induce the local pathsalas to follow the 'model'.

William Adam wrote in 1835 that the C.S.S. had greatly improved the schools of the city, in both the method and content of their teaching,⁴ and indeed of all the experiments of the previous 20 years this, together with the Serampore plan of 1818, were the only ones that anticipated his fundamental principle that any comprehensive educational system must be

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- (1) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.25, 20 Aug.1819.
 - (2) 2nd C.S.B.S. Report, 84.
 - (3) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.27, 20 Aug.1819.
 - (4) Adam, op.cit., 9-10.

based on what was already in existence. He criticised the Chinsura and other new schools founded by the missionaries on the grounds that they tended to displace the indigenous schools, and to discourage the local initiative and responsibility which he felt to be the essential complement to any Government efforts for education.¹ Adam himself was a Baptist missionary in Calcutta between 1818 and 1821, when he was converted by Ram Mohan Roy to Unitarianism,² and although he does not seem to have played much part in education then, he would of course have been able to acquire an intimate knowledge of the early progress of the Serampore and the C.S.S. plans. His own ultimate recommendations to the Government (1838) were indeed a somewhat elaborate version of these, including the preparation of a series of textbooks, the training of teachers in the understanding and proper use of them, their introduction into the indigenous schools, and the payment of the teachers according to the proficiency of themselves and their pupils.³ He also emphasised the importance of an ethical teaching which would not arouse religious controversy or prejudice, and showed perhaps a deeper insight into this difficult problem when he suggested, rather than textbooks of ethics, - 'to cause the spirit of religion - its philanthropic principles and devotional feelings - to pervade the whole body of instruction on other subjects.'⁴

(1) Ibid., 354-6.

(2) Ibid., xviii-xix; S.D. Collet, The life and letters of Raja Rammohun Roy, ed. D.K. Biswas and P.C. Ganguli, Calcutta, 1962, 123-4.

(3) Adam, op.cit., 369-379.

(4) Ibid., 374.

G. Teachers.

Perhaps the greatest single problem that the missionaries had to deal with was the teachers. This is not surprising in view of the low calibre of teachers in general at this time, but it was aggravated by problems peculiar to the mission schools. The teachers of the pathsalas were often hostile to the new schools, which they regarded, not without reason, as rival establishments which would put them out of business; and those who were employed in the mission schools were usually unable or unwilling to conduct them as the missionaries wanted, and were suspicious of the Western learning and the Christian-based moral instruction which they were supposed to give. May tried to disarm the teachers of the indigenous schools by employing as many of them as possible in his schools: in July 1815 he reported that 8 out of a total of 15 had previously been in the pathsalas, but that he had nevertheless 'met many impediments from the Teachers both from those that I have employed and others who are not under my direction'.¹ In the majority of the schools with which he had special difficulty during the last quarter of that year, the teacher was the cause. In three schools they had to be dismissed for 'negligence', and the teacher at Bansbaria, who had stayed away from his school for five weeks after the end of the holidays, opened a rival school nearby after his dismissal with the aid of a relative, which drew away 40 boys.² Early in 1816 there were complaints that the boys remaining in May's school were being beaten up by those from its new rival, so May moved his to the

(1) L.M.S. MS - May to L.M.S., 4 July 1815.

(2) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.6, 5 July 1816.

house of a local landowner who said he would protect them.¹ Opposition continued, however, and May decided to close the school for a time,² but in July 1817 he was able to report that it had been restarted, that there were 85 boys in attendance, and that the local people were pleased with it.³ The Sahaganj teacher was suspended for two months 'for general negligence and bad conduct' in 1815, but was reinstated on giving a promise of better behaviour.⁴ He had finally to be dismissed in 1816, however, after which the school developed satisfactorily.⁵ May adopted the practice of calling the teachers (and the monitors) together quarterly, when they were 'rewarded according to their diligence and good behaviour'.⁶ The situation did tend to improve somewhat, and May was able to report in July 1817 that he had had to dismiss only two teachers, out of a total of over thirty, during the whole of the previous year.⁷ Nevertheless he was far from satisfied,⁸ and warned Harle, who was going to establish schools at Bankipur, that the older teachers would probably oppose his system, 'but you must bear with them till you can obtain those who are more docile and better qualified'.⁹ May in fact began to train some youths in a 'school for teachers' in conjunction with the Central School at Chinsura (1816): a dozen of the most promising monitors were given

(1) Ibid., No.9.

(2) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., NO.5, 6 Sep.1816.

(3) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.18, 5 Aug.1817.

(4) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.6, 5 July 1816.

(5) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.5, 6 Sep.1816.

(6) Transactions, IV, 394-5.

(7) L.M.S. MS - May to Forbes, 10 July 1817.

(8) L.M.S. MS - May to Forbes, 11 Oct.1817.

(9) Quarterly Chronicle, I, 206.

food and clothing free, and expected to visit the village schools and to work (as monitors) in the Central School on alternate days, and to attend a lecture by May once a week 'on the different parts of the plan and subjects connected with native education in general'.¹ Four of these had to be dismissed after a few months, however, because when he asked them to spend a week at some new village schools advising the teachers on the working of the system they refused, and revealed that the thing that had really induced them to attend the Central School was the chance of learning some English.² It was to remove this temptation that May discontinued the English classes, but this did not solve the problem; he had to dismiss all except two of the boys in January 1817, all the rest having shown themselves to be unsuitable.³

May's efforts at teacher-training thus ended in failure, and complaints about the inefficiency of the teachers in the Chinsura schools continued to be made.⁴ Nevertheless the worst of the problems that had faced May in his early years were overcome; Pearson reported in 1822 that the pathsalas' teachers now showed little opposition to the establishment of a Government school, and 'Although the characteristic apathy of the native teachers forms a bar to their taking much trouble...they yet, are evidently pleased with' the modified Bell system which he had recently introduced.⁵

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- (1) L.M.S. MS - May to Forbes, 8 Apr.1816.
 - (2) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., Nos. 48, 50, 21 Feb.1817.
 - (3) L.M.S. MS - May to Forbes, 10 July 1817.
 - (4) L.M.S. MSS - Mundy to Bayley, 2 Mar.1824; Annual Report of Government Schools, 1 Apr.1825.
 - (5) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.6, 19 Mar.1822.

Captain Stewart's arrangements with teachers were more elaborate than May's. When he was trying to recruit them he found that in most villages 'those who have made any considerable progress in their own language are equally deficient in Accounts, as, on the other hand, those who are found ignorant of the language are tolerably perfect in Arithmetic'. He decided therefore to appoint two to each school, one for each subject; in addition, a 'hirkarra' was appointed to ensure that the boys attended the schools regularly,¹ and 'a clever and zealous Brahmin' was appointed 'as a Visitor, whose duty it is to go round to every school, to examine the boys, and to report their progress'.² May visited Burdwan and was so impressed with the idea of pandit-supervisors that he decided to adopt it at Chinsura,³ but they were evidently not a success, as nothing is heard of them after his death. The S.P.C.K. appointed a pandit-supervisor for its schools in Calcutta,⁴ but the Serampore missionaries relied on two Eurasians for the task, under the general supervision of J.C. Marshman.⁵

In most other respects the experience at Burdwan, Calcutta and Serampore was similar to that of Chinsura. Like May, Stewart at first met considerable opposition from the masters of the pathsalas, which he disarmed by offering posts to the ablest of them in his own schools,⁶ but complaints about the general inefficiency of the teachers continued

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- (1) 18th C.M.S. Report, 212.
 - (2) 19th C.M.S. Report, 263.
 - (3) L.M.S. MS - May to Forbes, 10 July 1817.
 - (4) S.P.C.K. Report, 1819-20, 157.
 - (5) 3rd Serampore Schools Report, 11.
 - (6) 19th C.M.S. Report, 263.

to come from Burdwan.¹ Marshman at first seemed to think that his system was virtually 'teacher-proof';² the content of the lessons was prepared at Serampore in the 'tables' and textbooks, which were circulated to the schools, and there the main part of the actual teaching (if such it could be called) fell upon the monitors. All the master had to do was 'to oversee each class, change their lessons, register each day's work, receive new pupils, and notice absentees, and' - Marshman hopefully concluded - 'the school will advance of itself'.³ In fact however this carefully designed piece of machinery failed to work with the expected precision, and the Reports are full of injured complaints about the 'extreme duplicity', laziness and general unreliability of the teachers.⁴ Marshman attempted to improve the machinery still further: in 1817 he decided that teachers should be paid in accordance not only with the number of pupils in their schools, but with the actual progress they made in writing from dictation⁵ - 'payment by results'. In 1818 the system was further centralised with the order that all the boys' copy-books should be sent to Serampore for checking,⁶ but in spite of all his expedients the problem was not solved.

Marshman's efforts at teacher-training were no more successful than May's. A 'Normal School' was established at Serampore in 1816, to which

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- (1) C.M.S. MS - Maisch to C.M.S., 23 Jan.1824; 27th C.M.S. Report, 109.
 - (2) G.E. Smith, 'Patterns of Missionary Education: The Baptist India Mission 1794-1824', The Baptist Quarterly, Vol.XX, No.7, July 1964, 304.
 - (3) Hints, 25.
 - (4) 1st Serampore Schools Report, 7; 3rd Serampore Schools Report, 4-5.
 - (5) 1st Serampore Schools Report, 8-9.
 - (6) 2nd Serampore Schools Report, 12.

villages sent teachers for a short course, after which they returned to their schools.¹ Nothing is heard of it as a separate institution after 1818, however, but its functions were to some extent subsumed in Serampore College, one of whose objects was the training of teachers.² Bishop's College was supposed to do the same for Anglican Christian teachers,³ but to an even greater extent than at Serampore, this remained merely an aspiration until after the end of Hastings' term of office. Thomason emphasised the importance of training teachers in his 1814 plan, but the C.M.S. did not attempt to establish any special 'Normal Schools' for this purpose; it contented itself simply with the hope, which was not entirely disappointed, that many of the boys whom it was educating in its English schools at Burdwan and Calcutta would become teachers.⁴ On the whole, then, the organisation of systematic teacher-training was one of the more conspicuous failures of the missionaries during this period.

The mission schools were of course all free, and the teachers were paid by the missionaries - in contrast to the indigenous schools, in which they were paid by their pupils' parents, in cash and in kind. Adam reckoned that they received in cash on average from Rs.3 to Rs.5 per month⁵ - a figure which agrees with an earlier estimate of Marshman's;⁶ while May thought that the total value of all that they received could rise to Rs.15

(1) Hints, 25, 37.

(2) Prospectus, 8; 5th Serampore College Report, 7.

(3) S.P.G. MSS - Middleton to S.P.G., 16 Nov.1818; Bishop's College Statutes.

(4) C.M.S. MSS - Thomason to Corrie, 1 Oct.1823; Jetter to C.M.S., 31 Dec.

(5) Adam, op.cit., 250-1.

(6) 2nd Serampore Schools Report, 38-9. (1823.)

per month.¹ In 1816 Marshman proposed to pay his teachers Rs.5 per month for the first 40 boys in a school, and Re.1 for every 12 additional to this.² When the plan was changed in 1818 to the improvement of the indigenous schools, he reckoned that in the average school the master would receive from the missionaries between one and two rupees per month - additionally to the payments he got in the traditional way from the parents for the preliminary part of the syllabus - depending on how many boys there were able to use the textbooks.³ In 1820 he reported that they were in fact earning an extra increment of anything from 10 as. to Rs.8½.⁴ As at Serampore, the Chinsura missionaries also began with a salary based simply on the number of boys in the school, but they too came to believe that it was more important to stimulate the teachers to ensure that their pupils made real progress, so they also introduced a system of 'payment by results'. In 1816 May was paying his teachers Rs.5 for the first 40 boys, plus Re.1 for every 20 boys above that number,⁵ but in 1822 Pearson reported that their basic pay was Rs.6, rising to Rs.9 'according to the attendance and progress of the scholars'.⁶ Payment simply according to the number of boys in the school doubtless seemed the best policy during the early months of the various experiments, when the essential thing was to attract pupils into the new schools; after they had become firmly established, however, the missionaries

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- (1) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.5, 6 Sep.1816.
 - (2) Hints, 30.
 - (3) 2nd Serampore Schools Report, 38-9.
 - (4) 3rd Serampore Schools Report, 14-15.
 - (5) L.M.S. MS - May to Forbes, 6 July 1816.
 - (6) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.6, 19 Mar.1822; BSI, 18.

could afford to give an incentive to conscientious teaching.

At Burdwan Captain Stewart paid his head teachers the rather high salary of Rs.10, and the under-teachers Rs.4.¹ May was particularly worried about the low status of the teaching profession generally; he wrote to Forbes that it was regarded as a 'degrading employment', and wished that they could be paid more.² It would seem that the post-1818 Serampore scheme gave the greatest incentive to the teachers, who got the best of both worlds thereby - the traditional payments from the parents, and increments from the missionaries.

h. Caste and Class.

The teachers were mostly of Brahmin and Kayastha ('writer') caste,³ and in this respect there was no essential difference between the mission schools and the pathsalas - not surprisingly, as the missionaries everywhere started by recruiting their own teachers from the latter. The pupils were also mixed in caste; in the elementary schools at Burdwan, Chinsura and Serampore about a quarter on average were Brahmins during the years of Hastings' administration.⁴ The missionaries insisted on teaching all their pupils together in the schools - a policy which met with little opposition. Marshman wrote in 1817 that in the Serampore schools the Brahmin boys 'mingle with their school-mates in their various exercises,

(1) 18th C.M.S. Report, 85.

(2) L.M.S. MS - May to Forbes, 6 July 1816.

(3) L.M.S. MS - May to L.M.S., 4 July 1815; 19th C.M.S. Report, 263.

(4) Transactions, IV, 340; 1st Serampore Schools Report, 18; Bodleian MS - W.H. Mill, 'Journal of a Week's tour in Bengal in the Year 1821', 21 March 1821.

and in numerous instances give place without chagrin to their superior merit, when they rise in their respective classes...no wish has ever been expressed by them to be formed into a separate class; nor do we recollect a single instance of a brahmun youth's having left the school in disgust because associated with soodras'.¹ The Anglican chaplain Robertson, reporting a similar situation at Burdwan, noted hopefully that 'the Boy of inferior caste, if he excel the Brahmin, which he oftentimes does, begins to believe a maxim true which he learnt in his school-book: that God hath not created men with rights differing from one another; but that he hath "created all men of one blood to dwell on all the face of the earth"'.² - one way incidentally in which the new education was not merely something to be learnt by heart but was also exemplified in practice. There was some mixing of castes in the pathsalas; the peculiar contribution of the missionaries was the division of their pupils into classes, and giving each his position in the class, simply according to academic merit. Closely connected with this was the missionary encouragement of 'emulation' between the boys, which they stimulated by arranging competitions between different classes and schools, which the boys entered into with great enthusiasm; and by giving prizes to those who did well in examinations.³ All this helped towards the gradual disruption of a hierarchical society based on caste, and its replacement by an embryonic 'meritocracy'.

(1) 1st Serampore Schools Report, 18.

(2) 19th C.M.S. Report, 266.

(3) Ibid., 264; C.M.S. MS - Maisch to C.M.S., 23 Jan.1824; L.M.S. MS - Pearson to L.M.S., 9 May 1818; I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.14, 18 Sep.1818.

English class distinctions in 1818 were of course not the exact counterparts of Bengali caste divisions, but one should not underestimate the rigidity of the former. It is therefore rather amusing to see the enthusiasm with which even the Anglican chaplains and missionaries looked to their schools to break down caste division, in view of the fact that they represented a church which in England believed that the existing class distinctions were divinely ordained, and which emphasised that the various schemes of elementary education which it supported were not intended to subvert them. In the passage quoted above, Robertson thought it necessary to explain 'It is not here meant, that it is desirable to abolish all distinctions in Society; but that people is surely greatest, where distinction is not EXCLUSIVELY hereditary, and where genius and ability may rise to their proper level' - a viewpoint whose liberalism, however qualified, would probably not have been wholeheartedly accepted by the majority of the members of his church in an English context even as late as 1818. In contemporary England the limited elementary education which had been designed for the poor was thought to be sufficient in itself for their needs: but in Bengal the missionaries' system was designed for pupils from any background and, subject only to certain limitations imposed by their role as Christian evangelists, they sought to extend its scope and to provide the means of further education for their able pupils.

Compared with the pathsalas, the mission schools tended to have a slightly lower proportion of high-caste boys in most areas,¹ but parental

(1) Vide infra, Chapter IV.

income was probably a more important factor than caste in deciding whether a child should go to a mission rather than indigenous school. The Bengal Government hoped that parents might gradually be induced to pay fees for the education of their children in the Chinsura schools, or at least that wealthy merchants and landowners might be encouraged to establish some at their own expense to be placed under May's superintendence.¹ This did happen, but only in a few cases, and the prospect of parents paying fees proved illusory. Mundy wrote in 1825 'I have no hope of reducing by means of partial support from [the local people] the present expense, and especially as the majority of the people who send their children to the Government schools, are unable to pay either wholly or in part for their education. The Government schools...in consequence of their affording the means of instruction to those who would otherwise remain immersed in ignorance and wretchedness, are rendering an essential benefit to the inhabitants of the district'.² Earlier, May had written 'the young children ask bread, and no man breaketh it unto them. Did you but see their eagerness, when they receive a new painted board, to read and learn what is painted, you would indeed rejoice.'³

The mission schools undoubtedly provided a valuable service for the poor, but the more well-to-do section of the population, much of which continued to attend the pathsalas, did not on the whole get the benefit of the wider syllabus and the better organisation of the former. As

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- (1) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.9, 24 Nov.1815; Nos.5, 10, 5 July 1816.
 - (2) L.M.S. MS - Mundy to H.H. Wilson, 1 June 1825.
 - (3) Transactions, IV, 337.

Marshman pointed out, the post-1818 Serampore plan met this difficulty by the introduction of the textbooks into the pathsalas; on the other hand they did not propose to neglect the poorer people, for whom some schools wholly financed and conducted by the missionaries were continued.¹ The C.S.S. imitated this policy at first - its five 'model schools' were also free, and intended especially for poor children;² but as already noted this was the least successful part of its work.

There is no doubt that the mission schools were popular, and the main reason was that, particularly within a hundred-mile radius of Calcutta, there were large numbers of boys of all castes who wanted to go to school but whose parents were too poor to send them. Harle's experience on his reconaissance-trip to Bankipur in May 1817 was not unusual - he was welcomed by a crowd of local people (including many Brahmins), and urged to open schools. In a nearby village he found a small pathsala for fee-paying pupils, whose teacher 'makes no great pretensions to learning', but there were no educational facilities for the poor, and there seemed to be scope for at least five schools in the area.³ At first indeed the missionaries did encounter some apprehension on the part of the people; May reported in 1815 'The grand difficulty is a fear of being made converts to Christianity...To this...they generally attribute all my exertions and endeavours for the good of their children. They have no idea that a person can do good from disinterested motives'.⁴ The early difficulties of the

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- (1) 3rd Serampore Schools Report, 22-3.
 - (2) Adam, op.cit., 12.
 - (3) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.20, 5 Aug.1817.
 - (4) L.M.S. MS - May to Forbes, 4 July 1815.

Serampore missionaries were aggravated by their use of Christian converts as teachers in the schools, who proved both unpopular on religious grounds and of too low a standard academically,¹ and they were not used for the great expansion of 1816. At Burdwan it was rumoured that Captain Stewart intended to kidnap the children and take them to England, but Robertson thought that much of the early opposition here, although ostensibly on religious grounds, in fact arose from the 'jealousy' of the indigenous school teachers, and indeed it ceased when they were given jobs in the new schools.² But within a year or two of the beginning of large-scale operations, at Chinsura, Serampore and Burdwan alike, the difficulty for the missionaries was not to persuade the villagers to send their sons to the schools, but rather to make them understand that their funds were limited, and they were therefore unable to meet all the requests for schools which were made to them;³ the early fears were dispelled by the personality of the missionaries and the unexceptionable nature of the syllabus. In any case there was no inherent religious difficulty about attending Christian schools, when one remembers that many Hindus went to the Persian schools, in spite of their Muslim associations, and some Muslims attended the pathsalas with which Hinduism was similarly connected.

The Serampore missionaries seem to have been the most successful in persuading the local people actually to contribute to their schools; no less than 83 of the inhabitants of the village of Haripal, including

(1) Hints, 33-4; 3rd Serampore Schools Report, 6.

(2) 19th C.M.S. Report, 263; cf. Per.Accts., 1800, 114.

(3) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.9, 24 Nov.1815; Transactions, IV, 395; Hints, 39; 1st Serampore Schools Report, 14.

many Brahmins, subscribed between 4 as. and Rs.6 in 1818 for the school there,¹ and in many places school-rooms were provided. But Calcutta was the scene of the most notable cooperation between missionaries and Bengalis: Kali Sankar Ghosal was instrumental in starting C.M.S. operations there, and at the same time Ram Mohan Roy offered some ground to one of the Calcutta Baptists, Eustace Carey, if he would start a school.² K.S. Ghosal, R.K. Deb, Gopi Mohan Deb and Rasamay Dutt were among the subscribers to the Serampore schools.³ The most striking example of missionary and Indian cooperation took place on the relatively neutral ground of the C.S.B.S. and the C.S.S. We have seen the importance of the missionary contribution to these societies, and that of their Indian members, especially in the C.S.S.' efforts to improve the city's pathsalas, was no less. Not all the missionaries were sufficiently broadminded to welcome this: Henry Townley of the L.M.S., who took a consistently negative attitude towards any school that did not include Christian religious teaching, 'constantly voted against Natives being on the committee [of the C.S.S.] lest they might be a check to favourable opportunities of introducing the Scriptures'.⁴ On the other hand it was Carey who proposed, and Thomason who seconded, the motion at the second Annual General Meeting of the C.S.B.S. (Sept.1819) that 'The special thanks of this Meeting be presented to the Native Gentlemen,...for their seasonable and zealous exertions in the various departments of the Society's undertakings, without whose valuable cooperation the numerous

(1) 2nd Serampore Schools Report, 51ff.

(2) Per.Accts., 1815-16, 109 ftn.

(3) Vide the subscription-lists at the back of the three Serampore Schools

(4) L.M.S. MS - Townley to L.M.S., 3 Oct.1818.

(Reports.

works described in the Report could never have been accomplished'.¹ This motion was characteristic not only of Carey and Thomason personally but of the spirit of educational endeavour generally during Hastings' rule: just as Evangelicals in England were prepared to cooperate with radical secularists in pursuit of common specific objectives, so in Bengal they co-operated with Hindus and Muslims.² A further point of interest was that it was not merely the Bengali social reformers led by Ram Mohan Roy who were prepared to work with missionaries and others to further education, but also conservatives such as Radha Kanta Deb.

1. The Contribution of Laymen and Government.

Several British laymen - officials, army officers and businessmen - also played an important part in the C.S.B.S., the C.S.S., and in various missionary enterprises. William Butterworth Bayley (1782-1860) became in 1814 Secretary to the Judicial and Revenue Departments of the Bengal Government, and in 1819 Chief Secretary. In 1828 he was Acting Governor-General for a few months between the departure of Amherst and the arrival

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- (1) 2nd C.S.B.S. Report, 7-8; Carey wrote to Ryland in 1822 that Indians 'now unite with Europeans and Europeans with them in promoting benevolent undertakings, without servility on their part or domination on ours. God is doing great things for India'. Northampton MS - Carey to Ryland, 4 July 1822.
 - (2) cf. Adam, Reports, 11; Mitra, op.cit., 63; J.C. Ghosh, Bengali literature, 105; N.L. Basak, 'Origin and role of the Calcutta School Book Society in Promoting the Cause of Education in India, especially Vernacular Education in Bengal', Bengal Past & Present, Jan.-July 1959 30. Not that such cooperation always endured for long: a dispute arose in the B.F.S.S. over religious teaching in its London schools which resulted in the resignation of the secularist Francis Place; and by 1831 the missionaries in Calcutta had largely ceased their cooperation with the C.S.S. in disappointment at its continuing ban on religious teaching.

of Bentinck.¹ He was appointed a member of the General Committee of Public Instruction on its foundation in 1823. He was also President of the C.S. B.S. (1817-30), a member of the Calcutta Diocesan Committee of the S.P.S.K.² and a regular subscriber to the Serampore schools;³ in 1820 he was appointed to give general superintendence on behalf of the Government to the Chinsura schools,⁴ in which he always took a warm interest. His interest in education and in missions can be traced to his years as a student at Fort William College when, like several other young civilians, he came under the influence of William Carey.⁵ J.H. Harington (1764-1828) was in 1811 the Chief Judge of the Sadr Diwani and Nizamat Adalat, and after 1822 a member of the Supreme Council and President of the Board of Trade.¹ He chaired the first meeting of the C.S.S. and was a member of its committee; on a visit to England in 1820 he raised subscriptions for it and also for the C.S.B.S.⁶ During the 1820s he was a member of the General Committee of the B.F.S.S. He was on the C.D.C. of the S.P.C.K.² and the Committee of the Calcutta Auxiliary C.M.S., and he became one of

(1) DIB; DNB.

(2) Vide copy of poster dated 17 Aug. 1818 in the C.M.S. archives.

(3) Vide subscription lists at the back of the three Serampore Schools Reports.

(4) I.O.R. - Judicial Letter from Bengal, 3 Nov. 1820.

(5) G. Smith, The life of William Carey, D.D., London, 1885, 232-3, 414. William was a son of Thomas Butterworth Bayley (1744-1802), a founder of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, Vice-President of the Warrington Academy, and chairman of the Manchester Board of Health. He also acquired a national reputation as a designer of prisons.

(6) C.S.S. - Rules etc., 1818; 3rd C.S.B.S. Report, 69; 16th B.F.S.S. Report, 1821, 72.

the Honorary Life Governors of the C.M.S.¹ He was President of the Calcutta branch of the B.F.B.S. on its foundation in 1811,² and was later a member of the General Committee of Public Instruction. The Baptist John Statham described him as 'one of the greatest friends to philanthropic societies that ever existed in Calcutta. No plan for the amelioration of the miseries of the human family but was sure to receive his hearty approbation and support'.³ Gordon Forbes, whose important contribution to the Chinsura schools and to the C.S.S. have already been noted, was also on the C.D.C. of the S.P.C.K.⁴ Captain Francis Irvine, of the 11th Regiment, B.N.I., was a secretary of both the C.S.B.S. and the C.S.S.,⁵ and also of the Hindu College⁶ and of the Calcutta Madrassa.⁷ He was a particular friend of both May and Thomason,⁸ supported the Serampore schools⁹ and in 1819-20 superintended the Chinsura schools on behalf of the Government.¹⁰ After his return to England he was elected to the General Committee of the B.F.S.S.¹¹ J.W. Sherer was the Bengal Government's Accountant-General during Hastings'

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- (1) C.M.S. MS - Minutes of the Committee of the C.A.C.M.S., 8 Dec.1823; E. Stock, History of the Church Missionary Society, London, 1899, Vol.I, 242.
 - (2) Sargent, Thomason, 185.
 - (3) J. Statham, Indian Recollections, London, 1832, 379.
 - (4) Vide copy of poster dated 17 Aug.1818 in the C.M.S. archives.
 - (5) Report of the C.S.B.S. Provisional Committee - Appx.I; 2nd C.S.B.S. Report, 86-7.
 - (6) I.O.R. - Judicial Letter from Bengal, 3 Nov.1820.
 - (7) Mallick, Muslims in Bengal, 177.
 - (8) Transactions, IV, 406; Sargent, Thomason, 265.
 - (9) Vide subscription lists at the back of the three Serampore Schools Reports.
 - (10) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.19, 3 Dec.1819; Judicial Letter from Bengal, 3 Nov.1820.
 - (11) 21st B.F.S.S. Report, 1826.

administration;¹ he married Daniel Corrie's sister and was a lifelong friend of Thomason's.² He supported the Serampore schools and was on the C.D.C. of the S.P.C.K.³ Sir Edward Hyde East, the Chief Justice of Bengal (1814-22), played a leading part in the foundation of the Hindu College⁴ and took an interest in the schools at Chinsura, Serampore and Calcutta.⁵ On the eve of his departure the L.M.S. missionary Keith wrote 'He has been a warm friend to Education here and no doubt but he will advocate its cause in England'.⁶

These were all men of a definite Christian - in most cases Evangelical-religious conviction: the fact that they were prepared to give their time and money to missionary work speaks for itself, and all of them shared with the missionaries the hope that their educational experiments would serve to prepare the people to accept Christianity. Even Sir Edward Hyde East, who seems to have had less overt connexion with missions than the others, frankly told the meeting of Hindu gentlemen which led to the foundation of the Hindu College that, as a convinced Christian, he would ideally like to persuade them to become Christians also, but as he knew

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- (1) P.P. - Minutes of Evidence for the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1831-2, I - Public or Miscellaneous: J.W. Sherer's evidence.
 - (2) C.M.S. MS - Corrie to C.M.S., 25 Jan.1820; Sargent, Thomason, 220; R.H. MSS - vide letters from Thomason to Sherer, mainly 1826-8.
 - (3) Vide copy of poster dated 17 Aug.1818 in the C.M.S. archives.
 - (4) P.P. - 2nd Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Indian Territories, 1853: W.W. Bird's evidence; cf. R.C. Majumdar, 'The Hindu College', Journal of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) - Letters: Vol.XXI, 1955, No.1.
 - (5) Quarterly Chronicle, I, 201; B.M.S. MS - East to Marshman, 25 Dec.1816; 23rd C.M.S. Report, 112.
 - (6) L.M.S. MS - Keith to L.M.S., 11 Jan.1822.

this to be impossible he was prepared to assist their efforts to establish a college of liberal education, 'which would enable them to improve themselves, and judge for themselves'.¹ Captain Irvine, the College's first secretary, was described by Bishop Middleton as 'a most zealous advocate for conversion',² and the fundamentally religious motive for his educational activities is plainly expressed in a letter he wrote to Harington in 1820.³ This was equally true of Captain Stewart of Burdwan⁴ and Henry Creighton,⁵ not to mention Charles Grant. When one adds the work of these laymen to that of the missionaries and chaplains with which they were so closely associated, the importance of the Christian religious motive in the educational experiments of the period becomes even clearer - and not only in those which were entirely or mainly conducted by missionaries, but even in the G.C.P.I., the Hindu College and the Madrassa. Apart from the contributions of the Bengalis themselves, and with the outstanding individual exception of David Hare, it was in fact these people who were responsible for the non-official educational activity which was such an important feature of the administration of Lord Hastings. In Bengal at that time, as in contemporary England,⁶ most philanthropic endeavours had a religious basis.

As for Hastings himself, he was a man of genuine piety (though deist

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- (1) P.P., 1853, W.W. Bird's evidence; East's letter to Harington, 18 May
 - (2) Le Bas, Middleton, I, 474. (1816.
 - (3) L.M.S. MS - Irvine to Harington, 20 Jan.1820; cf. Irvine to L.M.S. et al., 23 Feb.1820.
 - (4) 18th C.M.S. Report, 85; 19th C.M.S. Report, 126-7; and 132; C.M.S. MS - Stewart to C.M.S., 3 Dec.1818.
 - (5) I.O.L. MS - Creighton-Glyn Papers: Creighton's Will, 25 June 1805.
 - (6) G. Wallas, Francis Place, 109-10.

rather than Evangelical in flavour)¹ who shared the hope of many of his contemporaries that education would eventually dispel what he called 'the baleful superstitions' of the people.² In 1813 he accepted a Vice-Presidency in the B.F.B.S., and before he left London he assured Josiah Pratt that he would look favourably upon the work of the C.M.S. in India.³ J.C. Marshman wrote subsequently that indeed 'Lord Moira's arrival [in Calcutta] produced an immediate and happy change in the policy of the Government with regard to missions'.⁴ His support for the missionaries' monitorial schools is not surprising in view of the fact that in England he had been, as a historian of the B.F.S.S. has commented, 'from the beginning a constant friend of the Lancasterian system'.⁵ In 1811 he joined the Finance Committee of the Royal Lancasterian Association (the forerunner of the B.F.S.S.), at a time when the controversy with the Anglicans was at its most bitter and when it was in a difficult financial position as a result of Lancaster's imprudence. Its Presidents were the Whig magnates Bedford and Somerville, but the Finance Committee consisted mainly of radicals and Quakers, with only two peers (out of a total membership of 47) besides Lord Moira.⁶ When the B.F.S.S. was formed he became one of its

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- (1) I.O.L. Microfilms, Reel 782 - Hastings to George, Lord Rawdon, 21 Sep. 1819, 10 Aug. 1820, 4 Feb. 1821; I.O.L.-Pechell MS, 150.
 - (2) Hastings' Private Journal, II, 158.
 - (3) B.F.B.S. Report, 1813; C.M.S. MS - Pratt to Thomason, 22 Mar. 1813.
 - (4) J.C. Marshman, Carey, Marshman & Ward, II, 67; cf. L.M.S. MS - May to L.M.S., 26 Nov. 1813.
 - (5) H.B. Binns, A century of education, being the centenary history of the British and Foreign School Society, London, 1908, 110.
 - (6) Report of J. Lancaster's progress from the year 1798, with the report of the Finance Committee for the year 1810, to which is prefixed an address of the Committee for promoting the Royal Lancasterian System for the Education of the Poor, London, 1811, vii.

Vice-Presidents. All this indicates that the encouragement which he gave during his Indian administration to elementary education on the monitorial system and, within limits, to the missionaries was much more than just the casual routine charity of a nobleman and Governor-General. It also incidentally demonstrates his sympathy for non-denominational Christian education as opposed to High Anglican pretensions, and one need not be surprised that in Bengal he regarded the work of the Dissenting missionaries with as much if not more favour than that of the Anglicans. He was also an active Freemason, at a time when Freemasons were noted for their liberal views and for their support for education.¹

It was his administration which gave Government subsidies to the schools at Chinsura and to the C.S.B.S., and also a plot of land at Sibpur for Bishop's College;² additionally, he gave useful assistance to the other experiments in his personal capacity. He subscribed to the Serampore schools³ and agreed to be the first Patron of Serampore College⁴ and of the C.S.B.S., while the C.S.S. specifically acknowledged his interest in elementary education as the inspiration for their own efforts.⁵ He thought that the opportunities for spreading 'Moral Instruction' among the peoples of central India were an important justification for his conquests there, and in 1818 he asked William Carey to send someone to Ajmer in Rajputana to

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- (1) H.D. Sandeman, Selections from Calcutta Gazettes, Vol.IV, 1806-15, Calcutta, 1868, 339-44; Vol.V, 1816-23, Calcutta, 1869, 514.
 - (2) I.O.R. - Ecclesiastical Letter from Bengal, 6 Jan.1820.
 - (3) B.M.S. MS - Moira to Marshman, 23 Dec.1816. Moira paid an appreciative visit to Serampore in 1815.
 - (4) Serampore College Prospectus, Serampore, 1818.
 - (5) 2nd C.S.B.S. Report, 86.

start elementary schools on the Lancasterian pattern - a request which resulted in the despatch thither of Carey's son Jabez.¹ In all this he was encouraged by his wife, Lady Loudoun, who made some direct contributions of her own. In 1815 she established an elementary school in the park of the Governor-General's country residence at Barrackpur. The pupils were taught reading, writing and arithmetic, and her husband noted in his Journal that those who 'show particular attention are to be rewarded by being taught English'. She 'made a collection of stories, apologues and maxims, all illustrating and recommending principles of morality, without reference to any particular religion'.² The school was popular, and Hastings thought it 'may be urged in proof of what is practicable in this country'.³ It was taken under the superintendence of the C.D.C. of the S.P.C.K. in 1820.⁴ In December 1815 Lady Loudoun visited one of May's schools, examined the classes, and 'made enquiries as to what they were doing, how they were taught, if they were always so still and quiet, and how many one teacher would teach etc'.⁵ She realised that the pathsalas were particularly ineffective in teaching children to read properly, and her personal experience in elementary education bore fruit in 1817 in the C.S.B.S., which the Serampore missionaries later testified was 'in reality

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- (1) I.O.L.M. - Hastings to George Rawdon, 19 Oct.1818. 17 June 1819, 20 July 1819; cf. Potts, British Baptists, 201.
 - (2) Hastings' Private Journal, I, 156.
 - (3) Ibid., 156-7; cf. I.O.L.M., Moira to George Rawdon, 17 Oct.1816, 23 Dec.1816, 20 July 1819.
 - (4) S.P.C.K. Report, 1820-1, 103; cf. I.O.L.M. - Lady Hastings to George Rawdon, 22 Aug.1820.
 - (5) L.M.S. MS - May to L.M.S., 28 Dec.1815.

originated' by her.¹

Government officials such as Bayley and Harington would have been able to do little for education had it not been for Hastings' approval. The fullest statement of his views on the subject is to be found in his Minute on the Judicial Administration of Fort William Presidency, dated 2 October 1815, which in contrast to all previous official pronouncements on the subject laid most emphasis on elementary education, and especially on the need to improve the indigenous schools. He shared the usual official concern for the apparently low state of public morality, writing 'The general, the sad defect of this education is that the inculcation of moral principle forms no part of it. ...The remedy for this is to furnish the village school-masters with little manuals of religious sentiments and ethic maxims, conveyed in such a shape as may be attractive to the scholars; taking care that while awe and adoration of the Supreme Being are earnestly instilled, no jealousy be excited by pointing out any particular creed² - a programme which the Serampore missionaries and the C.S.S., rather than Hastings' Government, started to implement three years later. He continued with both a warning and an encouragement to the missionaries, who he believed had 'no hope of success but by rendering the people capable of understanding that which is proposed to them; open the minds of the rising generation by due instruction; give them a habit of reverencing

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- (1) F. of I. (Quarterly), No.VII, 1822. Lady Hastings also took an interest in girls' schools in Bengal.
 - (2) S.E.R., I, 25. Iqbal Singh has aptly commented on Hastings' 'high-minded paternalism...which foreshadowed the Victorian outlook' - Iqbal Singh, Rammohun Roy, Bombay, 1958, 280.

the principles which the Christian doctrine enjoins without stimulating the parents into opposition by teaching on points adverse to their superstitions; and their inevitable rejection of beliefs irreconcilable to the reason which you will have enabled them to exercise, and repugnant to the probity which you will have taught them to admire, must render certain their transition to the path you wish'¹ - an extreme statement of the fashionable idea of education as a praeparatio evengelica, which would have been to the taste of Bishop Middleton, but went further than the missionaries in general would have allowed: however much faith they placed in education, they would not have agreed that there was absolutely 'no hope' of conversions by other means.

Hastings did not believe that modern knowledge could be satisfactorily taught in the indigenous institutions of higher education - rather 'the revival of the liberal sciences among the natives can only be effected by the previous education (beginning with the rudiments) which shall gradually give to individuals the power of observing the relations of different branches of learning with each other, of comprehending the right use of science in the business of life...I must think that the sum set apart by the Honourable Court for the advancement of science among the natives would be much more expediently applied in the improvement of schools, than in gifts to seminaries of higher degree'.² Committees were to be established at six of the principal cities of the Presidency to make recommendations

(1) S.E.R., I, 25.

(2) Ibid., 28; cf. T.G.P. Spear, 'Bentinck and Education', Cambridge Historical Journal, Vol. VI, 1938, 79-80.

on education policy, and 'in the meantime two experimental schools, one for Hindoos and one for Mahomedans, might be established at each zillah station'.¹ In fact however these plans proved largely abortive - in contrast to Bentinck, Hastings' 'firmness of purpose always fell short of what was required to carry out his liberal intentions'² - and inasmuch as the ideas contained in the Minute were translated into action, it was through the schools at Chinsura and the experiments conducted by private societies. Apart from its financial limitations, the Government even after 1813 was extremely cautious in its education policy, and was no doubt glad to let private societies make the first tests of local opinion with their experiments, as it was not itself committed if opposition was aroused. For them Hastings' Minute provided the basic governmental guidelines - which in any case coincided on most points with the missions' own views - with its stress on elementary education, on ethical teaching Christian in spirit but not in name, and on the transfusion of modern Western learning into the curriculum.

The Serampore missionaries thought that Hastings' main contribution to education was 'by the cordial satisfaction constantly manifested' towards the efforts of the private societies; his administration had shown 'a generosity and liberality of feeling' on education.³ Of particular importance were his addresses to the students of Fort William College, in which he encouraged the officials of the future to do whatever they could for

(1) Ibid., 26-7.

(2) I.Singh, op.cit., 299; cf. A.F.S. Ahmad, op.cit., 2.

(3) F. of I. (Quarterly), No.VII, 1822.

education, and thereby 'removed all fears on this delicate subject'. The most memorable of these was the speech he delivered on 30 July 1817, in which he told the students "' it is a godlike bounty to bestow expansion of intellect, to infuse the Promethean spark into the statue, and waken it into man. This government will never be influenced by the erroneous, - shall I rather not call it the designing position, - that to spread information among men is to render them less tractable and less submissive to authority'"¹ - an authoritative and eloquent repudiation of the views which had proved so influential in the Court of Proprietors in 1793, and a statement of unusual liberality for a British nobleman in the year 1817.

Charles Grant praised Hastings' concern for education, writing in 1822 that he was "'almost the first person in eminent station'" who had in practice realised the responsibility of the East India Company Government towards "'the moral amelioration'" of India. And in spite of Grant's earlier predilection for English education, he approved Hastings' "'grafting moral instruction upon the native institutions, or rather of improving, without violating, those institutions'"². As Hastings was returning to England in 1823 he himself wrote that, as regards education, 'any impulse which I could lend to its promotion was nothing, in measurement by the standard of those most meritorious...endeavours of others, whence visible and increasing impression has been widely made in the country':³ an appropriate epitaph on the work of the private societies, but perhaps for once unduly modest

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- (1) J.C. Marshman, op.cit., II, 156; cf. Hastings' Private Journal, II,
 (2) Morris, op.cit., 354-5. (149-51.
 (3) Papers relative to the administration of the Marquess of Hastings, Vol. I.
 London, 1824: 'The Marquess of Hastings' Summary of his own Administration', 33.

in view of his own work in creating an atmosphere in which they could operate successfully.

j. Relations between the missionaries.

The different missionary educational experiments in Bengal were not of course carried on in complete isolation from one another: rather did each group show itself ready to adopt methods with which another had experimented successfully. Thus, as we have seen, May borrowed the idea of pandit-supervisors from Captain Stewart, and on the other hand the Calcutta Committee of the C.M.S. sent the newly-arrived missionaries Greenwood and Schroeter to Chinsura for a few weeks to study May's system.¹ The S.P.C.K. employed a Mr. Van Gricken, 'who was some time employed in the schools at Chinsurah', to superintend their schools in Calcutta;² and it was to Burdwan that the C.M.S. decided to send its Superintendent and five Bengali teachers for training in 1819.³ Marshman's pamphlet Hints Relative to Native Schools impressed everyone who took an interest in education, from Moira and Hyde East to Captain Stewart.⁴ But it was in the production and use of textbooks that the various groups coordinated their activities most closely, around the C.S.B.S. as a convenient focus, so that by the early 1820s all the schools used the same range of books.

But there was rivalry as well as friendly cooperation between the various groups. This was partly but by no means wholly due to

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- (1) C.M.S. MS - Minutes of Calcutta Committee of C.M.S., 22 May 1816.
 - (2) S.P.C.K., Report, 1819-20, 158.
 - (3) 2nd C.S.B.S. Report, 84.
 - (4) 18th C.M.S. Report, 212.

denominational differences, which were much less in evidence than in the contemporary United Kingdom. Bishop Middleton however brought the characteristic High Anglican prejudice against Dissenters with him to Calcutta, and his relations with the Evangelical Anglican clergy, who had naturally gravitated towards the C.M.S., were also cool.¹ The general atmosphere in Bengal at this time was however not sympathetic to High Anglican exclusiveness: Bishop Middleton noted sadly that 'Church principles' were not 'very well understood',² and in contrast to his much more liberal-minded successor, he was not a popular figure. Most of the laity who played an important part in missionary and educational work during this period were Anglicans, but, encouraged no doubt by Hastings' own example, they did not hesitate to support the efforts of Dissenters as much as the Church of England societies. Even among the Anglican clergy, Thomason was probably a more representative figure than Middleton: among the Dissenters May in particular had excellent relations with him, referring to him as his 'dear friend'.³ Of all the various groups, it was perhaps the Serampore Baptists with whom others found hardest to cooperate: Thomason wrote 'I love and honour them', but even he thought that differences of opinion on the question of baptism always prevented truly cordial relations.⁴ The younger Baptists formed themselves into a separate mission in Calcutta in 1817, after a whole complex of disputes on personal, financial and administrative matters had arisen between themselves and the Trio.

(1) C.M.S. MSS - Corrie to C.M.S., 4 Feb.1819; Thomason to Owen, 24 Sep. (1818).
 (2) Le Bas, Middleton, II, 229.
 (3) L.M.S. MSS - May to L.M.S., 31 Aug.1815; cf. 21 Nov.1812.
 (4) C.M.S. MS - Thomason to C.M.S., 31 Aug.1815.

Robert May developed his educational plans independently from Serampore, although he was only a few miles away up the Hooghly, and regarded the Trio's great expansion of their schools in 1816 with what can only be described as a spirit of jealous rivalry.¹ Pearson however restored better relations with Serampore, and indeed became a Baptist himself in 1822, undergoing total immersion by William Carey.²

May, Marshman and Thomason were probably the greatest educationists at the time in Bengal, and it might be of interest to compare their respective achievements. From 1814 until his death in 1818 May, more than any other missionary, devoted himself single-mindedly to the management of elementary schools, and this in itself goes some way towards explaining his success. He gave meticulous attention to practical details, and regular personal inspection to each school, but perhaps the fundamental secret of his success was his genuine personal concern and affection for children. When he sent Harle to Bankipur to start schools there, he advised him that 'simplicity... is a very necessary qualification in all instructors of the young...simplicity of words, sentences, manner and method; by manner, I mean a child-like disposition, condescending to listen to what they say, and to hear their simple stories and complaints; you may even learn much from them.... To sum up all, cultivate a love to the young: the more you love the children, the more you will strive to do them good'. Harle would find the children 'quick, teachable and desirous of instruction...consider them as worthy

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- (1) L.M.S. MSS - May to L.M.S., 25 Oct.1816, 20 Oct.1817; May to Forbes, 14 Feb.1817.
 - (2) L.M.S. MS - M.Hill to L.M.S., 1 Nov.1822; B.M.S. MS - Carey to Ryland, Feb.1825.

of all your care, labour and attention'¹ - an expression surely of the missionary spirit at its most creative, and a valuable clue as to how men like May, of humble backgrounds and ordinary abilities, were able to achieve so much in the face of formidable difficulties. Not surprisingly, it was the general consensus of opinion that May was, as Thomason commented, 'remarkably fitted for his work'. He described him as 'a little active man, never so happy as when he is teaching children and managing schools, in all ye details of wch. he has a peculiar facility, and a practical wisdom which few possess. He seems admirably qualified for such an undertaking'.² After his death an anonymous Anglican (possibly Thomason) wrote 'His good temper was remarkable. This was one cause why children loved him so much'.³ It is not hard to understand how a man who combined these personal qualities with a remarkable sensitivity to the wishes and feelings of the local people should, as Forbes testified, have been able to 'gain the confidence of the Natives' in his work.⁴

Joshua Marshman had the direct responsibility for the educational work of the Serampore Trio, although Carey and Ward certainly interested themselves in it, and their various manifestos and reports were issued in the name of all of them. Like May, Marshman had the essential qualification of enthusiasm for the work, writing in 1802 'The mere view of an instance of diligence and improvement in a child, will raise such sensations of pleasure

(1) Quarterly Chronicle, I, 205-6.

(2) C.M.S. MS - Thomason to C.M.S., 1 Nov.1815.

(3) Quarterly Chronicle, I, 512.

(4) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.9, 24 Nov.1815; cf. No.14, 18 Sep.1818.

in my mind, as quite repay the toil'.¹ His later achievements show him to have been a man of great vision and commensurate organising ability: May was content to put the teaching of the elementary subjects onto a sound footing; Marshman, while strongly emphasising the importance of this, went on to devise means of grafting Western learning onto the existing curriculum, and after 1818 devoted his attention increasingly to higher education at Serampore College - providing in the process examples for imitation by the C.S.B.S., the C.S.S., and the Bishop of Calcutta. In the organisation of elementary schools, Marshman undertook the management of more than three times as many as May, and his methods differed accordingly; it was impossible for him to give personal attention to the problems of each one, and there was correspondingly more emphasis on the need to perfect the machinery of administration. Marshman seemed to have more faith than May in the efficacy of the right system per se, and as a recent writer has commented, his schools as a consequence were in danger of becoming simply 'units in an educational network devised with Benthamite precision'.² The system was increasingly centralised on Serampore, from where Marshman strove to manage it by 'finger-tip control' through the agency of superintendents, teachers, monitors and above all textbooks. May criticised Hints generally on the grounds that it depended more on theory than on practical experience³ - unfairly, as the Serampore missionaries had been experimenting with schools ever since 1794, 18 years before May set foot in Bengal - but he

(1) Per.Accts., 1800, 288.

(2) Smith, art.cit., 305.

(3) L.M.S. MS - May to Forbes, 14 Feb.1817.

was not mistaken in his warning that Marshman would encounter more practical problems in individual schools than his system - or indeed any system in itself - could easily cope with. On the other hand, it was hoped that these experiments might serve to some extent as pilot-projects for future Government efforts, and any scheme for nation-wide education would have to depend largely on a system, so from this point of view Marshman's work was perhaps of more value than May's, which although more meticulous and thorough depended to a greater extent on the ability and personality of one man.

As for Thomason, his comprehensive schemes for education at all levels were only equalled by the Serampore missionaries; and he showed more awareness than they of the importance of English - at the same time avoiding the mistake made subsequently of giving too little attention to the vernacular. The breadth and generosity of his mind have been amply illustrated in the foregoing chapter: Bishop Heber testified to his 'amiable temper and moderation', and justly summed him up as 'a very good and learned man'.¹

(1) Sargent, Thomason, 297-8; cf. N.L.W. MS - J. Marshman to Fuller, 4 Jan. 1811.

CHAPTER III

GIRLS' SCHOOLS AND HIGHER EDUCATION, 1817-37a. Girls' schools.

The administration of Lord Hastings also saw the beginning of missionary work for the education of Bengali girls, and the foundation of Serampore and Bishop's Colleges for higher education. In the field of girls' schools the missionaries were pioneers to an even greater extent than in boys' education, but in spite of a promising start, it was evident by 1837 that their efforts were proving comparatively insignificant. There is no prohibition on the education of girls in the Hindu scriptures, but by 1800, at least in Bengal, such a strong prejudice had arisen against it that a literate woman, though not quite unknown, was a very exceptional phenomenon.¹ It was thought that an educated girl was doomed to early widowhood, and a pandit assured Miss Cooke, one of the early pioneers, that she " shd. never succeed, their women were all beasts, quite stupid, never cd. or wd. learn, nor wd. the Bramins ever allow their females to be taught etc. etc."²: the failure to cultivate the mental faculties of women had resulted in them being regarded contemptuously as inferior beings. In addition to this general masculine prejudice, there were

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- (1) Ward, Hindoos, II, 503; M.Martin, The history, antiquities, topography and statistics of Eastern India, London, 1838, Vol.III, 500; F.Buchanan, Dinaipur, 81; Adam, Reports, 187; K.M.Banerjea, A prize essay on native female education, Calcutta, 1841, 22-3, 99-100; Per.Accts., 1808, 446.
 - (2) C.M.S. MS - Miss Cooke to C.M.S., Nov.1822.

certain customs which militated against the education of girls especially of the middle and upper castes: they were often married at the age of eight, and once in their husbands' houses it was not considered proper for them to go about freely outside.¹ For this reason girls' schools were totally unknown: such women as did obtain any education were taught privately in their homes.² In founding girls' schools in Bengal the missionaries were therefore pioneering something quite new.

Their motives for starting this work were a characteristic mixture of the humanitarian and the evangelistic, of which the former was given most stress to begin with. They were genuinely shocked by what seemed to be the degraded state of Indian women, and regarded education as necessary not only for their own sake but for that of society as a whole also - 'Man requires a "Help Meet", and in every country the infant mind receives its earliest impressions from the female sex. Wherever, therefore, this sex is left in a state of ignorance and degradation, the endearing and important duties of Wife and Mother, cannot be duly discharged, and no great progress in general civilisation and morals can...be reasonably hoped for'.³ Similarly Christianity would make more progress if women could be brought under its influence.

As with so many other aspects of missionary education work, the first to act were the Serampore missionaries, who in 1816-7 admitted girls into

(1) Banerjea, Native female education, 28-45.

(2) Adam, Reports, 187.

(3) Native Female Education, Calcutta, 23 Feb. 1822 (circular of Calcutta Corresponding Committee of C.M.S.); cf. 2nd Report of Calcutta B.M.S., 28 Apr. 1820, 52; W. Ward, Farewell Letters, 62-70.

one of their schools 'separated from the boys by a mat partition'.¹ Then in 1818 May opened a school for girls at Chinsura: 14 attended.² It was however the Calcutta Baptists who made the first big effort to multiply schools for Bengali girls, founding for the purpose the Calcutta Female Juvenile Society in 1819. It was supported by the girls of the 'boarding school for young ladies' conducted by Mrs. Lawson and Mrs. W.H. Pearce,³ and within two years they had established three day-schools in the city with 76 pupils.⁴ Meanwhile William Ward was trying to arouse the interest of the ladies of England by publishing somewhat lurid accounts of the degraded condition of the ^{ir}Indian sisters⁵: he also attended the annual meeting of the B.F.S.S. in May 1821, and partly in consequence of his 'very pathetic appeal' on behalf of the women of India, the Society decided to send Miss Mary Ann Cooke to Bengal to teach girls under the auspices of the C.S.S.⁶ She proceeded to Calcutta later in the same year, in the same ship as Ward, who after his arrival at Serampore 'took the department of female education into his own hands';⁷ by the time of his death (1823) there were 17 schools in and around the town, with 300 girls.⁸

Some of the leaders of Bengali opinion were by then doing their best to encourage girls' education, including especially Ram Mohan Roy, Radha Kanta

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- (1) 1st Serampore Schools Report, 1817, 19; cf. Potts, British Baptist missionaries, 123.
 - (2) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.14, 18 Sep.1818 - Forbes to Bayley.
 - (3) B.M.S. Report, 21 June 1821, 17; W.Yates, Memoir of Rev. W.H.Pearce, Calcutta, 1841, 95.
 - (4) B.M.S. Report, 20 June 1822, 10.
 - (5) Missionary Register, Nov.1820; W.Ward, Farewell Letters, 62-70.
 - (6) 16th B.F.S.S. Report, 1821, xi, 32-3.
 - (7) J.C. Marshman, Carey, Marshman & Ward, II, 303.
 - (8) B.M.S. Report, 19 June 1823, 15.

Deb, and Pandit Gour Mohan Vidyalankar. Nevertheless when Miss Cooke arrived in Calcutta, the Committee of the C.S.S. decided that it could not yet 'unanimously and actively' undertake the development of schools for girls after all, and the Calcutta Committee of the C.M.S. therefore proposed that Miss Cooke should start schools under its auspices.¹ By March 1823 she had established 15, with 300 girls;² then a year later the work was transferred to a new organisation, The Ladies' Society for Native Female Education in Calcutta and its Vicinity, presided over by the wife of the Governor-General, Lady Amherst. During the following decade some girls' schools were established at all the main mission stations in Bengal: by the L.M.S. at Chinsura and Berhampore, as well as in and around Calcutta; by the Baptists at Katwa, Suri, Dacca, Chittagong and Jessore; and by the C.M.S. at Burdwan, Kalna, Bankura and Krishnanagar.

At first needlework - a staple of the curriculum of girls' schools in England - was introduced into those in Bengal also, but after a few years it was discontinued in the schools of the Ladies' Society and of the Serampore Baptists: such work was normally done by male Muslim tailors, and was therefore not popular with Hindu schoolgirls.³ On the other hand Mrs. Deerr reported in 1830 that the men of Burdwan district were coming to appreciate girls who had learnt to sew in the mission schools there.⁴ Otherwise the curriculum was similar to that of the boys' schools, including

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- (1) Native Female Education.
 - (2) Native Female Education: Proposal for a Central School, Mar.1823 (circular of C.C.C., C.M.S.) Later in that year Miss Cooke married Isaac Wilson.
 - (3) 7th Report of Serampore Native Female Schools, 1832, 64-5; Hindoo and Mahomedan Girls' Schools in India, 2 Sep.1831.
 - (4) Church Missionary Record, Feb.1831, 26.

Bengali reading and writing, arithmetic, sometimes a little geography and some other rudiments of 'useful knowledge', and above all Christian religious teaching.¹ This last was increasingly emphasised, not least by the supposedly non-missionary Ladies' Society, and was the main reason why the cooperation of the more liberal Bengali leaders, which had seemed assured in the early 1820s, in fact withered away during the following decade. At that time a 'Native Gentleman of great respectability' offered the Calcutta Baptists some ground for a school,² and another proposed the establishment of a school for girls of poor but upper-caste families, while Miss Cooke was looking forward to teaching the ladies of more well-to-do families in their homes;³ but little or nothing seems to have resulted from any of these projects. Mrs. Trawin, the wife of one of the L.M.S. missionaries, was indeed invited to visit the house of Kali Shankar Ghosal at Kidderpore to teach the womenfolk, but this experiment was not a success: the girls' father 'could not long sustain the tide of ridicule which this...had brought upon him, from certain deistical opposers of the truth, and he declined any further assistance from Mrs. Trawin';⁴ the implication of this rather cryptic sentence (in the memoirs of one of the Calcutta Baptist missionaries) is that Mrs. Trawin had offended by teaching the ladies Christianity. By 1831 there was not a single Bengali subscriber to the

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- (1) S.P.A., 1827, 75-81; 1834, 90; C.C.O., June 1833, 300-1; Oct. 1833, 510; Adam, Reports, 47-9; C.M.R., Feb. 1830, 38-9; 26th C.M.S. Report, 1825-6, 81-2; C.M.S. MS - I. Wilson's Journal, 1 May 1827.
 - (2) Missionary Intelligence, No. VII, Sep. 1821, 67.
 - (3) Native Female Education.
 - (4) J. Statham, Indian Recollections, London, 1832, 63-4; cf. M.R., Aug. 1823, 356-7.

Ladies' Society,¹ and the Reformer - the organ of the liberal Hindus, edited by Prasanna Kumar Tagore, who incidentally gave his own daughter a good education - remarked that it would make a much more significant contribution to girls' education if it could bring itself to stress general knowledge rather than Christian teaching; as it was girls educated in its schools were not welcome as teachers in upper-caste Bengali homes.² By the late '30s it was becoming clear that many of these people, and particularly the younger generation which had received an English education, were willing to have their womenfolk educated at home, even if they could not yet quite bring themselves to encourage them to go out to schools.³ The old prejudice was being undermined, but by their insistence on religious teaching the missionaries were wasting a good opportunity to spread girls' education, and indeed had raised a new barrier against it.

All this is confirmed by the tendency for the missions girls' schools to become more and more the preserve of the lower castes. In spite of the upper-caste prejudice against going out to school, the girls were of all castes in the schools of the Calcutta Baptists in 1821 - there were a few Brahmins and Kayasthas as well as others of middling and low caste;⁴ and as regards Miss Cooke's first schools, the newly-formed Ladies' Society observed that 'Females of the most respectable caste and station in society

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- (1) A.C. Das Gupta (ed.), The days of John Company: Selections from Calcutta Gazette 1824-1832, 671 (3 Oct. 1831).
 - (2) J.C. Bagal, Women's education in Eastern India: the first phase, Calcutta, 1956, 38.
 - (3) Banerjea, Native Female education, 107-33; L.M.S. MS - Campbell to L.M.S., 27 Sep. 1838.
 - (4) Statham, Indian Recollections, 54; cf. B.M.S. Report, 20 June 1822, 10.

have both sent their Daughters and, in some instances, have themselves expressed anxiety to obtain instruction'.¹ By the late 1830s however it is clear that these schools were utilised almost entirely by low caste girls. The L.M.S. missionary John Campbell wrote that their day-schools in Calcutta were attended mainly by the daughters of cobblers and sweepers, and continued 'I doubt the propriety of educating the females of this class...while their males are uneducated...[They] are almost the only class of natives who are entirely uneducated. Lads from all other classes attend our Schools. Now if the only educated females in Bengal were to be found among this class...would not this be a strange anomaly?' And the main reason for these girls' attendance was that they were paid for it by the missionaries - a practice which the latter had started in order to help launch the programme of girls' schools but had never been able to discontinue. Campbell described the procedure: 'A number of heathen women called Hurkarus are employed to collect children [to escort them to school]. They go about from house to house among those classes to whom the rewards their children receive [from the missionaries] are an object, and by giving a few pice they succeed in collecting a number of children'. The 'hurkarus' were paid according to the number of girls they brought to the schools, which gave them an incentive to collect as many as possible - but unfortunately they were not necessarily the same individuals on successive days. Partly for this reason Campbell concluded that the girls made 'little

(1) Formation of a Ladies' Society for native female education, in Calcutta and its vicinity; cf. 25th C.M.S. Report, 1824-5, 93.

progress' in the schools.¹

This helps to explain further why the mission girls' schools were avoided by the upper castes: for their womenfolk to leave their customary seclusion and go outside to a school where they would be taught mainly Christianity - even running a possible risk of conversion - in association with the daughters of cobblers and sweepers was not an attractive prospect. Nor were there economic incentives for the education of girls of the kind which brought boys thronging into the schools at this period: there was little ^{future} ~~farther~~ for an educated girl.² In any case it was increasingly doubted whether the girls in many of the mission schools really were getting any education worth the name; Campbell echoed a frequent missionary complaint when he wrote that they 'are not allowed to remain in School sufficiently long to allow their characters to be formed by their education': they left very young, either to marry or to take up work which paid them a little more than the missionaries could for attendance at school. 'Hence the majority of them leave before they are able to read the Scriptures, and many of them before they can read at all...I have not heard of a single unexceptionable case not of conversion...but of one girl's becoming an intelligent respected and moral character in consequence of the education received in these schools'.³ Krishna Mohan Banerjea wrote that many girls left school practically illiterate but knowing parts of the Gospels and Catechisms by heart - nevertheless in most cases 'the

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- (1) L.M.S. MS - Campbell to L.M.S., 27 Sep.1838; cf. P.Chapman, Hindoo Female education, London, 1839, 110; Adam, Reports, 300.
 - (2) Banerjea, Native female education, 99; C.C.O., June 1833, 300-1.
 - (3) L.M.S. MS - Campbell to L.M.S., 27 Sep.1838.

spiritual results have not been...much greater than the intellectual effects. The childrens' stay at school has generally resembled a short period in their infancy, after which they have fallen into the same habits as before'.¹ The implication is that most of these girls attended the schools simply to earn a little money, and that the fairly comprehensive curriculum which existed in theory was very rarely mastered in practice.

The development of mission schools for girls passed through two distinct stages between 1817 and 1837. During the first decade the various societies, in their original flush of enthusiasm, established anything up to two dozen day-schools each. These schools were on the whole small, and were scattered over too wide an area to be supervised efficiently; this problem of course existed in connexion with boys' schools also, but the shortage of suitable superintendents for girls' schools was even greater. Miss Cooke was the only female missionary specifically designed for this work; elsewhere it was normally carried on by the missionaries' wives. Some of these, especially Mrs. Marshman, Mrs. Perowne and the first Mrs. Mundy, proved well-fitted for the task, but they had of course domestic matters to attend to also; and the men who took a particular interest in girls' schools, such as Ward and Jetter, had many other preoccupations too. It was in order to make superintendence both easier and more efficient that the process of consolidating the local schools into one 'Central School' started. Mrs. Wilson and the Ladies' Society led the way in this development: their Central School was opened in Cornwallis Square in 1828, and

(1) Banerjea, Native female education, 106.

soon all except one of the schools in other parts of Calcutta were closed down. The drawback to this plan was that not all the girls who had attended the local schools were able to come to the Central School, which was too far for some of them to travel daily; nevertheless 150 to 200 attended the latter regularly, and Mrs. Wilson felt that what was lost in numbers was more than compensated for by the advantage of continuous supervision.¹ A similar process of consolidation was undertaken by the Serampore Baptists (1829),² the Calcutta Baptists (1833)³ and the C.M.S. at Burdwan (1832).⁴

One thing that made constant supervision by the missionary (or his wife) seem so important was the inefficiency of the teachers. To start with it was hard to obtain any female teachers at all, and men had to be employed, but by the 1830s many of the teachers were women, and efforts were made to train some of the girls in the schools for teaching.⁵ In 1837 one-third of the teachers in the Ladies' Society's Central School in Calcutta were Christians - a much higher proportion than in the mission boys' schools.⁶ Nevertheless throughout the period complaints were common about their indolence and inefficiency,⁷ and as in the case of the boys' schools, the increased emphasis on Christian religious teaching made the presence on the spot of a missionary still more important.

In spite of the tendency towards consolidation, missionaries became

(1) C.M.R., Feb.1830, 37; Chapman, Hindoo female education, 92.

(2) S.P.A., 1829, 264; 1830, 58-9.

(3) C.C.O., Oct.1833, 510.

(4) Memoir of the Rev. John James Weitbrecht, by his widow, London, 1854, 66.

(5) C.M.R., Feb.1830, 38; Adam, Reports, 47; Chapman, Hindoo Female education, 92.

(6) Ibid., 112.

(7) Ibid., 112; S.P.A., 1829, 264.

increasingly disillusioned with girls' day schools during the 1830s, and turned their attention more towards boarding-schools for Christian and orphan girls, who could be brought up in a Christian environment without 'contamination' by non-Christian influences, to which the day-girls were exposed when they were not actually in their schools. As early as 1831 Mrs. Wilson wrote 'The department of labor which appears at present of the greatest promise, is the "Native Female Orphan Asylum"', which then contained 14 orphans.¹ This work expanded greatly in 1833, a year of storms, widespread flooding and disease in lower Bengal, as a consequence of which Mrs. Wilson's family of destitute girls increased to about a hundred.² In October, 1836, having decided to concentrate all her energies on the orphanage, she moved out of Calcutta to a new home at Agarpara a few miles up the Hooghly.³ The Central School in Calcutta continued under new superintendents.⁴

A similar process took place at Burdwan also during this period: J.J. Weitbrecht and his wife - the C.M.S. missionaries there - closed the day-school for girls and concentrated instead on an orphanage.⁵ In Calcutta the L.M.S. relinquished all their day-schools in 1835 and maintained only a boarding-school for Christian and orphan girls,⁶ but they continued a girls' day-school at both Chinsura and Berhampore.⁷ The Calcutta Baptists had in 1836 a Female Christian Boarding School with 25 pupils at Sibpur,

(1) Hindoo and Mahomedan Girls' Schools in India.

(2) Chapman, Hindoo female education, 119ff.

(3) Ibid., 130-1.

(4) Ibid., 105.

(5) Memoir of Weitbrecht, 108, 120-1, 235-9.

(6) C.C.O., Dec.1836, 667; L.M.S. MS - Campbell to L.M.S., 27 Sep.1838.

(7) 43rd L.M.S. Report, 1837, 42-4; Adam, Reports, 300.

and one girls' day-school with 30 pupils at Chitpur.¹ In addition to the Central School, four other day-schools continued under the auspices of the Ladies' Society - two in Calcutta, one at Howrah and one at Kalna.² The Serampore Baptists had in 1834 two day-schools at Serampore, two at Chittagong, one at Bakerganj, and probably two at Dacca, with a total of about 300 girls;³ in this as in other fields of endeavour they were the only group at this period which ventured into east Bengal. It would seem that theirs was by this time the most successful of the various attempts at providing schools for girls; of the last examination of the Central School at Serampore, it was reported 'The children not only went through the mechanical part of their exercises in reading and recitation with readiness and accuracy, but displayed unusual quickness in their answers during a perfectly extemporaneous course of interrogation upon their various lessons...it was manifest that their whole minds were awake'. The second class were 'remarkably intelligent and promising children'. The top class, of 15 girls, read the Dig Darshan and Pearson's textbook on geography as well as the Scriptures and other religious works, so it is evident that in this school at least although religious instruction held a prominent place more secular studies were not neglected.⁴

The missionaries were the pioneers of schools for girls in Bengal - in itself an important landmark in the educational history of the province; but the fact remains that after twenty years the results of their efforts

(1) C.C.O., May 1836, 264; cf. Memoir of W.H. Pearce, 107.

(2) Chapman, Hindoo female education, 114.

(3) S.P.A., 1834, 91-3.

(4) Ibid., 90-1.

comprised only a few small day-schools and even fewer orphanages, which however commendable from the humanitarian point of view, and however hopeful as nurseries of the womenfolk of the Bengali Christian community, gave a kind of education which could have little relevance and still less attraction for the people as a whole. Nor can these meagre results be attributed entirely to the Bengalis' 'great apathy concerning the education of their daughters', of which contemporary enthusiasts were wont to complain;¹ the interest which girls' education aroused in the early years, and the readiness of parents, including at least some of high caste, to allow their daughters to receive education either at school or at home, indicates that if the missionaries had been more concerned with girls' education for its own sake, and less with religious instruction whatever its unpopularity, they could have made a much more significant contribution in this field.

b. Serampore and Bishop's Colleges.

Within a year of admitting girls into one of their boys' schools, the Serampore missionaries had embarked on an ambitious venture which was designed to crown their various educational institutions - Serampore College, which was founded in 1818. Its aim was to provide both theological education for Christian students - of any denomination - who intended to enter the ministry, and also further education in arts and science subjects for non-Christians, especially those who had distinguished themselves in their elementary schools. The 'common languages', including the medium of

(1) Adam, Reports, 48.

instruction, were Bengali and Hindi¹ - in practice Bengali; the curriculum was summarised as 'Eastern Literature and European Science';² books on Western science were to be translated into Bengali for the use of the students.³ English was to be studied only by the more advanced students, to deepen their acquaintance with European culture.⁴ The basic subjects were however to be the Oriental classical languages - inevitably Sanskrit for the majority, but Arabic and Persian for those who preferred them.⁵ This was if anything even more important for the Christian theological students than for the non-Christians: the Trio envisaged the former as potential missionaries, and realised that unless they were steeped in Indian religion and culture they would in the first place be rejected as aliens by their fellow-countrymen, and would in any case be unable to preach effectively if they had no understanding of the beliefs of the people they were trying to convert; to say nothing of 'the copiousness, correctness, and delicacy which might pervade the diction of a native advocate for truth versed in Sungskrit, [which] would render his discourse highly acceptable'.⁶ This policy had been adumbrated many years before: as early as 1802 the Trio drew up a Plan for the Education of Children of Converted Natives, or youths who have lost cast, comprising an education in Bengali, Christian religious and general knowledge, the Hindu epics and Sanskrit

(1) Serampore College Prospectus, 13; cf. F.of I., 28 June 1838.

(2) Prospectus.

(3) 2nd Serampore College Report, 1821; 5th S.C. Report, 1824.

(4) Prospectus, 7.

(5) 1st S.C. Report, 1819.

(6) F.of I. (Quarterly), No.V, 1821, 'On encouraging the cultivation of the Sungskrit Language among the natives'.

for Christian children who thereafter, it was hoped, would be 'peculiarly instrumental in turning their fellow-countrymen from darkness to light'.¹

Other reasons for higher education 'Oriental' at least in form at Serampore included the fact that, in spite of Hastings' doubts, it corresponded to what was still the official Government policy. Also the great majority of Bengalis who aspired to higher education were still thinking in 'Orientalist' terms: the 'Anglicist' movement of a minority in Calcutta was at the most three years old, and the Hindu College, so far its most notable manifestation, was not an obvious success during its first decade. Even Thomason, who appreciated so well the immense significance of its uncertain beginnings, did not think he was wasting his time in undertaking, for the C.S.B.S., a new Arabic edition of Euclid, as a 'first step towards disseminating a knowledge of the whole of the exact science of quantity, through the medium of a language justly admired for its precision'.² And the Serampore missionaries shared some of the Government's anxiety as to whether the people would readily accept the Western learning which they wished to introduce, and therefore tried to present it through the medium of Indian languages, vernacular and classical as appropriate, and to 'engraft' it as far as possible onto Indian science and literature. The First Report of Serampore College (1819) stressed that 'All the Science now possessed by the Natives themselves' should be taught. 'If they have carried the study of any branch of knowledge beyond us, this circumstance

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- (1) B.M.S. MS - Ward to B.M.S., 1 Apr.1802; Per.Accts., 1802, 239-40; cf. Northampton MS - Carey to Ryland, 29 June, 31 Aug.1802.
 - (2) 2nd C.S.B.S. Report, 1819, 16.

ought to be acknowledged and improved; if they have merely trodden in the same path, a knowledge of the science they really have, will enable us to take it up where they fail, and carry it to its proper extent; while the ideas they now possess, and the terms in which they express them, will facilitate the communication of superior ideas. This particularly applies to Grammar, and to Astronomy'; words in which one might detect the influence of the Court of Directors' Despatch of 3 June 1814. The Lilavati was one Sanskrit treatise on astronomy that was used.

The Serampore Trio emphasised also the purely philological value of Sanskrit as the key to the modern Indian vernaculars: one of the 'Tables' used even in the schools consisted on 1000 Bengali words and their Sanskrit roots.¹ Moreover, there was 'that habit of patient investigation which a few years' study of Sungskrit would form, and which would prepare the mind for the examination of every other subject';² the missionaries thus translated some of the common arguments in favour of a Greek and Latin classical education in Europe into Indian terms. Marshman wrote that 'the object was not to give the students a light smattering of things...but...to strengthen the mind by inuring it to real labour...the committing of grammatical rules to memory tends to produce this robustness of mind'.³ Sanskrit would be an admirable intellectual - and indeed moral - discipline. In fact however the emphasis on Sanskrit had to be modified after a decade. The College opened with 19 Indian Christian and 17

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- (1) 1st Serampore Schools Report, 20-1.
 - (2) F. of I. (Quarterly), No.V.
 - (3) 1st S.C. Report.

non-Christian students;¹ during the next ten years the number of the former rose a little, but the latter fluctuated down to zero in 1828.² It would seem reasonable to suppose that all those who really wanted a Sanskrit education would prefer to sit at the feet of the orthodox pandits in the tols, or would be attracted by the stipends into the new Government Sanskrit College in Calcutta. On the other hand during the 1820s the demand for English education in lower Bengal increased markedly, and the students of the Hindu College in particular showed clearly that they were ready for more than the smattering of the language which was all that earlier generations had aspired to: they regarded English not only as a useful qualification for a good job but also as the vehicle for European literature and science, in which they were starting to take a genuine interest.³ Furthermore, both in Government and in missionary circles generally, opinion was moving in an Anglicist direction. In 1829 therefore an English tutor was appointed at Serampore College,⁴ and by 1834 there were 34 non-Christian students, all of whom were learning English, together with 21 of the 'native Christian students'. The top classes did translations from English into Bengali and vice versa; they read the English Bible and books on history, geography and mathematics, and they attended John Mack's lectures on Chemistry - also in English.⁵ They apparently did not study Sanskrit at all; in fact in 1834 there were only 18 students

(1) 1st S.C. Report, 1819.

(2) 8th S.C. Report, 1828.

(3) The days of John Company, 273-8 (17 Jan. 1828).

(4) 9th S.C. Report, 1829.

(5) 13th S.C. Report, 1834, 11; cf. S.P.A., 1831, 52-4.

of this subject, all of them Indian Christians. The College authorities felt it necessary to write 'In explanation of the little prominence given to the Sungskrita studies...the Council beg to remark, that it has arisen from [the students'] having been so closely engaged in the study of English and European science as to leave them less leisure for their Oriental studies'. Sanskrit study was now designed merely to 'enable them to read it with ease and to make them masters of the grammatical niceties of their own language, which is so closely linked with the Sungskrita'.¹

This notable departure from the original purpose of the College was underlined by the type of scientific education given at that time; we hear no more of the original intention to teach as much indigenous science as possible. John Mack, who arrived in 1821 and took charge of the teaching of science, no doubt had much to do with this change from an Orientalist to a comparatively Anglicist policy; at any rate in his lectures on chemistry, dynamics and other branches of 'Natural Philosophy' he expounded those subjects as they were understood in contemporary Europe.² William Carey lectured on botany and agriculture: in the latter he dwelt on the contemporary English methods which he wanted to introduce into Bengal in order to improve the rural economy, including the 'method of rearing domestic animals, the nature of a Piggery, and the process of a Dairy'.³ This was a subject close to his heart: in 1820 he had taken the leading

(1) 13th S.C. Report, 1834, 11; cf. J.C. Marshman, Carey, Marshman & Ward, II, 501-2.

(2) J.Mack, Principles of Chemistry, Serampore, 1834; 12th S.C. Report, 1832.

(3) S.P.A., 1831, 54-5.

part in founding the Agri-Horticultural Society as a means to this end.¹ In 1822 the missionaries planned to open a medical department also at Serampore College: in a letter to Hastings they dwelt on the inadequacy of indigenous medicine and asked for financial aid from the Government to enable them to appoint 'a European Medical Professor'. Hastings gave his approval,² as did the Court of Directors subsequently,³ but whether because of uncertainty about the attitude of Hastings' successor, or the increasingly difficult financial position of the Serampore mission, the matter was not pursued.⁴

Together with the 34 Hindu students, there were in 1834 also 43 'Native Christian' students and six 'in European habits' - i.e. Eurasians; making a total of 83.⁵ The Christian students, some of whom were training for the ministry, were given a course in which theology, arts and science subjects were combined: Sanskrit, Bengali and English; Greek, Latin and Hebrew; logic, mathematics, chemistry and divinity were all available and were studied according to the choice and aptitude of the student. Mack wrote in 1834 that the non-Christian students were "classsed with their Christian countrymen without any distinction but what may arise from their various degrees of proficiency in all their studies not purely theological. All of them who are sufficiently advanced read and study the Scriptures two days in the week...At morning worship the Christian students alone are required

(1) B.M.S. Report, 21 June 1821, 45ff.

(2) I.O.R. - Bengal Public Consultations, 17 Oct. 1822, Nos. 69-70.

(3) I.O.R. - Public Letter to Bengal, 21 July 1824.

(4) J.C. Marshman, Carey, Marshman & Ward, II, 262; cf. Potts, British Baptist missionaries, 67.

(5) 13th S.C. Report, 1834.

to attend; and nothing either in profession or practice is required of any heathen which is inconsistent with his own faith'".¹

A 'preparatory school', especially for Christian boys, was established at Serampore; in the early years the idea was that they should learn the Sanskrit grammar there, and so qualify themselves to 'enter on studies more strictly Collegiate'.² By 1834 however the 25 boys in this school were studying Bengali rather than Sanskrit, and the most promising only of these were to be promoted to the College proper to take up the study of Sanskrit and/or English.³ There was another Sanskrit 'grammar school' at Suri, but this was not a success; the students refused to proceed to Serampore for fear of the river-side climate, and it was closed in 1832.⁴

The College received a Charter from King Frederick VI of Denmark in 1827, which empowered it to confer degrees on its students, and six years later the Statutes were published.⁵ By the time of Carey's death (9 June 1834) it was in a promising condition: the places of the original members of the Trio were filled by John Mack and John Leechman, who were well qualified as teachers of science and philosophy respectively - it was Mack who succeeded Joshua Marshman as Principal in 1837. The library was being built up, and in 1828 it was reported that a 'philosophical apparatus

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- (1) J.C. Marshman, Carey, Marshman & Ward, II, 484-5; cf. 1st S.C. Report, 1819.
 - (2) 5th S.C. Report, 1824.
 - (3) 13th S.C. Report, 1834, 16-7.
 - (4) S.P.A., 1832, 61; cf. Missionary Herald, May, 1827.
 - (5) W.S. Stewart (ed.), The story of Serampore and its College, Serampore, n.d. (1961), Apps. II and III.

[laboratory], the largest in the country', was installed.¹ The main problem - and one which had frustrated the more optimistic dreams of its founders - was financial; the building had proved to be more costly than was expected, and there was a series of heavy blows between 1830 and 1833. Several banking houses failed and the missionaries' funds disappeared in the crash, and simultaneously, as part of Bentinck's economy drive, the Professorships at Fort William College and the office of Bengali Translator were abolished, reducing Carey's income - a considerable proportion of which had been devoted to the College - from £1,560 to £600 p.a. in eight months.²

The College had moreover never been wholeheartedly supported by the B.M.S. By the time of its foundation in 1818 various personal and administrative disputes had already started to embitter the relationship between the Trio and the Society: Andrew Fuller, the denomination's greatest leader and one who had personally known and trusted Carey, had died in 1815, and his successors thought that the missionaries were acting with too great a degree of independence, while they for their part resented what seemed to be attempts to control their operations.³ The missionaries' increasing preoccupation with the College provided another major bone of contention: the Society was not opposed to a college as such, but it had a very much narrower conception of its proper scope than the missionaries. In 1823 the members of the committee resolved that, 'fully aware of the

(1) 8th S.C. Report, 1828.

(2) J.C. Marshman, Carey, Marshman & Ward, II, 420-6, 464-5.

(3) Potts, British Baptist missionaries, 24-5.

great importance of the education of pious natives for the Christian ministry [they] will, to the utmost of their power, defray whatever expenses may be incurred in the prosecution of that object in the Serampore College...it being understood that the students so maintained are members of approved Baptist Churches'.¹ What they wanted, in fact, was simply a denominational theological seminary on the lines of the existing Baptist institutions in England; they did not regard the 'literary department as coming within the scope of a missionary undertaking'.² The B.M.S. opposition to the College was supported by the Calcutta Baptists, who criticised the original emphasis on Sanskrit at the expense of English,³ and above all the education of lay and theological, Christian and non-Christian students in the same institution; the pious youths, it was thought, were in danger of being corrupted by the others.⁴ The Serampore missionaries, however, regarded this mixing as an essential part of the scheme; in a purely theological college the students would be all too likely to develop 'contracted views'.⁵ These genuine differences of opinion were greatly aggravated by personal factors; and especially the dislike of the B.M.S. and the Calcutta Baptists for Joshua and John Clark Marshman. The latter played an increasingly important role in the management of the College, but to most of the Baptists he seemed an un-missionary-like figure: Eustace

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- (1) B.M.S. MS - B.M.S. Committee Minutes, 13 Mar.1823; cf. B.M.S. Report, 7 Oct.1819, 55-8.
 - (2) F.A. Cox, History of the Baptist Missionary Society, from 1792 to 1842, London, 1842, 286; cf. New Baptist Miscellany, Jan.1827.
 - (3) E.Carey and W. Yates, Vindication of the Calcutta Baptist missionaries, London, 1828, 87.
 - (4) Ibid., 87; cf. New Baptist Miscellany, June 1831, 249.
 - (5) J.C. Marshman, Carey, Marshman & Ward, II, 463.

Carey described him as 'a pleasant, worldly young gentleman, who was much at home in modern history and European politics, and possessed many of those agreeable qualities which facilitate introduction to general society',¹ - evidently a rather damning indictment in the eyes of some contemporary Baptists. It was rumoured that he had a predilection for the Church of England.² The expenditure on the splendid College building was another favourite subject for Baptist recriminations:³ it was said to represent the ambitions of the Marshman family rather than any practical necessity. But the missionaries felt that such a building was a suitable expression of their vision - of future possibilities rather than existing realities - and also some guarantee of the permanence of the institution.⁴

The B.M.S., supported by the Calcutta Baptists, felt that their limited funds should be spent on more directly missionary purposes, such as preaching, the printing and distribution of tracts and Scriptures, elementary schools in which Christian teaching was given, and perhaps theological education for a few select Christian youths of undoubted piety; a general education for all and sundry might have its uses,⁵ but it was not something to which the limited time and money of missionaries might

(1) E.Carey, Supplement to 'Vindication', London, 1831, 112; cf. E.Carey & W.Yates, Vindication, 56-84.

(2) Carey & Yates, Vindication, 87; Carey, Supplement, 125.

(3) Carey & Yates, Vindication, 86; cf. New Baptist Miscellany, Dec.1827.

(4) C.R., June 1859, 462.

(5) Though not all of those concerned would even go this far; a prominent minister, Joseph Kinghorn, remarked at the Annual General Meeting of the B.M.S. in 1827 that 'literary institutions had infringed upon the kingdom of Christ'.

properly be devoted.¹ They were further antagonised when, in 1825, Carey and Marshman decided to place the mission stations connected with Serampore under the control of the College authorities.² As they were training the students who were destined to work as missionaries at those stations there was something to be said for the idea, and indeed it underlined the missionary aspect of the College, but the B.M.S. were unimpressed, and the proposal hastened the separation between the Serampore missionaries and the Society which finally took place in March 1827. This did not end the dispute, however, which indeed reached new heights of bitterness during the next four years, as both sides tried to vindicate their position in a series of pamphlets. Most of the Baptists in the U.K. supported the B.M.S. - the religious and educational vision of the missionaries was somewhat beyond them - and this of course reduced the amount of money sent to Serampore from overseas. In 1837 the mission stations had to be surrendered to the B.M.S., but the College continued independently, financed largely by the various enterprises of J.C. Marshman, whose father, the last of the Trio, died in December of the same year.

In many respects Serampore College resembled one of the larger Dissenting academies of eighteenth-century England: its students were not subject to religious tests; theology, arts and modern science were taught; and the vernacular medium was used. Indeed it has been claimed, not

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- (1) Missionary Herald, July 1827; New Baptist Miscellany, Jan., July 1827.
 (2) Per.Accts., 1825, i-ii; B.M.S. MS - B.M.S. to Serampore missionaries, 13 Oct. 1825; Cox, B.M.S., 294; J.C. Marshman, Carey, Marshman & Ward, II, 305-6.

unreasonably, that it was indirectly one of the inspirations for the foundation of University College London,¹ through the person of the Baptist minister F.A. Cox, who played a leading part in that enterprise and was at the same time on the Committee of the B.M.S. At any rate there is no doubt that it was the main inspiration for Bishop's College, Sibpur. Bishop Middleton regarded Baptist (and L.M.S.) efforts for education with mingled admiration and jealousy, and his anxiety that the Church of England should not appear backward by comparison was an important motive for his own, somewhat belated, efforts in this field. As his biographer observed, 'The Bishop was always...anxious that the Church should never be left behind by any other Christian Society in India, but should rather take a decided lead in the career of religious enterprise'² - particularly in the matter of institutions for higher education.

There was however a certain ambiguity about the purpose of Bishop's College, the original plan for which was outlined by Middleton in a letter to the S.P.G. dated 16 November 1818, in reply to the Society's intimation of its recent decision to enter the Indian mission-field. The Bishop expressed doubt about the value of preaching to the Indians, and continued 'the minds of the people are not generally in a state to be impressed by the force of argument, still less to be awakened to reflection by appeals to their feelings and their fears...what is further required seems to be a preparation of the native mind to comprehend the importance and truth of

(1) Whitley, British Baptists, 260.

(2) Le Bas, Middleton, II, 231; cf. I, 481. One can imagine the Bishop's indignation when he was asked 'whether his new college was to be a branch of the Baptist establishment at Serampoor'. (Le Bas, Middleton, II, 119).

the doctrines proposed to them: and this must be the effect of education'. With the Serampore example fresh in his mind, he proposed therefore the establishment of a college for the purpose

'1. Of instructing native and other Christian youths in the doctrines and discipline of the Church [of England], in order to their becoming preachers, catechists, and school masters.

2. For teaching the elements of useful knowledge and the English language to Mussulmans and Hindoos, having no object in such attainments beyond secular advantage.

3. For translating the scriptures, the liturgy, and moral and religious tracts.

4. For the reception of English Missionaries to be sent out by the Society, on their first arrival in India.'

The Bishop went on to give reasons in support of each of these aims: on the second point, he put forward the by then familiar argument that the spread of European learning would indirectly undermine Hinduism and bring the people at least to consider Christianity.¹ In his letter he seemed to attach as much importance to this as to the three other aims of the proposed College, and his proposals were welcomed by the S.P.G. (and also by the S.P.C.K.),² but in fact this was not merely the first but also the last that we hear of the proposal to give a general education to non-Christian students for many years. The Bishop did not revert to this point in his

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S.P.G. MS - Bishop Middleton to S.P.G., 16 Nov. 1818.

(2) S.P.G. MS - Journal of the S.P.G., 21 May 1819; S.P.C.K. MS - East India Mission Committee Minutes, 7 June 1819.

subsequent letters to the S.P.G., nor in his original draft of the College's Statutes which he sent to the Society in 1821: on the contrary it was clearly stated in those that 'The Students, whether on the Foundation or not, and whether Theological or Lay students, shall be Christian youth, who have been brought up in the principles of the Church of England'. The next clause required the prospective student to produce a certificate showing that he was a member of that Church, that he was 'of a docile temper and of virtuous and pious dispositions, and possessed of good abilities and talents', and intended to become a missionary or a schoolmaster.¹ These two clauses are sufficient to show that, between 1818 and 1821, Bishop Middleton changed his mind about the admission of non-Christian - or indeed of non-Anglican - students: in contrast to the Baptists' institution at Serampore, a religious and even a denominational test was to be imposed, as at Oxford and Cambridge.²

Middleton's original intention of admitting non-Christian students was however not forgotten; the College's first Principal, W.H. Mill (1821-37) remarked in 1832 that the time when this might be done was 'not distant',³ but ten years later the students were still all Christians.⁴ Indeed during

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- (1) S.P.G. MS - Statutes for Bishop's College. There are three MS drafts of these in the S.P.G. archives; the first, with 40 clauses, is Bishop Middleton's (1821). It was amended more than once and finally published, with 33 clauses, as Statutes of the Missionary Institution of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; to be called and known as Bishop's College, near Calcutta, London, 1825.
 - (2) In the Ecclesiastical letter from Bengal, 6 Jan. 1820, Bishop's College was referred to as 'an Institution...for the education of Children' - a misleading description which illustrates the uncertainty as to what its aims really were in its earliest years.
 - (3) S.P.G. Report, 1832, 16.
 - (4) A.W. Street, Bishop's College and its missions, Calcutta, 1842, 1; cf. Adam, Reports, 24-5.

its first decade the College was restricted not merely to Anglican Christian but to theological students: Bishop Heber suggested that 'lay' students of that denomination might be admitted, but it was not until the episcopate of J.M. Turner (1829-31) that this modest enlargement of the scope of the College was actually undertaken.¹ In the years following a trickle of non-theological Anglican students duly entered the institution, which thus came to resemble yet more closely one of the colleges at Oxford or Cambridge - a resemblance which was physically underlined by the style of the buildings. An imposing Gothic construction, forming three sides of a quadrangle, had been begun in 1820, at the edge of the Botanic Garden at Sibpur.

As for the curriculum, it was reported in 1829 that 'the principal attention of the students...is directed to divinity, and to the European classics with a view to theological proficiency'. Classical and vernacular Indian languages were however also taught - indeed W.H. Mill was a considerable Oriental scholar - as were a little mathematics; but no science, in sharp contrast to Serampore.² No essential change was thought necessary for the benefit of the lay students, and a writer in the Calcutta Review (1845) criticised the curriculum as being too exclusively European and classical for them: they should be 'qualified for the business of life' by being taught history, geography, political economy, science and law, especially in relation to India.³ One catches an echo here of the criticisms of Oxford and Cambridge by contemporary English educational reformers. Adam

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- (1) S.P.G. MS - Bishop Heber to S.P.G., 23 June 1824; S.P.G. Report, 1829, 50-1; S.P.G. Report, 1832, 12.
 (2) S.P.G. Report, 1829, 53, 154-6; Statutes.
 (3) C.R., Vol.III, No.VI, 1845, 312.

however commented reassuringly that the Greek and Latin 'poets and orators, though not useless, are deemed a less important object of concern than those writers which exhibit the chief moral and intellectual features of Greek and Roman literature'.¹

The first students were admitted in March 1824; there were four of them, of whom only one was an Indian, and he was from Madras.² The numbers climbed painfully to 10 in 1829,³ and to 15 in December 1835⁴ - a rate of progress which seemed disappointingly feeble to all but the College's warmest admirers, especially in proportion to the large outlay on the buildings and the fanfare with which its foundation had been heralded by the Anglican Establishment. A further complication was that the C.M.S. missionaries and the chaplains associated with them disapproved of the College, which was distinctly identified with the High Church party, to which W.H. Mill belonged. Its main patron was the S.P.G., and although the C.M.S. donated £5,000 in 1819,⁵ relations deteriorated subsequently. In 1828 Archdeacon Corrie wrote that the College was training up 'a poor irreligious clergy likely to become a scourge instead of a benefit',⁶ and according to the C.M.S. missionary John Latham one of the Professors - probably Holmes - was more interested in 'field sports' than anything else⁷ - appropriate no doubt for contemporary Oxford or Cambridge, but incongruous at a supposedly missionary college

(1) Adam, Reports, 28-9.

(2) S.P.G. Report, 1824, 146.

(3) S.P.G. Report, 1829, 154-6.

(4) S.P.G. Report, 1835-6, 141.

(5) C.M.S. MS - C.M.S. to Thomason, 15 July 1819.

(6) C.M.S. MS - Corrie to C.M.S., 28 Mar.1828; cf. the same, 29 May, 30 June, 9 Aug.1827.

(7) C.M.S. MS - Latham to C.M.S., 29 Mar.1828.

planted in the midst of the heathen. These criticisms of course tell us as much about the C.M.S. missionaries as about Bishop's College: the former, Evangelicals from on the whole a rather low social background, had little sympathy at best for the cultured, somewhat worldly clerical gentlemen who tended to emerge from the two old English universities, and none at all for an institution which aimed to reproduce this type for the Indian mission-field. In November 1836 the Calcutta Committee of the C.M.S. opened a seminary of its own for training Bengali clergy, on a much more frugal basis than that of Bishop's College.¹ Unfortunately the students did not appreciate the value of this style of living and most of them left within a year² - but not before the Committee had incurred the serious displeasure of Bishop Wilson, who saw it as a rival to Bishop's College.³

Neither Serampore nor Bishop's College had quite fulfilled the hopes of its founders by 1837, although one need not take too seriously many of the attacks made on them by contemporary missionaries. The development of Serampore at least was hampered by bad luck rather than by bad judgement: during its first decade its founders showed an imaginative approach to the difficult problem of integrating European and Indian learning, combining a strong emphasis on Indian languages with a selective attitude towards the content of traditional Indian learning which protected them against the charge levelled against the G.C.P.I. in the same period - that they were wasting their students' time by requiring them to study theories

(1) C.M.S. MS - C.C.A.C.M.S. Minutes, 15 Nov. 1836; cf. 16 Oct. 1834.
 (2) Ibid., 21 Sep. 1837.
 (3) Ibid., 23 May 1837. Vide infra, Chapter VI.

which the advance of science had rendered obsolete. When, in 1829, it had become clear that the local educational situation was changing radically, they introduced English without abandoning Sanskrit entirely, and retained Bengali as the principal medium - a level-headed evolution which contrasted with the abruptness of the Government's change, in 1835, from a basically Orientalist to an extreme Anglicist policy. Both at Serampore and at Bishop's College the Indian as well as the European classics were taught, but the relatively greater emphasis on the former at Serampore may be thought to have indicated a deeper awareness of the qualifications appropriate for Indian missionaries. And the liberalism of Serampore's refusal to debar any student from the College on religious grounds contrasted sharply with the policy of Bishop's College, which reproduced all the exclusiveness of contemporary Oxford or Cambridge in an environment which provided even less justification for it.

CHAPTER IV

BOYS' SCHOOLS, 1823-30

The striking development which the missionaries' boys' schools had registered during the administration of Lord Hastings was not maintained during the years following his departure, which was indeed a period of decline rather than of further progress. The most important reason for this were the dissensions which rose to the surface within some of the societies, notably the Baptists and the C.M.S., which had the effect of reducing the number of missionaries and the finance available for the management of schools. There was also a change in the attitude of the Government: Hastings' successors did not share his interest in vernacular elementary education and the General Committee of Public Instruction, established within a few months of his departure in 1823, regarded the Chinsura schools as an embarrassment rather than an asset. The general impression of these years is of a loss of momentum, or at least of a failure to build onto the achievements of the previous decade.

Most of the elementary schools of the Serampore missionaries were discontinued in 1824. There is little contemporary evidence as to the reason for this, but such as there is indicates that the main one was financial, together with some degree of disappointment with their effectiveness. J.C. Marshman admitted in 1830 that 'the efficiency of the schools was not in an equal ratio with their extent':¹ certainly the missionaries had never

(1) J.C. Marshman, Review of two pamphlets, London, 1830, 36.

been satisfied with their teachers, and it is hard to believe that the majority of the boys had achieved the depth of understanding of 'the new learning', for which the missionaries had hoped. But more important was the fact that by 1824 they were facing a financial crisis: they had recently started their girls' schools, and above all there was Serampore College - an ambitious and costly project. The B.M.S. was not inclined to help finance the 'Institution for Native Schools', and as so many other bodies had by then taken an interest in elementary education, the missionaries had decided that of their various enterprises it was the one which could best be spared.¹ Thereafter they retained a handful of elementary schools, in which Christian religious teaching was given; by the end of 1835, besides at Serampore itself, there were three such schools in the villages south of Calcutta, one at Baruipur, three at Jessore, eight at Dacca - still supervised by Owen Leonard - and at least one in the Dinajpur area; the Dacca schools had 753 children, and the rest had about 330 altogether.² In addition to those the missionaries had also started a few at Chittagong, Murshidabad, Barisal, and Dum Dum, which for one reason or another they had discontinued by that time.

The Calcutta Baptists carried on two or three small Bengali elementary schools, which were not particularly successful; a much more promising venture was the school opened by George Pearce at Durgapur (Calcutta) in 1827, in which English was taught.³ After two years he was able to

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- (1) J.C. Marshman, Carey, Marshman & Ward, II, 297-8; 5th S.C. Report, 1824.
 - (2) Serampore Periodical Accounts, 1835.
 - (3) B.M.S. MS - G.Pearce to B.M.S., 14 Nov. 1827; 9th Report of Calcutta B.M.S., 1827, 7.

report that the school was flourishing: Christianity, geography and science were taught, and some of the boys were making good progress.¹ He managed to persuade the parents to give a guarantee, in the shape of a Rs. 10 deposit, that their sons would stay at the school for at least two years.² In 1829 another Baptist, James Thomas, started a Hindustani school at Howrah, designed particularly for Muslim children; few of them attended, however - in general Muslims were less willing than Hindus to expose themselves to the Christian teaching of the mission schools³ - and English and Bengali were therefore introduced, which ensured the school's popularity with the Hindus.⁴ These experiments with the teaching of English were among the more successful achievements of the missionaries in education in the late 1820s; their comparative success is of course one of the many indications of the increasing demand for English education which was an important feature of these years.

As in the case of the Baptists, personal problems adversely affected also the educational work of the C.M.S. in the late 1820s. At Burdwan Perowne quarrelled with the German missionaries Jetter and Deerr, as a consequence of which Jetter moved to Calcutta in 1821 and Deerr to Kalna in 1825, where he established a new circle of schools.⁵ Then in July 1826 Perowne fell ill and was thenceforward unable to give proper attention to

(1) B.M.S. MS - G.Pearce to B.M.S., 23 Jan.1829.

(2) B.M.S. MS - G.Pearce to B.M.S., 24 July 1829.

(3) cf. Mallick, Muslims of Bengal, 192; Potts, British Baptists, 218-20.

(4) 11th Calcutta B.M.S. Report, 1829, 16; 12th Report, 1831; Missionary Herald, Oct.1830.

(5) C.M.S. MSS - Corrie to C.M.S., 6 Aug.1821, 31 Aug.1821; D.Schmid to C.M.S., 12 Oct.1826; Corrie to C.M.S., 11 May 1827.

the schools;¹ he returned to England permanently in April of the following year. Under Perowne's superintendence the Burdwan English school had developed as perhaps the most promising of all the C.M.S. schools: the boys overcame their initial reluctance to live on the mission compound,² and by 1826 three of them were ready to help 'in translating an Epitome of Robinson Crusoe' into Bengali for publication by the C.S.B.S.;³ but the senior boys apparently left the school on Perowne's departure,⁴ and when Isaac Wilson, a C.M.S. missionary, who had hitherto worked in Calcutta, was sent to Burdwan to inspect the schools, fifteen boys only appeared for his examination of the English school (28 April 1827); Wilson thereupon closed it.⁵ As for the Bengali schools, Wilson found that many (but not all) of them were not functioning satisfactorily: there were few boys, the examination results were poor, the teachers did not explain the textbooks properly or conduct them systematically; above all in his opinion they had proved ineffective as a means for spreading Christianity.⁶ He therefore reorganised the system of paying the teachers so as to give them an incentive to ensure that the boys learnt the prescribed selections from the Scriptures.⁷ Deerr returned from Kalna to superintend them, and by November

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- (1) C.M.S. MSS - Perowne to Corrie, 24 Oct.1826; Perowne to C.M.S., 11 Aug.1828.
 - (2) C.M.S. MSS - Perowne to C.M.S., 28 Sep.1824; cf. Perowne to C.M.S., 23 June 1823, 11 Aug.1828.
 - (3) The days of John Company, 142 (1 June 1826).
 - (4) C.M.S. MS - Perowne to C.M.S., 11 Aug.1828.
 - (5) C.M.S. MS - Isaac Wilson's Journal, 28 Apr.1827.
 - (6) C.M.S. MSS - I.Wilson's Journal, April-May 1827; R.H. MS - Thomason to Sherer, 7 Feb.1828.
 - (7) C.M.S. MS - I.Wilson's Journal, 16 June 1827.

1828 there were 14 elementary schools with 860 boys, of whom 437 read the Scriptures,¹ but he felt unequal to the task of reopening the English school,² which was left to J.J. Weitbrecht in 1831. Indeed he proved unable to superintend all of the Bengali schools effectively: his health was deteriorating, and he received with relief mixed with regret the decision of the Committee of the Calcutta Auxiliary C.M.S. (March 1829) to reduce the number of the schools.³ By December 1831 there were only seven, with 578 boys.⁴

The years 1826-31 were therefore a time of decline in the educational work of the C.M.S. at Burdwan: its most effective missionary returned home for the sake of his health, the English school was closed and the Bengali schools halved in number. This was however partly compensated for by the new development at Kalna, as a consequence of Deerr's removal there in 1825. The pioneers in that area were of course the L.M.S. missionaries based on Chinsura, who had been operating some schools financed by the Government around nearby Bankipur since 1817: Deerr started by taking over four of these from them,⁵ and by February 1827 he had eight schools for boys (and three for girls) under his supervision.⁶ This seemed a promising new venture; there were no pathsalas in parts of the area and the mission schools were correspondingly popular with the local people.⁷ Wilson

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- (1) C.M.S. MS - 'List of Schools at Burdwan', 11 Nov.1828.
 - (2) C.M.S. MS - Deerr to C.M.S., 10 Dec.1827.
 - (3) C.M.S. MSS - Deerr to Schmid, 3 Apr.1829; Minutes of the Committee of the Calcutta Auxiliary C.M.S., 3 Mar.1829.
 - (4) C.M.S. MS - Deerr to C.M.S., 30 Dec.1831.
 - (5) L.M.S. MS - Edmonds to L.M.S., 1 Nov.1825.
 - (6) C.M.S. MS - Corrie to C.M.S., 9 Feb.1827.
 - (7) C.M.S. MSS - Deerr to Schmid, 19 Sep.1826; cf. C.C.A.C.M.S. Minutes, 5 Dec. 1826.

visited Deerr at Kalna in May 1827, whereupon 'The Gosai [Vaishnavite priest] paid us a visit, and does not appear to wish to hear much of religion in any form. He wishes much to get the roads mended. Both he and most of the natives here express much anxiety for Mr. Deerr's health, and hope a Pucker house will be built for him'.¹ But before the year was over Deerr was back in his original base at Burdwan, and although he paid monthly visits to Kalna he could not undertake a major expansion of the schools there, of which there were in 1829 six (for boys).²

The C.M.S. schools in Calcutta were disrupted in 1827-8 by a quarrel between some of the missionaries and the local C.M.S. committee. Isaac Wilson arrived in the city to take charge of the Mirzapur English school in 1823, and shortly afterwards, stimulated no doubt by the examples of the Hindu and Serampore Colleges, he sent a long list of the scientific apparatus which he thought necessary for its laboratory to the Society's secretary in London, commenting that 'The Boys in our English School have arrived at that period in life when they are fully capable of appreciating the advantages of education and many of them seem to grasp at something more than a little reading and writing'.³ Evidently surprised at the arrival of a rather formidable list, the Secretary replied that they were sending some of the items mentioned, but 'We have not sent the whole...as we doubt whether the students are yet prepared to use them with any advantage'.⁴ His caution in fact proved justified, but not for that reason: it

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- (1) C.M.S. MS - I.Wilson's Journal, 5 May, 1827.
 - (2) 30th C.M.S. Report, 1829-30, 57.
 - (3) C.M.S. MS - I.Wilson to C.M.S., Dec.1823.
 - (4) C.M.S. MS - C.M.S. to Corrie, 13 Sep,1824.

was the cantankerousness of the Rev. Isaac Wilson rather than the immaturity of his students which rendered the Mirzapur school an unsuitable place for expensive laboratory equipment. In May 1826 Wilson reported 50 boys in the school, giving 'a pretty regular attendance' and following a course comprising the English Bible, Roman history, geography, English grammar and arithmetic, together with 'a few experiments in natural philosophy'.¹ In the following year however this promising institution, and indeed all the north India work of the C.M.S., was seriously disrupted by a bitter quarrel between Wilson, supported by some of the other missionaries, and the Committee of the C.A.C.M.S., of which they were not members and against which they had complaints concerning their conditions of service.² Wilson embarked for England in 1828 but died at sea - no doubt much to the relief of those responsible for the management of the C.M.S. As a result of this upheaval John Latham, the latest recruit for the Calcutta mission, reported soon after his arrival 'That splendid English school at Myrzapore...has disappeared and not a vestige of it remains save a few broken forms etc. in the book binders' room'.³ (March 1828). The school was revived during the next three years, but numbers fluctuated considerably and there were several changes of superintendent. By December 1831 it contained 30 boys.⁴ The Bengali elementary schools also suffered from the dissensions within the C.M.S.: they were managed by J.T. Reichardt - another German - during the mid-'20s but

(1) I. Wilson, to C.M.S., 8 May 1826.

(1) I. Wilson, to C.M.S., 8 May 1826. C.M.S. MSS - Committee to C.M.S. 30 Nov. 1827; C.C.A.C.M.S. Minutes, 3 Jan. 1828.

(2) C.M.S. MSS - Corrie to C.M.S., 30 Nov. 1827; C.C.A.C.M.S. Minutes, 3 Jan. 1828.

(3) C.M.S. MS - Latham to C.M.S., 29 Mar. 1828.

(4) C.M.S. MS - Sandys to C.M.S., 5 Dec. 1831.

he sympathised with Wilson and resigned in 1828. In April 1831 there were seven boys' schools in Calcutta, two at Budge Budge and four east of the city around Dum Dum and Baraset.¹ These latter had been started by Macpherson, the Anglican chaplain at Dum Dum, who had agreed to the popular request for an English class in each.²

Dissensions among the missionaries themselves and between them and the Calcutta Committee thus severely handicapped the C.M.S. Bengal mission in the 1820s. Between 1827 and 1830 there was only the faithful Deerr, struggling against ill-health, to superintend both Burdwan and Kalna, and for a time in 1830 there was only one C.M.S. missionary in Calcutta. Thomason, who had been the main inspiration for the educational work during Hastings' administration, departed for England in February 1826, and although he returned two years later it was only to die - at Mauritius in June 1829. His place was to some extent filled by the Archdeacon of Calcutta, Daniel Corrie, who was indeed mainly responsible in those years for the continuity of the mission; but he lacked Thomason's breadth of vision and enthusiasm in educational matters. Moreover one should not forget that this was also a period of rapid and frequent changes in the occupants of the see of Calcutta. Reginald Heber was in India for two and a half years (October 1823 - April 1826); the third bishop, J.T. James, survived only from January to August 1828, and his successor J.M. Turner from December 1829 to July 1831. Nor were the whole of these brief periods spent in Bengal: Heber and Turner met their deaths either during or immediately after a

(1) C.M.S. MS - C.C.A.C.M.S. Report, April, 1831.
 (2) Church Missionary Record, Jan. 1831, 1.

long and arduous visitation of their vast diocese, a duty which not only sapped their health but ensured that the Anglican missions in Bengal received anything but constant episcopal oversight.

The elementary schools of the S.P.C.K. were handed over to the S.P.G. in 1825-6,¹ by which time there were three circles, at Howrah, Tollygunge and Cossipore, totalling 16 schools with 1280 pupils.² The Cossipore circle was later given up, however, and the report for 1833 mentions 12 schools with 802 children.³

The L.M.S. missionaries were a comparatively harmonious group which managed to avoid the kind of dispute which arose among their Baptist and Anglican brethren; their main problem was ill-health, of which they seem to have had more than their fair share. Nevertheless they were able to expand their operations during the later 1820s in the Calcutta area, especially to the south of the city. In 1831 there were three boys' schools in Calcutta, in one of which English was taught, eight around Kidderpore, and two others still further south at Gangri.⁴ A new station was begun in 1824 at Berhampore by Micaiah Hill, not far from Murshidabad where the Baptist Sutton had laboured fruitlessly for a few years. Hill was scarcely more successful; he started six Bengali elementary schools,⁵ but by March 1826 he was writing sadly that Berhampore was 'in reference to morals and prejudices 25 years behind Calcutta'; the people were so suspicious that

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- (1) S.P.C.K. Report, 1825-6, 78.
 - (2) S.P.G. Report, 1826, 142-3.
 - (3) S.P.G. Report, 1833, 53.
 - (4) 37th L.M.S. Report, 1831, 37-40.
 - (5) L.M.S. MS - M.Hill to L.M.S., 4 June 1824.

when the C.S.B.S. book on the lion - 'a bare history of that animal' - which had proved quite acceptable elsewhere was introduced into one of the schools it was thought likely to subvert the boys' religion, and the majority of them left. Hill was given to understand that the people did not want any educational innovations.¹ No greater contrast could be found than between his experience and that of Deerr during the same years at Kalna; perhaps it was the difference between an important trading centre where caste restrictions had relaxed somewhat,² comparatively close to Calcutta, and a town adjacent to the Nawabs' capital, where a more conservative atmosphere would naturally linger. Anyway the Berhampore schools did not flourish, and a further problem appeared in 1830 in the shape of a fever which killed most of such pupils as they had. Not surprisingly, Hill was becoming disillusioned with schools by this time, writing that they were 'the most expensive and unprofitable' part of a missionary's work.³ Nevertheless in 1831 he refounded two, of which one was in the mission compound.⁴

At Chinsura, the centre of the most important educational work in which the L.M.S. were involved, the nine years following Hastings' departure saw a gradual decline ending with a complete collapse. The main reason was the switch in emphasis from elementary to higher education on the part of the Bengal Government, which became more and more marked during the 1820s and which made it increasingly loath to continue the

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- (1) L.M.S. MS - M.Hill to L.M.S., 14 Mar.1826.
 - (2) C.M.S. MS - W.J.Deerr, 'General Information respecting Burdwan and Culna and the Missionary operations there', 1829, 56-8.
 - (3) L.M.S. MS - M.Hill to L.M.S., 23 Sep.1830.
 - (4) L.M.S. MS - M.Hill to L.M.S., 18 Aug.1831.

subsidies to the Chinsura schools. In July 1823 the General Committee of Public Instruction was set up, to supervise and to make recommendations for education within the Presidency.¹ From the administrative point of view this was a great improvement on the various ad hoc arrangements made by Hastings: for the first time there existed a body with a definite responsibility for the development of education and for the formulation of a coherent policy, and indeed during the following decade it achieved much to its credit. The basic problem was the financial limitations within which it had to work, and it decided that it could make the best use of its limited resources by concentrating on higher education, through both the Indian classical and English media. One of the members of the new Committee Holt Mackenzie, wrote at the time of its foundation that the 'Government should apply itself chiefly to the instruction of those who will themselves be teachers...the translation, compilation and publication of useful works...the establishment and support of colleges for the instruction of what may be called the educated and influential classes [rather than] of elementary schools'.² He went on to argue that the mass of the people of India were too poor to allow their children to remain in elementary schools for long enough to learn anything worthwhile; in any case it was Christian religious teaching which alone gave elementary education real value (in Britian, for example), but this factor was not present in India.³ The Government arrived at the same conclusion by a different route; its view

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- (1) I.O.R. - Board's Collections, Vol.908, No.25693: Revenue Letter from Bengal, 30 July 1823.
 (2) S.E.R., I, 59.
 (3) Ibid.

was that India was much more adequately provided with indigenous schools for elementary than for higher education, and it accordingly adopted Mackenzie's proposal to concentrate its resources on the latter. The Reports of the G.C.P.I. consist therefore of lengthy accounts of the progress of the Hindu College, the Calcutta Sanskrit College and Madrassa and other similar institutions, and only the briefest references to the elementary schools under its control - 'these minor and less important seminaries. ..for the most part founded under preceding administrations, without any reference to the general principles and systematic views of public instruction, upon which we are now acting'.¹ Such a sweeping dismissal of the elementary schools evoked a rebuke from the Court of Directors in 1827,² but in 1830 it agreed that these schools indeed were 'of subordinate importance',³ only.

The effects of the G.C.P.I.'s policy were soon felt at Chinsura. From the end of 1823 until October 1826 the schools there were superintended by George Mundy, as Pearson was on furlough in England, so it was Mundy who first had to cope with the new situation. Two members of the Committee visited Chinsura early in 1825 to examine the schools: one was W.B. Bayley, a reassuring survival from the good old days of the Marquess of Hastings,

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- (1) I.O.R. - B.C., Vol.908, No.25693: Persian Letter from Bengal, 27 Jan. 1826; cf. Vol.1170, No.30639: Persian Letter from Bengal, 21 Aug.1829; Report on the colleges and schools for native education, under the superintendence of the General Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal, 1831, Calcutta, 1832, 47-8.
 - (2) I.O.R. - B.C., Vol.1170, No.30639: Public Letter to Bengal, 5 Sep.1827.
 - (3) I.O.R. - B.C., Vol.1386, No.55228: Public Letter to Bengal, 29 Sep.1830

who was as encouraging as ever, but the other was Horace Hayman Wilson, the new Committee's Secretary and, in the not necessarily reliable opinion of Mundy, 'proud, morose, [of] very bad moral character, and exceedingly unfriendly to Missionaries he appeared to delight in finding all the fault he could... I have perceived his unfriendly disposition sufficiently to excite my alarm'.¹ After his return to Calcutta Wilson wrote to Mundy that the Committee was 'perfectly satisfied with [his] zeal, discretion and talent', but thought that the benefits conferred by the schools 'are not in proportion to the expense incurred upon their maintenance. In as far also as they may have the effect of inducing the Villagers to rely wholly upon the support of Government, and may consequently subject the efforts of independent Schoolmasters to a disadvantageous competition, the Committee are of opinion that the Chinsurah Schools may retard rather than promote the progress of native education'. The Committee therefore desired 'that the system shall be gradually contracted within the narrowest limits possible if not eventually abolished. In the meantime they conceived it may be worthwhile to try if the villagers are disposed to contribute towards the continuance of the Schools, by paying wholly or in part for the education of their children'.² Mundy replied that there was no ^sprospect of inducing the people to contribute to the schools; those who used them were mostly too poor to do so, and their main value was precisely that through them such people had an opportunity for education which would otherwise be denied them. He thought the Committee was unduly optimistic about the pathsalas; the

(1) L.M.S. MS - Mundy to L.M.S., 1 Apr. 1825.

(2) L.M.S. MS - H.H. Wilson to Mundy, 26 May 1825.

teaching-methods used in the Government schools were much more efficient, and they also aimed at 'the Cultivation and Expansion of the mind by the communication of correct principles, and ideas, in general science'. He ended by reminding the Committee that the schools were popular and therefore increased the loyalty of the people to the Government.¹

Nevertheless during the next few years they were reduced in number - from 24 in 1824² to 18 in November 1825³ and 14 in 1831.⁴ The missionaries regretted the final transfer of Chinsura from Holland which took place in 1824-5; the Dutch authorities were consistently friendly - like the Danes at Serampore towards the Baptists - and in June 1825 Mundy's assistant Edmonds lamented 'We have not that countenance now from the local Authorities which we enjoyed from the Dutch Governor'.⁵ The members of the G.C.P.I. were in fact divided about the usefulness of the schools, as can be inferred from Wilson's 1825 letter to Mundy, which certainly bears the marks of a compromise; and in 1828 Holt Mackenzie wanted the Government subsidy to be withdrawn, but he was opposed by W.H. Macnaghten, E. Molony and Andrew Stirling, and it was continued.⁶ Wilson indeed made quite a favourable report after he had examined them in that year; he found 'a considerable readiness in reading and explaining Bengali...some of the Boys have

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- (1) L.M.S. MS - Mundy to H.H. Wilson, 1 June 1825.
 - (2) L.M.S. MS - Mundy to Bayley, 2 Mar.1824: 'Annual Report of Government Native Schools'.
 - (3) L.M.S. MS - Edmonds to L.M.S., 1 Nov.1825.
 - (4) I.O.R. - Public Letter from Bengal, 30 Aug.1831: Pearson to G.C.P.I., 3 Mar.1831 - 'Report of Chinsura Schools'.
 - (5) L.M.S. MS - Edmonds to L.M.S., 28 June 1825.
 - (6) I.O.R. - B.C., Vol.1170, No.30639: G.C.P.I. to Governor-General, n.d. [19 June 1828].

acquired accurate notions of the Elements of Geography and Natural History. The Schools seem also to have had the effect of connecting the Village Population more immediately with Calcutta: much more familiar knowledge of what is occurring at the Presidency, particularly with regard to Education, and more interest in the subject being evinced than was discoverable but a few years ago'.¹ In 1830 Pearson agreed to charge one anna per month for tuition, to establish 'the principle that education is worth paying for', but free schooling continued to be available for the poorest boys. In spite of this the number of boys in the schools actually rose slightly during the following year.² The flourishing state of the schools was largely due to the fact that Pearson was by then devoting much of his time and energy to them:³ there was therefore no recurrence of the complaints made earlier that he was neglecting the schools. He had developed a more professional attitude towards education than most of the other missionaries, which led him to recommend that each should specialise in the kind of work for which he was best fitted.⁴ It was in these years that he distilled the fruits of his experience at Chinsura into his treatise: The British system of instruction.

Mundy returned to England in 1828 for a long furlough, leaving Pearson alone at Chinsura. During 1831 the latter's health deteriorated markedly and he prepared to return home also, but died in December before his

(1) Ibid., 18 May 1829.

(2) I.O.R. - Public Letter from Bengal, 30 Aug.1831; G.C.P.I. to Governor-General, 1 June 1831.

(3) L.M.S. MS - Higgs to Townley, 19 Jan.1831.

(4) L.M.S. MS - Pearson to L.M.S., 7 Apr.1831.

departure - an event which precipitated the closure of the schools. The only missionary available to take them over was T.K. Higgs, who had only recently arrived and could not speak Bengali;¹ nevertheless James Hill, on behalf of the Calcutta District Committee of the L.M.S., asked H.T. Shakespeare - a member of the G.C.P.I. - if Higgs could be appointed Acting Superintendent. But Shakespeare told him 'that it was the intention of Government to give the schools up, almost immediately, and intimated that had it not been that Mr. Pearson was so much respected, they would have been closed long ago.'² Another reason was no doubt that W.B. Bayley, who according to Pearson was the individual mainly responsible for the continuance of Government support for the schools, had recently departed from Bengal.³ The G.C.P.I. circularised the Calcutta and Serampore Baptists, David Hare (Secretary of the C.S.S.), and the newly-arrived Alexander Duff to enquire whether any of them would be willing to take over the school-buildings and continue the schools out of their own resources, (18 January 1832), but they all refused.⁴ Finally the S.P.G. took over six of the schools,⁵ and Mundy returned from furlough to continue two of the 'mission schools' in which Christian religious instruction was given and which had consequently been financed by the L.M.S.⁶

Another of the experiments in vernacular education begun under Lord

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- (1) L.M.S. MS - Higgs to L.M.S., 1 Dec.1831.
 - (2) L.M.S. MS - Gogerly to L.M.S., 24 Nov.1832.
 - (3) L.M.S. MSS - Pearson to L.M.S., 16 May 1829, 7 Apr.1831.
 - (4) I.O.L. MSS - B.C., Vol.1386, No.55228: G.C.P.I. to Vice-President in Council, 25 May 1832; No.55228a: Appendix.
 - (5) S.P.G. Report, 1833, 49.
 - (6) L.M.S. MSS - 15th Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society Report, 6 Nov. 1833; Mundy to L.M.S., 3 Jan.1833.

Hastings thus gradually petered out under his successors. It is certainly easy to understand the G.C.P.I.'s point of view: faced with the fact of limited resources they decided to concentrate on higher education in the hope that the effects would gradually filter down to the masses, and a few clusters of elementary schools - elsewhere in the Presidency there were those in Bhagalpur and Rajputana - did not fit into this scheme; whatever their local value, they were viewed essentially as an embarrassing legacy from the period prior to the adoption of a coherent policy for education. It nevertheless seems a pity that the Committee could not make better use of the hard-won practical experience of May, Pearson and Mundy in a difficult problem that could not be permanently neglected; and most educationists would agree that the policy which washed its hands of elementary education - the most formative period in the school-life of a child - was most radically defective.

A very critical article on the Chinsura schools, written by an anonymous Bengali resident of the area, was published in 1832.¹ It is interesting as an expression of conservative dislike for the new elementary education rather than as a reliable account of the schools: the writer complained that the missionaries 'adopted the practice of rewarding the children with pice', and that the latter only attended 'as long as they got pice'. The giving of rewards for good work was an integral part of the systems of Lancaster and Bell, and in principle a great improvement over the traditional practice - both English and Indian - of punishing bad work and

(1) Alexander's East India Magazine, Vol.IV, Dec.1832, 606-7; cf. K.P. Sen Gupta, The Christian missionaries in Bengal, 1793-1833, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London, 1966, 181.

conduct severely but giving no recognition or encouragement to merit. Rewards were given to the boys of the Chinsura schools in accordance with their performance in examinations, and to the monitors if they carried out their duties properly;¹ what the latter received might more properly be regarded as a salary in view of their key importance in the conduct of the schools. At first indeed boys in the Central School in the town of Chinsura itself were rewarded by May simply for attendance, but Pearson strongly deprecated this² and in his book emphasised that rewards should be given sparingly, and only to those who had earned them by good work.³ There is certainly no evidence to support the insinuation that the boys in the Chinsura schools as a whole attended only as long as they were paid to do so.

The writer of this article asserted further that only 'our old education' was given in the schools; a curious statement in view of the elements of geography and science that were taught, and the relatively efficient English monitorial system which was used. He believed that the boys were all of the lower classes, and that the education which they received had a pernicious effect on society: 'from conceit of being educated, and want of practice, those persons are now neither labourers, nor shepherds, so that they are unfit for any occupation'. He thought that the Government would do better to spend money on schools 'for those children of respectable people, who have not the means of education themselves'. This was a rather exaggerated expression of alarm about education as a factor making for

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- (1) I.O.R. - B.J.C.P., No.6, 5 July 1816; No.10, 24 Nov.1815.
 - (2) L.M.S. MS - Pearson to Forbes, 5 Oct.1818.
 - (3) J.D. Pearson, BSI, 47-8.

social change when applied to the Chinsura schools; Pearson reported in 1831 that, out of an average of 90 boys in each school, 5 to 10 were Brahmins, 10 to 15 Kayasthas, 15 Vaidyas, 45 Sudras, and 10 Muslims;¹ Most of them were doubtless of poor families, but many were 'respectable' enough - precisely the class which in the writer's opinion needed Government schools. Nevertheless it did contain some truth: the Friend of India commented in 1836 that thanks to those schools, many individuals had been enabled 'to rise with ease above their original place in society'.² The Chinsura schools - and the mission schools elsewhere - probably had in most cases a somewhat smaller proportion of high-caste pupils than the pathsalas, but Adam's investigations in 1836-7 indicated that, at least outside Calcutta, the difference was not very significant. In the schools in Burdwan district he found 27½% Brahmins and 15% Kayasthas,³ in Birbhum 18% Brahmins and 13% Kayasthas,⁴ and a similar proportion in Murshidabad⁵ - unfortunately he did not survey Hooghly district. He found that of the 760 boys of the 16 lowest castes represented in the Burdwan district schools, 674 were in the 616 pathsalas and 86 in the 13 C.M.S. schools:⁶ certainly a higher proportion in the latter but not overwhelmingly so.

As we saw in Chapter II, Christian religious teaching was being given in most of the mission schools by 1823. Pearson and Mundy introduced the

(1) I.O.R. - Public Letter from Bengal, 30 Aug.1831: Pearson to G.C.P.I., 3 Mar.1831.

(2) F. of I., 11 Aug.1836.

(3) Adam, Reports, 241.

(4) Ibid., 236-7.

(5) Ibid., 230-1.

(6) Ibid., 241.

Scriptures even into some of the Government schools (1821) with the connivance of W.B. Bayley, and they also started the 'mission schools', supported financially by the L.M.S., in which the Scriptures were part of the curriculum from the beginning. They ceased to teach the Scriptures in the Government schools after the G.C.P.I. assumed control, but this did not mean that their pupils were henceforth immune from any form of Christian teaching. Edmonds wrote in 1825 'Though the Scriptures are not used in the Government Schools, we improve every opportunity of imparting religious knowledge to the children. We generally cause them to leave their school room and collecting them under some shady trees examine them regarding their progress in learning, and as every first principle which they learn in Geography or Astronomy contradicts the statements which they have heard from their Shastres on these subjects, an extensive field for observation and enquiry is at once opened before them. Their friends and others soon collect around us and on these occasions we sometimes have our largest congregations and many useful subjects are discussed.'¹ The general L.M.S. position was that Christian religious teaching alone justified the mission in financing as well as superintending schools, but that missionaries were justified in spending their time in the superintendence of the Government-financed schools at Chinsura, because the Western learning which was taught in them tended to undermine belief in Hinduism.²

Among the C.M.S. missionaries Isaac Wilson insisted, with an impatient vehemence peculiarly his own, that mission schools were useless unless the

(1) L.M.S. MS - Edmonds to L.M.S., 28 June 1825.
 (2) L.M.S. MS - Pearson to L.M.S., 7 Apr. 1831.

Christian teaching imparted in them showed rapid results in turning their pupils to Christianity. He complained in 1824 that 'Mere education in Schools is doing but little for the conversion of the Hindoos'¹ - earning himself a rebuke thereby from the Secretary in London.² His poor opinion of the Burdwan schools was, as Perowne suggested, coloured by his disappointment with them as a means of conversion; Perowne and Thomason, both in England in 1828, were pained by the news that Wilson had closed the English school "' because among ye. boys no proof of Christianity appeared'".³ The basic idea behind Wilson's reorganisation of the Burdwan schools was to give the teachers a financial incentive to ensure that their pupils learnt the Scriptures. And although Wilson himself departed in 1828, one does get the impression that by that time the C.M.S. mission generally was emphasising Christian religious teaching even at the expense of the general knowledge which had been so much stressed a few years earlier; an examination in 1828 of the boys of the first classes of the Burdwan schools consisted of questions on arithmetic, geography, St. Luke, Ellerton's Scriptural Dialogues, and St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, chapters I - VIII;⁴ and scripture also featured prominently in the examinations of the Calcutta schools at this period. After one of these the Calcutta Gazette commented that 'little can be said in favour of the literary progress' of the pupils.⁵

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- (1) C.M.S. MS - I.Wilson to Thomason and Crawford, 30 Sep.1824; cf. I.Wilson to C.M.S., Nov.1824.
 - (2) C.M.S. MS - C.M.S. to I.Wilson, 17 Feb.1826.
 - (3) R.H. MS - Thomason to Sherer, 7 Feb.1828; cf. C.M.S. MS - Perowne to C.M.S., 11 Aug.1828.
 - (4) C.M.S. MS - 'List of Schools at Burdwan', 11 Nov.1828.
 - (5) The days of John Company, 594 (16 Dec.1830).

As an example of the type of Christian teaching which was given in the L.M.S. schools in Bengal, the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society reproduced in its 10th Report a catechism on the Old and New Testaments. The children had to learn that there is one God, a spirit who does good only and punishes sin. He created the world, and his creation is good, but sin entered through Adam's eating the forbidden fruit in the Garden of Eden; salvation is through Christ alone, and man's heart is sanctified by the Holy Spirit. This was followed by the Ten Commandments, and an outline of the life of Christ.¹ This catechism was better suited to the boys of the elementary schools than the first eight chapters of Romans, which they must have found extremely hard to digest, but it is worth noting that it consisted largely of dogma, and that the existing religious beliefs of the pupils were simply ignored. There was no question at this period of, for instance, searching for the elements in Hinduism and Islam with which Christianity had the closest affinity, and designing a course of religious teaching accordingly: it was assumed that no real affinities existed, that all religions except Christianity were fundamentally wrong, and that the only proper objective was their total displacement by the latter. No doubt all schools, at least in the early nineteenth century, had in practice some kind of religious or ideological basis, whether or not it was coherent or explicit: the missionaries were open to criticism as educationists not because they had a distinct point of view which ultimately they hoped that their pupils would accept, but because their attitude towards the other possibilities, and especially the

(1) 10th B.A.M.S. Report, April 1828, Appx.III, 29; cf. Pearson, The British System of Instruction, 66-73; C.M.R., Jan.1832, 10.

religions of their pupils' parents, was blinkered by ignorance, prejudice and bigotry.

The case in favour of the missionaries' religious teaching would have been much stronger if their means had been less disproportionate to their ideal: if it had been given by teachers who evidently believed in and practised it themselves, it must have had much more value than was actually the case. The essence of a religion is something which is 'caught' rather than taught; Bishop Cotton later wrote 'When I consider how great, whether for good or evil, is the influence of the living voice and the contact of mind with mind, and how disastrous in religious teaching is the effect of the suppressed sneer, the vacant air of indifference, the doubting or hostile comment, I must maintain that it were almost better for a Bengali not to know that the word of God exists than to hear it explained by one who regards it as an imposture and a delusion'.¹ Significantly, Cotton had been an assistant master in the 1830s at Rugby and was a great admirer of Dr. Arnold. During the administration of Amherst and Bentinck Christian teaching in mission schools in Bengal was conveyed mainly by non-Christian teachers, who in general taught because such was expected of them by the missionaries rather than out of any personal enthusiasm; they were supposed to ensure that the boys learnt the religious literature prescribed, and beyond that everything depended on the frequency of the missionary's visits to the schools, when he could give explanations and exhortations.² No

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- (1) Quoted in Eyre Chatterton, A history of the Church of England in India since the early days of the East India Company, London, 1924, 235.
 - (2) C.M.S. MSS - Maisch to C.M.S., 23 Jan.1824; J.Dunsmure, 'Report of the Schools supported by the Church Missionary Association for the year (1832', 20 Apr.1832.

wonder that the C.M.S. decided in 1827 that 'each Missy. should establish no more schools than he can personally inspect very frequently i.e. 2 or 3 times a week at least & as much good is as likely to be effected as on a larger scale of schools';¹ but although the schools were reduced in number, the ideal of constant superintendence was certainly not attained during the years of crisis for the C.M.S. mission which were already beginning when those words were written.

One is not surprised to read Reichardt's complaint that the boys showed 'inattention, indolence and apathy in reading Christian books. They think it lost labour and they submit to reading Christian books merely in order to please the Sahib, whilst they at the same time learn reading, writing and arithmetic gratis'.² A less wholly despondent view came from Chinsura: Edmonds, writing about the teachers in the L.M.S. 'mission schools' there, thought that 'privately they mis-represent the truths which for a livelihood they are employed in teaching...whilst many of the children have a very correct and extensive acquaintance with the doctrines of the Bible, we perceive no moral effect produced by what they know'. The boys spent only a few hours daily in the schools, and during the rest of the time they were under 'the influence of idolatry'. Nevertheless, he concluded hopefully, 'much real good' is achieved; 'truths are now received as true which were formerly rejected as false - principles which were formerly rejected are now acknowledged to be just'.³ A correspondent of the Calcutta Christian

(1) C.M.S. MS - Corrie to C.M.S., 9 Aug.1827.

(2) C.M.S. MS - Reichardt's Journal, 9 May 1828.

(3) L.M.S. MS - Edmonds to L.M.S., 28 June 1825; cf. C.M.S. MS - Deerr to C.M.S., 10 Dec.1827.

Observer thought that mission schools 'certainly do good, in partially removing the prejudices of the rising generation'. He had recently visited a remote village, where a man had told him that the people liked the schools, except that their pupils "'pay less respect to our gods than the others, and get in many instances a decided leaning towards Christianity'" - although stopping well short of conversion.¹ Thomason noted that many of the boys of the Burdwan schools 'shew great attachment' to Deerr. 'They take his part in the little village controversies that occasionally occur on the subject of Christianity'.² Reichardt wrote that 'the Hindoos are sometimes quickly convinced of the folly of worshipping idols, made with their own hands; and thus it is easy to make them infidels; but it is very difficult to persuade them that Christ is the only Saviour of mankind'.³ One may conclude that in spite of its inadequacies the Christian teaching given in the schools - and also of course through preaching and the various other evangelistic activities of the missionaries - was not without effect in popularising Christian ethics and the person of Christ, and in weakening the local attachment to some of the customs of contemporary Hinduism.

Apart from their unsuitability as teachers of Christianity, in other respects there was a perceptible improvement in the standards of the teachers in the mission schools during the 1820s. The Committee of the C.A.C.M.S. reported in 1825 that at Burdwan, 'As the Missionaries became more

(1) Calcutta Christian Observer, March 1836, 133.

(2) C.M.S. MS - Thomason to Corrie, 23 Sep.1823.

(3) C.M.S. MS - Reichardt to C.M.S., Aug.1823; cf. N.L.W. MS - The Serampore Missionaries to the B.M.S., 18 Dec.1801; Missionary Herald, Apr.1828 - G.Pearce to B.M.S., 22 May 1827.

conversant in the Language, it was discovered that the Teachers...did not understand the easy books they were engaged to teach'. So Perowne assembled them weekly to explain the syllabus¹ - a practice that was imitated by Reichardt in Calcutta,² and also by the L.M.S. missionaries there.³ By 1827 Corrie was able to report after an examination of the Bengali schools at Burdwan that 'most of the...teachers are young men who have grown up in these schools; [who] are well acquainted with the books they teach - five of them received their education in the English School'.⁴ The policy of 'downward filtration', in its C.M.S. version, was showing signs of paying off. Pearson wrote in 1830 that the standard of the teachers was rising at Chinsura also.⁵

One index of the missionaries' increasing stress on religious teaching was that by about 1830 the Calcutta School Society, in whose schools it was of course not given, was being regarded as a rival⁶ - in contrast to the missionary attitude at the time of its foundation in 1818, when it was hailed as yet another sign of the spread of enlightenment. The existence of the C.S.S. schools, whose efficiency was incidentally increasing markedly at this time,⁷ together with others in Calcutta where Christianity was not

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- (1) 27th C.M.S. Report, 1826-7, 109.
 - (2) C.M.S. MS - Reichardt to C.M.S., 9 May 1826.
 - (3) 33rd L.M.S. Report, 1827, 45.
 - (4) C.M.S. MSS - 'Archdeacon Corrie's Report of Burdwan Schools', 12 Feb. 1827; cf. 'List of Schools at Burdwan', 11 Nov. 1828.
 - (5) Pearson, BSI, 39.
 - (6) C.M.S. MS - Reichardt's Journal, May 1828; M.M.S. MS - Percival to W.M. M.S., 4 July 1831; A Statement respecting a Central Institution or College, in order to the improvement and increased efficiency of school operations, conducted by missionaries of various denominations in Calcutta, Calcutta, 1831, 35-6.
 - (7) The days of John Company, 642 (4 Apr. 1831).

taught, explains why the mission schools were less popular and successful in Calcutta than in the mufasil. The L.M.S. missionary A.F. Lacroix wrote in 1830 that their schools in Calcutta were less well-attended, and that the pupils were from less 'respectable' families, than those at Chinsura,¹ and Alexander Duff, who arrived in Calcutta in May and who started his work by investigating the state of education in and around the city, was not at all impressed by the state of the mission schools there. In the first place, he wrote, 'there was such a rapid succession of pupils, that little or no substantial knowledge of any kind could possibly be conveyed; the greater part remaining only a few months...scarcely any, more than two years. As the general rule, all left school the instant they could read, write, and cipher a little'.² This comment echoes the earlier complaints of Jetter and Reichardt about the C.M.S. schools in Calcutta.³ Furthermore, Duff noted, 'none of the children of Brahmins, nor of any of the higher and wealthier classes' attended the mission schools there; many of these could afford private tutors. Children 'of any of the very lowest classes or outcasts' did not attend either; 'and of the middle classes, it is evident that few or none would attend who could afford the miserable paltry pittance of a fee in one of their own schools' - many of which were supported by the C.S.S. 'Who then would attend? Only the children of very poor natives, along the borders between the inferior grades of the middle and the lowest

(1) L.M.S. MS - Lacroix to L.M.S., 20 May 1830; cf. M.M.S. MS - Hodson to W.M.M.S., 2 Jan. 1832.

(2) A. Duff, India and India Missions, Edinburgh, 1839, 512.

(3) C.M.S. MSS - Reichardt to C.M.S., 9 May 1826; Jetter to C.M.S., 31 Dec. 1823.

castes...Those usually came to the mission-schools who were too poor to pay the veriest trifle in their own. They came, therefore, simply and solely to obtain gratuitously that which they would in preference seek for in their own, if they could afford to pay for it. And having once obtained...the most meagre of acquisitions, the art of writing the alphabet and figures...off they went in quick succession, without ceremony, and without even returning thanks for the boon conferred, and were heard of no more!'¹

There is no reason to doubt the general accuracy of this picture as far as the mission schools in Calcutta in 1830 were concerned, but it is of course not to be taken as a verdict on the total missionary effort for elementary education in Bengal since 1813; as we have seen, there was a significant number of boys of high caste in the schools at Serampore, Chinsura and Burdwan; much more than reading, writing and arithmetic had been taught; many schools had been established in villages where there were no others, or whose pathsalas offered only the most rudimentary education - indeed it can be claimed that at their best they offered a relatively good education to a large and varied number of children. The fact however remains that by the year 1830 the mission schools had declined considerably from the point which they had attained during the latter part of Hastings' administration. The Serampore schools had almost ceased altogether; of the C.M.S. enterprises, their English school at Burdwan had been closed and that at Calcutta was anything but flourishing, and if Deerr had extended the work around Kalna - itself the continuation of earlier L.M.S. efforts there - this was

(1) Duff, India Missions, 514-5; cf. N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, 23 Aug. 1830.

counter-balanced by the contraction of the Burdwan elementary schools. The L.M.S. had moved into Berhampore, which was proving to be an exceptionally difficult area, and had increased their elementary schools in and around Calcutta, but the flourishing circle at Chinsura had been steadily reduced and Government support was about to be cut off altogether. Only the Calcutta Baptists, - one of the less important groups as far as schools were concerned - had registered a net gain in the years 1823-30, with the development of their English teaching.

The general trend of these years had greatly reduced the importance of Serampore, Chinsura and Burdwan, and had increased - relatively at least - that of Calcutta. On balance this reduced the significance of the total missionary effort, because Calcutta was so much better supplied than the mufasil with both vernacular and English schools - apart from the fact that undoubtedly the best mission schools of their kind had been those centred on the three mufasil towns. Finally, it is difficult not to regard the increased stress on Christian religious teaching at the expense of general knowledge as tending further to reduce the value of the schools, especially as the former could under the circumstances only be taught most inadequately. All this helps to explain why, in contrast to the euphoria of the Hastings period, a certain disillusionment with education came to be expressed by several missionaries during the following decade;¹ in fact the missionary education programme was by 1830 badly needing the shot in the arm which Duff proved able to administer.

(1) C.M.S. MSS - Reichardt to C.M.S., 25 Mar.1825; Reichardt's Journal, June 1828; L.M.S. MS - M.Hill to L.M.S., 23 Sep.1830; B.M.S. MS - James Thomas to B.M.S., 27 May 1833.

PART II - THE SCOTS

CHAPTER V

The Origins and Development of the Church of Scotland's mission to Bengal

a. Education and religion in Scotland, c.1780-1840.

Scotland was a much better-educated country than England in the eighteenth century. As elsewhere the Protestant reformers had stressed the importance of education, but to a greater extent than in other countries their intentions had actually been realised: a series of enactments during the seventeenth century provided for the establishment of a school in every parish at its inhabitants' expense, and the teachers were given a house and a salary which was reasonable by the standards of the times.¹ The schools were largely under the control of the Kirk: the prospective teacher was examined by the local presbytery and he had to subscribe to the Westminster Confession.² They did not give merely an elementary education: the abler pupils could learn Latin and mathematics, occasionally even Greek, French and geography,³ and were therefore qualified to proceed direct to a university. In 1827 nearly half the teachers had attended a four-year

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- (1) H.M.Knox, 250 years of Scottish education, 1696-1946, Edinburgh, 1953, 5-6; S.J.Curtis, History of education in Great Britain, 5th ed., London, 1963, 528; cf. Simon, Studies in the history of education, 137.
 - (2) Curtis, op.cit., 525; M.Mackintosh, Education in Scotland yesterday and today, Glasgow, 1962, 28-9.
 - (3) Curtis, op.cit., 513; L.J. Saunders, Scottish democracy 1815-1840: the social and intellectual background, Edinburgh, 1950, 242, 290; G.E. Davie, The democratic intellect, Edinburgh, 1961, 12.

course at a university themselves.¹ Another notable feature of these schools was that they were attended by boys from all social classes within the area which they served, and therefore helped 'to define the worth and duty of the individual in terms that were relatively independent of class and circumstance'.² Although small fees were payable it is generally true that in Scotland education was not denied to 'the lad o' pairts' of humble origin.

In the towns there were the burgh (or grammar) schools, which were not sharply distinguishable from the parish schools but which gave basically the same kind of general education up to a somewhat higher standard. Until the second half of the eighteenth century there was heavy stress on Latin, but as in England a demand arose then from the middle classes for modern and technical subjects also. Some of the schools were quick to introduce these into the curriculum, but in many towns new 'Academies' were opened for the teaching of these subjects which a little later tended to merge with the old burgh schools.³

By about 1800 however the network of parish and burgh schools, even though supplemented by the many private schools which had also sprung up, was failing to meet the challenge posed by a period of exceptionally rapid social change. In the first place the real value of the teachers' salaries had declined appreciably in the previous century, and although an Act of 1803 attempted to rectify this it was not very effective.⁴ More important, in the new industrial areas many children were growing up illiterate owing

(1) Saunders, op.cit., 288.

(2) Ibid., 242.

(3) Curtis, op.cit., 534-6; Knox, op.cit., 13-4, 37-8.

(4) Curtis, op.cit., 529; Saunders, op.cit., 282-7.

to the lack of schools in their neighbourhood and the demand for their labour. It was at this time that the long lead which Scotland had held over England in the provision of educational facilities began to narrow; at least in comparison with the notable achievements of the seventeenth century, the Scottish response to the educational problems of the industrial cities seems rather disappointing. Something was done, however, and again it was the Kirk which gave the lead: the societies founded by Lancaster and Bell did not extend their operations to Scotland, but some Sunday schools were started and still more important were the day-schools founded and supported by individual congregations - the 'Sessional Schools' - of which there were over 100 by 1834.¹

The most famous of the sessional schools was the one superintended by John Wood in Edinburgh, and as it had an important influence on Alexander Duff it deserves particular attention here. Its origins were in the Hogmanay riots of 1812, which revealed to the respectable middle classes the depth of juvenile 'depravity' in the city. A meeting of the local ministers followed, at which one of their number, Dr. John Inglis - later to be the prime mover of the India mission - suggested the establishment of a Sunday school in each parish. This was done, and the boys were set to learn extracts from the Scriptures, the Lord's Prayer and other improving religious literature; but it was then discovered that many of them could not read.² It was

(1) Ibid., 249.

(2) J. Wood, Account of the Edinburgh Sessional School, and other parochial institutions for education established in that city in the year 1812; with strictures on education in general, 2nd ed., Edinburgh, 1829, 20-2.

therefore decided to establish the Edinburgh Sessional School (1813), to which five boys from the area covered by each kirk-session in the city were admitted free, plus ten more from each on the payment of a small fee. Some of the methods of both Lancaster and Bell were adopted in the school.¹ The secretary of the committee which organised all this was Dr. Alexander Brunton, who devoted 'much labour and pains' to the school and, together with another prominent Edinburgh minister, Dr. Andrew Thomson, visited it daily for a while.² Both Brunton and Thomson later took active parts in the management of the India mission.

About 1820 John Wood took charge of the school, and started experimenting with some of the ideas of the more advanced educational thinkers. Whatever the virtues of the Scottish educational system down to this time, teaching methods left much to be desired; rote-learning enforced by corporal punishment seems to have been the basic routine of most schools.³ But under Wood's influence, the committee of the Edinburgh Sessional School tried 'to study the capacity and the inclination of the learner...they have regarded their youngest pupil, not as a machine, or an irrational animal, that must be driven, but as an intellectual being who may be led; endowed, not merely with sensation and memory, but with perception, judgement, conscience, affections, and passions;...strongly averse to application, where its object is unperceived or remote, but, on the other hand, ardently curious, and infinitely delighting in the display of every new attainment

(1) Ibid., 22-4.

(2) Ibid., 21-4.

(3) Saunders, op.cit., 290-1; A.Bain, Education in Stirlingshire from the Reformation to the act of 1872, London, 1965, 243-7.

which he makes. It has, accordingly, been their anxious aim to interest no less than to task, - to make the pupil understand...what he is doing, no less than to exact from him its performance...to speak to him, and by all means to encourage him to speak, in a natural language, which he understands, rather than in irksome technicalities, which the pedant might approve,... and, even where he is incapable of excelling others, still, by noticing with approbation every step, however little, which he makes towards improvement, to delight him with the consciousness of excelling his former self.¹

Wood criticised Sunday school teachers, too many of whom bored their pupils with abstruse theological harangues and neglected to ensure that they really understood the words of the catechism which they learnt by heart.² He stressed the importance of boys achieving sufficient command of their mother-tongue to enable them to write competently and read widely,³ and to this end he required them to explain new words in their own way: he was pleased, for instance, when a boy described an ox as a 'muckle coo' instead of as a ruminant quadruped, as some teachers would have expected.⁴ He acknowledged that Lancaster and Bell had some valuable ideas,⁵ but thought that their system relied too much on rote-learning and that the explanation of what was learnt was inadequate.⁶ Many of the monitorial schools had in his opinion become 'little better than mere pieces of mechanism...in which the mind is but little exerted, and of course little, if at all, improved'.⁷

(1) Wood, op.cit., 2-3.

(2) Ibid., 43-61.

(3) Ibid., 147-51.

(4) Ibid., 180-2.

(5) Ibid., 8, 11.

(6) Ibid., 166-7.

(7) Ibid., 9.

He went on to warn the would-be imitator of his own methods 'if he be not at least equally desirous to catch the spirit, as to imitate the forms,... if he treat his pupils more as mechanical than as intellectual beings, attempting rather to cram into them a certain definite quantity of instruction, than to inspire them with the taste, and furnish them with the power of acquiring knowledge for themselves, - if he content himself with teaching them...to pronounce with formal tone...a mere jargon of sounds,...let him not wonder, if,...it should degenerate into as dull,cold, and lifeless a routine, as is exhibited in any of the most unproductive seminaries around him'.¹ He stressed the importance of the teacher, not merely as the general administrator of the school or even as the purveyor of information, but as one skilled in the actual art of teaching.² On the other hand he also believed that monitors had a most useful part to play, especially in large schools under one master: he even recommended their introduction into the parish schools.³ He also followed Lancaster and Bell in dividing his school into classes in accordance with the boys' proficiency,in stressing the importance of 'emulation', and in recommending moderate punishments and prizes to encourage good work.⁴

The Edinburgh Sessional School was founded to teach boys to read religious literature; under Wood's superintendence the curriculum was extended to include arithmetic, grammar, and geography, and a library was founded

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- (1) Ibid., 10-11.
 - (2) Ibid., 81-4.
 - (3) Ibid., 89-98.
 - (4) Ibid., 104-39.

which was made good use of by the pupils.¹ Wood wrote a series of graduated reading books, of which the third contained 'Instructive Extracts, comprising Religious and Moral Instruction, Natural History, Elementary Science, Accounts of Remarkable Persons, Places, Manners, Arts, and Incidents, with a Selection of Passages from the British Poets.'² He did not use the Bible for English reading lessons but only for religious and ethical teaching.³ Wood proved to be not merely one of the most enlightened but also one of the most influential of contemporary British educationists; his ideas were adopted in some of the parish schools, which thus became 'competitive and argumentative [democracies] whose major value was intellectual efficiency, enjoyed for its own sake or prized for the social prestige it conferred.'⁴ In other words they reinforced the traditional social ethos of the parish schools while greatly increasing their efficiency as educational institutions.

The other great Scottish educationist of this period was David Stow, originally a philanthropic Glasgow businessman. He started a Sunday school in 1816 for the poor children of the city, but like the ministers of Edinburgh soon realised that this was not getting to the roots of the problem and therefore founded some day-schools for children under six. He was more radical in his approach to education than Wood, and probably less immediately influential: he was inspired by Pestalozzi and especially by Samuel Wilderspin, the contemporary English pioneer of infant schools, and stressed

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- (1) Ibid., 29, 243-55.
 - (2) Ibid., 213.
 - (3) Ibid., 221.
 - (4) Saunders, op.cit., 293.

the importance of training and developing the whole personality - the body as well as the mind, the imagination together with the intellect. Singing and physical training were part of the curriculum; the playground was as important for the school as the classroom. He also condemned the use of monitors, and started a programme of systematic teacher-training.¹

But in spite of Wood and Stow, the Sunday schools and the sessional schools, the problems of education for the Scottish urban masses were by no means solved during this period. In 1833-4 it was reckoned that 9.6% of the population was receiving some kind of education, as compared with 9.0% in England and 16% in Prussia.² In any case the tradition of a well-educated people had never applied to the Highlands, where in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries literacy was much below the national average: in 1820 over 70% of the population of the Western Isles and the north-western coastal areas were illiterate.³ The Highlands were of course totally different in culture and social organisation from the Lowlands, and to some extent also in religion: Presbyterianism only penetrated gradually. Many Lowlanders tended to regard the clansmen as a barbaric people sorely in need of the blessings of Anglo-Saxon Protestant civilisation - a basically similar attitude to that of some of their descendants towards Africans or Asians,⁴ and one which was reinforced in the early and mid-eighteenth century by the support which the Stuart pretenders found in the Highlands. All this was

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- (1) Ibid., 295-7; Knox, op.cit., 29-30; Curtis, op.cit., 214-6; A.Morgan, Makers of Scottish education, London, 1929, 178-89; W.Fraser, Nemoir of the life of David Stow, London, 1868.
 - (2) Saunders, op.cit., 249-50.
 - (3) Ibid., 263.
 - (4) J.Prebble, The Highland Clearances, London, 1963, 64.

expressed in the original policy of the Society in Scotland for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which opened schools in the Highlands after 1709 in which English reading and writing and Protestant religious instruction were taught through the medium of English: Gaelic, the mother-tongue of the great majority of the people, was proscribed.¹ Hardly surprisingly, the schools were not very effective.

After about 1760, however, this policy began to change: Edinburgh literati conceived a romantic interest in Celtic culture,² and the S.S.P.C.K. published the Bible and religious tracts in Gaelic, and started teaching the language in their schools.³ Still more determined efforts were made a little later to provide mass vernacular education in the Highlands: in 1811 the Gaelic School Society of Edinburgh was founded to support 'ambulatory schools' on the Welsh pattern, in which children would be taught to read Gaelic.⁴ During the following decade similar societies were founded at Glasgow and Inverness, except that in their schools English was to be taught as well as Gaelic: about the Inverness society it was written 'While

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- (1) Moral statistics of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, compiled from returns received by the Inverness Society for the education of the poor in the Highlands, Inverness, 1826, 14-7; Curtis, op.cit., 531-2; Jones, Charity schools, 177-95.
 - (2) Saunders, op.cit., 263-7; D.Daiches, The paradox of Scottish culture: the eighteenth-century experience, London, 1964, 79-97.
 - (3) Curtis, op.cit., 531; S.S.P.C.K. Report, 1818, 3-5; Jones, Charity Schools, 195-6.
 - (4) Moral statistics, 19; T.Phillips, Wales, 273-4. Curiously enough increased attention was given to vernacular education in the Scottish Highlands just at the time when it was entering a period of neglect in Wales. The Serampore missionaries, those staunch supporters of the cause of vernacular education, noted the work of the Edinburgh Gaelic Schools Society with approval, and offered to collect donations in India for it; vide F.of I., (Monthly), No.II, June 1818.

the reading of the Gaelic scriptures forms its primary object, instruction in English reading, writing, and arithmetic are parts of its system'.¹

By 1821 there were in the Highlands 190 schools belonging to the various Gaelic societies, 171 parish schools, and 134 S.S.P.C.K. schools.²

In 1825 the Church of Scotland appointed a committee to devise a plan 'for increasing the means of Education and of Religious Instruction...particularly in the Highlands and Islands, and in large and populous Cities and Towns';³ significantly, this proposal to send an educational mission to certain parts of Scotland was agreed by the General Assembly in the very same week as it decided to send a basically similar mission to India.⁴ This Committee concentrated its efforts on the Highlands, where 70 schools were opened within three years in which Gaelic and English were taught.⁵ Gaelic textbooks were prepared on lines similar to those written by Andrew Thomson for use in a day-school which he had established in his parish in Edinburgh in 1814; Thomson also played an active part in the arrangements for the Highland schools.⁶ Wood's influence is detectable in the instructions given to the masters of these schools that they should explain what

(1) Moral statistics, 20.

(2) Saunders, op.cit., 264.

(3) The Abridgement of the Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1825, 37, 45.

(4) The Committee's Reports have the same flavour as those of an overseas missionary society: for example, in the same tone as Bengal missionaries used to announce the support of a zamindar for one of their projects, it was reported in 1827 that 'one extensive Roman Catholic proprietor has joined cheerfully in providing a portion of the required accommodations for a school-master'.

(5) Report of the General Assembly's Committee on increasing the means of education and religious instruction in Scotland, 1828, 4.

(6) Education Committee's Report, 1826, 4, 14-5; cf. G.Smith, The life of Alexander Duff, D.D., LL.D., London, 1879, Vol.I, 127 ftn.

they taught clearly,¹ and the Committee's convener, Dr. George Baird, reported with satisfaction that the boys of the Tobermory school 'read English, not only with accuracy and emphasis, but with perfect intelligence of the text, which they proved by giving the meaning in language of their own'.² By this time English was indeed much in demand in the Highlands: like the Welsh and the Bengalis, the people were realising that they would do well to learn the language of their masters, and also that they could improve their position by migrating to the English-speaking parts of the United Kingdom and overseas.³ But in spite of the increased efforts on behalf of education in the Highlands after 1811 it was some time before literacy in that region reached the national average - and the final solution to the problem came about through the decrease of the population and the destruction of its culture as much as by the increase of schools. The Clearances were taking place throughout this period, and in due course much of the area was virtually turned into a desert.⁴

Until at least the beginning of the nineteenth century Scotland's lead over England in higher education was as marked as at the other levels. She had four universities - all founded prior to 1600 - to serve her much smaller population, for which entry was not restricted to the members of any one denomination and which in fact drew students from all classes of the population. Students proceeded to them direct from the parish as well

(1) Education Committee's Report, 1827, 30.

(2) Education Committee's Report, 1828, 33.

(3) Saunders, op.cit., 261; Jones, Charity schools, 197, 211-4.

(4) Prebble, op.cit.,

as from the burgh schools,¹ and as the cost of living for a student was low, youths from poor homes were not excluded - especially as there were a great variety of bursaries for which they could apply.² Boys from the parish schools used to proceed to the universities at the age of 15 or even earlier, and for their benefit elementary classes in Latin, Greek and mathematics were provided. Depending on the teaching ability of the professor these classes could be very stimulating, but this assumption of some of the functions of a secondary school was criticised during the nineteenth century on the grounds that it lowered the academic standard of the university.³ The general course lasted four years, after which students could proceed to specialist training in law, medicine or theology.⁴ The professions in Scotland were thus recruited from a much wider range of the population than in England: it was a society in which the key factor in a man's career was his personal talent and intelligence rather than the accident of birth, although this was not of course totally insignificant.⁵

The general course comprised a comprehensive liberal education in classical and modern subjects, including Latin and Greek, mathematics and science, history and philosophy;⁶ a syllabus which was not only much wider than that of Oxford or Cambridge but which took account of the most advanced thinking on these subjects. During the period roughly corresponding to

(1) Saunders, op.cit., 242, 357; Hans, New trends in education, 18, 22.

(2) Saunders, op.cit., 307, 361-2.

(3) Ibid., 308, 353-4; Davie, op.cit., 4-5, 32-3.

(4) Ibid., 4; Saunders, op.cit., 332-49.

(5) Ibid., 242-3.

(6) Davie, op.cit., passim; A.Morgan, Scottish University studies, London, 1933, 73-5. 'Philosophy' comprised logic, ethics, psychology and metaphysics.

the reign of George III Scotland, and particularly Edinburgh, was the home of a remarkable galaxy of thinkers and scholars, most of whom were associated directly with the universities: David Hume, Dugald Stewart and Thomas Brown; William Robertson and Adam Smith; James Hutton, John Playfair and James Watt were among the most eminent men of the age in the fields of philosophy, history, economics and science. The presence of such scholars, combined with the traditional earnestness with which the Scots went about their education, ensured a degree of intellectual ferment in their universities which contrasted sharply with the easy-going atmosphere of Oxford and Cambridge. This is well illustrated in the memoirs of Henry Cockburn, who went to Edinburgh University in 1793 at the age of 14. At first he had to concentrate his attention on Latin and Greek, and found that the Greek lecturer, Dalzel, was not good as a teacher but was valuable as 'a general exciter of boys' minds'.¹ He then attended lectures on logic by Professor Finlayson, on whom he commented 'Until we heard him, few of us knew that we had minds'.² Then came the Moral Philosophy lectures of Dugald Stewart - 'the great era in the progress of young men's minds',³ and one who 'breathed the love of virtue into whole generations of pupils'.⁴ Finally Cockburn became a member of two student debating societies which were the 'natural results' of such stimulating teaching; philosophy, science and other matters of general interest were freely discussed,⁵ and he believed that this

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- (1) Henry, Lord Cockburn, Memorials of his time, Edinburgh, 1872, 16.
 - (2) Ibid., 18.
 - (3) Ibid., 19.
 - (4) Ibid., 21.
 - (5) Ibid., 23-4.

experience'did me more good than all the rest of my education':¹ enthusiastic praise indeed. As we shall see, there were some interesting parallels between Edinburgh University and the Hindu College, Calcutta, in Derozio's time.

Many teachers used to stimulate their students further in what were known as 'examination hours', when in order to deepen their understanding they would cross-question them on the subject of the lecture, and allow a general discussion and argument to develop in the process.² And these above all were the times in which an integrating principle was sought through which some coherence was given to the various parts of the Scottish universities' syllabus: the students were encouraged to try to think out the relevance of the subjects under discussion to life in general. The ideal was 'a man capable of intelligibly explaining to the world his special or professional interests in the light of first and common principles',³ and for this purpose science and mathematics, history and literature were approached and interpreted through a common basis of philosophy. Professors of mathematics spent much time discussing with their first-year students the nature of a straight line, and how a point can have a position but no magnitude: students were expected to write essays on 'the difference between mathematical reasoning and philosophy', and 'the advantages of astronomy for the mind'.⁴ This kind of thing was increasingly criticised during the nineteenth century by English academics, who accused Scottish

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- (1) Ibid., 66-7.
 - (2) Davie, op.cit., 14-20.
 - (3) Ibid., 16.
 - (4) Ibid., 17-20, 107-10.

students of being at once precocious and superficial, and it is true that the latter had on the whole a much less extensive factual and specialist knowledge of Latin, Greek and mathematics than their English counterparts.¹ Sir William Hamilton likened the Scottish system to crossing a mountain on foot, getting fresh air and exercise and beautiful views in the process, as compared with going to the same destination by train through a tunnel - more quickly and easily indeed, but "' in miasma, darkness and torpidity'"² Scottish civilisation was inspired by the Reformation and the Enlightenment rather than by classical humanism, and valued 'equality of opportunity rather than a refined excellence'.³ But the general tendency in the development of education after about 1840 was the assimilation of Scotland to English patterns; one factor which was important in forcing the Scots to review their inherited system was the poor showing of Scottish students in the I.C.S. examinations after 1853, in which classics were allotted 1500 marks as compared with only 500 each for philosophy and science.⁴

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the Scottish universities used to attract many English students, especially dissenters, and the Scottish educational system as a whole was an inspiration for educational reformers in the relatively backward southern half of Britain.⁵ The most notable individual example of this was University College, London: at least three of those responsible for its foundation - Campbell, Brougham

(1) Ibid., 26-32, 110; Saunders, op.cit., 355-9.

(2) Davie, op.cit., 126.

(3) Saunders, op.cit., 358.

(4) Davie, op.cit., 42-4.

(5) New, Brougham, 198-9, 213; Simon, op.cit., 137; McLachlan, English education under the Test Acts, 31-3.

and the Baptist F.A. Cox - had themselves been educated in Scotland and it was the Scottish universities more than any others which provided the model; an American scholar has recently eulogised it - in somewhat exaggerated terms - as 'an educational New Jerusalem let down from the north'.¹ Of all the Scotsmen who influenced at this period the educational development of England (and also of India), perhaps the most impressive was James Mill, at least as regards his theoretical writing on the subject. His early career is indeed a good example of the educational opportunity uniquely available in Scotland to the 'lad o' pairts' from a poor rural home: born in Angus in 1773, his father was a shoemaker, and James attended the local parish school before proceeding to the Academy in the nearby town of Montrose. From there he went on to Edinburgh University: after completing the general course he studied divinity, and received his licence to preach from Brechin Presbytery in 1798.²

Moving to London in 1802 he eventually joined the circle centred on Jeremy Bentham, and took a leading part in most of the reformist educational schemes of the day, including the B.F.S.S. and University College, London. His Scottish intellectual training is clearly evident throughout the famous article on Education which he contributed to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, in which he discussed the subject in terms of the basic principles of psychology, ethics and politics. He stressed that all men should be given an education consisting of elements of 'useful knowledge', together with the ethical training which was necessary to equip them to use their factual

(1) New, op.cit., 375; cf. Bellot, University College London, 8.
 (2) A.Bain, James Mill, London, 1882, 1-21.

knowledge to benefit themselves and others: he mentioned Bentham's Chrestomathia and Joshua Marshman's Hints relative to native schools (from which he quoted at length) as examples of the kind of thing that was needed.¹ His lack of practical experience as a teacher did not deter him from contributing this article - any more than his lack of personal knowledge of India inhibited him from writing a History of that country. Scottish influences were important also in this work, in which he examined Indian civilisation in the light of Newtonian science, deist religion, laissez-faire economics, and general utility. He found it sadly wanting according to these criteria - which he apparently failed to realise were not necessarily of universal validity.² In 1819 he was appointed as assistant examiner of correspondence at East India House, and from then until his death in 1836 he was an important influence on the educational policy of the Bengal Government. He condemned the G.C.P.I. for what he regarded as its undue patronage of traditional Oriental learning, which he regarded as largely useless and even harmful, and urged it to do everything possible to introduce European literature and science instead.³

Several of the men who worked for English dissenting missionary societies at this period were Scots. They included John Mack and John Leechman, who made a distinguished contribution to Serampore College in its early years. Mack was the son of an Edinburgh solicitor; educated at the

(1) Encyclopaedia Britannica: Supplement, 1824, 'Education'.

(2) D.Forbes, 'James Mill and India', Cambridge Journal, Vol.V, No.1, Oct.1951, 22-31.

(3) Especially in a despatch from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General dated 18 Feb.1824 - S.E.R., I, 92-3.

Edinburgh High School and University, he became a Baptist and proceeded to the Bristol seminary, 'taking with him, perhaps, as much learning as he brought away from it',¹ as J.C. Marshman caustically but no doubt justly remarked. Leechman was a graduate of the University of Glasgow.² The L.M.S. had particularly close Scottish connexions, especially in its early years: David Bogue was the son of a Berwickshire laird, and was educated in the burgh school of Duns and at Edinburgh University.³ He went to England as a young man and joined the Congregational Church: he deserves to be remembered mainly on account of his work in training ministers and missionaries at the Gosport seminary. The first plan for an L.M.S. mission to north India was concocted in 1796 by Bogue in collaboration with a Scottish gentleman named Robert Haldane and some of his friends; it characteristically stressed the importance of education, but was vetoed by the East India Company.⁴ Nathaniel Forsyth, the first L.M.S. missionary who actually reached Bengal, was a Dumfriesshire man and an ex-student of Glasgow University.⁵ He too stressed education,⁶ but he was not a success as a teacher because he had 'mistaken ideas of youthful tastes and capabilities'. He taxed the minds of his pupils 'in some particular branches of study beyond their strength, while in others he failed to give them

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- (1) J.C. Marshman, Carey, Marshman & Ward, II, 243-4; cf. H. Anderson, The Life and Letters of Christopher Anderson, Edinburgh, 1854, 222-3.
 - (2) 12th Serampore College Report, 1832.
 - (3) Morrison, Fathers & founders of the L.M.S., I, 459-62.
 - (4) Ibid., 512-5; A biographical dictionary of eminent Scotsmen, London, 1872, Vol. II - 'Robert Haldane'.
 - (5) C.C.O., Dec. 1833, 589.
 - (6) Supra, Chap. II.

sufficient exercise. He had evidently forgotten his own boyhood, and was not sensible of the difference between the contracted range of a child's mind, and the expansive nature of his own'.¹ These extracts are from an article which appeared in the Calcutta Christian Observer in 1833, and represent in effect a criticism of the traditional type of Scottish dominie by someone influenced by more advanced ideas; one is reminded of John Wood's comments on the methods of Edinburgh Sunday school teachers. But whatever their faults, it is probably only Scottish teachers who in the late eighteenth century could reasonably be criticised for trying to teach their pupils too much.

If Forsyth was not a success, towards the end of this period the L.M.S. recruited a most effective missionary educationist from Scotland - John Campbell. His mother was a Bengali Christian and he was born in India; as a small child his father took him to Tain in the north-east of Scotland, where he attended the Royal Academy before proceeding to the University of Aberdeen.² Subsequently he returned to Tain as a teacher: the Rector of the Academy wrote to the L.M.S. 'From the advantages he has enjoyed in acquiring useful knowledge, and from the practice he has had in communicating it to others, I consider him well qualified for discharging the important duties of a Teacher for all the ordinary and practical branches of education'.³ James Paterson was another useful recruit for the L.M.S. in the years after 1830; he was a student at St. Andrews University, and

(1) C.C.O., December 1833, 595.

(2) L.M.S. MSS - J. Campbell to L.M.S., 1 June 1831; testimonials from W. Ritchie, 24 Aug. 1830; and A. Mackintosh, 2 June 1831.

(3) L.M.S. MS - testimonial from W. Ritchie, 24 Aug. 1830.

he did some teaching in a Sunday school in the town.¹ The contrast between the educational histories of the English and the Scottish missionaries is in fact notable, and helps to illustrate the difference in educational opportunity between the two countries: if Carey, Marshman and Ward had been Scotsmen there is every reason to suppose that they would each have been to a university; we would not be marvelling at the example of men who became Oriental scholars without even the benefit of a regular secondary education. As it was Scotland provided a useful leaven of men with higher education for the English dissenters' missions in Bengal during the early nineteenth century. Other Scotsmen who made a major contribution to education in Bengal at this time in one way or another included William Adam, David Hare, David Drummond, Charles Grant, Holt Mackenzie, and the Marchioness of Loudoun and Hastings.² As for the various other aspects of contemporary Indian history, political, military and administrative, it is not necessary to underline the importance of the Scottish contribution here.

Most of the Scots belonged to the Presbyterian Church of Scotland; there were also small minorities of Roman Catholics and Episcopalians (Anglicans) especially in the north, still smaller groups of Independents, Baptists and Methodists, and some presbyterian splinter groups. The Kirk was characterised during the first half of the eighteenth century by a grim, narrow Calvinism, but during the reign of George III the group known as the Moderates were in the ascendancy. They were the counterparts of the

(1) L.M.S. MSS - Paterson to L.M.S., 28 Apr.1828; Lothian to L.M.S., 10 June 1828.

(2) The grandfather and great-grandfather of T.B. Macaulay were Church of Scotland ministers.

English Latitudinarians: tolerant, humane, theologically liberal, and worldly; they were sympathetic to the intellectual trends of the times and indeed played a considerable part in the Scottish Enlightenment.¹ In themselves however they did not possess 'either the imaginative genius that would provide a focus for a literary revival or the philosophic depth and subtlety to construct an intellectual position that could vie with Calvinism in strength and logic and provide an alternative philosophy of life';² they were therefore vulnerable to the orthodox revival which, in Scotland as elsewhere, followed the French Revolution and was associated with the new Evangelicalism. The quarrel between the two groups increasingly centred on the rights of patronage to livings; the Evangelicals, much more in touch with the mass of the people than the Moderates, insisted that the local congregation should be able to choose its minister, and on this issue the 'Disruption' of the Church of Scotland took place in 1843.

The history of education and religion in Scotland at this period - schools and universities, Moderates and Evangelicals, philosophies and missions - is well illustrated in the career of Thomas Chalmers. Born at Anstruther in 1780, he attended the parish school, where he was brutally treated by the masters.³ He proceeded to St. Andrews University at the age of 11 - early even by contemporary Scottish standards - where he developed

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- (1) Cragg, The Church & the age of reason, 89-91; A.M.Mackenzie, Scotland in modern times, Edinburgh, 1942, 47-8; H.Grey Graham, The social life of Scotland in the eighteenth century, London, 1901, 362-3; Davie, op.cit., 268.
 - (2) Daiches, op.cit., 45.
 - (3) W.Hanna, Memoirs of the life and writings of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D., London, 1849-52, I, 4-6.

particular interests in mathematics, ethics and politics. He reacted against the narrow Calvinism of his father and adopted a still fashionable Moderatism: looking back over that phase in his life he wrote "'our confidence was nearly as entire in the sufficiency of natural theology as in the sufficiency of natural science'".¹ He joined the students' discussion societies² and studied divinity, was ordained to the ministry, and in 1802-3 held a mathematical assistantship at St. Andrews University. But he experienced 'conversion' in 1810 and thereafter emerged as one of the most prominent leaders of the Evangelical party; his 'intellectual and economic interests reappeared, but now supporting the new orientation rather than as ends in themselves'.³

In 1814 he was called to the ministry of St. John's parish in Glasgow, where he established a great reputation with the local bourgeoisie by his efforts to reconcile Evangelical religion with 'the new business and scientific interests of the time and the place'.⁴ He delivered a series of Commercial Discourses, which 'were designed to imbue the life of commercial men with the spirit of the gospel',⁵ and another of Astronomical Discourses, in which he tried to reconcile the grandeur and vastness of the heavens, as recently revealed by astronomers, with the incarnation of Christ in this world 'so narrow in its limits, and for a race so obscure as ours'.⁶ Chalmers also made a serious effort to tackle the social problems around him

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- (1) Ibid., 14-5.
 - (2) Ibid., 21.
 - (3) Saunders, op.cit., 210.
 - (4) Ibid.
 - (5) D.N.B.
 - (6) Hanna, op.cit., II, 87-92.

through an elaborate system of poor-relief administered entirely by the parish.¹ He founded some day-schools primarily for the benefit of the children of the poor, in which he tried also to perpetuate the social tradition of the rural parish schools: he encouraged the well-to-do to send their sons too, and claimed that the education provided "'is so cheap as that the poor may pay, but...so good as that the rich may receive'".²

In 1823 Chalmers returned to St. Andrews to resume an academic career as Professor of Moral Philosophy. He regretted that, as recently taught, the ethics course had been almost swamped by metaphysics, and his own lectures comprised "'first, the moralities which reciprocate between man and man on earth; and, secondly, the moralities which connect earth with heaven'". In the second part he tried to "'demonstrate the existence and the character of a God so far as the light of nature will carry me'", followed by "'the insufficiency of natural religion'"; finally he gave "'a general view'" of Christian evidences and dogma.³ He also gave a course of lectures on Political Economy, based on Adam Smith.⁴ He was a very effective teacher whose 'examination hours' were marked by 'scenes of intellectual animation'-indeed his biographer claimed that 'there was not a latent spark of intellectual enthusiasm in any breast that was not kindled into a glowing flame'.⁵ Among his St. Andrews students was Alexander Duff, through whom Chalmers' influence powerfully affected Christian education in Bengal.

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- (1) Saunders, op.cit., 214-8.
 - (2) Hanna, op.cit., II, 239-40.
 - (3) Ibid., III, 55-7.
 - (4) Ibid., III, 64.
 - (5) Ibid., III, 69.

Chalmers became Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh in 1828 and much of the rest of his career was involved in the controversy leading up to the Disruption, after which he became one of the leaders of the Free Church of Scotland. But perhaps its main interest is that he made a more profound effort than any other contemporary British Evangelical to come to grips with the major intellectual and social challenges of the time - and for that very reason it demonstrates the limitations of Evangelicalism with the greatest clarity. Chalmers was the apotheosis of the old Scotland rather than the prophet of an order more suited to the requirements of a new era. His Christian apologetics were on traditional lines - indeed theology in Scotland, although it was given much more serious attention than in England, was no more ready to face up to the implications of German biblical criticism:¹ there were no theologians among the world-famous Scottish intellectuals of the reign of George III. As for the altogether new problems of a great industrial city, Chalmers' prescription was simply that the parish, led by its minister, should provide on a voluntary basis for the educational needs of its people and should itself relieve the necessities of the deserving poor - a category which in practice was rather narrowly interpreted. There was no question of changing the structure of society: on the contrary, he tried to apply the (idealised) values and methods of a rural parish to the city, and as a result, to quote the perceptive judgement of L.J. Saunders, he 'failed to approach the problems of the age otherwise than obliquely'.² He won the admiration of the bourgeoisie and

(1) Saunders, op.cit., 348; Vidler, op.cit., 169-70.

(2) Saunders, op.cit., 218.

of individual members of the lower classes, but was rejected by the working-class leadership.¹

After his conversion Chalmers became one of the foremost supporters of the idea of the Kirk undertaking overseas missions - a matter in which it had lagged behind the English churches owing to the apathy of the dominant Moderate group. Its most prominent leader during the second half of the eighteenth century was the historian William Robertson, who displayed a sympathetic interest in Indian culture; he did not approve of every aspect of Hinduism but nevertheless thought that Christian missions from the United Kingdom to India would do little good.² The first serious attempt to persuade the Church of Scotland to undertake overseas missions was made in 1796; it was supported by the Evangelical minister Dr. John Erskine and was inspired by the spurt of fresh missionary activity which was then taking place in England. During the debate on the proposal in the General Assembly the characteristic Moderate arguments were expressed by George Hamilton, the minister of Gladsmuir; he said that non-Christians were not necessarily damned, and that it would be best 'to leave our fellow-creatures to the protection of the common Father of mankind, and to such glimmerings as the lights he vouchsafes them by nature afford'. He also thought that 'Men must be polished and refined in their manners, before they can be properly enlightened in religious truths...Philosophy and learning must...take the

(1) Ibid., 221.

(2) Bearce, British attitudes towards India, 24-6.

preference'.¹ The persistence of this idea explains why even the Evangelicals came to agree that the Church of Scotland's missions, when they finally took shape, should emphasise education above all.² Hamilton concluded that there were more than enough calls upon the resources of the Kirk in Scotland itself, ranging from the provision of new roofs for churches in the Orkney Islands to counteracting the spread of French revolutionary ideas, and the proposal was duly defeated.

The Kirk therefore refused officially to sponsor an overseas mission in 1796, but in the same year Scottish missionary enthusiasts founded two societies, based on Glasgow and Edinburgh respectively. These were associated with the L.M.S. and started some work in India (but not in Bengal) during the next thirty years. But the real genesis of the Church of Scotland's mission to Bengal was the sermon preached at the annual meeting of the S.S.P.C.K. on 5 June 1818 by John Inglis - the Edinburgh Moderate minister whom we have already encountered in connexion with the Edinburgh Sessional School. In his sermon Inglis combined the Evangelical insistence that the Gospel should be preached to all peoples with the Moderate view that education was necessary if it was to take root. He thought that non-Christians were 'comparatively unenlightened in respect of human science,

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- (1) Account of the proceedings and debate, in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 27th May 1796; on the overtures from the Provincial Synods of Fife and Moray, respecting the propagation of the Gospel among the heathen, Edinburgh, 1796, 17-23.
 - (2) In contrast to English Evangelicals, for whom education was merely one of several promising means for evangelism.

and all the arts of civilised life'¹ - there is an echo of Charles Grant rather than of Robertson here - and that 'a man of an understanding mind, habituated to thought and reflection, has an advantage over others, for estimating, both the evidence of the Christian doctrine, and its accommodation to human wants and necessities'.² Therefore, he continued, schools are 'calculated to lay a foundation, for the success of all other means which may be employed, for the more universal diffusion of the gospel';³ also in them the essential native teachers and preachers could be trained.

Like High Church Anglicans, Moderate Presbyterians attached great importance to the creation of the 'Christian Establishment' in India as providing a suitable means for the prosecution of a mission. When the Anglican Episcopate was set up in 1813-4 the Church of Scotland - also of course an Established church - was allocated chaplaincies in each of the Presidency cities. The first Calcutta chaplain was the Moderate James Bryce, whose chequered career included rivalry with Bishop Middleton, the editorship of the Tory journal, John Bull, and an appointment as Clerk of the Stationery which evoked the denunciation of J.S. Buckingham (1823). In connexion with missions however he played what might be regarded as a most constructive role: while he believed that Christians were obliged to undertake them, he also stressed that non-Christians were not necessarily damned. He

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- (1) J.Inglis, The grounds of Christian hope in the universal prevalence of the Gospel: a sermon, preached before the Society in Scotland for Promoting Christian Knowledge; 5 June 1818, 12.
 - (2) Ibid., 13.
 - (3) Ibid., 19. Although the Scots emphasised the need for education as a praeparatio evangelica, they did not monopolise this argument: it seemed of equal importance to Bishop Middleton, who stressed it in his letters to the S.P.G. proposing the foundation of Bishop's College (16 Nov.1818).

thought that contemporary Evangelical missionaries underestimated the mercy of God on this question, and remarked pointedly that Christians should not be 'the last to pity, and the first to condemn' them.¹

Nevertheless a concrete proposal for a Church of Scotland mission to Bengal was not put forward until nine years after Bryce's arrival in Calcutta, and five after Inglis' S.S.P.C.K. sermon. It eventually took the form of a memorial to the General Assembly from Bryce on behalf of the kirk-session of St. Andrew's, Calcutta, dated 8 December 1823: after noting the improved prospects for successful mission work, and especially the popularity of the English mission schools, Bryce proposed to establish what he rather confusingly called the 'Scottish College', but which was simply to comprise two or three ministers preaching to 'the better informed natives at this capital in their own language' in St. Andrew's Church.² The Memorial owed much to Ram Mohan Roy, who encouraged Bryce to prepare it and gave it his 'sanction';³ by this time Ram Mohan's friendly association with the English missionaries, especially the Baptists, had come to an end as a result of a long and increasingly bitter controversy with Marshman, concerning the divinity of Christ,⁴ but he sometimes attended services at St. Andrew's,⁵ and the liberality of Bryce's views must have been congenial to him.

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- (1) J. Bryce, Sermons, London, 1818, 403; cf. J. Bryce, A Sketch of native education in India, under the superintendence of the Church of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1839, passim.
 - (2) Bryce, Native education, 284-7.
 - (3) Ibid., 57-8.
 - (4) Potts, British Baptist missionaries, 226ff.
 - (5) Bryce, Native education, 57-8; Collet, Rammohun Roy, 112; Smith, Duff, I, 40.

Bryce's Memorial was duly debated by the General Assembly at Edinburgh on 27 May 1824, where it was warmly supported by Inglis, who evidently saw the occasion as an opportunity to press for the implementation of the suggestion which he had made in his S.S.P.C.K. sermon. The Assembly unanimously accepted his motion to 'approve the general purpose and object' of the Memorial, and to appoint a committee to work out a detailed plan.¹ Inglis became the convener of this committee, and in fact its recommendations were inspired by his sermon more than Bryce's Memorial. It proposed in the first place a 'Central Seminary of Education, with branch schools in the surrounding country, for behoof of the children of the Native population'; the headmaster was to be a minister of the Kirk and would also have a general duty 'to recommend the Gospel of Christ' especially to such Bengalis as had 'already received a liberal education' - a praeparatio evangelica - to whom he should if possible preach in the hall of the school.² Bryce's proposal thus reappeared in a somewhat watered-down form and subordinate to the primary task of establishing a school. These recommendations were debated and accepted by the Assembly on 30 May 1825; it was agreed to ask the East India Company's permission to establish the mission and to make collections for it. The only disagreement was on whether the mission to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland should not be given preference; Chalmers characteristically remarked that both the home and the overseas

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- (1) The Edinburgh Evening Courant, 29 May 1824; J. Bryce, Ten years of the Church of Scotland from 1833 to 1843, Edinburgh, 1850, Vol. I, 238; Abridgement, 1824, 36.
- (2) Bryce, Native education, 289-90.

mission should go forward together.¹

Before the Assembly met again in 1826 Inglis had published a pamphlet setting forth the aims of the Bengal mission in more detail. After dwelling once again on the importance of education as a praeparatio evangelica, and the success of the schools established during the previous decade, he continued 'it is peculiarly gratifying to know that the object of [the Bengalis]' most eager desire is the acquisition of the English language': through English, they 'may find admission to those treasures of knowledge, by which they can be so far advanced in the scale of intellectual improvement, as to be ashamed of their idolatrous rites'² - the first hint of the stress on English which was to prove such an important feature of Duff's school. Inglis confirmed that the Committee planned elementary schools for the masses together with 'Seminaries of Education for a more select number, who may there be qualified to become the future teachers of their countrymen, not only in the arts and sciences of the civilised world, but in the things that belong to their everlasting welfare'.³ All this was basically according to the pattern already established in Bengal especially by the Anglican societies: in writing this pamphlet Inglis relied heavily on Charles Lushington's recently published survey of the achievements of the various missionary and educational societies there.⁴

The main credit for the foundation of the Church of Scotland's mission

(1) Abridgement, 1825, 44; The Edinburgh Advertiser, 31 May 1825.

(2) Bryce, Native education, 297.

(3) Ibid., 299.

(4) C. Lushington, History of the design, and present state, of the religious, benevolent and charitable institutions founded by the British in Calcutta and its vicinity, Calcutta, 1824.

to Bengal should thus be given to Inglis. Apart from his preëminent work on its behalf in several General Assemblies and in the Committee, it was he who had first suggested the main principle of the plan which was eventually accepted.¹ The importance of the Moderate contribution generally - somewhat paradoxical in view of the party's pre-1813 attitude - is obvious; in addition to the characteristic emphasis on education, one may see a reflection of the Moderates' association with the aristocracy and the intelligentsia in Scotland in the concern of Bryce, Inglis and even Duff to make contact with the same kind of people in Bengal. Nevertheless the mission was not the concern of the Moderates only: its success at least on the home front was ensured because the Evangelicals combined with them, as most notably in the Committee whose convener was Inglis but which included prominent Evangelicals such as Andrew Thomson.² The unity of the two parties in the cause of the mission was further demonstrated by the fact that, if the most prominent leaders at home were Moderates, the actual missionaries were Evangelicals; one may therefore see the mission as a joint enterprise which was planned by one party but carried out by the zeal and sense of urgency of the other.

By 1829 the approval of the East India Company had been secured, some money had been raised, and Alexander Duff was ready to go to Bengal. Duff

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- (1) In 1838 Alexander Brunton wrote on the inside front cover of the Minute Book of the General Assembly's Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel that Inglis' 1818 sermon was 'the first germ' of the mission - 'an undertaking of which, I trust that no ungenerous attempt will ever be made to deny that he alone was the Author'.
- (2) cf. D. MacKichan, The missionary ideal in the Scottish churches, London, 1927, 114.

was born at Moulin in the Perthshire Highlands in 1806; his father was a small farmer and a fervent Evangelical. Both father and son were bilingual - speaking Gaelic and English - and Alexander enjoyed the poetry of Dugald Buchanan, the 'Gaelic Bunyan'.¹ He apparently attended three schools before he was fourteen: the master of the first was almost useless as a teacher, but in the third, the Kirkmichael parish school, Duff 'laid the foundation of a well-disciplined culture'.² He then spent a year at Perth grammar school, which had just acquired a new Rector who had enlightened ideas about teaching: his first act was to call the whole school together and publicly cast his predecessor's tawses into the Tay, asking 'why the generous youths entrusted to him should be treated as savages. He at least had confidence in them to this extent, that each would do his duty; and, being the perfect teacher he was, his confidence was justified' - a scene which made a lasting impression on Duff.³ At this school he progressed in Latin and Greek, and read 'Paradise Lost'; thus by the time that he left in 1821 to proceed to St. Andrews University his education and general upbringing had developed as a potent combination of 'The Gaelic Buchanan and the English Milton, the Celtic fire and the Puritan imagination, feeding on Scripture story and classic culture'.⁴

At St. Andrews Duff was greatly impressed by the teaching of Chalmers, and shared in his active concern for Sunday schools in the town and missions

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- (1) Smith, Duff, I, 1-13.
 - (2) Ibid., 14-5.
 - (3) Ibid., 16-7.
 - (4) Ibid., 17.

overseas.¹ Chalmers had been a supporter of the Serampore mission since his conversion,² and in 1827 Joshua Marshman visited him at St. Andrews and preached there; he subsequently met Inglis and the other members of the missions committee in Edinburgh and advised them on how to proceed in India.³ Duff completed both the general and the divinity courses at St. Andrews, and in 1829 decided to go to Bengal: his appointment was agreed by the General Assembly in May of that year. He spent part of his remaining weeks "'inspecting the best conducted schools'",⁴ in Edinburgh, including Wood's Sessional School, and sailed for India in October, arriving at Calcutta on 27 May 1830 after two shipwrecks.

b. 'The General Assembly's Institution', 1830-7.

Duff had not been given detailed instructions in Edinburgh as to his course of action in Bengal, but it was expected that he would found a school, anywhere but in Calcutta, which would give 'higher literary and religious instruction', especially to boys intending to become teachers; and it was thought that such an institution would complement the elementary schools already founded by missionaries.⁵ Duff spent the weeks after his arrival - between the end of May and the beginning of July 1830 - investigating the educational situation in and around Calcutta, meeting many of those concerned with education and visiting schools and colleges,⁶ as a

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- (1) Ibid., 22-32.
 - (2) Hanna, op.cit., I, 316, 335-7.
 - (3) J.C.Marshman, op.cit., II, 333-4; Smith, op.cit., I, 25-6.
 - (4) Ibid., 58; cf. 127; N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, 23 Dec.1830.
 - (5) N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, 23 Aug.1830; cf. A.Duff, India and India Missions, 480.
 - (6) N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, 23 Aug.1830.

result of which he came to the conclusion that the existing mission schools had not made an adequate preparation for the proposed new school for the reasons indicated above - their pupils had obtained only the most rudimentary education and they were used mainly by boys of low caste. He therefore decided to found an English-medium school in which the main emphasis would have to be at first on elementary teaching if a solid foundation was to be laid for the secondary and higher education which was the ultimate aim; and he believed that Calcutta - the focus of the new intellectual life of Bengal - would be by far the most suitable location for such a school. The Scottish missionaries were not strictly speaking pioneers - their basic aim was to bring Christian education to bear on the products of an intellectual ferment which was already well under way by 1830.

Duff recalled in 1839 that 'From the very first...it was our studied endeavour to court the society of those natives belonging to the more wealthy, influential, and learned classes, who had already received a liberal education',¹ and this policy was crucial in securing the immediate popularity and success of his school. He was able to rent a hall until recently used as a place of worship by the Brahma Samaj, and on Monday 12 July 1830 he wrote to 'a native of rank and influence, who had expressed himself favourable to our design; stating, that on the following morning we should attend at the intended school. On Tuesday, at his recommendation, five young men made their appearance. With these chiefly, through an interpreter, we had a long and pleasing colloquy. They went away...highly

(1) IIM, 500; cf. N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, 23 August 1830.

gratified', and encouraged their friends to come to the school also.¹

According to George Smith, who knew Duff personally and whose biography of him was published a year after his death, the 'native of rank and influence' who had given Duff such invaluable assistance was none other than Ram Mohan Roy.² Smith goes on to add that Ram Mohan personally visited the school after it had been opened and removed the apprehensions of the boys on reading the Scriptures, which Duff insisted should be from the first an integral part of the curriculum of the school. When a boy protested that they were likely to become Christians as a result, Ram Mohan assured them that he himself had read the Bible without becoming a Christian, and that they would be allowed to judge for themselves as to its truth.³ Part of this had been corroborated by Khetur Mohan Chatterjee, one of the original five students, whose father was a friend of Ram Mohan's: he wrote (in 1866) that Duff 'formed a project in concert with the Rajah of establishing a school' and that Ram Mohan was instrumental in persuading the five to offer themselves as students.⁴ There is no particular reason to doubt most of this, in spite of the awkward circumstance that Duff mentioned Ram Mohan's name neither in India and India Missions nor in the long letter which he sent to Inglis dated 23 August 1830, in which he gave an account of what he had done since his arrival. The first letter in which he mentioned Ram Mohan by name was in one to Inglis dated 15 November, in which he wrote merely

(1) IIM, 525; cf. N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, 23 August 1830.

(2) G. Smith, Alexander Duff, I, 119-21.

(3) Ibid., 121-2.

(4) M. Carpenter, Last days in England of Rajah Rammohun Roy, Calcutta, 1915, 225-6.

that Ram Mohan, 'of all the Hindoos with which I have had any intercourse, has most cordially approved of combining inseparably a moral and religious, with a literary education - and he, accordingly, has been the most active and help-ful in filling the minds of all, over whom his powerful influence extended, with undoubting confidence in attending the School'. Duff went on, but in even more general terms, to testify to the 'valuable assistance' and the 'useful information' which Ram Mohan had given him.¹ There is nothing in Duff's letters of the second half of 1830, nor in the almost contemporary India and India Missions, which actually contradicts the later accounts of Ram Mohan's assistance in finding a hall for the school and in procuring the first students: so far as they go indeed they are quite consistent, and one need therefore have no serious doubt on these points. There is however a direct contradiction between Smith's story of Ram Mohan's intervention when the Scriptures were first introduced into the school and the account of what is obviously the same event in India and India Missions, in which there is no suggestion that Ram Mohan was present, but rather that the students' fears were calmed by Duff himself.²

In fact it would have been quite in character for Ram Mohan to have acted as Smith said: apart from Duff's letter of 15 November 1830 there is other evidence to confirm that he approved of an education in which Christian ethics at least were combined with secular subjects, and he was dismayed by the radical secularism which was manifesting itself strongly by 1830

(1) N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, 15 Nov. 1830.

(2) IIM, 538-42.

especially among the students of the Hindu College.¹ There is little doubt that he believed that a Christian school run by Duff, who although a missionary had shown him much more understanding and courtesy than had Joshua Marshman a few years before, would have a salutary influence on the rising generation. Moreover although his approval had originally been given to Bryce's scheme for a 'college' of preachers, it is probable that he preferred the plan for a school which the General Assembly adopted under Inglis' urging.² The fact that throughout the 1830s Duff played down the help he had received from Ram Mohan, and did not mention at all his support in the first Scripture class, could be attributed to his reluctance to publicise his early reliance on one whose reputation was at best ambiguous among the pious of the United Kingdom - as a consequence of his earlier controversy with Marshman. Alternatively, it could be that Ram Mohan did not in fact help with the Scripture class, and that George Smith's account of the incident was based on a figment of Duff's imagination. Dr. H.J. Taylor has shown recently that Smith's famous account of the 'miraculous' recovery of Duff's Bible after his shipwreck on Dassen I. was, to say the least, a highly embroidered version of what actually happened;³ and as will be indicated below the same can probably be said of his story of Duff's meeting with William Carey: in short, Duff's Celtic imagination was inclined

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- (1) Collet, Rammohun Roy, 184 and ftn.; 371; J.C. Ghose (ed.), The English works of Raja Rammohun Roy, Calcutta, 1885-7, I, 260. For their part, the young radicals despised Ram Mohan Roy and his friends as opportunists (Ahmed, op.cit., 43).
 - (2) J.K. Majumdar, Raja Rammohun Roy and progressive movements in India, Calcutta, 1941, 263-4.
 - (3) Conference, August 1959; cf. Smith, Duff, I, 76.

to run away with him in old age. All things considered however it seems most probable that Ram Mohan Roy did in fact intervene in the first Scripture class as Smith described, thus guaranteeing at a critical point the success of an institution which he had done so much to establish - in which case Duff's 1839 account of the affair was most seriously and deliberately misleading.

The first five boys appeared on July 13 1830; by the end of that week more than 200 had appeared and many more were clamouring for admission. Duff was therefore in the happy position of being able to select the most promising, and to lay down conditions for their admission. He set his face against two 'vicious practices' which were then common - of flocking to a newly-opened school, receiving some free textbooks, and then departing; and 'of perpetually shifting from school to school, from a spirit of restless curiosity, or unmeaning novelty'. The only boys who were accepted were those who agreed to pay for their textbooks on entry, and whose parents bound themselves on their behalf to respect the rules of the school.¹

Duff explained his motives and aims systematically and at great length in his book India and India Missions: like Charles Grant, he believed that the root of India's problems was Hinduism, which had 'exerted an omnipotency of malignant energy over the intellect and morals of the people'.² He joined issue with the protagonists of political and economic development as the panacea for the country: this, he thought, would be the result

(1) N.L.S. MSS - Duff to Inglis, 23 Aug.1830, 14 Mar.1832; IIM, 527.
 (2) IIM, 44.

rather than the cause of more fundamental improvement.¹ Then he dealt with the argument that India's degradation had been caused by ignorance, for which 'useful scientific knowledge' was supposedly the cure:² to this he replied with the usual reasoning of religious men that, because of the basic depravity of human nature, 'every unsanctified intellect...becomes a tyrant...an engine...for spreading devastation through the empire of truth and order, godliness and sobriety' - as recently exemplified by the French philosophers, whose ideas had resulted in the 'midnight gloom of the Reign of Terror...and, along with Atheism, her legitimate offspring, savage Anarchy'.³ A nationwide educational programme of western learning without religion would indeed soon overthrow Hinduism, but the 'newly awakened spirit' would manifest itself 'in actions and events, from the dim and distant contemplation of which...the mind most gladly retires'.⁴ The conversion of India to Christianity was the only solution which would not create new and even more formidable problems.

Preaching, the translation and circulation of the Scriptures, and above all education were valuable means to this end.⁵ But mere elementary education, and especially that which Duff had seen in the missionary schools around Calcutta, was incapable, he thought, of bringing about the necessary change. What would be the permanent effect of such an education, he asked, on its recipients?⁶ 'Generally,...nothing save the ability to read, write,

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- (1) IIM, 261-4.
 - (2) IIM, 264.
 - (3) IIM, 266-7.
 - (4) IIM, 269.
 - (5) IIM, 285.
 - (6) IIM, 293.

or apply to the cases of petty dealing, the simplest rules of arithmetic. The boy is positively too young to imbibe, and the instruction received too meagre to impart, any vital principle which can keep even the knowledge acquired fresh upon the memory; or can create that inextinguishable curiosity which will not be allayed till the means of gratification are secured. And, if his own mind has not attained to that standard of proficiency which will be of material benefit to himself, how is it possible for any influence to emanate from him that will produce the slightest impression on the surrounding multitudes'.¹ In any case the new ideas which the missionaries tried to inculcate in their pupils were effectively counteracted by the influence of society outside the schools: on returning to their homes they were again 'swallowed up' in 'the dead sea of an abominable heathenism'.²

Duff then proceeded to outline his version of the 'downward filtration' theory: instead of a superficial elementary education for the masses, he had begun by giving a really thorough education to a select minority - youths 'whose minds, from the length and variety of their studies, might be quickened, expanded, and enlightened'; a cadre 'whence shall emanate and diverge the rays of quickening truth'.³ Then there was the question of the medium: Duff rejected Bengali because apart from the discouraging example of the existing missionary vernacular schools he believed that it was not sufficiently developed for use as a medium of higher education, and

(1) IIM, 294.
 (2) IIM, 297-8.
 (3) IIM, 301.

at least in Calcutta, he found that 'the more enlightened part of the population' had a 'far more intense' desire for English.¹ As for Sanskrit, it was inseparably associated with Hinduism - that 'stupendous system of error':² on the other hand, 'in the very act of acquiring English, the mind, in grasping the import of new terms, is perpetually brought in contact with the new ideas, the new truths,...so that, by the time the language has been mastered, the student must be tenfold less the child of Pantheism, idolatry and superstition than before'.³ It is worth noting that Duff did not think it worth his while to acquire a mastery of Bengali during his early years in India: he departed from the usual missionary custom of making a study of the language his primary concern after arrival. His dismissal of Bengali therefore on the grounds that it was inadequate carries little weight, especially as a contrary opinion was held by missionaries such as the Serampore group who had studied and used it constantly. Indeed none of the leading Anglicists, whether missionary or otherwise, were in a position to make authoritative pronouncements on Indian languages - which doubtless helps to explain why they were Anglicists.

An English-medium school catering for boys of respectable families would no doubt also be an effective agency for the training of teachers. Duff noted that, in contrast to Scotland, the teaching profession was poorly paid and little respected in Bengal, and was therefore avoided by the

(1) N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, 23 Aug.1830; IIM, 516.

(2) IIM, 519; cf. A.Duff, New era of the English language and English literature in India; or, an exposition of the late Governor-General of India's last act, Edinburgh, 1837, 32-5.

(3) IIM, 520.

better type of English-educated youth, who preferred to find clerical jobs. But 'that portion of the labour market, where the knowledge of English is indispensable, appears to be nearly stocked: let English schools be multiplied without delay, and must it soon not become overstocked?' Thus English-educated young men would be forced into other fields of employment, including the teaching profession, which would consequently rise in status.¹ In fact, whether or not for lack of better opportunities elsewhere, this trend was already visible: from about 1830 onwards there are many references to English-educated young men, especially ex-students of the Hindu College, working as teachers and even founding schools of their own.²

At first sight it seems a curious paradox that, of all the British missionaries who worked in Bengal during the early nineteenth century, it should have been Alexander Duff, a Gaelic-speaking Highlander, who was the most fervent protagonist not merely of giving English a prominent place in the curriculum but of using it as the medium of instruction; and that it was the Serampore missionaries, with their totally English-speaking background, who were the foremost advocates of the use of the vernacular even in higher education. In fact the paradox is more apparent than real, as in Duff's eyes there was a close parallel between the English-Gaelic and the Bengali-English relationships: both Gaelic and Bengali were all very well, he thought, as media for everyday social intercourse and for

(1) N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, 23 Aug.1830.

(2) The days of John Company, 645, 696-7 (13 June, 19 Dec.1831); Bengal Hurkaru, 3 Sep.1831; G.C.P.I. Report, 1831; cf. R.C. Majumdar, Glimpses of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century, Calcutta, 1960, 28.

elementary education, but neither were adequate for the higher studies for which the boys of the General Assembly's Institution were destined. Duff likened them to the young Highlanders who completed their education in the English-medium universities of Scotland, whence some returned as teachers and preachers, translated English books into Gaelic, and generally - in his opinion - enlightened those 'regions of thickest Popish darkness'.¹ English was the vehicle not merely for modern knowledge in general but also for Protestant Christian culture, and would therefore be as salutary in 'heathen' India as in the still partly Roman Catholic Highlands. The parallel is still closer as one remembers that in Bengal as in the Highlands at that period many young men needed no persuasion to learn English in order to widen their intellectual horizons and to improve their material position; Alexander Duff himself, speaking Gaelic as his mother-tongue but educated mainly in English and Protestant culture, had indeed much in common with his Bengali students.

Duff was not impressed by the standard of the boys whom he admitted into the newly-opened school: their discipline left much to be desired, some could read English words but understood little or nothing of what they read, while others knew no English at all.² Even the most advanced of them

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- (1) A.Duff, A vindication of the Church of Scotland's India missions: being the substance of an address, delivered before the General Assembly of the Church, 24 May 1837, 20-2; I.O.R. - India Military Consultations, 28 Jan.1835, No.180, para.20; A statement respecting a Central Institution or College, in order to the improvement and increased efficiency of school operations, conducted by missionaries of various denominations in Calcutta, Calcutta, 1831, 43-5; Smith, Duff, I, 189.
 - (2) IIM, 529.

'appeared to possess anything but the least spark of intelligence. If, on distinctly pronouncing such a simple sentence as this: "The sun shines": - I said, "What is it that shines?" - the question would be answered by a vacant unintelligent stare. The boys had read; but to attend to the import of what they had read, or exercise the least degree of thought upon it, was a practice to them wholly unknown'. Faced with this situation Duff, who had personally experienced in Scotland the 'dull old mechanical system' as well as the 'intellectual system' by means of which he planned to awaken the mental faculties of his pupils, exercised patience and encouragement. He soon had his reward: 'Scarcely had a week elapsed, when a decided change appeared. Forwardness of manner became respectful;...the meandering tendency of thought seemed more stayed; aimlessness of effort appeared to be directed to a purpose; and passive indolence of mind was roused. It was found, that there might be mental, as well as bodily exercise, and that knowledge and ingenuity might be displayed in devising intelligent answers - and an enlivening joy seemed to succeed the discovery of a power which they had always possessed, without, hitherto, being conscious of the possession'.¹ One of Duff's pupils, Lal Behari Day, has left a vivid account of his teaching methods: 'in our lesson there occurred the word "ox": he took hold of that word, and catechised us on it for about half an hour. He asked us...whether we had seen an ox; how many legs it had; whether it had any hands; whether we had any tails, etc, to the infinite entertainment of us all'.² He did not expect the boys to learn the alphabet by

(1) N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, 23 Dec.1830.

(2) L.B.Day, Recollections of Alexander Duff, D.D., Ll.D., London, 1879,50.

heart, but taught first simple words and the letters of which they were composed - for example 'o' and 'x', and thus the pupils at once learnt something meaningful, the English word for a familiar animal.¹ As in other schools Duff 'did communicate knowledge; but before communicating, he brought out of his pupils whatever knowledge they had by a process of close questioning, subjected that knowledge to the crucible of investigation, and thus purified it, and, last of all, added to its stores'.² Through this system, 'The ideas of the pupils were enlarged; their power of thinking was developed; they were encouraged to observe; they were taught to express their ideas in words; and as learning was made pleasant to them, their affections were drawn towards the acquisition of learning'.³ Duff insisted on boys explaining their ideas in their own words, and therefore gave no dictated notes in case they should simply be learnt by heart and reproduced.⁴ The influence of John Wood is plain in all this: indeed James Charles, the junior Scottish chaplain in Calcutta, reported in 1832 after examining the General Assembly's Institution that the system followed was 'substantially the same' as in the Edinburgh Sessional School.⁵ The

(1) Ibid., 118-9.

(2) Ibid., 120.

(3) Ibid., 122.

(4) Ibid., 124.

(5) N.L.S. MS - Charles to Inglis, 19 Dec.1832; cf. Smith, Duff, I, 127. The Scottish philosopher Thomas Brown also had a formative influence on Duff's ideas on education. Brown told his students that they should not be merely 'the passive receivers' of information, and recommended them to cultivate 'a philosophic spirit!...which is quick to pursue whatever is within the reach of human intellect; but which is not less quick to discern the bounds which limit every human inquiry'. (T.Brown, Lectures on the philosophy of the human mind, Edinburgh, 1820, Vol.I, 14-5.)

excellent understanding of what they had learnt shown by the boys in their public examination attracted very favourable comments in the Calcutta press.¹

Duff thus insisted that all his pupils should be so grounded in English as to be able to use it correctly and easily, and he regarded the teaching of the lower classes as crucial for the success of the school.² Starting with the elements of English in August 1830, the curriculum of the school was extended during the six years following to include history and geography - of India and the world³ - mathematics, astronomy, 'political economy', logic, Bengali and Christian religious teaching.⁴ As early as 1833 boys were writing essays 'On the best means of educating Hindoo females', 'On the need for a Saviour', 'On Gratitude', and 'Contrast between the British and Mahomedan Governments',⁵ and according to one contemporary they revealed 'a manly, unshackled, and independent style of thinking'.⁶ Chalmers' teaching had engaged Duff's interest in economics, and he persuaded Clift, a young Englishman who taught for a time in his school, to compile 'a manual of political economy more elementary than the writings of Adam Smith and

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- (1) N.L.S. MS - Vol.7530, ff.154-5; Calcutta Courier, 4 Oct.1833; The Englishman, 5 Oct.1833; C.C.O., Oct.1832, 257-8.
 - (2) Day, op.cit., 35; A.Duff, Missions the chief end of the Christian Church; also, the qualifications, duties, and trials, of an Indian missionary, Edinburgh, 1839, 70-1.
 - (3) More history and geography of India was taught in Duff's school, for all its emphasis on the English language and European learning, than in the Hindu College. History featured prominently in the latter's curriculum - the history of Greece and Rome, England and Europe, even of Arabs and Turks - but apparently not of India; while the top class took an examination in 1831 which included 106 questions on geography, of which only 13 related to India. (vide I.O.R., Board's Collections, Vol.1170, No. 30639: Persian letter from Bengal, 21 Aug.1829; General letter from Bengal, 30 Aug.1831.)
 - (4) C.C.O., Dec.1836, 659-62.
 - (5) The Englishman, 5 Oct.1833.
 - (6) C.C.O., Nov.1833, 558.

J.R. McCulloch' which, after revision by himself, was used by the boys.¹ Bengali was not altogether neglected, but at least one contemporary, writing in the Calcutta Christian Observer in 1836, thought that the vernaculars did not receive 'a sufficient degree of prominence' in the school.² Sanskrit and Persian were given little emphasis but they were taught, at least by the early 1840s.³ The most notable omission from the curriculum, however, was imaginative literature - in any language:⁴ in this respect there was a striking contrast with the Hindu College, whose students were reading the works of Shakespeare, Pope, Goldsmith, Milton and other writers. Duff was not broad-minded on this subject: in 1837 he erupted in a violent denunciation of the Bengal Government for its choice of literature for the schools under its control - their libraries apparently contained 'Cinderella, Puss in Boots, Jack the Giant-Killer, Tom Thumb, Little Red Riding Hood...trash and trumpery,...[but] comparatively harmless'. Much more serious, however, was the presence of the works of Byron, Hume, Bentham and Fielding, to say nothing of the Koran; India had enough pernicious literature already, Duff thought, in 'the revolting legends' of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.⁵ His views on the type of literature suitable for students were on the whole shared by the other missionaries; in 1853 J.C. Marshman told a select committee of the House of Commons that they had 'an objection to the study of

(1) Smith, Duff, I, 135; N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, 12 Sep. 1832.

(2) C.C.O., Dec. 1836, 659-62.

(3) Day, op.cit., 176.

(4) In general missionary educationists at that time concentrated on training the intellectual and moral to the almost total neglect of the aesthetic faculties of their students.

(5) A.Duff, Speech delivered in Exeter Hall, 3 May 1837, Edinburgh, 1837, 14-5.

Shakespeare and our dramatists';¹ it would seem that religion and science formed the staple diet of Christian schools at that time. In 1834 Duff, W.H. Pearce and C.E. Trevelyan engaged themselves to publish monthly lists of books suitable for use in Indian schools: Duff promised that books 'whether religious, literary, or scientific that are really good, useful, and adapted to the circumstances of Indian youth, will be freely admitted'² but the word 'freely' was meaningless in this context, and the Bengal Hurkaru feared, not without reason, that the plan might amount to a 'negative index'.³

Christian religious teaching was a basic feature of the school from the beginning, and here especially one finds the tension between the two most cherished ideals of the contemporary Scottish scene - Christian commitment and independent thinking. Duff was clear that he wanted his students to turn to Christianity only as the result of a responsible, fully-considered personal decision; but one might doubt whether he provided them with the conditions for reaching this, as everything which could counteract Christian influences, whether of Indian or European provenance, was as far as possible excluded from the curriculum and daily routine of the school; inasmuch as the balance was redressed, it was by the upbringing and the out-of-school associations of the pupils, which would have been powerful at the social and emotional rather than at the intellectual level. In the school, Christianity was not simply one subject to be taught among others; it was

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- (1) P.P. - 6th Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Territories, 1853: J.C. Marshman's evidence.
 - (2) Bengal Hurkaru, 11 June 1834; C.C.O., July 1834, 348-50.
 - (3) Bengal Hurkaru, 11 June 1834.

an influence which permeated its whole life and work. The daily routine started with prayer, and parts of the Bible were read and explained every day in the higher classes;¹ it was confidently expected that contemporary science, which Duff called 'the record and interpretation of God's visible handiworks',² would help to confirm the truth of Christianity and undermine Hinduism; only Christian teachers were employed in the English classes,³ and he adjured a new missionary recruit to the staff to convert 'every fact, every event, every truth, every discovery, into a means, and an occasion of illustrating or corroborating sacred verities'.⁴ A simple illustration of this principle in action was witnessed by Lal Behari Day: Duff was discussing the uses of cows with one of the lower classes, and knowing that the Bengali word was goru, 'he asked whether we knew another Bengali word which was very like it in sound...a sharp classfellow quickly said... guru...The doctor was quite delighted at the boy's discovery, and asked us of what use the guru was, and whether, on the whole, the goru was not more useful than the guru. He then left our class...leaving in our minds seeds of future thought and reflection'.⁵ As Lal Behari subsequently commented, 'There was an interpenetration, or rather a chemical union, of the religious element with the whole system of teaching'.⁶ As in contemporary Scotland, the attempt was made to integrate the curriculum into a coherent whole - but not by philosophy, as was actually the case in the Scottish universities

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- (1) IIM, 542, 550; N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, 23 Dec.1830.
 - (2) Duff, Missions the chief end of the Christian Church, 87.
 - (3) N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, 19 Nov.1831.
 - (4) Missions the chief end of the Christian Church, 86.
 - (5) Day, op.cit., 50-1.
 - (6) Ibid., 125.

but by Evangelical Christianity, as one would expect in a school conducted by a pupil and admirer of Chalmers.

Once their initial qualms had been soothed, some at least of the boys came to accept religious teaching not merely as a necessary evil incident on obtaining a secular education, as was too often the case in the other mission schools, but with positive enthusiasm. W.S. Mackay, who acted as superintendent during Duff's furlough, reported in 1835 that he had recently introduced the New Testament into a class which had demanded it for nearly a month previously. 'Their eagerness to get it was such, that we could not enter the room where they are taught, without being persecuted to give it them'.¹ In December 1836 he wrote that the third class was 'full of life & ardour; they have just entered on the study of the evidences,² & every thing is new & surprising to them; they will accept nothing on our authority alone; & when any new argument is brought forward, half the class begin speaking eagerly at once, some to oppose, some to show that the like may be said of the Hindu Shastras, & some to ask for further information. As we proceed, the objectors drop off, one by one, until at last when they are asked if they have still any thing to urge against it, there is a dead silence'.³ It would seem however that, the support of a few individuals like Ram Mohan Roy notwithstanding, the school and especially its Christian teaching was more popular with the pupils themselves than with the general public: Mackay also wrote that the 'institution is popular,

(1) N.L.S. MS - Mackay to Brunton, 12 June 1835.

(2) Presumably Paley's, on which the top class was examined in 1836.

(3) N.L.S. MS - Mackay to Brunton, 9 Dec. 1836.

in spite of its religious nature, on account of the superior education it affords',¹ and Lal Behari Day's father only allowed his son to enter because he knew that Duff had no intention of converting young children, and he planned to withdraw him before he was old enough to give serious consideration to Christianity.² Duff wrote in 1835 'The boys in the highest class, having almost all been with us since the opening of the School, have acquired such a taste for knowledge, common and sacred, that neither frowns, nor allurements can sever them from us. Taunted and reproached and even persecuted as some of them have been by the more bigoted of their friends... they have yet remained steadfast'.³ Something of the same spirit of rebellion against tradition which a section of that generation of young men had manifested most strikingly at the Hindu College also contributed to the success of Duff's school.

As to the effect of the religious teaching, Duff summed it up when he wrote that 'Almost all the youths in the two senior classes have become thorough unbelievers in Hinduism; and, at the same time, as thorough believers in Christianity, so far as the understanding...is concerned'.⁴ The C.M.S. missionary Deerr met a young Brahmin at Santipur in 1835 who had been educated in Duff's school: he reported that he was sympathetic to Christianity, and 'can no more stoop to worship stocks and stones'.⁵ Mackay

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- (1) N.L.S. MS - Mackay to Brunton, November 1834; cf. Minutes of Board of Management, 29 Aug.1836; Missions the chief end of the Christian Church, (92.
 - (2) Day, op.cit., 46.
 - (3) N.L.S. MS - Duff to Brunton, 12 Feb.1835.
 - (4) The Church of Scotland's mission to India; N.L.S. MSS - Charles to Inglis, 19 Dec.1832; Duff to Inglis, 1 Mar.1833.
 - (5) C.M.S. MS - Deerr's journal, June 1835.

found the older students comparable with 'the nominal mass of Christians at home' - but he added that one student had candidly confessed to him "'when we are with you, when we read the Bible and the books you have given us, or whenever we are alone, and pray to God, we feel all the awful importance of religion; but when we go among our friends, it vanishes quite from our minds'".¹ It seems that only one student was actually baptised during the first seven years of the school's existence - Dwarkanath Bose, in 1837.²

The violence of Duff's denunciations of Hinduism in his published works and in the addresses which he gave in the United Kingdom in 1835-9 was not surpassed by any contemporary missionary: he had the sense nonetheless not to bring this crude technique into the classroom. As he pointed out in India and India Missions, a blunt attack on Hinduism in conjunction with a commendation of Christianity would have been the quickest way to empty his new school;³ instead he - or Ram Mohan Roy - reminded the boys that European scholars were not averse to reading Hindu books, and invited them to study the Christian scriptures with open minds and then to judge for themselves as to their truth. And, he wrote, the idea that the boys themselves 'were to be constituted judges in the matter operated like a charm'.⁴ He also showed tact in avoiding criticism of deep-rooted Hindu social customs; Lal Behari Day noted that in the discussion on cows noted above, Duff 'did not speak before Hindu boys of the use made of the flesh of the cow, but

(1) N.L.S. MS - Mackay to Brunton, 19 Dec.1835.

(2) N.L.S. MS - Mackay to Brunton, 14 Mar.1837.

(3) IIM, 536-7.

(4) IIM, 538-9.

dwelt chiefly on milk, cream, and curds'.¹ The comparative success of the Christian teaching in this school may be ascribed to the missionaries' tactful approach to Hinduism, combined with their respect for the intellectual independence of each individual student and their own skill in presenting Christianity as the fulfilment of modern learning and the highest morality, able to fill the vacuum caused by the discrediting of traditional Hinduism.²

Duff was not satisfied with the elementary textbooks available when he opened his school, so he compiled himself a graded series of three books, each in two parts. The first part consisted of exercises in English spelling, grammar and composition, together with 'all manner of topics...calculated to arrest the attention, excite the curiosity, and summon into vigorous exercise the conceptive and other intellectual faculties'. The second part comprised ethical and religious selections, 'designed to awaken the conscience, and variously to influence and impress the heart'. After going through these three books, Duff claimed that the boys were able 'not only to read with fluency, but to gather up with a considerable degree of intelligence, the drift, scope, and import of any English work, written in a simple, chaste, and classical style';³ they were thereupon introduced to the Bible and to more advanced textbooks on other subjects.

In June 1832 Duff was able to open a second school, on a similar

(1) Day, op.cit., 50.

(2) The denunciations of Hinduism which Duff had made primarily for British consumption were bound to come to the notice of Indians sooner or later however. His friendly relationship with the moderate reformers in fact ended in 1844, when the Tattvabodhini Sabha attacked what they regarded as his distortions of Hinduism in India and India Missions (vide Mohar Ali, op.cit., 22).

(3) IIM, 553-5.

pattern to the one in Calcutta, at Taki about 40 miles east of Calcutta. He did so at the invitation of the brothers Kalinath and Baikantanath Roy Choudhury, friends of Ram Mohan Roy to whom Duff had been introduced on his arrival in Calcutta. This family was, as Duff wrote, 'one of the wealthiest and most ancient' in Bengal, descended from Raja Pratapaditya,¹ and by 1830 among the leaders of reformist Bengali opinion. Kalinath was a member of the Brahma Samaj, and had been excommunicated by the conservative Dharma Samaj for signing the address to Bentinck congratulating him on the abolition of sati.² The youngest brother of the family was a student at Duff's school in Calcutta, and early in 1832 the two eldest brothers, encouraged by Radha Prasad Roy (Ram Mohan's son) invited Duff to visit their house at Taki and to select a site for a school.³ An agreement was reached which stipulated that the Roy Choudhuries should build and maintain three bungalows for the school and its teachers, provide the necessary furniture, pay the full salaries of the teachers of Indian languages and two-thirds of those of the headmaster and of any other British assistant teachers. Duff was to superintend the school and to appoint the headmaster, but the Roy Choudhuries reserved the right to veto the latter.⁴ The Taki school made a good start, but fell into difficulties in 1833, a year of violent storms and fever which decimated the area; there was also more than one change of headmaster.⁵

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- (1) N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, n.d. [1833]; Bengal Hurkaru, 21 June 1830.
 - (2) The days of John Company, (27 June 1831) 647-8; The Enquirer, 15 Mar. 1833; Rammohun Roy: the man and his work - Centenary Publicity Booklet No.1, Calcutta, 1933, 128-9.
 - (3) N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis [1833].
 - (4) N.L.S. MS - Articles of Agreement between K.N.Roy Choudhury, B.N.Roy Choudhury, and A.Duff.
 - (5) N.L.S. MS - Mackay to Brunton, November 1834; C.C.O., July 1834, 366-7.

By August 1836 however it was flourishing, with 130 pupils in its English department in addition to some who read Bengali and a few who read Persian only, totalling over 160.¹ The area contained several families whose members found employment in Government service, and had therefore been keen to learn Persian; but as the use of Persian was curtailed by a series of orders beginning in 1833, students of the language who had formerly despised those who learnt English started demanding English themselves.² Thus, exulted Duff in a characteristic outburst, has the 'language of the Moslem been hurled down...to a lowly basis of comparative decrepitude and dishonour' - not by the deliberate policy of the school, which was ostensibly neutral on the language question, but by a change in Government policy. Duff looked forward to the total abolition of Persian, which would give 'a mighty impulse' to the study of English, and would produce thereby 'a whole race of freed men to become candidates for offices of trust and honour - freed men who would be ready to devote the moral and intellectual activities of regenerated natures to the advancement of their country's weal'.³

Another school was established in 1835 under the superintendence of the mission at Fort Gloster, a cotton factory a few miles up the Hooghly from Calcutta. The Indian employees of the factory offered to defray one-third of the cost, and the Superintendent and the General Assembly of the

(1) N.L.S. MS - Minutes of Board of Management, 29 Aug.1836.

(2) Bengal Hurkaru, 21 June 1833; C.C.O., July 1833, 348-9; July 1834, 369; I.O.R. - India Military Consultations, 28 Jan.1835, No.180, para.22.

(3) C.C.O., July 1833, 348-9.

Church of Scotland agreed to subscribe the same proportion each. 'A fine young man' from the top class of the Calcutta school was sent as teacher,¹ and Mackay reported in March 1836 that the school was doing very well.² Meanwhile the Calcutta school had grown so that by 1837 it was attended by about 700 boys³ - a much larger number than in any other mission school at that time. The same year saw the laying of the foundation-stone of a new, permanent building for it in Cornwallis Square,⁴ the plan for which included not only a library and a laboratory but also a playground.⁵ When Duff returned from his furlough in 1840 he brought with him, among other things, battledore and shuttlecock, and Lal Behari Day wrote that the boys were given an hour's play-time in the middle of the day.⁶ The General Assembly's Institution seems to have been unique in its provision for exercise and recreation at this time: no doubt the influence of David Stow is discernible here. The year 1840-1 also saw the division of the Institution into two departments of the School proper and the College: a decade thus elapsed after Duff's first appearance in Calcutta before he considered that an adequate foundation had been laid for the college of advanced studies which the General Assembly had commissioned him to found.

Duff was ill and exhausted at the end of his first four years in Bengal, and returned to Scotland in July 1834 for a six-year furlough, during which he gave a number of addresses in which he aroused the Church

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- (1) N.L.S. MS - Mackay to Brunton, 12 June 1835.
 - (2) N.L.S. MS - Mackay to Brunton, 2 Mar. 1836.
 - (3) N.L.S. MS - Mackay to Brunton, 9 Sep. 1837.
 - (4) N.L.S. MS - Minutes of Board of Management, 27 June 1837.
 - (5) N.L.S. MS - Minutes of Board of Management, 27 July 1835.
 - (6) Day, op.cit., 115-8.

to fresh activity and enthusiasm for missions. The year 1834 was also marked by the death of Inglis and his replacement as the convener of the missions committee by Dr. Alexander Brunton, who had played the key part in the organisation of the Edinburgh Sessional School. Meanwhile the Calcutta school continued to develop in Duff's absence, thanks largely to the ability of his two colleagues W.S. Mackay and David Ewart. Both of these, like Duff himself, had been students at St. Andrew's;¹ Mackay arrived in Calcutta in October 1831 and Ewart towards the end of 1834. According to Lal Behari Day, these two men complemented each other - Mackay he described as 'an accomplished scholar of high culture, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the literature of Greece and Rome, a graceful writer, and withal the first astronomer in India';² he was able to teach also the principles of engineering and navigation.³ He had 'a singularly quick and far-sighted intellect', and was a good teacher for clever boys, but not for the rest.⁴ Ewart made up for his limitations - he was less talented but patient and good-tempered, and was therefore very well-liked by the boys. He was also invaluable in the practical administration of the school.⁵

Apart from these two the calibre of the locally-recruited teachers improved steadily. At first Duff was very dissatisfied with these, but by the end of 1830 he had selected three Eurasians who seemed more promising

(1) Ibid., 14; N.L.S. MS - Mackay to Brunton, 15 Dec.1834.

(2) Day, op.cit., 112.

(3) Ibid., 227-8; The Calcutta Review Centenary Number, Calcutta, May 1944, (53.

(4) Day, op.cit., 229.

(5) Ibid., 66, 221-3; W.S. Mackay, Sermon preached in the Free Church, Calcutta, the Sunday after the funeral of the Rev.David Ewart, D.D., Calcutta, 1860.

than the others. To them he paid salaries of Rs.30 to 40 per month - much less than they could have got in many other Calcutta schools, as he explained,¹ but of course much more than the other missionary societies were giving to the teachers in their vernacular schools. Duff looked for good character, 'a grammatical acquaintance with English and Bengalee...and an aptitude of mind for the successful communication of knowledge' in his teachers; if they seemed promising, 'no pains were spared in initiating [them] into a proper system'.² Like John Wood, Duff also used monitors.³ At the end of 1834 a special teachers' training class was started, which was open not only to the senior boys of the General Assembly's Institution but to those from other Christian schools in Bengal.⁴ When he returned from his furlough Duff gave further emphasis to this side of the work, and lectured to the students on the ideas of contemporary educational pioneers, including Stow, Fellenberg and Pestalozzi.⁵ As early as 1832 however teachers from other schools were being sent to Duff's 'to receive useful hints',⁶ and in 1835 Mackay reported that the General Committee of Public Instruction had 'sent one of the teachers, whom they have appointed to learn his art in the school: we have also been visited by the Roman Catholic Vicar Apostolic, & 3 of his clergy, for the same purpose'.⁷ By this time

(1) N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, 23 Dec.1830.

(2) Ibid.

(3) N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, 19 Nov.1831; Bengal Hurkaru, 21 June 1833.

(4) N.L.S. MS - 'Memorandum of the subject of Native Education and aid from the Public Treasury to the General Assembly's School', 15 Dec.1834.

(5) Day, op.cit., 123.

(6) N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, 14 Jan.1832.

(7) N.L.S. MS - Mackay to Brunton, 12 June 1835.

too young men from the school were being sent to other institutions as teachers - and not only to Taki and Fort Gloster, which were under the superintendence of the Scottish mission, but to Kishenpur and Fatehpur far outside the boundaries of Bengal proper.¹ Requests for teachers from the school came also from Delhi and Rajshahi,² and from the Anglican chaplain at Barrackpore, who however had to be told that there were 'no more to spare now'.³ It is clear that by 1837 the original intention that the institution should be, among other things, a training college of teachers of English - a fountainhead of Christian and European learning for the whole of India - was well on the way to realisation; the new education was indeed beginning to filter outwards, if not downwards.

When Duff opened his school one-third of the pupils were youths of about 20,⁴ but subsequently he refused to admit anyone over 14.⁵ One notable feature was the absence of the continual complaints about premature leaving which filled the reports of the earlier mission-schools: Mackay wrote in 1834 that the students in the top class had themselves decided to stay on for another year, even though they had been offered good positions as teachers.⁶ During the next year it seemed likely that five of them would leave, so 'on account of their usefulness as teachers [*i.e.* monitors], and with a view to their further improvement,' it was decided to give them

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- (1) C.C.O., Dec.1834, 637; N.L.S.MS - Mackay to Brunton, November 1834.
 - (2) N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, 30 July 1833.
 - (3) N.L.S. MSS - Mackay to Brunton, 12 June 1835; cf. Mackay to Brunton, 10 April 1836.
 - (4) N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, 23 Dec.1830.
 - (5) Alexander's East India Magazine, March 1832, 295.
 - (6) N.L.S. MSS - Mackay to Brunton, November 1834; cf. Duff to Brunton, 12 Feb.1835.

Rs.10 per month to stay.¹ About a quarter of the students were Brahmins.² Duff wrote in 1834 'several of them are the children of wealthy and influential men, a few, the sons of parents in the lowest circumstances, but the majority, are the children of persons, respectable, though not affluent such as shop keepers, sircars, writers in public offices, etc.'³ Several years later, in 1853, he assured a select committee of the House of Lords that low-caste Hindus were not excluded from the school, but that they have 'no desire yet for English knowledge...those of a very low caste or of no caste do not come'.⁴ The intention of Bryce and Inglis that the mission should concern itself especially with the 'respectable natives' was thus fulfilled by Duff.

One factor which contributed to the success of the school was the exceptional degree of harmony which prevailed among all those who had any responsibility for the mission, and which made a contrast to the dissensions which afflicted the Baptists and Anglicans during the same period. The mission was successfully administered in Calcutta by a board which included the missionaries themselves, the chaplains, and a few Scots laymen such as David MacFarlane, Chief Magistrate of the city. One point of friction

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- (1) N.L.S. MS - Minutes of Board of Management, 27 July 1835.
 - (2) N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, 23 Dec.1830.
 - (3) I.O.R. - India Military Consultations, 28 Jan.1835, No.180, para.6; cf. A.Duff, The Church of Scotland's India mission; or a brief exposition of the principles on which that mission has been conducted in Calcutta, being the substance of an address delivered before the General Assembly of the Church, 25 May 1835, 2nd ed., Edinburgh, 1836, 26. The students of the Hindu College were of a similar parentage - vide Sinha, op.cit., 32.
 - (4) P.P. - 2nd Report of Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Government of Indian Territories, 1853 - A.Duff's evidence.

could have been James Bryce, who did not have the happiest of relations with many of his contemporaries in Calcutta and who could have felt aggrieved that the General Assembly had not adopted his own plan for the mission: but in fact both Duff and Mackay found him most cooperative.¹ Relations between Calcutta and Edinburgh were good too - the missionaries (and the board) maintained cordial relations with Inglis and Brunton, and the ever-deepening division between the two parties in the Church of Scotland apparently did not affect the mission at all in this period.

(1) IIM, 496-7; N.L.S. MSS - Duff to Inglis, 28 May 1830; Mackay to Brunton, 10 Apr. 1836.

CHAPTER VI

Scottish and English Missionaries, 1830-7.

a. 'Young Bengal' and the missionaries.

Duff quickly became aware of the importance which the Hindu College had attained in the higher education of Bengal, and one of his main aims was that his own institution should become an effective Christian rival to it.¹ In its early years the Hindu College's position was somewhat precarious, but in 1823 the Government agreed to give it some financial support and thereafter, under the tactful guidance of H.H. Wilson, its standards improved markedly. In 1826 H.L.V. Derozio, then a youth of only seventeen, joined the staff, and as a result of his teaching European culture in general and the Scottish Enlightenment in particular began powerfully to affect the rising generation. Derozio's own teacher had been David Drummond of the Dharamtala Academy, a Scotsman 'well read in the classics, mathematics and metaphysics of his day',² to whom 'the right of private judgement claimed by the fathers of the Reformation...was a very precious thing. He would believe nothing, and accept nothing, unless it could be made as evident and reasonable as a mathematical axiom'.³ He was an admirer of Hume, and impressed the importance of independent thinking

(1) IIM, 522.

(2) T. Edwards, Henry Derozio: the Eurasian poet, teacher, and journalist, Calcutta, 1884, 4.

(3) Ibid., 19.

on his pupils.¹ Derozio taught English literature and history at the Hindu College;² he also gave a course of evening lectures on metaphysics to audiences of about 150; and he established the Academic Association, a discussion society where young men debated philosophy, ethics and religion, and especially the ideas of the Scottish philosophers. Several new societies were soon founded on similar lines³; there was a parallel with those in Edinburgh which Brougham and Cockburn had attended. One may safely assume that Drummond knew about those - he could have participated himself - and through him therefore^{they} could well have been the indirect inspiration for the unprecedented outburst of religio-philosophical debate, centering on his pupil Derozio, which around 1830 revolutionised the intellectual climate of Bengal.

The consequence was the emergence of a new group of impatient young men who were sceptical about all religion and reacted particularly strongly against Hinduism; in general 'Young Bengal' went far beyond the position of the liberal reformers associated with Ram Mohan Roy. The conservative Hindus were of course appalled, and as they were well entrenched on the management committee of the Hindu College they dismissed Derozio in April 1831; he died of cholera in December of the same year. The radical movement did not die with him, but it is hard to exaggerate the importance of the initial inspiration and leadership which he was able to provide, thanks basically to his extraordinary skill as a teacher: indeed few men aged

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- (1) Ibid., 5; cf. Calcutta Journal, 31 Dec. 1819.
 (2) Edwards, Derozio, 30.
 (3) Ibid., 31-2; IIM, 614-7.

between 17 and 22 can have left such a mark on the intellectual development of their country.¹

The missionaries and their friends did not show themselves at their most constructive in their reaction to 'Young Bengal' - one or two of them indeed echoed some of the complaints of Derozio's Hindu opponents. Archdeacon Corrie thought in 1831 that 'The young men are many of them licentious to a degree. The more moral of them are scoffers at all that is good. One very clever youth, after feasting with his friends on beef, etc. threw the bones into a neighbouring Brahmin's compound'.² Thomas Dealtry, soon to succeed Corrie as Archdeacon, fulminated against the 'most insufferable pride' of which he generally found Western-educated Indians guilty.³ Corrie also detected alarming signs of incipient political disaffection: he reported that one of the students of the Hindu College had observed that the Americans, "'on being taxed excessively...had taken upon themselves the governing of themselves, as we shall one day do'".⁴ These attitudes make a strong contrast to the enthusiasm with which Thomason - who had died just as this movement was beginning, in 1829 - had welcomed the establishment of the Hindu College a little over a decade earlier. Hitherto the missionaries had been disposed to welcome any sign of the progress of European learning

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- (1) There is a useful discussion of Derozio's work in A.F.S.Ahmed, Social ideas and social change in Bengal 1818-1835, 40-51. Vide also A.C. Gupta (ed.), Studies in the Bengal Renaissance, Jadavpur, 1958, 16-32.
 - (2) Memoirs of Daniel Corrie, 496.
 - (3) Church Missionary Record, Feb.1833.
 - (4) Corrie's Memoirs, 484-7; Cf. J.Bateman, The life of the Rt. Rev. Daniel Wilson, D.D., London, 1860, Vol.I, 392; Duff, The Church of Scotland's India mission (1835), 29.

but from about 1830 onwards they regarded themselves as fighting on two fronts simultaneously - against 'infidelity' no less than against Hinduism and Islam; and Christian schools were expected to counteract the first, or at least to complement the secular western education given in the Government schools, as well as to prepare the way for conversions from the second. Ripples from the great wave of orthodox Christian counter-attack, which had developed so strongly in Europe in the wake of the French Revolution, thus finally reached even Bengal.

These attitudes were fully shared by Duff, who indeed thought that 'infidelity' 'threatens soon to become a more formidable enemy than Idolatry itself'.¹ Writing to Inglis within a week of Derozio's death, he referred to his 'mischievous influence' which had led the young men to think that all religion was fraudulent. This 'evil adviser...openly declared himself to be an Atheist, and a universal Sceptic...with such a teacher, and Hume, Rousseau, and Tom Paine for textbooks, you need not wonder that the young men became perfectly outrageous in principle and practice: - so pert, so forward, so flippant, so obstreperous, and so disputatious'.² Not the least of the many defects of George Smith's greatly overrated biography of Duff is that he accepted and perpetuated this distorted view of Derozio, whom he dismissed as an 'atheistic and immoral poet'.³ Derozio may have been

(1) Statement respecting a Central Institution or College (1831), 11.

(2) N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, 31 Dec. 1831. By 1853 however Duff's indignation had cooled somewhat, and he was able to give a fairly objective account of Derozio's work to the Select Committee of the House of Lords.

(3) Smith, Duff, I, 144.

conceited - rather like Duff himself, in fact - but everyone except some missionaries and the conservative Hindus agreed that he took a generous and unselfish interest in his students' welfare; that his personal moral conduct was irreproachable; that he was not an atheist; and that he had above all a profound concern for truth and goodness¹ - perhaps more scrupulously so than Alexander Duff, who omitted to add in the letter quoted above the crucial fact that Derozio expounded the views not only of Hume but of Hume's opponents Reid, Dugald Stewart, and Thomas Brown. Duff's reasoning seemed to be: Derozio is not an orthodox Christian, therefore he is tantamount to an atheist, therefore he must be immoral. One of Derozio's students was Mahesh Chandra Ghosh, who was baptised by Duff in 1832; subsequently he wrote an account of the steps of his conversion' in which he used 'terms of unqualified praise of one who instilled atheistical principles into his mind'² - i.e. Derozio - and minimised Duff's efforts, which seemed deplorable to the junior chaplain of St. Andrew's Kirk, but is perhaps a not insignificant clue to the real characters of Derozio and Duff. After a conversation with two of Derozio's students Sir Edward Ryan, the Chief Justice, told Bentinck that he had found in them 'an apparent manliness of character, a strict regard to truth and honesty accompanied with a modest but decided maintenance of their own views & [sic] principles...that I think would have

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- (1) Edwards, Derozio, 32, 35, 66-8, 82-90, 176; Alexander's East India Magazine, June 1831, 704-5; Day, op.cit., 29; I.O.R. - General Letter from Bengal, 30 Aug.1831: H.H.Wilson to G.C.P.I., 31 Jan.1831; The days of John Company, 702-3, 724-5 (29 Dec.1831, 13 Feb.1832); E.W.Madge, Henry Derozio the Eurasian poet and reformer, ed. S.Ray Choudhuri, Calcutta, 1967, 49-50.
- (2) N.L.S. MS - Charles to Inglis, 19 Dec.1832.

induced those who are most sceptical as to improving the moral and intellectual condition of the natives to hesitate before coming to any sweeping conclusion':¹ a valuable testimony to the quality of Derozio's moral influence. Duff was subsequently rebuked in both the Bengal Hurkaru and the Englishman for telling the people of Britain that there was a lack of sound ethical teaching in the Hindu College and that the students therefore became atheists: the Hurkaru pointed out that in fact 'the most pious and moral of British authors are the class books used there', and that it was these which influenced the students' ideas.²

The L.M.S. and Baptist missionaries were less severe than the representatives of the two Established Churches in their comments on 'Young Bengal'—while they regretted their indifference to orthodox Christianity, they gave them more credit for their repudiation of traditional Hinduism.³ A still more sympathetic attitude was manifested by the Samachar Darpan under the editorship of John Clark Marshman, who encouraged all efforts for education and social reform whether made by the young radicals or by the more cautious group around Ram Mohan Roy, and refrained from constant condemnation of their reluctance to embrace orthodox Christianity:⁴ he did not repeat the blunder which his father had made a few years earlier with his attack on Ram Mohan. The Samachar Darpan's obituary notice for Derozio was on the

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- (1) Bentinck MSS - Ryan to Bentinck, 13 June 1831; cf. D.Hare to Ryan, 6 June 1831.
 - (2) Bengal Hurkaru, 16 Dec.1837; cf. The Englishman, 5 Dec.1837.
 - (3) L.M.S. MSS - Pearson to L.M.S., 7 July 1831; Lacroix to Townley, 9 Nov. 1831; Campbell to L.M.S., 29 Sep.1835; Missionary Herald, Nov.1833; B.M.S. Report, 1834, 10.
 - (4) Alexander's East India Magazine, Dec.1830, 51; June 1831, 667; Bengal Hurkaru, 7 June 1830; 11 Dec.1837; cf. Ahmed, op.cit., 81-4.

whole a balanced and judicious appraisal of his career - a refreshing contrast to Duff's prejudiced and misleading outburst on the same occasion. Marshman wrote that "'he laboured to instil into the minds of the youth under his care the true principles of science; and to lead them to think for themselves. The result of his tuition has been that the students brought up under it are vastly superior in acquirements to their fellow-countrymen; that body of enlightened youth form a monument by which he will long be remembered in Calcutta...Thus...has this highly-gifted young man been cut off, in the midst of a career of great usefulness....His abilities were great, and his ideas respecting public interest were generally just.... On some subjects, particularly those of the most solemn importance to man, it was feared that his high talents and the natural impetuosity of youth had hurried him into speculations which more profound inquiry might have corrected. We therefore lament his death more deeply, because from the cause just mentioned, he never accomplished half the real good which might have been hoped for from one so richly endowed'".¹

The Samachar Darpan defended the Hindu College against the attacks of the conservative Hindus,² and gave encouragement to the 'Young Bengal' newspapers Gyanneshan³ and The Enquirer: Krishna Mohan Banerjea, the latter's editor (and not yet a Christian) commented that Marshman's 'Christian feelings which inspire him to look upon man with the eye of a brother can not but take sincere delight at the progressive state of the natives'.⁴ The

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- (1) Quoted in Edwards, Derozio, 177-8.
 - (2) Bengal Hurkaru, 16 Nov.1830, 25 Apr.1831.
 - (3) Ibid., 4 July 1831.
 - (4) The Enquirer, 9 June 1831.

comparatively liberal tone of the Samachar Darpan was no doubt one thing which made J.C. Marshman an object of such suspicion to most contemporary missionaries, some of whom, as Bentinck's friend Colonel James Young observed, 'absolutely hate a man who forsakes idolatry & Suttee & Caste, but stops at theism more than they do a Stock & Stone worshipper!'¹

Apart from Marshman the only person connected with missions who made a sympathetic approach to the Hindu College students in Derozio's time was Bishop Turner. Of the first five bishops of Calcutta he seems to have had the deepest interest in education and, had he lived, would no doubt have made an important contribution in this field.² Early in 1830 he visited the various schools and colleges in Calcutta, and was 'greatly surprised and delighted with what he saw'. He evidently won the confidence of some of the Hindu College students, who subsequently visited him 'and testified the strongest disposition to cultivate the most cordial communication with him. He had purchased...various astronomical and mathematical instruments, [to help] them in the prosecution of their studies in the higher branches of these sciences, and he was in hopes that the minds of the native youth, who might thus by degrees, collect themselves around him, would, in the progress of these pursuits, be led to look through nature, up to nature's God'.³

Nevertheless Corrie was hardly exaggerating when he wrote with reference to 'Young Bengal' - 'No Missionary is in any way connected with this

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- (1) Bentinck MS - Young to Bentinck, 20 Apr.1834; cf. Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1859, 118.
 - (2) Alexander's E.I. Magazine, March 1832, 258-69; Bentinck MS - Turner to Bentinck, 16 Jan.1831; Church Missionary Record, May 1832, 93-9.
 - (3) Alexander's E.I. Magazine, March 1832, 265; cf. C.M.R., March 1832, 46; Bengal Hurkaru, 9 Feb., 8 May 1830.

movement, nor consulted in it, nor is likely to be'.¹ Indeed, with the exceptions of the Bishop and the Serampore group the missionaries of the period lacked the intellectual equipment necessary for a real encounter with it; and for their part the young men had little respect for missionaries.² But Duff's arrival in Calcutta at this juncture seemed providential, not least to himself, and the representative of early nineteenth-century Evangelical Scotland hastened to repair the damage wrought by the pupil of late eighteenth-century agnostic Scotland - both of them, characteristically, using philosophy as their means. In August 1830, in conjunction with Dealtry and the L.M.S. missionary James Hill, he announced a course of public lectures on Natural and Revealed Religion; the first was attended by some of the Hindu College students, but it resulted in an outcry by the conservative Hindus and the College management thereupon forbade the students to go to lectures outside its gates³ - a ban which enabled the missionaries to appear, somewhat fraudulently, as protagonists of religious toleration and which of course had the effect on the minds of the students of making Christianity seem more interesting. Anyway Duff tried again in 1831, with much more success: at first the young men wanted to interrupt him at every point, but he eventually brought them to agree to the following rules:-

'1st. Any person will be allowed to object to Mr. D's principles when he refers the objection to a standard intelligible to the auditors, or to

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- (1) C.M.S. MS - Corrie to C.M.S., 8 June 1831.
 - (2) Duff, The Church of Scotland's India Mission (1835), 20; cf. N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, 7 July 1832.
 - (3) IIM, 609-11; Edwards, Derozio, 70; N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, 15 Oct. 1830; Alexander's E.I. Magazine, March 1831, 385.

common sense, & experience...

2nd. After the lecturer has finished...if any person be desirous of stating...the subject otherwise he shall be allowed to do so...

3rd. Any objection left unanswered in the opinion of a member or members shall be recorded & brought before the lecturer for discussion, & if the discussion should not be brought to a conclusion, it shall be referred to a General Meeting...¹

All this represents a transplantation of Scottish intellectual democracy to the congenial soil of Bengal, with its sanctioning of arguments between teacher and students, the adoption of 'common sense and experience' as the basic standard of reference for all, and the acceptance of the general opinion of the meeting (or the class) as the final court of appeal.² It is easy to see why this procedure should appeal to 'Young Bengal', and it reminds us again of the paradox of Duff - a man of strong prejudices even by contemporary missionary standards, who was capable in his speeches and writings of seriously distorting facts to suit his personal vision of the essential truth - and yet who could argue rationally with students and above all treat them as his equals in the process. At any rate he was a characteristic representative of contemporary Scotland, where dogmatic theology and speculative philosophy flourished together in a socio-intellectual atmosphere where the only thing which really counted was individual ability.

His Christian apologetics were not^{un}successful in convincing many young men that Christianity was at least worthy of serious consideration, and in

(1) N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, 31 Dec.1831.
 (2) Davie, op.cit., 14-5.

1832 he baptised two former students of the Hindu College, Krishna Mohan Banerjea and Mahesh Chandra Ghosh.

b. Missionaries, Government, and Language.

The policy of the Bengal Government between 1823 and 1835 was to concentrate its resources on higher education through the medium of the Oriental classical languages, and, increasingly, through English also; then on 7 March 1835 Bentinck's government decided that public funds should be devoted to European learning through the medium of English only. The one influential figure who took the vernaculars seriously at this period seems to have been James Mill, at East India House in London. In the despatch of 1824 in which he criticised the G.C.P.I.'s Orientalist policy on the grounds that traditional Oriental learning contained little 'useful knowledge', he admitted that 'in teaching useful learning...Hindoo media or Mahomedan media ... would have been proper to be employed'.¹ He was more specific in a despatch of 1830: while approving the G.C.P.I.'s growing enthusiasm for English as a medium for conveying modern European learning, he continued 'we must...put you on your guard against a disposition...to underrate the importance of what may be done to spread useful knowledge among the natives through the medium of...their own language' - i.e. the vernaculars.² In 1832 he pointed out to the select committee of the House of Commons that the vast majority of the people 'are rarely excited to a wish' to learn English, and that

(1) S.E.R., I, 92.

(2) I.O.R. - Board's Collections, Vol.1386, No.55228: Public Letter to Bengal, 29 Sep.1830.

European learning could best be disseminated by translating English books into the vernaculars.¹ Many influences no doubt helped to shape Mill's attitude, of which one was certainly that staunch vernacularist Joshua Marshman. We have already noticed how Mill went out of his way to praise Hints relative to native schools in his Encyclopaedia Britannica article; and Marshman called on Mill while he was in England in 1827 and discussed 'all kinds of Indian questions, and more especially those which referred to the progress of knowledge and religion, and was delighted with his broad and enlightened views'.² In 1836 John Stuart Mill drafted a despatch (which was never sent) condemning Bentinck's Resolution of the previous year in which, in words very reminiscent of Marshman's downright statements on the subject, he declared that it was 'altogether chimerical to expect that the main portion of the mental cultivation of a people can ever take place through the medium of a foreign language...It is through the vernacular languages only that instruction can be diffused among the people'.³

The two Mills were voices crying in a wilderness at this period however; the enthusiasm for Oriental media and learning was certainly on the wane as far as the Bengal Government was concerned, but it was English and not the

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- (1) P.P. - Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1832: Vol.9, Minutes of Evidence - I: Public or Miscellaneous.
 - (2) J.C. Marshman, Carey, Marshman & Ward, II, 362.
 - (3) I.O.R. - Home Miscellaneous Series, Vol.723, 49-55; cf. supra, Chap.II; K.A. Ballhatchet, 'The Home Government and Bentinck's Educational Policy', Cambridge Historical Journal, X, 1951, 226. J.S.Mill's criticisms of the Anglicist policy are also similar to those expressed in 1835-6 in the Friend of India, edited by J.C. Marshman, which he would almost certainly have read.

vernaculars which supplanted them. According to Krishna Mohan Banerjea even H.H. Wilson, best known as a leader of the Orientalists, took a greater interest in the Hindu College than the Sanskrit College, and it was he who brought Sir Edward Ryan and Bentinck to see it shortly after their arrival in Calcutta.¹ Bentinck had been predisposed by the Utilitarian and Evangelical influences which moulded his opinions² in favour of European and against Oriental learning; he also wished to open a much greater selection of Government posts to Indians, for whom a knowledge of English would be virtually essential; and it is not surprising therefore to find him going on record in 1829 as 'decidedly favourable to the policy of disseminating our language, science, and literature throughout India'. He also announced that 'it is the wish and admitted policy of the British Government to render its own language, gradually and eventually, the medium of transacting the public business throughout the Country'.³ Two factors gave him great encouragement in pursuing this end: one was the practical success of the existing English-medium institutions, especially the Hindu College and Duff's school; the other was the advice of persuasive and self-confident Anglicists such as C.E. Trevelyan and (in 1834-5) Macaulay.

Bentinck was one of the people whom Duff called upon in the weeks

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- (1) K.M. Banerjea, The proper place of Oriental literature in Indian collegiate education, Calcutta, 1868, 5.
 - (2) G.D. Bearce, 'Lord William Bentinck; the Application of Liberalism to India', Journal of Modern History, Vol.XXVIII, Sep.1956, 234-7; C.Barrett, Lord William Bentinck in Bengal - Unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1954, 13; Potts, British Baptist missionaries, 153; Stock, C.M.S., I, 293.
 - (3) I.O.R. - Board's Collections, Vol.1170, No.30639, Persian Letter from Bengal, 21 Aug.1829.

following his arrival in Calcutta - to be told 'if there be anything in my power that can promote your views,...I shall be most happy to do it'.¹ In 1833 he had another interview in which Bentinck expressed his interest in the school and 'heartily approved of...giving a higher Education to a select few in preference to...a common education to the many'. He also approved of Duff's use of English as a medium, and of Christian teaching in schools under the auspices of missionary societies. He even gave Duff the impression that, at some time in the future, such schools might receive aid from the Government.² Encouraged by this the school board made an application to the Government for a monthly grant, which was presented to Bentinck by the chaplain James Charles. According to Charles the former agreed that the school was the best in Bengal, but doubted whether a Government grant could be given just then to an institution in which Christian teaching occupied such a prominent place,³ and shortly afterwards the application was rejected, ostensibly on the grounds that the available funds had 'already been appropriated'.⁴ After his departure from Bengal in 1835 Bentinck sent a personal donation of £50 to the school⁵ - and also to Serampore College⁶ - and wrote to Alexander Brunton in Edinburgh praising it highly.⁷ Brunton wrote early in the following year to Bentinck, by then in Paris, asking him to endorse an application to the East India Company for aid, but Bentinck replied that

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- (1) N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, 23 Aug.1830.
 - (2) N.L.S. MS - Duff to Inglis, 1 Mar.1833.
 - (3) N.L.S. MS - Charles to Brunton, 12 Dec.1834.
 - (4) N.L.S. MS - Minutes of Board of Management, 12 Jan.1835; I.O.R. - India Public Consultations, 22 Dec.1834, Nos. 44, 44a, 45; 10 Feb.1835, Nos. (30-32).
 - (5) N.L.S. MS - Charles to Brunton, 15 Sep.1835.
 - (6) J.C. Marshman, Carey, Marshman & Ward, II, 494.
 - (7) N.L.S. MS - Bentinck to Brunton, 11 Sep.1835.

'the principle of religious interference which it invokes' would probably ensure its failure,¹ and the Court of Directors told Brunton that they would do nothing unless it was 'strongly recommended' by the Bengal Government.² It was evidently premature to expect Government aid for an institution whose ultimate purpose, unlike that of the Chinsura schools, was avowedly the overthrow of Hinduism, and the General Assembly's Institution had to rest content with a personal visit by Lord Auckland in January 1837, when he inspected it 'with the greatest interest and delight' and said that it was 'superior to all the Government Schools & is the best School in Calcutta'.³ This was the first visit by a Governor-General in person, though in 1834 Lady Bentinck had attended an examination accompanied by Miss Hannah More Macaulay, the great man's sister - soon to become Mrs. C.E. Trevelyan; both of these ladies were much gratified by what they saw.⁴

Trevelyan himself, who became a friend of Duff and like him indulged in visions of English education leading eventually to the conversion of India,⁵ wrote that the example of Duff's school was indirectly one of the causes of the change in Government policy embodied in Bentinck's Resolution of March 1835.⁶ Trevelyan was a member of the G.C.P.I. and was deeply involved, on the Anglicist side, in the whole controversy, and this would seem to be a reasonable assessment of Duff's contribution - provided that one does not forget the Hindu College, that other example in Calcutta of a successful

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- (1) N.L.S. MS - Bentinck to Brunton, 4 Apr.1836.
 - (2) N.L.S. MS - East India Company to Brunton, 6 Oct.1836.
 - (3) N.L.S. MS - Charles to Brunton, 23 Feb.1837.
 - (4) N.L.S. MS - Mackay to Brunton, November 1834.
 - (5) Bentinck MS - Trevelyan to Bentinck, 9 Apr.1834.
 - (6) Smith, Duff, I, 196.

English school. Apart from that, specific examples of the influence of Duff upon Government educational institutions include those teachers, mentioned above, who were educated in his Calcutta school prior to taking posts in Government schools. In 1833 the Delhi Committee of Education asked for a copy of the course followed in Duff's school,¹ and in 1835 the reconstituted G.C.P.I. requested a detailed account of its methods, to consider whether they should be introduced into all the Government schools.² Duff also made an important contribution to the decision to establish a new English-medium Medical College in 1835: he gave answers favourable to the project in a questionnaire which the Government Committee on the matter had sent out,³ whose members he also invited to visit his school. There they spoke to the senior boys, including some Brahmins, who assured them that they were willing to study European medical science and that they would readily disregard the traditional ban on the dissection of human bodies, which greatly impressed the Committee.⁴

As one might expect, Duff warmly welcomed Bentinck's Resolution of 1835, at least as far as its linguistic provisions were concerned;⁵ indeed the only missionaries who voiced serious reservations were the Serampore group - not because they objected to Government support being given to European learning through English rather than Oriental learning but because they

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- (1) N.L.S. MS - G.C.P.I. to Duff, 29 July 1833.
 - (2) N.L.S. MS - Mackay to Brunton, 19 Dec. 1835.
 - (3) I.O.R. - India Military Consultations, 28 Jan. 1835, Nos. 178-86; N.L.S. MS - Duff to Brunton, 11 July 1835; cf. C.E. Trevelyan, On the education of the people of India, London, 1838, 29.
 - (4) Smith, Duff, I, 214-6; cf. N.L.S. MS - Bryce to Duff, 13 Feb. 1835.
 - (5) Duff, New era of the English language (1837); Speech delivered in Exeter Hall (1837), 14.

feared that vernacular education would be neglected. The Friend of India, whose chief editor was J.C. Marshman, urged the Government not to 'stop short with the diffusion of English knowledge and literature among the upper ranks; but to combine with it a widely extended and judicious plan of Education for the People in the Language of the People'.¹ It was sceptical about the 'downward filtration' theory, expressing strong doubts as to the ability and inclination of English-educated youth to diffuse English learning throughout society.² These fears proved largely justified: the Government paid lip-service to the importance of vernacular education but refused to act on William Adam's plan to improve the indigenous schools (1838)³ - a plan which the Friend of India (but not Duff) commended warmly but in vain.⁴ Apart from a rather feeble attempt under Lord Hardinge no serious attention was given to the subject until 1854: as Dr. T.G.P. Spear has commented, 'The sieve through which Western ideas were to percolate had no vernacular holes in it'.⁵

As for the Oriental classical languages, the Friend of India called for 'A moderate share of encouragement' by the Government, especially for Sanskrit: 'We must see that a foolish partiality is not succeeded by a blind

(1) F.of I, 21 May 1835.

(2) Ibid., 2 June 1836.

(3) P.Hartog, Some aspects of Indian education, London, 1939, 90.

(4) F.of I, 24 May, 31 May, 7 June, 28 June 1838. For Duff's views vide 'The State of Indigenous Education in Bengal and Behar', C.R., Vol.II, No.4, 1844.

(5) T.G.P.Spear, 'Bentinck and Education', Cambridge Historical Journal, Vol. VI, 1938, 98; cf. J.C.Marshman, Carey, Marshman & Ward, II, 491; Boman-Behram, op.cit., 350-2; J.Ghosh, op.cit., 106-7; I.Sahai, 'The Educational Reform of Lord William Bentinck', Journal of Indian History, Vol.15, 1936, 251-2.

hatred'.¹ The paper supported the Asiatic Society's request for Government aid for its publication and translation of Oriental literature, and when the Government refused, saying that it would itself continue to exercise responsibility for Oriental learning and at the same time referring to it as 'waste paper', the Friend of India asked indignantly 'Is not this more than Gothic barbarism?' It pointed out that, even if it was not as valuable as Western learning for educational purposes, it contained essential material for historians and should also be cultivated for the development of the vernaculars.² Duff was not opposed to some patronage by Government for Oriental classical literature³, but his vision - shared by Trevelyan - of an India in which cultural Anglicisation would lay an essential foundation for the spread of Christianity, contrasted fundamentally with that of the Serampore group as expressed in a striking passage in their paper in 1836: they looked forward to the gradual dissolution of the connexion between Sanskrit and Hinduism, in which the language and literature would live on but the religion would die, as had happened in the case of Greece and Rome. Their vision was of a land, Christian but still essentially Indian, when 'the oriental classics shall be cultivated in subservience to divine revelation, and when the splendid imagery of the great national poets shall be employed to elucidate and adorn Christian truth'.⁴ This distinctive attitude is noteworthy especially in view of the tendency of historians to assume that Duff was speaking for all the missionaries in his support for

(1) F.of I., 26 Feb.1835.

(2) Ibid., 25 June, 9 July 1835; cf. 10 Dec.1835.

(3) Duff, New era of the English language (1837), 29-31.

(4) F.of I., 16 June 1836.

Bentinck's Anglicist policy.¹ But the sharpest clash between the Friend of India and the Anglicists was over the 'Roman letter scheme' - a plan to substitute the Roman in place of the Indian scripts whose leading advocates were Duff, Trevelyan and the Calcutta Baptists,² and which was condemned by the paper as 'utterly preposterous'.³

The only thing which Duff regretted about the post-1835 situation was that the Government schools were entirely secular, excluding Christian (or indeed any) religious instruction.⁴ The missionaries were in a dilemma - they all agreed that ideally a good education was inseparable from a Christian education, but the Friend of India at least was certain that Christianity could not rightly be taught in Government schools: it condemned any plan for 'the religion of the people...to be assailed and overthrown at their expense, but against their will'. This article (written by Mack or Leechman) suggested that a course of teaching 'based upon Natural instead of Revealed Religion' - in practice amounting to Christian ethics without dogma - was the most that should be attempted.⁵ In 1832 the Serampore missionaries had invoked the same principle in disassociating themselves from a petition sent to the House of Commons by the missionaries in Calcutta asking the East India Company to devote a lakh of rupees to Christian education in India, to be administered through a board comprising Government and missionary

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- (1) cf. Barrett, thes.cit., 75; Boman-Behram, op.cit., 255-7; Mohar Ali, op.cit., 57-8; Calcutta Review Centenary Number, 93-5.
 - (2) C.C.O., Apr.1834, 183-92; Dec.1834, 626-31; Smith, Duff, I, 219-24.
 - (3) F.of I., 24 Nov.1836.
 - (4) Duff, New era of the English language (1837), 40; Speech delivered in Exeter Hall (1837), 14; cf. I.O.R. - India Public Consultations, 10 Feb. (1835, No.30).
 - (5) F.of I., 28 Apr., 12 May 1836.

members.¹ The controversy over Christian teaching in Government schools and Government aid to Christian schools belongs mainly to the years after 1837 however, and is therefore beyond the scope of this thesis; here one might simply note that the fact that these matters could be seriously canvassed showed that the situation had changed considerably in the two decades since the East India Company had so reluctantly agreed to allow missionaries to function in India.

c. English missionaries' schools, 1830-7.

The example of Duff's school was important for the development of the educational policy of the other missionary societies, particularly in confirming the tendency to give more emphasis to English schools which was already visible when he arrived in Calcutta. This was especially true of the C.M.S., which was managed locally during the early and mid-thirties by a strong committee that included a number of laymen who subsequently had distinguished careers in Indian Government service, such as W.W. Bird, R.D. Mangles, and C.E. Trevelyan. These three were also Anglicist members of the G.C.P.I., Mangles being appointed in 1835 and Bird and Trevelyan earlier - a fact which shows that Government and missionary Anglicists not merely worked closely together but were in some cases actually identical.

Mangles produced a long Minute dated 16 June 1834 in which he wrote that the C.M.S. vernacular schools had produced very inadequate results for the

(1) Petition to the House of Commons of the Protestant missionaries of various denominations, stationed within the limits of the Presidency of Fort William, Bengal, in the East Indies; John Bull, 14 Dec. 1832.

time and money spent on them: 'It is no doubt true that in some instances the moral instruction inculcated by the Scriptural lessons which our boys read, produces a beneficial effect upon their conduct in after life, but a vast quantity of the seed sown at so much labour and expense must be altogether thrown away'. He went on to suggest that instead 'The grand object should be to educate to the highest attainable pitch the Native Christian youths at our disposal', of whom all those who showed any desire and aptitude for the ordained ministry should proceed for training to a new seminary to be established by the C.M.S. in Calcutta. He reiterated the familiar views of Carey and Duff that only a suitably-trained Indian clergy would be able to evangelise India effectively, and he hoped that the lectures to be given on 'Natural Theology, Moral Philosophy, and kindred subjects' might attract the attendance of non-Christian youths also. He argued that the C.M.S. would achieve better results if it concentrated its efforts - some of the out-stations which had been established from Burdwan, for example, should be closed and the money thus saved could be used to found the Calcutta seminary. In contrast to Duff however he thought that orphan and out-caste boys would make particularly suitable students for this institution.¹

Trevelyan wanted the C.M.S. to follow Duff's policy even more closely than did Mangles. He agreed with the latter's low estimate of the vernacular schools and advised that some of them be given up, but his main interest was that 'one good English School should be established at every Missionary Station'; if they were given 'the best teachers, the best books and the

(1) C.M.S. MS - Minute by R.D. Mangles, 16 June 1834.

best systems of instruction, we should cause their superiority over all others, not excepting those maintained by Government, to be acknowledged by the whole Country and we should aim at nothing short of placing the instruction of the rising generation of this great Country either under the direct or indirect influence and superintendence of the Servants of God'. Rather than establish a new seminary in Calcutta he thought that the scope of the existing Mirzapur school should be expanded so as to include the training of Indian clergy.¹ Dealtry agreed that there should be one good school at every station '(something after ye. manner of Mr. Duff's) rather than a number of inefficient Bengalee schools', but he disliked the idea of a separate C.M.S. theological seminary: he thought that Bishop's College met the need for the training of clergy.² Corrie thought that the vernacular schools did have some value, in spite of the fact that only one of all their former pupils had been converted; he recommended that these schools should henceforth be supported by local committees and that the C.M.S. should itself support only a good English school at each station.³

In October 1834 the Committee agreed to write to London proposing that their efforts should be more concentrated, and 'that all aid should be withdrawn from Schools where the native languages only are taught, with a view alike to economy, and to enable your Missionaries to devote their undivided energies and attention to a single School of a Superior order, in the

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- (1) C.M.S. MS - Minute by C.E. Trevelyan, 23 Aug. 1834.
 - (2) C.M.S. MS - Minute by T. Dealtry, n.d. (1834).
 - (3) C.M.S. MS - Minute by D. Corrie, 30 June 1834.

vicinity of their respective residencies, where English shall be made the basis and principal medium of education'. Mangles' proposal for a new theological seminary in Calcutta was endorsed, although Dealtry specifically disassociated himself from it. The letter included enthusiastic praise for Duff's school, whose students were said to display 'an intimacy and correctness of acquaintance with Scripture History and the features of the Gospel, greater, we fear, than is always attained by the youth of Christendom'.¹ In December 1834 the Committee told Weitbrecht that in view of their recent decision they would not finance a Bengali school at Burdwan as he had requested: all such schools should be supported by local committees.² Five months therefore before Bentinck's Resolution sealed the triumph of the Anglicists in Government education, their ideas were adopted by the Calcutta committee of the C.M.S. - the two main differences being that they were accepted by the latter in a Christian rather than a secular form, and that the loser in the argument was vernacular rather than Oriental classical education.

The Calcutta committee's ideas were however only partly acceptable to the Society in London, which was not enthusiastic about the principle of concentration - at least as envisaged in Calcutta - and suggested that of the sub-stations in Bengal only Bankura need be closed. Neither did it share Calcutta's disillusionment with vernacular schools, and outlined its views on education as follows:- 'The educational establishments of the Mission should consist of three classes, each tending to the main object -

(1) C.M.S. MS - Minutes of C.C.A.C.M.S., 16 Oct. 1834.

(2) C.M.S. MSS - Minutes of C.C.A.C.M.S., 19 Dec. 1834; cf. 17 July 1835.

the raising up of efficient Native Missionaries. - 1. The Station Schools; 2. The Station Seminary; 3. The Head Seminary. The most hopeful & forward of the Boys in the Station Schools [vernacular elementary] would supply the Station Seminary with Students. In this Seminary the English language would be employed as a medium of their education'. From these suitable youths could be transferred to the English-medium 'Head Seminary' in Calcutta, for training as catechists and missionaries. The Calcutta Committee's plan for this institution was approved.¹

By the time that these reactions reached Calcutta it was 1836, and the preparations for opening the 'Head Seminary' were well advanced; as noted above however the project embittered the Committee's relations with both Bishop Wilson and the authorities of Bishop's College, and within one year had proved a total failure. Meanwhile Trevelyan had continued to urge that it should not be merely a theological seminary but should include non-Christian students and give to all alike a higher English and Christian education. He also tried to prod the Calcutta Committee into giving more attention to building up the 'Station Seminaries' outside Calcutta, complaining in 1836 that schools were now regarded as 'a secondary matter' by the C.M.S., so that Weitbrecht, 'in despair of getting a better School Master from the Committee, employs one who is inferior to some of his School boys'.² The minutes of the C.C.A.C.M.S., like some of Trevelyan's private letters to Bentinck, demonstrate the man's strong missionary spirit with great clarity:

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- (1) C.M.S. MSS - C.M.S. to Dealtry, 14 July 1835; cf. Minutes of C.M.S., 16 June 1835.
 (2) C.M.S. MS - Minutes of C.C.A.C.M.S., 24 Nov. 1836.

this rising young official, liked and trusted by Bentinck and the brother-in-law of Macaulay, careful to maintain in his public acts and pronouncements the religious neutrality of the Government which he served, but to whom nevertheless, as Professor K.A. Ballhatchet has commented, its 'need of clerks with a knowledge of English seemed providential',¹ and who in his capacity as a member of a missionary committee was full of eagerness to exploit Bentinck's Resolution - to which he had contributed much in his official capacity - for the spread not only of English but of Christian education.

Even before the Calcutta Committee of the C.M.S. had agreed on its Anglicist policy towards the end of 1834, English schools under its auspices had been increasing in number. The English school at Burdwan was reopened in 1831, Deerr having previously ascertained that 'the principal people' of the town would welcome such a step.² It was conducted by J.J. Weitbrecht, who became an admirer of Duff,³ and tried to develop it on similar lines to the General Assembly's Institution. The elements of mathematics, science, history, geography and divinity were taught,⁴ and by 1837 Weitbrecht was able to report a daily attendance of 70 to 80 boys, of whom several were favourably inclined towards Christianity and 'hate and despise idols'.⁵ Weitbrecht also found time to give regular English lessons to the young

(1) Ballhatchet, art.cit., 228.

(2) C.M.S. MSS - Minutes of C.C.A.C.M.S., 17 June 1831; Deerr to Schmid, 28 Apr. 1830; Weitbrecht to C.M.S., 7 July 1831.

(3) Weitbrecht, Protestant missions in Bengal, 215; Memoir, 87.

(4) C.C.O., Aug. 1837, 418; C.M.S. MS - Weitbrecht to C.M.S., 20 July 1836.

(5) C.M.S. MS - Weitbrecht to C.M.S., 21 Mar. 1837.

Raja of Burdwan.¹

The C.M.S. also started work at Bankura - a few Bengali elementary schools were opened in 1831-2, from which some of the ablest boys were given lessons in English also:² by 1835 45 of these had been concentrated in a separate English school.³ This was not a success, however, owing to the inefficiency of the master, and the Committee decided in the following year to give it up, but it was continued by a group of local British residents.⁴ At Krishnanagar, whither Deerr had moved in 1832, another English school was opened, again in response to local requests,⁵ which was doing quite well five years later.⁶ Other English schools opened under C.M.S. auspices after 1830 and still in existence in 1837 were at Kalna,⁷ Baraset and Alipore;⁸ By that time the C.M.S. had therefore no less than five English schools in addition to the comparatively long-established institution at Mirzapur within the city limits. Krishna Mohan Banerjee, converted by Duff but soon received into the Anglican Church, became headmaster of the latter in the winter of 1832-3:⁹ the number of boys rose to 200 during

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- (1) C.M.S. MS - 'Annual Report of the Burdwan Mission', 1 Apr.1835.
 - (2) C.M.S. MSS - Weitbrecht to Corrie, 25 Nov.1831; Weitbrecht to C.M.S., 30 Aug.1832; 'Annual Report of the Burdwan Mission', 15 Apr.1834; Krückeberg to C.M.S., 7 May 1833.
 - (3) C.M.S. MS - 'Annual Report of the Burdwan Mission', 1 Apr.1835.
 - (4) C.M.S. MSS - Weitbrecht's Journal, 7 June 1836; Minutes of C.C.A.C.M.S., 25 Aug.1836; Weitbrecht's Memoir, 156, 171; cf. C.M.S. to Dealtry, 14 July 1835.
 - (5) C.M.S. MS - Minutes of C.C.A.C.M.S., 10 Aug.1832.
 - (6) C.M.S. MS - Krückeberg's Journal, 1 Sep.1836, 23 July 1837.
 - (7) C.M.S. MSS - Alexander to C.M.S., 7 Feb.1838; Minutes of C.C.A.C.M.S., 3 Jan.1837.
 - (8) C.M.S. MS - T.Sandys, 'Answers to Questions', 26 Dec.1836.
 - (9) C.M.S. MS - Minutes of C.C.A.C.M.S., 13 Sep.1832, 8 Jan.1833.

the next four years,¹ and the missionary Timothy Sandys thought that 'his attention and assiduity were such that the School improved very materially under him'.² He resigned in 1836, however, and his connexion with the C.M.S. was dissolved shortly afterwards: the members of the Committee thought that he aspired to too comfortable a style of living and tried to send him to the mufasil to work as a catechist for a time prior to ordination, but he refused to go.³ His successor at Mirzapur was his fellow-convert Mahesh Chandra Ghosh, who however died in 1837. In any case C.W. Smith, one of the members of the Committee, wrote a long minute in that year expressing his dissatisfaction with the school under the superintendence of these two Bengalis: he thought that they did not do enough teaching themselves, regretted that there had been no converts, and called for the appointment of a European headmaster 'to introduce a more decided religious tone into the School'.⁴ Such a man materialised in 1840 in the shape of James Long, after which this problem-ridden institution at last entered upon a comparatively lengthy period of steady growth.⁵ It is clear however that around 1836-7 the Committee's relationship with the better-educated converts left much to be desired.

As for the vernacular schools, there is plenty of evidence to show that many of them were still being continued by the C.M.S. in 1836-7, and that

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- (1) C.M.S. MS - Minutes of C.C.A.C.M.S., 9 Feb.1837: C.W.Smith's Minute.
 - (2) C.M.S. MS - Certificate by T.Sandys, 13 Jan.1837.
 - (3) C.M.S. MS - Minutes of C.C.A.C.M.S., 4 May 1836, 26 Apr.1837; Bishop Wilson to C.M.S., 9 Mar.1837.
 - (4) C.M.S. MS - Minutes of C.C.A.C.M.S., - C.W.Smith's Minute, 9 Feb.1837.
 - (5) G.A.Oddie, The Rev. James Long and Protestant missionary policy in Bengal, 1840-1872, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London, 1964, 44ff.

it was therefore the policy of London rather than the Calcutta Committee which prevailed. There were then ten in and around Calcutta, together with one Hindustani school,¹ six at Kalna,² five at Burdwan,³ and a few also at Krishnanagar and probably Nadia. The group at Bankura was being continued by local residents.

The C.M.S. had given a fairly important place to English schools in its educational policy since the beginning of its operations in Bengal, but after 1830 even the L.M.S., which together with the Serampore missionaries had previously been the most determinedly vernacularist of all, fell to some extent under the influence of the fashionable Anglicism. In 1831 an English school was started at Kidderpore:⁴ it had to be temporarily relinquished two years later owing to financial difficulties,⁵ but it was restarted in 1834 by John Campbell.⁶ In the following year it was amalgamated with the L.M.S. boarding-school for Christian children at nearby Alipore, and the combined establishment assumed its final form in 1837 when it was moved to Bhowanipore.⁷ Under Campbell's direction the Bhowanipore Institution rapidly developed into probably the best of the mission-schools after the General Assembly's Institution, popular with the local people in spite of the existence of other English schools conducted by non-Christians

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- (1) C.M.S. MS - T.Sandys, 'Answers to Questions', 26 Dec.1836; Minutes of C.C.A.C.M.S., 23 Nov.1837.
 - (2) C.M.S. MS - Alexander to C.M.S., 7 Feb.1838.
 - (3) C.C.O., Aug.1837, 417.
 - (4) L.M.S. MS - Lacroix and Piffard to L.M.S., 9 Aug.1832.
 - (5) L.M.S. MS - Lacroix to L.M.S., 19 Oct.1833.
 - (6) 16th B.A.M.S. Report, Dec.1834.
 - (7) 19th B.A.M.S. Report, Oct.1837; L.M.S. MS - Lacroix to L.M.S., 26 May 1837; Gogerly, Pioneers, 272-3. Kidderpore, Alipore and Bhowanipore are all southern suburbs of Calcutta.

in the neighbourhood.¹ In 1838 there were 200 boys, and a curriculum which included religious teaching, history, geography, Euclid and mechanics,² and Campbell wrote to London with an urgent request for maps of the world, globes, an air pump, telescope, microscope, and 'a Magic Lantern with illustrations of natural history'.³ Someone who witnessed the examination of that year praised not only the boys' grasp of English but also their 'correct and idiomatic translations of the passages read from the histories of Greece and England into Bengali'. which he thought offered a hopeful prospect for the infusion of Western learning into the vernaculars.⁴ Duff's example was an important inspiration for this school,⁵ but in spite of the new emphasis on English the L.M.S. missionaries did not lose their original sense of the importance of the vernaculars, and Bengali was given a more important place at Bhowanipore than at the General Assembly's Institution. The vernacularist emphasis was even more strongly marked in their theological education - Lacroix, who had a high reputation as a Bengali preacher, conducted a small theology class in the Institution through the medium of Bengali, much to the approval of the Friend of India, which agreed that English-educated missionaries would be less adept in communicating with the people as a whole.⁶

The L.M.S.' new enthusiasm for English education had repercussions on their vernacular schools: they closed some in Calcutta, but in 1837 they

(1) L.M.S. MS - Campbell to L.M.S., 14 Sep.1839.

(2) C.C.O., Oct.1838, 581-5.

(3) L.M.S. MS - Campbell to L.M.S., 3 May 1838.

(4) C.C.O., Oct.1838, 584.

(5) Gogerly, Pioneers, 273.

(6) L.M.S. MS - Lacroix to L.M.S., 26 May 1837; F.of I., 8 Mar.1838.

were still maintaining six in the suburbs and villages to the south of the city - even though they observed that 'as the children, from a desire to learn English, leave the schools at an early age, we cannot now expect that they will make a great advance in knowledge either of their own language or of the Sacred Scriptures'.¹ Meanwhile at Chinsura all trace of the work of May and Pearson had not quite disappeared: Mundy returned from a long furlough in 1833 and gradually revived four of the schools,² now of course financed by the L.M.S. and in which Christian teaching was given. He was liked by the villagers and was sometimes requested to examine English schools which had been established by Bengali teachers in the neighbourhood.³ In 1836 the Hooghly Mohsin College - one of the new Government English-medium institutions - was opened: 1500 students enrolled themselves within three days, and there can be little doubt that the elementary schools conducted by the L.M.S. - whether or not in partnership with the Bengal Government - and also by the Serampore missionaries in the area had done much to stimulate the desire for higher English education there. The Friend of India's comments on this occasion can serve as an epitaph on those schools: it pointed out that, thanks largely to their work, Hooghly had become an exceptionally well-educated district where thousands had received a schooling whose 'practical character has eminently fitted them for respectability and success in their several avocations, and in many cases

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- (1) 19th B.A.M.S. Report, Oct.1837; cf. 16th B.A.M.S. Report, Dec.1834.
 (2) 16th B.A.M.S. Report; 19th B.A.M.S. Report; L.M.S. MS - Mundy to L.M.S., 17 Aug.1836.
 (3) L.M.S. MSS - Mundy to L.M.S., 9 Mar.1835, 29 Aug.1835; 19th B.A.M.S. Report.

to rise with ease above their original place in society. They have at the same time been disabused of much of the folly of Hinduism, and have obtained glimpses at least of the fair and pleasant fields of general knowledge'.¹

The L.M.S. ventured into English education even on the stony soil of Berhampore. In 1832 James Paterson arrived from Scotland and started 'teaching in English',² but in 1834 he wrote 'Our English School...has not succeeded so well as we had anticipated, owing...to the peculiar apathy of this neighbourhood, and the want of a good teacher'. However he would keep it going 'in the hope that the eager desire for English education which exists in some parts of India may at last spread thus far'. Many youths had acquired a smattering, 'but finding it not likely to further their views of advancement, have given up the study for Persian'.³ Such a report, as late as 1834, would have been a salutary reminder to the more enthusiastic Anglicists that not all the towns of Bengal had succumbed to the fever for English. This was not however the only problem: unlike Campbell Paterson was not prepared to devote much of his time to the superintendence of a school, and in 1836 he and Micaiah Hill complained that they could not afford to engage an assistant teacher, and that it was difficult to make the school 'have a direct bearing on our proper work as miss^s of the Cross'.⁴ William Adam visited it in that year and found only 13 pupils - one Armenian,

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- (1) Eof I. , 11 Aug.1836; cf L.M.S. MS - Mundy to L.M.S., 17 Aug.1836; P.P. - 2nd Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Indian Territories, 1853: T.A.Wise's evidence; Adam, Reports, 469.
 - (2) L.M.S. MSS - Paterson to L.M.S., 5 Oct.1832; M.Hill to L.M.S., 30 Dec. 1832.
 - (3) L.M.S. MS - Paterson to L.M.S., 7 Oct.1834.
 - (4) L.M.S. MS - Hill and Paterson to L.M.S., 26 Sep.1836.

two Muslim, and the rest mostly high-caste Hindus, of an average age of 16½. The curriculum was very limited compared with the other English schools at that date.¹ There was also a Bengali school at Berhampore, but this was apparently closed in 1837 when Hill and Paterson decided that schools conducted by non-Christian masters 'are not worth the time and money spent on them'.² In short Berhampore was little more fruitful as a field for missionary educationists in the 1830s than it had been in the '20s.

As we saw in Chapter IV the Calcutta Baptists had started two schools, one in Calcutta and one in Howrah, where English was taught before 1830. By 1836 there were 250 boys in the former, in which 'The instruction given is chiefly religious, but science and general literature receive considerable attention'.³ In the previous December some of the boys had been examined in geology, mechanics, hydrostatics and pneumatics.⁴ It was temporarily discontinued in 1837 when Ellis, its superintendent, moved to Howrah for health reasons,⁵ but in 1839 he returned to Calcutta and the school was reopened in the eastern suburb of Entally.⁶ The English school in Howrah does not seem to have flourished, but by 1833 Williamson had started one at Suri in Birbhum district,⁷ which by the time of Adam's visit three years later had 57 pupils enrolled. The only other English school in that district had been founded by a local landowner: it had 16 pupils,

(1) Adam, Reports, 296-7.

(2) 19th B.A.M.S. Report.

(3) C.C.O., May 1836, 264.

(4) Ibid., Jan. 1836, 49.

(5) B.M.S. Report, 1838, 11.

(6) B.M.S. Report, 1839, 11; B.M.S. Report, 1840, 11-2.

(7) 14th Calcutta B.M.S. Report, March 1833, 24; Missionary Herald, Aug. 1834.

of whom four were his own sons. There was also at that time one vernacular elementary school managed by Williamson, containing mainly Christian pupils¹; elsewhere such schools seem to have been discontinued by the Calcutta Baptists.

Even the Serampore Baptists were affected by the enthusiasm for English: in 1829, the year from which it was given much more emphasis in the College, they sent J. Smith, one of their ex-students, to Bakerganj in Barisal district for the purpose among other things of teaching English to the 'respectable youths' of the area.² This venture was not a success however: in 1832 Smith complained that most of the boys were irregular in their attendance and left after learning 'to read tolerably well'; most of them 'are dependent upon their relatives who are employed in the Courts here, and whose situations are precarious'.³ The Serampore missionaries in any case thought that Smith was not prosecuting his other duties with sufficient vigour, and severed their connexion with both him and the school in 1833.⁴ At Dacca the Persian school had been discontinued in about 1824, but both there and at Chittagong the 'Benevolent Institutions' where English was taught and which had been started primarily for the benefit of Eurasian Christians also had some non-Christian pupils: only about one-third of the 60 boys in the school at Dacca in 1838 - still conducted by Owen Leonard - were Christians. The curriculum in this school was not however nearly so ambitious as in the new English mission-schools in western Bengal.⁵

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- (1) Adam, Reports, 300-2; cf. 16th Calcutta B.M.S. Report, Feb. 1836, 23.
 - (2) S.P.A., 1829, 145, 252.
 - (3) Report of the Serampore Mission for 1832, 24.
 - (4) S.P.A., 1833, 22.
 - (5) B.M.S. MS - Leonard to B.M.S., 23 May 1838, cf. S.P.A., Dec. 1835.

There were by 1837 therefore four missionary English schools in Calcutta, conducted by Scottish, L.M.S., C.M.S. and Baptist missionaries; three within a radius of forty miles of the city to the east and south - Taki (Scots), Alipore and Baraset (C.M.S.); and four to the north and north-west - Burdwan, Kalna, Krishnanagar (C.M.S.) and Suri (B.M.S.); making a total of 11 in the south-western quarter of Bengal. In addition to this some English was being taught, or had been taught during the previous five years, in mission schools at Bankura, Berhampore, Barisal, Dacca and Chittagong; in addition to Serampore and Bishop's Colleges. The mission schools provided at this time a considerable proportion of the facilities for English education available in Bengal, especially outside Calcutta: in 1835-6 new Government colleges were founded at Hooghly, Dacca and Rajshahi, and there were individual ventures such as the school at Rangpur founded by local subscription in 1831, which was supplied with an English teacher from Serampore College.¹ But when Adam surveyed Birbhum and Burdwan districts and the Murshidabad-Berhampore area in 1836, he found that of the seven schools in which English was taught, four were conducted by missionaries:² a proportion which was roughly typical of the mufasil areas in Bengal at that time.

Not all the missionary English schools however reached the standard set by the General Assembly's or Bhowanipore Institutions, or indeed anything approaching it. Adam, referring to both the missionary and the

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- (1) Ibid.; S.P.A., 1827-33, 607-8; F.of I., 19 Feb. 1835; Alexander's E.I. Magazine, July 1832, 77-8.
 - (2) Adam, Reports, 296-303.

non-missionary schools in those three mufasil districts, commented that 'The instruction given in these English schools is very elementary and even that is sometimes crude and imperfect'. The missionaries did not devote much of their time to teaching - unlike Duff and Campbell in Calcutta, for whom the superintendence of their schools constituted their main occupation - and most of the assistant teachers were themselves 'very imperfectly instructed', although they were better in the C.M.S. school at Burdwan than in the one supported by the Raja. Adam thought that ex-pupils from those schools could be expected to be 'tolerable readers of printed English books and tolerable copyists of English manuscripts, but without the power of speaking or writing the English language correctly, and without either the will or the power, after leaving school, to prosecute the study of the language so as to acquire and cherish a taste for its literature'. Sometimes they would acquire 'some of the principal facts in geography, history, and the system of the world, but without understanding much, if anything, of the principles of which these branches of knowledge depend'.¹ The standard cannot in fact have been very much higher than that of the 'mushroom schools' in Calcutta at the beginning of the century; even making allowances for Adam's vernacularist sympathies, one can understand why Trevelyan felt so dissatisfied in 1836 with the achievement of the C.M.S. in English education.

Bearing in mind the considerable variation in standards, one can generally say that these schools were all rather similar to the General

(1) Ibid., 309-10.

Assembly's Institution, in that English was the language mainly taught, although Bengali was not completely neglected; other subjects included history, geography and various branches of science; Christian teaching was an integral part of the life of the school, and tended to cause their pupils to view some of the manifestations of contemporary Hinduism more critically, even to make them sympathetic to Christianity,¹ but not actually to convert them. They were free schools, unlike some of those run by non-missionary agencies - an important reason for their popularity; and they were attended by youths with an average age ranging from 12 to 22,² mostly Brahmin and Kayastha by caste³ - the 'respectable natives' of their localities.

Apart from day-schools for mainly non-Christian boys the Calcutta Baptists and the L.M.S. also experimented with boarding-schools for the sons - as well as the daughters - of their Christian converts. The great advantage, in the missionaries' view, was that their pupils could be given a thoroughly Christian education isolated from the 'contamination' of Hindu society.⁴ The first Christian boarding-school was the one founded by the Calcutta Baptists in the city in 1828; by 1836 it had 45 pupils,⁵ who, it was reported, 'first attend to their own language, a good knowledge of which is considered essential to their future usefulness', after which they

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- (1) Missionary Herald, Nov.1833; L.M.S. MS - Campbell to L.M.S., 14 Sep. 1839; C.M.S. MS - Minutes of C.C.A.C.M.S., 16 Oct.1834.
 - (2) Adam, Reports, 297, 301, 303; L.M.S. MS - Campbell to L.M.S., 14 Sep. 1839.
 - (3) Adam, Reports, 296, 300, 303; 45th L.M.S. Report, 1839, 38; L.M.S. MSS - Lacroix to L.M.S., 26 May 1837; Campbell to L.M.S., 14 Sep.1839; C.M.S. MS - Sandys to C.M.S., 17 June 1830.
 - (4) L.M.S. MS - Gogerly to L.M.S., 15 Aug.1833; C.C.O., Nov.1833, 557; June 1836, 305-9; B.M.S. MS - G.Pearce to B.M.S., 17 Aug.1831.
 - (5) C.C.O., May 1836, 264.

embarked upon English. It was expected that many of them would in due course become ministers, and so 'The instruction given to the youths [was] that which may best qualify them to preach the Gospel among the heathen' - including divinity, geography, history and mathematics.¹ This institution so impressed the L.M.S. missionaries that they established one of their own at Alipore in 1833 on similar lines, even giving up some of their vernacular day-schools to free resources for it. It was supervised by the newly-arrived John Campbell,² who combined it with the English day-school for Hindu youth first at Alipore and finally, in 1837, at Bhowanipore. By that time Campbell had become much more interested in higher education for Hindus than in the Christian boarding-school, however. He had to write a long letter to the Directors of the L.M.S. in 1839 justifying the new Institution in view of some qualms which they had expressed a year before:³ he had found the Christians, who were all sons of low-caste converts, 'intellectually far inferior' to the others, and much in need of the stimulus which the Hindu boys provided. He thought that the existing Christian divinity students were 'not likely to become teachers of a superior grade' and that the leadership of the Bengali church depended largely on making new converts from the upper classes, for which he believed the Bhowanipore institution offered good prospects.⁴ Duff's influence is evident in these arguments, which finally decided the Directors to give full support

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- (1) Missionary Herald, Dec.1835; cf. C.C.O., Nov.1832, 309; Dec.1833, 612.
 - (2) L.M.S. MSS - Gogerly to L.M.S., 15 Aug.1833; Lacroix to L.M.S., 19 Oct.1833; C.C.O., Nov.1833, 557.
 - (3) L.M.S. MS - L.M.S. to Campbell, 8 Sep.1838.
 - (4) L.M.S. MS - Campbell to L.M.S., 14 Sep.1839.

to Bhowanipore.¹

d. Duff and the English missionaries.

In the early 1830s it seemed that the various English schools established by the different societies might be crowned by a single Christian institution of higher education. In June 1831 a general meeting of Calcutta missionaries resolved: 'I. That an institution in Calcutta, adapted to carry on the literary and Christian education of promising Natives to a higher degree than has hitherto been attempted, is highly important to the propagation of Christianity in India. II. That if such an institution should be formed in connection with the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in which an education can be given without interference with the peculiar views of different denominations of Christians...we pledge ourselves to aid it...'²

Duff was requested to prepare a plan for such a college, which was read at the next meeting, on 5 July. In it he put forward his usual arguments in favour of giving a higher English education to a select number of promising students rather than mass elementary education - in the process reflecting tactlessly on the little achieved by mission schools prior to his own appearance on the scene.³ He went on to sketch out an integrated system of Christian education for Calcutta and district, consisting at the lowest level of the existing Bengali elementary schools. These however

(1) L.M.S. MS - L.M.S. to Lacroix, 4 Apr. 1840.

(2) Statement respecting a Central Institution or College, 5.

(3) Ibid., 6-8.

he thought 'by no means...essential', as in the new college English would be the medium, 'and the ability simply to read and write the Bengali character may suffice'. Anyway, whether or not they had started their education in the vernacular schools, all boys would have to spend about four years in preparatory English schools, in Calcutta and the mufasil, from which the most promising could proceed to the proposed college in the city.¹ In this a select minority 'of established principles' - presumably beyond the reach of Hindu influences - might be permitted to learn Sanskrit; Greek, Latin and Hebrew would be available; political economy and metaphysics - especially the works of Thomas Brown - would be taught; and a common syllabus of divinity acceptable to all the participating denominations could surely be agreed.²

In spite of Duff's strictures on their earlier efforts the other missionaries reacted favourably to this ambitious plan, and a committee was set up to pursue the matter, with Duff as the secretary, and with Calcutta Baptist, L.M.S., and W.M.M.S. representatives - the latter had recently embarked upon what proved to be a very short-lived mission in Bengal. On 11 July the Committee resolved that the college should be established and owned by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, which should invite the other denominations to make use of it on 'reasonable terms'. It was suggested that each society should contribute fees in respect of the students which they sponsored.³ A joint letter from representatives of the three

(1) Ibid., 16.

(2) Ibid., 18-23.

(3) Ibid., 27-8.

English Dissenting societies dated 6 September rebuked Duff for suggesting that his educational principles had been unknown in Bengal before his arrival, but confirmed their approval of the plan. They compared the proposed college to one of the Scottish universities which, they acknowledged, were 'readily accessible' to all students. They undertook to recommend it to the directors of their various societies in London, and meanwhile so to arrange the course of instruction in their Bengali and English schools as to qualify the pupils for eventual entry to the new college.¹ As for the C.M.S., the Calcutta Committee warned that the Church of England would not be able to give 'entire and exclusive' support to the project, but resolved guardedly that they would 'avail themselves of the advantages of the proposed Institution when formed, as far as may not be inconsistent with their own establishments'.²

In May 1833 the plan was approved by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland,³ but it came to nothing as both the Baptist and London Missionary Societies rejected it. The former refused to give a definite pledge of its support,⁴ while the latter wrote to its Calcutta District Committee on 31 January to say that the 'principle of exclusiveness' - presumably the Church of Scotland's control - was contrary to L.M.S. principles, and in any case higher education for non-Christian youth was beyond

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- (1) Ibid., 35-40; cf. L.M.S. MSS - Gogerly to L.M.S., 23 Mar.1832; L.M.S. Bengal missionaries to L.M.S., 23 Nov.1832; M.M.S. MSS - Percival to W.M.M.S., 4 July 1831; Percival and Hodson to W.M.M.S., 22 Nov.1832.
 - (2) Statement, 52-3; C.M.S. MS - Minutes of C.C.A.C.M.S., 5 Jan.1832.
 - (3) Abridgement, 1833, 38.
 - (4) B.M.S. MS - Minutes of B.M.S. Quarterly Committee Meeting, 30 Apr.1833; cf. N.L.S. MS - Calcutta Baptist missionaries to Duff, 3 Feb.1834.

the proper scope of their missionaries.¹ The Calcutta missionaries were disappointed by this reply,² but it was left to Campbell a few years later to persuade them to modify their policy in favour of the Bhowanipore Institution. The failure of Duff's scheme for the Scottish and English Dissenting missions, at least, to unite in organising a single College in Calcutta had a lasting effect on Christian higher education in the city: the way was clear after 1833 for each denomination to develop its own institution.

When Duff first opened his school he had to face some objections from the other missionaries owing to what appeared to them to be his excessive emphasis on English.³ But the opposition, at least inasmuch as it concerned educational policy, has almost certainly been over-dramatised by Smith and Duff's other admirers:⁴ there is little contemporary evidence for it and it is unlikely to have amounted to much as all the societies except the L.M.S. had begun to give considerable importance to English education before Duff's arrival. They may well however have resented not so much his emphasis on English as his contemptuous dismissal of Bengali, especially as he did not even bother to learn the language before pronouncing judgement on it; and, more generally, the spectacle of an arrogant young Scotsman who made no secret of his opinion that almost twenty years of hard and devoted work by the English societies had achieved practically nothing of

(1) L.M.S. MS - L.M.S. to C.D.C., 31 Jan.1833.

(2) L.M.S. MS - Gogerly to L.M.S., 15 Aug.1833.

(3) IIM, 520-3.

(4) Smith, Duff, I, 122-4; cf. G.Macpherson, Life of Lal Behari Day, Edinburgh, 1900: Introduction, by T.Smith, xiii.

real value. One should treat with even greater reserve Smith's famous account of Duff's visit to Serampore. He draws a touching picture of how Duff, unappreciated by the lesser missionary minds in Calcutta, went out in July 1830 to call on the aged Carey, 'whose apostolic successor he was to be', and received not only a solemn blessing but approval for his plans.¹ This is yet another of Smith's stories for which there appears to be no contemporary or near-contemporary authority: Duff mentioned briefly in his letter to Inglis of 23 August that he had visited Serampore, but he said nothing about Carey's encouragement - a significant omission, as the good opinion of Carey, unlike that of Ram Mohan Roy, would certainly have carried weight with the Scottish supporters of the mission. There is no mention of Carey's approval either in India and India Missions or in anything else that Duff wrote during the 1830s, and it is not vouched for from the Baptist side. In any case, in spite of the new emphasis on English at Serampore College, it is inherently improbable that Carey, a great linguist and the leading protagonist of Bengali and Sanskrit in missionary education, would have given enthusiastic support to a man who had a low opinion of the one and believed the other to be positively dangerous. He was no doubt impressed by Duff's personality and gave him a general blessing; for his part Duff would have realised that he was in the presence of a great man and may even have restrained his natural inclination to belittle the work of the missionaries on whose shoulders he was standing. But one may conclude that anything more than this is a figment of the imagination

(1) Smith, Duff, I, 105-6; cf. Smith, William Carey, 421.

either of his own old age or of George Smith: what more delightful than to think that the greatest missionary of the mid-nineteenth century was descended from the greatest missionary of the early nineteenth century through a kind of apostolic succession?

Nevertheless, as the story of the abortive united Christian college shows, the other missionaries in Calcutta were by 1831 so favourably impressed by Duff - his personality, his arguments, and above all the immediate and striking success of his school - that they were prepared to swallow his aspersions on their earlier efforts with scarcely a protest, and to contemplate with some eagerness the establishment of a college under Church of Scotland auspices for which their own schools would be merely preparatory; it was the directors of the various societies in London, not their missionaries in Calcutta, who torpedoed the scheme. Duff did not arouse the latter's resentment ^{again} until the end of 1835,¹ when reports of an address which he had given in the General Assembly in May reached them. This was his apologia for adopting higher English education as the means most likely to be effective for the conversion of India: he began by saying that missionary preachers are soon challenged to show authority for their claims that Christianity is the one and only true religion, but the usual 'evidences' which they put forward - historical, prophetic, miraculous and internal - can either be outmatched by Hindu mythology or else they seem meaningless. The missionary therefore finds himself helpless: and the best solution to the problem seemed to be an elaborated version of

(1) L.M.S. MS - Lacroix to L.M.S., 24 Dec.1835; N.L.S. MSS - Ewart to Brunton, 2 Jan.1836; Mackay to Brunton, 2 Mar.1836; C.C.O., Jan.1836, (29-33).

the policy which the Moderates had always urged - to 'impart that knowledge which enables those whom we address to comprehend the nature and strength' of evidences - in other words radically to alter, in practice to Europeanise, the basic intellectual outlook of the people of India.¹ Duff claimed that he had early been able to prove his point because he had found the Western-educated young men from the Hindu College susceptible to the evidences: in his own school he was aiming to give his students the same intellectual outlook but with a Christian instead of an agnostic orientation.² Implicit, and sometimes explicit, in the address was criticism of the English missionaries for relying so much on vernacular preaching - although Duff was still Evangelical enough to admit that English education was not 'indispensably and universally' needed as a prerequisite for conversion.³

This speech evoked a lengthy reply in the Friend of India, probably by J.C. Marshman, in the shape of a lucid restatement of a moderate Evangelical position;⁴ written with a restrained passion which was yet free from the extravagantly pious clichés that usually marked Evangelical writing, and equally refreshing after Duff's interminable bombast. Marshman began by saying that he had 'the pleasure of esteeming [Duff] highly as a private friend, as well as admiring his public character', and acknowledging that basically they shared the same views on 'the doctrines of the cross, and the saving influences of the Holy Spirit' - but nevertheless the principles

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- (1) Duff, The Church of Scotland's India Mission (1835), 8-11; cf. Sharpe, op.cit., 64.
 - (2) The Church of Scotland's India Mission, 14ff.
 - (3) Ibid., 11.
 - (4) F.of I., 26 Nov.1835.

of Duff's Edinburgh address were 'deeply injurious to the cause of the Gospel'. He thought that Duff had exaggerated somewhat in declaring that Christian evidences from history, miracles and prophecy were meaningless to ordinary Hindus, but his real concern was with his assertion that 'internal evidences' were equally so. On the contrary, Marshman declared that 'they are the most powerful weapons of Christian preachers in all circumstances, and with all people...There are chords in every human heart which the gospel strikes with power'. Its reference to human sin and divine judgement was vindicated by conscience; its scheme of redemption was worthy of a holy and loving God, and fulfilled 'the loftiest aspirations of that human spirit which was made after his image'. Hindus were not 'destitute of either intellectual or moral principles which could enable them to comprehend the intrinsic excellence of the gospel': they acknowledged the existence of God, his beneficent intervention in human affairs, and the prevalence of human sin, while in actual practice they often rose above what Marshman considered to be their most erroneous doctrines. When Duff said that they did not respond to appeals to the internal evidence of the Gospel, what he really meant was that 'he never had an opportunity of trying whether they could or not' - owing to the fact that he had not condescended to learn Bengali and that his contacts therefore had been confined to an unrepresentative minority who had had an English education: missionaries who had conversed with the people in the vernacular could readily contradict him.¹

(1) These views were endorsed by Lacroix: L.M.S. MS - Lacroix to L.M.S., 24 Dec.1835.

In the following issue¹ Marshman observed, in answer to Duff's complaint that the Hindus' 'modes and principles of arguing [are] totally different to our own', that Christianity 'is a fact, and not a metaphysical abstraction' - a characteristic English answer to Scottish intellectualism. In any case missionaries could find some common ground with the Hindus even in their logic; moreover the terms they used in it were 'the language of their intellect; and it is a necessary acquisition to a man who wishes to address himself to their intellect' - another rebuke to the missionary who was confident that he could convert India armed linguistically with little but English and Gaelic. Marshman also disagreed with Duff's basic assumption that Hindu religion and culture was a coherent system which must stand or fall together:² in fact all its parts were not logically consistent with each other, from which it followed that the religion would not necessarily collapse as a result of the introduction of European science: as Ram Mohan Roy had shown, Hindus could simply abandon Puranic absurdities for the Vedanta. Marshman of course agreed with Duff's emphasis on Indian as opposed to European missionaries as the most effective agents for the conversion of India, but he warned that English-educated Indian preachers were unlikely to achieve much with the mass of their countrymen.

On the evidence of these articles Marshman was moving towards the position occupied by Coleridge, Arnold and F.D. Maurice³: at any rate it

(1) F. of I., 3 Dec. 1835.

(2) Duff's views on this point were shared by Trevelyan - vide On the education of the people of India, 84.

(3) cf. F.D. Maurice, The religions of the world and their relations to Christianity, 2nd ed., London, 1848.

could well be argued that, in thus seeking to base Christian evangelism upon the eternal needs of mankind and the nature of God rather than upon a particular intellectual attitude, it was he rather than Duff who was providing it with the more solid foundation. In any case it was not long before Duff's 'intellectual approach' began to look very dated; like his countrymen as a whole at that time he could not come to terms with the new theological ideas.¹ But Marshman's attack on Duff at the end of 1835 had not only theological significance: it reveals clearly the basic springs of his paper's opposition to the Anglicist policy in education. When he denounced Duff's ideas on the grounds that they would result in Indians becoming 'unnaturalised in their own country', he was also by implication attacking the aim Macaulay expressed in his Minute, of educating 'persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect'.²

Duff's achievements in relation to those of the other missionaries prior to 1837 need some reassessment. As we have seen, almost from the moment of his arrival he was himself belittling their educational work and, whether consciously or otherwise, magnifying his own contribution in contrast - giving currency to a distorted view of history which was of course accepted by George Smith and which seems to have become the received

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- (1) Smith, Duff, II, 408-9, 510-2; Sharpe, op.cit., 58; W.Paton, Alexander Duff, London, 1923, 191-2; W.P.Duff, Memoirs of Alexander Duff, D.D., London, 1890, 101.
 (2) S.E.R., I, 116.

orthodoxy for historians of the subject.¹ In fact all of what are generally regarded as the characteristic features of Duff's educational policy had been introduced by other missionaries before his arrival in Calcutta: with the possible exception of the L.M.S. they had all recognised the importance of English education and had started English schools: they all realised the importance of training Indian missionaries and teachers - with regard to the latter especially they did not need Duff to articulate a 'downward filtration' policy for them - and they were all giving Christian as well as secular teaching in their schools. If Duff was more thoroughgoing in his insistence that his pupils should learn English at an early age and then use it as their medium for learning, this was offset by his cavalier dismissal of the possibilities of Bengali, to say nothing of his suspicion of Sanskrit. Even Duff's rightly celebrated insistence that education should be so conducted as to awaken to the full the intellectual potential of the students - his importation into India of John Wood's ideas and methods - was by no means new; the English missionaries had before his arrival fully recognised the importance of this. Indeed Inglis himself acknowledged

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- (1) W.P. Duff, op.cit., 50; Stock, C.M.S., I, 302 ff.; D.H. Emmott, 'Alexander Duff and the Foundation of Modern Education in India', British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. XIII, May 1965, 160-8; K.P. Sen Gupta, The Christian missionaries in Bengal, 1793-1833, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London, 1966, 172-4; S. Nurullah and J.P. Naik, A history of education in India during the British period, 2nd ed., Bombay, 1951, 170-5; H. Huizinga, Missionary education in India, Cuttack, 1909, 21; F.W. Thomas, The history and prospects of British education in India, Cambridge, 1891, 19-28; 'The Educational Establishments of India, Past and Present', C.R., Vol. XIII, 1850, 461-2; D.P. Sinha, The educational policy of the East India Company in Bengal to 1854, Calcutta, 1964, 154-8.

that the basic policy of the Church of Scotland's mission to Bengal - of which Duff was essentially the agent rather than the formulator - was inspired by the example of the English missions and the Calcutta School Society in the early 1820s.¹

Was Duff then nothing more than a man with an unusual talent for self-advertisement and impressive-sounding oratory? To say this would be going much too far: the truth would seem to be that, although none of his ideas were original, he was far more successful at putting them into practice than his predecessors. There is no doubt that within a few years of its foundation his school had developed into the best missionary institution in Bengal; indeed Auckland's judgement (1837), that it was the best school of any kind in the area does not seem unreasonable - a very considerable achievement in itself, for which Duff must be given great credit. This was partly due to the unprecedented thoroughness, indeed the professionalism, with which he carried out his ideas - the teaching of English, the application of the 'interrogatory system', the selection and training of assistant teachers, the integration of Christian with secular learning. Important was also the fact that he devoted himself full-time to one school (apart from its offshoot at Taki): unlike the other missionaries he did not delude himself that he could give proper supervision to a dozen or more schools scattered about in villages over a wide area in the intervals between vernacular preaching - of which of course he did none. He was also fortunate in securing two able colleagues - Mackay and Ewart - and in the general

(1) Bryce, Sketch of native education in India, 293 ff.; cf. Statement respecting a Central Institution or College (1831), 35.

spirit of harmonious cooperation which reigned within the local board of management and between Calcutta and Edinburgh. As for his intellectual abilities - whatever his failure to appreciate the Indian cultural heritage, and however shallow his Christian apologetics might seem to the next generation,¹ there is no doubt not only that they came as a godsend to the rather disheartened English missionaries but that they impressed at least some of 'Young Bengal' in the early 1830s: as already noted, with the exception of the Serampore missionaries, who were not on the spot, and Bishop Turner, doomed to follow his predecessors into an early grave, he was the only missionary at the time who could hope to engage in a successful argument with them.

But the key to Duff's achievement was his personality, especially as it was manifested in the classroom. In general, he 'compelled admiration and respect, but not affection',² and his traditional Scottish respect for the freedom of individuals to argue their own points of view was in practice limited by his insistence that in the end the claims of Christianity must always prevail; but Lal Behari Day's vivid picture of him in action is enough to show his quite exceptional greatness as a teacher:³ he was indeed a worthy rival to Derozio. This is basically why Duff, for all his lack of originality, his prejudices, his arrogance and even his unscrupulousness, was the most effective missionary educationist in the Bengal of the 1830s. And the general consequences of his work were considerable: he not only

(1) Mohar Ali, op.cit., Chapter I.

(2) H.V.Hampton, Biographical studies in Indian education, 124.

(3) Cf. also 'The Educational Establishments of Calcutta, Past and Present', C.R., XIII, 1850, 462.

gave a much-needed fresh stimulus to the existing missionary educational work in Bengal, which by 1830 was showing signs of having exhausted its original impetus; but his ambitious plan for the development of the General Assembly's Institution and his constant emphasis on the fundamental harmony of Christianity and learning made it certain that the missionaries as a whole would concern themselves permanently with higher (as opposed merely to secondary) education. This did not seem assured in the late 1820s; in fact the rather ambiguous reputation of Serampore College, and the almost total irrelevance of Bishop's College, had somewhat discredited the more ambitious educational plans - which helps to explain why the L.M.S. and the B.M.S. rejected the scheme for the united Christian college in 1832-3. Duff however succeeded in restoring and augmenting the prestige of Christian educational work in Bengal - not only with the general public but with the missionaries themselves.

It is tempting to make a comparison between Duff and Arnold, the greatest contemporary exponent of Christian education in the United Kingdom. They had certain ideals in common, including the desire to waken the intellectual potentialities of their pupils, to integrate Christianity and learning, and to bring their pupils to a personal commitment to both but especially to the former; but there the resemblance ends. Arnold indeed insisted that Christianity - of a non-denominational kind - should be the basis of all education in England, but that was after all a Christian country and it is by no means certain that he would have supported Duff's demand for Christian teaching in Government schools in India, still less his unsympathetic attitude towards Indian culture. In 1842 he advised a

missionary in south India to look especially for the points held by Hindus and Christians in common, writing 'I have always believed in the existence of a moral sense amongst all men, in spite of the tremendous differences in the notions of different ages and countries as to right and wrong'. He thought that there was 'a common idea of and appreciation of virtue, as consisting mainly in self-denial and love';¹ this suggests that he would have found the Friend of India more congenial reading than the works of Alexander Duff. His son W.D.Arnold, whom a recent biographer has described as 'more imbued than any of his brothers with "Dr. Arnold's faith"'² was D.P.I., Punjab, in 1855-9: he was dubious of the value of missionary work and opposed the suggestion to introduce the Bible into Government schools, repeating among others the old Serampore argument that it would be unjust to make non-Christians support Christian teaching with their taxes.³

In spite of the tendency of Duff to occupy the centre of every stage after 1830 one must not overlook the continuing contribution to education of the Serampore group. Their major experiment in elementary education had ended some years before, and Serampore College never quite fulfilled its original promise, but in the pages of the Friend of India they expressed educational insights which were, to say the least, not inferior to Duff's, and perhaps the more valuable for being somewhat unfashionable at that period. One can in fact safely say that J.C.Marshman has been underrated by historians as much as Duff has been overrated: while the latter was never backward in

(1) Stanley, Arnold, II, 310-1.

(2) F.J.Woodward, The Doctor's disciples, Oxford, 1954, 181.

(3) Ibid., 218-21.

advertising his own achievements, both real and imaginary, the former was reticent to a fault.¹ And apart from Marshman's perceptive criticisms of Duff and of the Anglicist policy, two long articles contributed by Mack or Leechman in 1836 'On the Management of Schools'² merit particular consideration here. Expressing the hope - soon to be frustrated - that Adam's recommendations would be implemented by the Government in such a way as to 'bring knowledge within the reach of the whole body of the people', he offered some advice on how this might be done. Starting like a good Scot from first principles, he wrote 'The great objects of an education...may be divided into such as are intellectual, moral, and civil....it is our duty to do every thing in our power to develop [a man's] understanding, to endue him with just principles of conduct, and to qualify him for the office or business that shall fall to his lot....And it is of the first importance to remember, that these objects are not to be gained so much by engraving facts, maxims and rules upon the scholar's memory, as by familiarising him with the comprehension and practical application of them' - in that sentence the Serampore missionaries finally disassociated themselves from one of the more unfortunate ideas of Lancaster and Bell, which Joshua Marshman had adopted with such enthusiasm twenty years before. The writer went on to recommend that 'a very elementary course of instruction on all the chief branches of science and philosophy should be adopted for all youth in the

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- (1) G.Smith, Twelve Pioneer Statesmen, 224ff.; The Calcutta Review Centenary Number, 52. In The life and times of Carey, Marshman and Ward J.C.Marshman says virtually nothing about his personal contribution to the work which he describes - much to the annoyance of the modern historian because it was undoubtedly very considerable.
- (2) F.of I, 28 Apr., 12 May 1836.

first years of their education', and then to put forward his views on Christian ethical teaching which have been noted above. The course of elementary education was to be comprehensive enough to suit all children, whether from zamindar or peasant families - the Scottish parish schools were no doubt in mind there - and subsequently boys should be able to specialise according to their vocation. He thought that 'some considerable part of common Native education must be engrafted into our system' - indeed in many ways the articles serve as a link between the Serampore missionaries' scheme of 1818 and Adam's recommendations of 1838. Possibly it was intended partly to prepare Government and public opinion for the latter. It is clear at any rate from this and other articles that J.C. Marshman, Mack and Leechman were not unworthy successors to William Carey, whose funeral sermon Mack had preached in terms so beautiful and at the same time so revealing of the inner springs of his concern for education that it deserves to be quoted at some length:-

'As a spiritually minded Christian, he differed from many of the same class, in his peculiar devotedness to natural knowledge, and the promotion of men's temporal interests....He seemed to take into his habitual contemplation the whole of God's nature and works; and in his conceptions of them, no one part was allowed to jostle another out of its place. God whom he feared, whom he loved, to whom he humbly and obediently submitted himself, was the God of nature as well as of grace.

'All true knowledge, therefore, was to Dr. Carey genuine gold for which he found a direct use in the attainment of divine wisdom and grace. He looked upon the world, and all it contains of animate and inanimate, organic

and inorganic being, with a sanctified understanding and devout affections. When therefore he walked abroad, he found himself surrounded with continual and ever-varying memorials of God. Not only his being, but his sovereign rule in the world, and all his attributes employed in that rule, were thus, as it were, palpably before his senses; and knowing himself a part of the manifold works of God, he connected himself with all of God he saw around him.... It was therefore in the midst of God's works, that his heart rose most freely in devout communing with him as the father of his spirit; and it was long his constant practice to make his garden the place of his morning devotions, where every flower seemed to serve him for a hymn to excite, and give him expression for, his adoration and praise of Jehovah. He felt, however, that his contemplations of nature, which were thus sacred, sweet, and profitable to him, were not the fruit of mere indolent gazing at creation. It was because he was a diligent and painstaking student of every form of created being, and had treasured up in his mind a boundless store of knowledge respecting the whole, that the smallest part was to him so full of meaning, and so linked with endless associations of wise reflection. He therefore valued education and study respecting natural things in proportion as he delighted in the refined and holy joys which they had brought him: and what he had found to be so profitable to himself, he never scrupled to think would be profitable to everyone else. Hence he was an ardent friend and promoter of general education, of a common as well as of a religious kind.¹

(1) Baptist Quarterly, Vol.XXI, No.7, July 1966, 328-9.

CONCLUSION

There is plenty of evidence to indicate that the missionaries and their close associates made an important contribution to education in Bengal between 1793 and 1837. They were responsible for the first comprehensive schemes for education in modern times - Creighton's Memoranda and Thomason's plan of 1814; and especially in the field of elementary education one may conclude that they were the most important agency of any which was operating during that period. The Government's contribution was limited to giving annual subsidies, over a period of less than twenty years, to the schools at Chinsura - which were in any case founded and managed by missionaries - and to the C.S.S. which also, at least in its early years, owed much to missionary enthusiasm; and most of its interest in elementary education evaporated after Hastings' departure. Unofficial British efforts comprised the ephemeral 'mushroom schools', which were of little educational value; beyond them there was no higher educational purpose to be found except in the work of David Drummond and David Hare, which was on a small scale and confined to the city of Calcutta. There was indeed a network of indigenous Bengali schools throughout the province, but their scope was narrow and they were not efficiently conducted. It was not until near the end of the period that a new type of educational venture under Bengali auspices began to appear, but again that was virtually limited to Calcutta. The missionaries did not ignore Calcutta, and indeed after 1830 the best of their schools developed there, but prior to Duff's arrival their most significant work was done in mufasil towns and villages especially in the south-western quarter of Bengal.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the mission schools was the width of their curriculum. The missionaries made a systematic attempt to introduce the elements of modern knowledge - especially history, geography, and science - to an extent which contrasted not only with the indigenous schools but with contemporary elementary schools in England. The missionaries of the early nineteenth century - unlike their successors in the period after 1859 - had no doubt that Christianity and science were in harmony with one another: they regarded the latter as the understanding of the handiwork of God, and thought that by teaching it, together with history and geography, they would convince the Hindus of the absurdity of a religion with which it seemed irreconcilable. The missionaries thus came to play the leading part in the early nineteenth century in introducing the people of Bengal to the elements of modern knowledge. The main deficiency of their curriculum, especially as regards the English-medium secondary schools which developed towards the end of the period, was that it contained little to exercise the taste and the imagination: literature was conspicuous by its absence, apart from the Bible and other religious works, and the collections of short stories and fables which were used in the elementary schools.

The missionary concern for a wide curriculum was strongly marked in the schools which they founded during Hastings' administration, weakened somewhat in the years after his departure in 1823, and was reaffirmed by Alexander Duff, in whose school the basic subjects were studied at greater depth and some new ones, such as Political Economy, were introduced. Inasmuch as there was doubt about the value of the wide curriculum it was mainly on the grounds that the limited time which the boys spent in the

schools might be most usefully occupied by direct Christian religious teaching. At first the missionaries were very cautious about introducing this, contenting themselves with ethical teaching which was Christian in spirit rather than name. After about 1820, however, when it had become clear that their educational efforts were being well received by the local people, this was superseded by open religious teaching based on selections from the Bible. It was very doubtful however whether this was more effective as a weapon against Hinduism than modern secular knowledge, especially as the great majority of the teachers of the schools were not themselves Christians. Towards the end of the period, however, some more effective Christian teaching was given by Duff and his colleagues in the General Assembly's Institution: there is evidence to indicate that many of the pupils who were exposed to this were deeply impressed with the arguments in favour of Christianity, but even here there were virtually no conversions of boys in the school. In general one may conclude that the religious teaching of the missionaries played a part in weakening the attachment of some of their pupils to certain aspects of contemporary Hinduism, in interesting them in Christianity, and generally in stimulating new thinking about religious and social matters.

As regards language, the missionaries' use of Bengali as the chief medium of their educational work was of great importance. Hitherto it had been used for poetry, business transactions and personal letters, but it was the missionaries, who, having laid the foundations for the future development of Bengali literature with their dictionaries and grammars, made it a vehicle for Western learning and thought by using it as an

educational medium. In this way they gave an impetus to the 'Bengal Renaissance', which resulted essentially from the impact of Western ideas on the Bengali cultural scene. On the other hand the missionaries also realised the possibilities of English, and it was the Anglicans who in 1818-9 formulated what was to be the predominant linguistic pattern for education in the province for the next century and more - consisting of the use of Bengali in elementary schools and English in secondary schools. A few years later Duff founded an English school in Calcutta whose standards were second to none, and by 1837 the missionaries were providing a significant proportion of the facilities for learning English that existed in the province. Even the Oriental classical languages were not neglected: Serampore College during the first decade of its existence was the scene of an interesting experiment - appropriate at a time when the Government was still pursuing an 'Orientalist' policy - in which Sanskrit was the basic subject taught, and where it was hoped to engraft Western knowledge onto such of the traditional Indian corpus of learning as had not been completely superseded. By 1835 indeed the missionaries as a whole were ready to welcome the Government's conversion to an 'Anglicist' policy - but not without reservations: they continued to emphasise the importance of the vernaculars and the Serampore group also condemned the Government for not giving more patronage to Oriental scholarship.

One way in which the development of Bengali was carried forward was in the compilation of printed textbooks, which had been completely unknown in the indigenous schools and of which the missionaries wrote by far the greatest number before 1837. They did not hesitate to continue with other

contemporary educational enthusiasts, whether or not they were evangelistically minded or even Christian, but the missionary contribution was crucial for the formation and success of the Calcutta School Book and School Societies, which continued to do valuable work for many years. Through the C.S.S. the experiments which the Serampore missionaries were making in an attempt to reform the indigenous schools were extended to Calcutta, with considerable success: these efforts were used by William Adam as the basis for his proposals in 1838 and were finally incorporated - in a modified form - into Government policy with the grants-in-aid system of 1854.

There is ample evidence that the mission schools were more efficiently conducted than the pathsalas: more was learnt in less time, and their pupils attained a higher standard in the basic skills of reading, writing and simple arithmetic. Their schools were managed with greater order and regularity, punishments were comparatively mild and rewards were given to stimulate good work, and academic merit rather than social considerations was the basic consideration in determining a pupil's standing. The mission schools were free and were therefore utilised by many families who would otherwise have gone without education because of their inability to pay the fees required in the other schools: the elements of Western learning therefore were not confined to a handful of wealthy and enterprising people in Calcutta but were to some extent diffused among the towns and villages of the mufasil also. And although the missionaries had to rely on the monitorial system which involved much rote-learning, they did their best, and not without some success, to bring their pupils to a personal understanding of what they learnt - a point of some importance which has been ignored by

previous historians. Indeed this was essential for the achievement of their purpose, as otherwise the Western and Christian learning which they taught would have had little effect in changing their pupils' religious and social outlook. Outside missionary circles Drummond and Derozio were conspicuous individual examples of teachers who stimulated their pupils' capacity for independent critical thinking, but this was not the purpose of the contemporary indigenous educational system, which aimed rather to transmit to the new generation the culture and values of the past. Furthermore, although the subjects which the missionaries taught in their schools were fundamentally alien to the contemporary Bengali cultural situation, they took pains to clothe them as far as possible in a familiar garb. Their use of the Bengali medium was the principal means to this end, but they also used local references in their textbooks and taught local methods of accountancy; not to mention the fact that the monitorial system itself was indigenous to India.

Contemporary educationists, both in Britain and India, were very slow to appreciate the importance of teacher-training, and this was not one of the more successful ventures of the missionaries. But even in this field something was achieved: teachers who had been educated in the English missionaries' schools were by 1830 proving themselves to be more satisfactory than their predecessors, many of whom had taught previously in the pathsalas, and Duff gave the matter particular attention which started to bear fruit within a very few years of the foundation of his school. Finally the missionaries were the pioneers of schools for girls; although they were

not a great success that was in itself a development of great importance as these had been quite unknown in Bengal previously.

The missionaries thus made a varied and useful contribution to education in Bengal in the early nineteenth century; if one had to single out any one sphere in which their work was of particular value, it would perhaps be vernacular elementary education. Apart from the intrinsic importance of this first stage in the educational career of any child, one can reasonably conclude that through their elementary schools they aroused an appetite for higher Western learning and a general curiosity about the world which helps to explain the growing press readership of the period, and which was satisfied not only in the secondary schools founded by the missionaries themselves but also in the institutions which the Government opened in a few of the main towns in and after 1835. Such funds as the Government devoted to education were concentrated mainly on the secondary and higher stages, leaving a gap at the elementary stage which was filled by the missionaries rather than by any other agency. The missionaries in this period thus laid an essential foundation for the educational development of the later nineteenth century.

One reason why they, in comparison with the Government, achieved so much is that they were more free to experiment. At times the Government watched the mission schools with keen interest in the expectation that their fortunes would provide useful lessons for its own work in the field - for example May's work at Chinsura and later Duff's in Calcutta, the success of which was a factor in deciding Bentinck to change the Government's policy on both medical and general education in 1835. Although the Government was

careful not to compromise itself with public opinion by giving official patronage to schools conducted by men whose avowed aim was to convert the people of India to Christianity, Hastings and Bentinck both took a strong personal interest in the educational activity of the missions and permitted - in fact encouraged - their officials to participate in the work of the various societies in their private capacity. A few of the latter, notably W.B. Bayley and C.E. Trevelyan, were indeed sometimes close to the point of allowing their personal missionary zeal to outrun their discretion.

The missionaries were also successful in obtaining some cooperation from the Bengalis: not only from the mufasil people who were glad to use their schools after their initial suspicions had been allayed, but from prominent figures in Calcutta who had awakened to the need for more and better education. The heyday of missionary-Bengali cooperation - as of so many aspects of the story of missionary education - was the administration of the Marquess of Hastings; it seems to have declined subsequently, owing no doubt to the increasing emphasis on Christian religious teaching in the mission schools, to the Marshman-Ram Mohan Roy controversy, and to the realisation of conservative educationists such as Radha Kanta Deb that the spread of education would, unless it was carefully controlled by themselves, result in the undermining of orthodox Hinduism. Nevertheless Ram Mohan Roy and his friends at least were eager to help Duff when he appeared in 1830, and indeed the success of his school owed much to their assistance.

No very thorough attempt has been made hitherto to relate the work of missionary educationists in Bengal to contemporary trends in Great Britain, but this is most instructive. In the first place, it becomes plain that

the reform and development which took place in early nineteenth century Bengal cannot be regarded as something that was brought about by emissaries from an educationally advanced country to one which was backward: rather was it the overflowing of a reform movement which had indeed developed in Britain, but in response to a situation there which was in most respects not dissimilar to that of Bengal. At the end of the eighteenth century the mass of the population in the southern half of Britain at least was virtually unschooled; and such facilities for elementary education as did exist provided for teaching the poor to read the Bible, sometimes to write and do simple arithmetic, but nothing more than that; and the main reason for such a limited curriculum was upper-class fears of stimulating their inferiors to rise above their station in life. In the public and grammar schools religious teaching had degenerated into a barren formality, while discipline was harsh and brutal; the curriculum - as also in the two universities - comprised mainly Latin and Greek, taught by rote rather than understanding, and virtually excluded modern subjects. In short in England, as in Bengal, teaching methods were in need of reform and in every sense the scope of the educational system required widening. The difference between the two countries was not so much in their basic educational situation as that in the former, but not in the latter, reform had actually started by 1800. The Dissenting academies had introduced modern subjects as an integral part of their curriculum; the Sunday Schools had brought basic literacy within reach of many of the urban and rural poor; and Lancaster and Bell were preparing their great network of monitorial day-schools. During the next forty years the momentum of reform quickened: literacy spread; the

curriculum of elementary education was cautiously extended; Arnold restored some meaning to the old slogan "godliness and good learning" in the public schools; London University was founded; new life manifested itself at Oxford and Cambridge; and twenty years after the East India Company had agreed to devote a lakh of rupees to education in India, the British Government voted £20,000 per year in aid of the National Society and the B.F.S.S.

Together with the fact that Andrew Bell derived the inspiration for his monitorial system from watching an Indian village school in action, this should remind us that on some points England was in a position to learn from an Indian example. Nevertheless in the main one must regard the educational reforms which took place in Bengal in the early nineteenth century, primarily through missionary agency, as the outreach of a development which was just getting into its stride in England, and which was in some respects carried further after it had reached Bengal. This is most obvious in connexion with the monitorial system of Lancaster and Bell, the most fashionable agency for mass elementary education in early nineteenth-century England. Under the aegis of a Governor-General who before his departure for India had been one of the most prominent supporters of the B.F.S.S., it was further adapted by the missionaries to Bengali conditions and used on a large scale there - as the vehicle for an education so wide in scope as to evoke the admiration of the avant-garde British educationists James Mill and John Foster. Several of the English missionary educationists had had experience as teachers in Sunday schools prior to their departure for Bengal; Serampore College in many important respects resembled the Dissenting Academies; and finally one might remember that had they not

been filled with the spirit of the Evangelical movement, the missionaries would probably never have gone to Bengal at all.

The same principle was true in relation to Scotland: in that country the educational system inherited from the past was much more adequate to the needs of the times, but the methods used by Duff in the General Assembly's Institution were inspired not just by the example of Scottish schools in general but by the Edinburgh Sessional School, in which John Wood had set his face against mere rote-learning and had succeeded in stimulating his pupils to a genuine personal understanding of what they learnt. This concern was of course not a monopoly of Scottish educationists, but it was pursued by them both in Scotland and in Bengal with a professional thoroughness which reflected the importance that was traditionally attached to educational questions north of the Border.

Some other characteristics of the Scottish educational scene which Duff took with him to Bengal were readiness to enter into intellectual arguments with his students and an anxiety to integrate his curriculum into a whole - though not so much by means of philosophy, as was the case in the Scottish universities, as by Christianity. In his general outlook Duff synthesised to a large extent eighteenth-century Scottish Moderatism with the new Evangelism, combining a belief in the importance of education as a praeparatio evangelica with the characteristic Evangelical zeal.

Viewing the development of education in Bengal in something of a world perspective also enables one to make illuminating comparisons on the question of language. Both in the non-English-speaking parts of Great Britain - Wales and the Highlands of Scotland - and in Bengal, there was in the early

nineteenth century a common desire among educated young men to learn English, mainly in order to improve their career prospects but also, at least in individual cases, because they saw it as a vehicle for higher studies in literature, science and theology. The Highlander Alexander Duff was himself an exemplar of this trend, which helps to explain the success of his educational work among the youth of Calcutta. But while Duff regarded English - the language of a Protestant Christian culture - as the best medium for evangelism in both the partly Roman Catholic Highlands and in non-Christian Bengal, the other missionaries perpetuated a more characteristic Protestant tradition in preferring Bengali; like the German Pietists and the evangelists of eighteenth-century Wales, they used the local vernacular as the medium for preaching, journalism and education alike, and the result was the general development of the Bengali language no less than of German and Welsh. Finally one might note that the educational use of Bengali, once started, continued and developed fairly steadily; not even the most bigoted Anglicists gave it the kind of treatment suffered by Gaelic in the eighteenth and Welsh in the nineteenth centuries.

Another feature common to the educational situation in both Britain and Bengal in the early nineteenth century was a strong religious flavour. This was particularly true of the former: the Kirk had a considerable measure of control over Scottish schools, the 'promotion of piety' was the aim of Griffith Jones in Wales, and in England the reading of the Bible and other religious literature was the main activity in the Charity schools, the Sunday schools, and in those of the two monitorial societies - not to mention the official association of the Church of England, inherited from the

mediaeval church, with the public and grammar schools and the two universities. It was only towards the end of this period that secular educational schemes appeared, such as the University of London and the Mechanics' Institutes. In Bengal a similar situation existed: Muslim education was firmly bound up with religion, and that of the Hindus scarcely less so - although it is true that the religious content of the education given in the pathsalas seemed slight to contemporary British observers. A few new and overtly secular institutions appeared in the early nineteenth century, notably the Hindu College; and more important still was the Government decision in 1835 that the new English schools founded under its auspices should likewise be secular. Nevertheless prior to 1837 both in Britain and in Bengal secular and religious education were rarely separated, and it is in this context that one should see the strong religious emphasis which the mission schools developed after their earliest years. It was not simply that the missionaries viewed their schools as agencies for evangelism: like contemporary public opinion in general, they regarded a purely secular education as inherently incomplete. But the mission schools certainly were regarded as evangelistic agencies - however indirectly so - and the consequence of this was not merely religious teaching but also the variety of secular subjects which were taught in them. By contrast in the charity and monitorial schools of contemporary England the object was not to undermine belief in a supposedly absurd religion by reference to the handiwork of God, but to condition the lower orders into a docile acceptance of their lot, and as a consequence a very limited curriculum was all that was allowed. The evangelistic motives of educators in Bengal thus resulted in a wider and more liberal education

than the politic^o-social motives of their contemporaries in England.

At most the missionaries hoped that some of their older students - who were aged up to 22 or even more - might be converted as a direct result of the teaching which they received: such hopes were very seldom realised, but they consoled themselves, and with more reason, by regarding their teaching as a praeparatio evengelica which would enable their pupils to understand the Christian message more fully. On this point there was a distinct difference of opinion, or at least of emphasis: on the one hand, Bishop Middleton and Alexander Duff regarded Western education as a virtually essential preparation of the heathen mind for the proper understanding and acceptance of Christianity. On the other, the English Evangelicals saw education simply as one among many of the possible means of evangelism: they asserted strongly that the Holy Spirit was capable of communicating with all men irrespective of culture and whether literate or not. Within this group there was however a sub-division between those- including the L.M.S. missionaries and the Calcutta Baptists - who thought that missionaries should direct their own resources to education only if direct Christian teaching could be given in their schools, and others - such as the Serampore Baptists - who thought that ethical teaching and general knowledge were themselves of considerable, if indirect, evangelistic value. These differences of opinion did not diminish the paramountcy of the evangelistic motive - but it was also true that several of those men had a personal aptitude and sense of vocation as teachers in addition to their general commitment to missionary work. This was particularly true of Joshua Marshman, Thomason, May, Pearson and Duff. And so, in an even profounder sense, did Carey - a

scholar who attained a deep understanding and love of the works of God in Nature which he longed to share with his fellow-men.

The main limitation of the missionaries as educators was that their attitude towards the religion of their pupils was marked by bigotry and prejudice rather than by any real understanding. Some would go further and criticise not only their negative attitude towards all religions other than Christianity but also their use of schools as places for the presentation of Christianity, on the grounds that the task of the educator is to stimulate the development of the essential personality of the pupil rather than to try to persuade him to adopt his own views on religion or anything else. But apart from the fact that such a liberal philosophy was, to say the least, unfashionable in early nineteenth-century Bengal, the missionaries would have replied with the argument that a man's personality could only realise its fullest and finest potential in the service of Christ: without the guidance and inspiration of Christian teaching indeed an educated man was capable of wreaking havoc in society. But however much one might wish that they had managed to combine their own Christian commitment with a more objective attitude towards Hinduism and Islam, the comment which Dr. Kenneth Ingham made in a slightly different context is valid also for the educational work of the missionaries: "Had they brought to the problem a spirit of curious interest in a strange phenomenon instead of a burning faith in the transcendental nature of their own religion...they might....have become better Oriental scholars, but they would have contributed less to social reform."¹

(1) K.Ingham, Reformers in India, 21.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

A. MISSIONARY.

The material in the missionary societies' archives consists mainly of letters from missionaries in Bengal to the headquarters of their societies in Great Britain, and of fragments of their journals; also in some cases of copies of letters from the societies to their missionaries, the minutes of the societies' committees, and correspondence concerning the missionaries prior to their departure for Bengal. I have consulted all the material which seemed likely to be of use in the possession of the societies listed below dating from about 1790 to 1840. Most of this material has been catalogued; in some cases - notably the B.M.S. and the L.M.S. - précis of the letters and journals are available; and I have found the archivists and librarians most helpful. Students should therefore have little difficulty in finding what they want in these archives.

Baptist Missionary Society, 93-97 Gloucester Place, London, W.1.

Letters from the missionaries have been arranged in boxes according to author. Those which were of most use to me included some from William Carey, Joshua Marshman, William Ward, Owen Leonard, J.C. Marshman, George Pearce, James Thomas, and James Penney. I have also consulted the Society's Minute Book.

Church Missionary Society, 157 Waterloo Road, London, S.E.1.

All the correspondence between the Society headquarters in London, and the bishops, chaplains and missionaries in Bengal is arranged in chronological

order between the years 1812 and 1820 only. After that date the letters are arranged according to author under the general heading 'North India Mission.'

The letters and journals which I found of most value were those from Thomas Thomason, Daniel Corrie, Deocar Schmid, Isaac Wilson, J.A. Jetter, J.T. Reichardt, J. Latham, T. Sandys, T. Dealtry, J. Perowne, J. Maisch, W.J. Deerr, Miss M.A. Cooke, J.T. Lincke, J.J. Weitbrecht, and J. Haeberlin; also the minutes of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee and of the Committee of the Calcutta Auxiliary C.M.S., and copies of letters from the C.M.S. in London to the missionaries in Bengal. There is also some correspondence between the Society and the tutors of Perowne, Wilson and others prior to their departure for Bengal, under the heading 'General Secretary's Correspondence'.

London Missionary Society, 11 Carteret St., London, S.W.1.

Letters from the missionaries have been arranged in chronological order under the general heading 'North India - Bengal'. Included with them are the annual reports of the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society - the general body of L.M.S. missionaries in Bengal. Filed separately are letters from the Society in London to the missionaries, and also the correspondence, including testimonials, prior to the acceptance of missionary candidates.

Methodist Missionary Society, 25 Marylebone Rd., London, W.1.

Deposited here are letters from the W.M.M.S. missionaries in Bengal, 1830-3. They have been included in boxes under the heading 'Madras', in chronological order.

Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Holy Trinity Church, Marylebone Rd. London, N.W.1.

These archives include the Minutes of the Committee for Correspondence

with the Diocesan and District Committees, and the East India Mission Committee Minutes.

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 15 Tufton St., London, S.W.1.

Letters from the bishops of Calcutta, S.P.G. missionaries, W.H. Mill and the Bishop's College staff are to be found here; also the various drafts of the Statutes of Bishop's College.

In addition to the archives of these missionary societies, I have also made use of manuscripts relating to missionary work as follows:-

Bodleian Library, Oxford.

This contains the Journal of W.H. Mill. I found his 'Journal of a Week's Tour in Bengal in the Year 1821' (MS Mill 203) to be of some value for my purpose.

Broadmead Baptist Church, Bristol.

The records of this church between 1794 and 1799 contain some references to Joshua Marshman.

College Street Baptist Church, Northampton.

There is a collection of letters from William Carey mainly to John Ryland in the vestry of this church, which was of considerable use to me.

National Library of Scotland, George IV Bridge, Edinburgh, 1.

MS. Vol.7530 consists of letters from the Church of Scotland missionaries in Calcutta and others connected with the General Assembly's Institution, which were of very great value.

National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Cardiganshire.

The Isaac Mann Collection, MS.1207 E, deposited in this library, contains some letters from the Baptist missionaries in Bengal which I found of use.

Ridley Hall, Cambridge.

Among the MSS preserved here is some correspondence between Charles Simeon and Charles Grant, and between Thomas Thomason and J.W. Sherer.

B. GENERAL

India Office Library, 197 Blackfriars Rd., London S.E.1.

a. Manuscripts - Creighton-Glyn Papers, MSS.Eur.D.561.

Pechell MS, MS.Eur.B.16.

b. Microfilms - the letters of the Marquess and Marchioness of Hastings, Reel 782.

c. Records - Board's Collections, Vols.908, 909, 1170, 1386, 1387.

Bengal Judicial (Criminal) Consultations, 1814-23.

Bengal Public Consultations, 1822-3.

Bengal Revenue Consultations, 1821.

Despatches to Bengal: Judicial Dept., Vols.80, 82.

Despatches to Bengal: Revenue Dept., Vol.66.

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Letters from Bengal: Ecclesiastical, Vol.1.

Letters from Bengal: Judicial, Vols.4-8.

Letters from Bengal: Public, Vols.12, 22.

Letters to Bengal: Judicial, Vols.4-6.

University of Nottingham Library, University Park, Nottingham.

The Portland Collection: Bentinck Papers (Bengal) - I found the letters of Sir Edward Ryan, C.E. Trevelyan, Bishop Turner and James Young to be of

particular value.

PRINTED SOURCES.

I. REPORTS OF SOCIETIES, COMMITTEES, ETC.

A. MISSIONARY.

1. Anglican.

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Reports of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1813-1828.

Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1818-37.

2. Baptist.

Periodical Accounts relative to the Baptist Missionary Society, Vols.I - VI, 1792-1817.

Periodical Accounts of the Serampore Mission, 1820-1837.

Reports of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1819-1840.

Reports of the Calcutta Baptist Missionary Society, 1819-1836.

Reports of the Institution for the Support and Encouragement of Native Schools in India, 1817-1820.

Serampore Circular Letters, 1808-1822.

Serampore College Prospectus and Annual Reports, 1818-1834.

3. London Missionary Society.

Quarterly Chronicle of Transactions of the London Missionary Society, Vol.I, 1815-20.

Reports of the London Missionary Society, 1816-1840.

Transactions of the Missionary Society, Vol.I, 1795-1802; Vol.IV, 1813-7.

B. OFFICIAL.

1. Parliamentary Papers.

1813 - Vol.XI: C.Grant's Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain.

1831 - Vol.V: Minutes of Evidence for the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company: evidence of Thomas Bracken and Robert Rickards.

1832 - Vol.VIII: Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company.

Vol.IX: Minutes of Evidence - I: Public or Miscellaneous: evidence of James Mill, Holt Mackenzie, C. Lushington, T. Macan, J. Sullivan, J. Sutherland, N.B. Edmonstone, J.W. Sherer; Appx.D; Appx.I (including T.Fisher's Memoir on Education of Indians).

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Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Indian Territories: 1st and 2nd Reports - evidence of J.C. Marshman, H.H. Wilson, T.A. Wise, W.W. Bird, A.Duff, C.E. Trevelyan.

2. General Committee of Public Instruction: Reports, 1831, 1836.

C. MISCELLANEOUS.

Abridgements of the Actings and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1824-1833.

Accounts of the Bristol Education Society, 1804-1830.

Account of the Proceedings and Debate, in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 27th May 1796, on the Overtures from the Provincial Synods of Fife and Moray, respecting the Propagation of the Gospel among the heathen. Edinburgh, 1796.

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Reports of the Calcutta School Book Society, 1817-1833.

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Reports of the General Assembly's Committee on increasing the Means of Education and Religious Instruction in Scotland, 1826-8.

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