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STATEMENTS

RESPECTING THE

EAST-INDIA COLLEGE,

WITH AN

APPEAL TO FACTS,

IN

REFUTATION OF THE CHARGES

LATELY BROUGHT AGAINST IT,

IN THE

Court of Proprietors.

BY

THE REV. T. R. MALTHUS,

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY IN THE EAST-INDIA
COLLEGE, HERTFORDSHIRE, AND LATE FELLOW OF
JESUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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1817.

THE

WEST-INDIA COLLEGE

TRINIDAD

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES
TRINIDAD
TRINIDAD COLLEGE
TRINIDAD

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P R E F A C E.

THE following statements, with the exception of the last head, were written some time since, on account of a rumour then prevailing of charges being meditated in the Court of Proprietors, which I thought were likely to be founded in an ignorance of the real state of the college;—of what it had done, and what it was doing, towards the accomplishment of the specific objects for which it was founded.

The silence of the Court of Proprietors on this subject, the quiet and good order of the college during the last year, and a great reluctance on my

own part to appear before the public on such an occasion, without a very strong necessity, withheld me from publishing. But it is impossible to be silent, under the uncontradicted imputations brought forward in the Court of Proprietors, on the 18th of December, when I know them to be unfounded. I no longer hesitate, therefore, to send what I had written to the press, with the addition of a more specific refutation of the charges brought against the college, in the Court of Proprietors and elsewhere, at the present moment.

The reader will, I hope, excuse a few partial repetitions under the last head; as I think it probable that this part will be read by persons who may not have leisure or inclination to read the whole.

I have put my name to the following statements, to shew that I pledge my character to the truth of what I have asserted, according to the best of my

knowledge and belief. It would be but fair, therefore, that those writers who may attempt to controvert them, and continue their attacks upon the college in the public prints, should adopt the same candid and manly mode of proceeding. If they do not, the inference will be pretty strong, that they cannot reveal their names without discovering to the public some probable motives for their attacks, different from a desire to promote the welfare and good government of India.

T. ROBERT MALTHUS.

January 4th, 1817.

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STATEMENTS,

&c.

THE disturbances which have occasionally taken place at the East India-college, together with the virulent attacks lately made upon it in the Court of Proprietors, have excited the attention of the public, and given rise to some very unfavourable opinions respecting its utility and efficiency. It has been even surmised that a petition might be presented to Parliament to withdraw that legislative sanction which was given to it at the time of the renewal of the East-India Company's Charter.

The abolition of an extensive establishment, the object of which is to give an improved education to those who are to be sent from this country to govern sixty millions of people in India, ought not, certainly, to be determined on without much consideration. Whatever measures may be dictated by the feelings of temporary disappointment and irritation experienced by some who are immediately connected with the institution, either as its patrons, or as parents and

friends of those who are educated there, the great object that must be kept in view by the legislature and the public is, the good government of India. Unless it can be clearly made out, that the education necessary for the furtherance of this object can be given in some other and better way than in the college actually established, they will certainly hesitate, and be very sure of the ground on which they go, before they consent to its abolition, or withdraw from it that support and countenance which are necessary to preserve it from ultimately perishing. Every part of the subject, therefore, should be thoroughly well considered previously to the taking of any new step, either with a view to the suppression of the existing institution, and a return to the former system of casual education, or with a view to the formation of any new establishment, which may appear to promise a more successful accomplishment of the object. The whole subject may, perhaps, be advantageously resolved into the following questions; and the answers to them are intended to furnish some materials for the determination of the important points to which they refer.

- I. *What are the qualifications at present necessary for the civil service of the East-India Company, in the administration of their Indian territories?*
page 4.

- II. *Has any deficiency in those qualifications been actually experienced in such a degree as to be injurious to the service in India?* page 12.
- III. *In order to secure the qualifications required for the service of the Company, is an appropriate establishment necessary?—and should it be of the nature of a school, or a college?* page 24.
- IV. *Should such an establishment be in England or in India? or should there be an establishment in both countries?* page 32.
- V. *Does it appear that the college actually established in Hertfordshire is upon a plan calculated to supply that part of the appropriate education of the civil servants of the Company which ought to be completed in Europe?* page 46.
- VI. *Are the disturbances which have taken place in the East-India College to be attributed to any radical and necessary evils inherent in its constitution and discipline; or to adventitious and temporary causes, which are likely to be removed?* page 65.
- VII. *Are the more general charges which have lately been brought against the college in the Court of Proprietors founded in truth? or are they capable of a distinct refutation, by an appeal to facts?* page 82.

SECTION I.

I. *What are the qualifications at present necessary for the civil service of the East-India Company, in the administration of their Indian territories?*

TO the first question, and parts of the others, it will be impossible to give an answer at once so able and so conclusive as by quoting largely from the "*Minute in Council*" of the Marquis Wellesley, dated August 18, 1800, containing the reasons which induced him to found a collegiate institution at Fort William.

He begins with a masterly view of the gradual change which has taken place in the number, importance, and responsibility of the trusts confided to the civil servants of the Company, and the high qualifications necessary to fill them: after which he proceeds as follows:—

“ The British possessions in India now constitute one
“ of the most extensive and populous empires in the
“ world. The immediate administration of the govern-
“ ment of the various provinces and nations composing
“ this empire is principally confided to European civil

“ servants of the East-India Company. Those provinces,
 “ namely, Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Benares; the
 “ Company’s Jaghire in the Carnatic, the Northern
 “ Circars, the Baramhal, and other districts ceded by
 “ the peace of Seringapatam in 1792, which are under
 “ the more immediate and direct administration of
 “ the civil servants of the Company, are acknowledged
 “ to form the most opulent and flourishing part of
 “ India; in which property, life, civil order, and re-
 “ ligious liberty, are more secure, and the people enjoy
 “ a larger portion of the benefits of good government,
 “ than in any other country in this quarter of the
 “ globe. The duty and policy of the British govern-
 “ ment in India require that the system of confiding
 “ the immediate exercise of every branch and depart-
 “ ment of the civil government to Europeans educated
 “ in its own service, and subject to its own direct con-
 “ trol, should be diffused as widely as possible; as
 “ well with a view to the stability of our own interests,
 “ as to the happiness and welfare of our native sub-
 “ jects. This principle formed the basis of the wise
 “ and benevolent system introduced by Lord Corn-
 “ wallis, for the improvement of the internal govern-
 “ ment of the provinces immediately subject to the
 “ presidency of Bengal.

“ In proportion to the extension of this beneficial
 “ system, the duties of the European civil servants of
 “ the East-India Company are become of greater

“ magnitude and importance. The denominations
 “ of *writer, factor* and *merchant*, by which the several
 “ classes of the civil service are still distinguished,
 “ are now utterly inapplicable to the nature and
 “ extent of the duties discharged and of the occupations
 “ pursued by the civil servants of the Company.

“ To dispense justice to millions of people of various
 “ languages, manners, usages, and religions ; to administer a vast and complicated system of revenue,
 “ through districts equal in extent to some of the
 “ most considerable kingdoms in Europe ; to maintain
 “ civil order in one of the most populous and litigious
 “ regions in the world ; these are now the duties of the
 “ larger portion of the civil servants of the Company.
 “ The senior merchants, composing the Courts of
 “ Circuit and Appeal under the presidency of Bengal,
 “ exercise in each of these courts a jurisdiction or
 “ greater local extent, applicable to a larger population,
 “ and occupied in the determination of causes infinitely
 “ more intricate and numerous, than that of any
 “ regularly constituted courts of justice in any part of
 “ Europe. The senior or junior merchants employed
 “ in the several magistracies and Zillah courts, the
 “ writers or factors filling the stations of registers
 “ and assistants to the several courts and magistrates,
 “ exercise, in different degrees, functions of a nature
 “ either purely judicial, or intimately connected with

“ the administration of the police, and with the main-
 “ tenance of the peace and good order of their re-
 “ spective districts. Commercial and mercantile
 “ knowledge is not only unnecessary throughout every
 “ branch of the judicial department; but those civil
 “ servants, who are invested with the powers of ma-
 “ gistracy, or attached to the judicial department
 “ in any ministerial capacity, although bearing the
 “ denomination of merchants, factors, or writers, are
 “ bound by law, and by the solemn obligation of an
 “ oath, to abstain from every commercial and mercan-
 “ tile pursuit. The mercantile title which they bear
 “ not only affords no description of their duty, but is
 “ entirely at variance with it.

“ The pleadings in the several courts, and all im-
 “ portant judicial transactions, are conducted in the
 “ native languages. The law which the Company’s
 “ judges are bound to administer throughout the
 “ country is not the law of England, but that law to
 “ which the natives had been long accustomed under
 “ their former sovereigns, tempered and mitigated by
 “ the voluminous regulations of the Governor-Ge-
 “ neral in Council, as well as by the general spirit of
 “ the British constitution.

“ These observations are sufficient to prove, that
 “ no more arduous or complicated duties of magi-
 “ stracy exist in the world, *no qualifications more*
 “ *various or comprehensive can be imagined, than*

“ those which are required from every British
 “ subject who enters the seat of judgment within the
 “ limits of the Company’s empire in India.

“ To the administration of revenue many of the
 “ preceding observations will apply with equal force.
 “ The merchants, factors, and writers, employed in
 “ this department, also, are bound to abjure the mer-
 “ cantile denomination appropriated to their respective
 “ classes in the Company’s service ; nor is it possible
 “ for a collector of the revenue, or for any civil ser-
 “ vant employed under him, to discharge his duty
 “ with common justice either to the state or to the
 “ people, unless he shall be conversant in the lan-
 “ guage, manners, and usages of the country, and
 “ in the general principles of the law, as administered
 “ in their courts of justice. In addition to the or-
 “ dinary judicial and executive functions of the judges,
 “ magistrates, and collectors, the judges and ma-
 “ gistrates occasionally act in the capacity of governors
 “ of their respective districts, employing military,
 “ and exercising other extensive powers. The judges,
 “ magistrates, and collectors, are also respectively re-
 “ quired by law to propose, from time to time, to
 “ the Governor-General in Council, such amend-
 “ ments of the existing laws, or such new laws, as
 “ may appear to them to be necessary to the welfare
 “ and good government of their respective districts.
 “ In this view the civil servants employed in the de-

“partments of judicature and revenue constitute a
 “species of subordinate legislative council to the
 “Governor-General in Council, and also a channel
 “of communication by which the government ought
 “to be enabled, at all times, to ascertain the wants
 “and wishes of the people. The remarks applied
 “to these two main branches of the civil service, *viz.*
 “those of Judicature and Revenue, are at least
 “equally forcible in their application to those branches
 “which may be described under the general terms of
 “political and financial departments, comprehending
 “the office of Chief Secretary, the various stations
 “in the Secretary’s office, in the Treasury, and in
 “the office of Accountant-General; together with all
 “public officers employed in conducting the current
 “business at the seat of government. To these must
 “be added the diplomatic branch, including the se-
 “veral residencies at the courts of our dependent and
 “tributary princes, or other native powers of India.

“It is certainly desirable that all these stations
 “should be filled by the civil servants of the Com-
 “pany; it is equally evident that qualifications are
 “required in each of these stations, either wholly
 “foreign to commercial habits, or far exceeding the
 “limits of a commercial education.”

“Even that department of the empire, which is
 “denominated exclusively commercial, requires know-
 “ledge and habits different in a considerable degree

“ from those which form the mercantile character in
“ Europe. Nor can the Company’s investment
“ ever be conducted with the greatest possible ad-
“ vantage and honour to themselves, or with ade-
“ quate justice to their subjects, unless their com-
“ mercial agents shall possess many of the qualifica-
“ tions of statesmen enumerated in the preceding
“ observations. The manufacturers, and other in-
“ dustrious classes, whose productive labour is the
“ source of the investment, bear so great a propor-
“ tion to the total population of the Company’s do-
“ minions, that the general happiness and prosperity
“ of the country must essentially depend on the
“ conduct of the commercial servants employed in
“ providing the investment. Their conduct cannot
“ be answerable to such a charge, unless they be
“ conversant in the native languages, and in the cus-
“ toms and usages of the people, as well as in the
“ laws by which the country is governed. The peace,
“ order, and welfare of whole provinces, may be ma-
“ terially affected by the malversations, or even by
“ the ignorance and errors of a commercial resident,
“ whose management touches the dearest and most
“ valuable interests, and enters into the domestic
“ concerns of numerous bodies of people, active and
“ acute from habitual industry, and jealous of any
“ act of power injurious to their properties, or con-
“ trary to their prejudices and customs.

“ The civil servants of the East-India Company,
 “ therefore, can no longer be considered as the agents
 “ of a *commercial concern*: they are, in fact, the
 “ ministers and officers of a *powerful sovereign*: they
 “ must now be viewed in that capacity with a re-
 “ ference not to their nominal, but to their real oc-
 “ cupations. They are required to discharge the
 “ functions of magistrates, judges, ambassadors, and
 “ governors of provinces, in all the complicated and
 “ extensive relations of those sacred trusts and ex-
 “ alted stations, and under peculiar circumstances,
 “ which greatly enhance the solemnity of every pub-
 “ lic obligation, and the difficulty of every public
 “ charge. Their duties are those of statesmen in
 “ every other part of the world ; with no other cha-
 “ racteristic differences than the obstacles opposed by
 “ an unfavourable climate, a foreign language, the
 “ peculiar usages and laws of India, and the man-
 “ ners of its inhabitants.”

Nothing can be added to these statements which
 can be expected to render them more clear, or to give
 them greater weight. They are quite decisive with re-
 gard to the qualifications required for the civil service
 of the East-India Company in India.

SECTION II.

Has any deficiency in these qualifications been actually experienced in such a degree as to be injurious to the service in India?

ON the second question, also, it will be most advantageous to hear the opinion of the Marquis Wellesley. He observes in the minute of August 18, 1800, “ It may be useful in this place to review the
“ course in which the junior civil servants of the East-
“ India Company now enter upon the important duties
“ of their respective stations; to consider to what
“ degree they now possess or can attain any means of
“ qualifying themselves sufficiently for those stations ;
“ and to examine whether the great body of the civil
“ servants at any of the Presidencies can now be deemed
“ competent to discharge their arduous and compre-
“ hensive trusts in a manner correspondent to the in-
“ terests and honour of the British name in India, or to
“ the prosperity and happiness of our native subjects.
“ The age at which the writers usually arrive in

“ India is from sixteen to eighteen. Their parents
 “ and friends in England, from a variety of con-
 “ siderations, are naturally desirous not only to ac-
 “ celerate the appointment at home, but to despatch
 “ the young men to India at the earliest possible
 “ period. Some of these young men have been edu-
 “ cated with an express view to the civil service in
 “ India on principles utterly erroneous, and inappli-
 “ cable to its actual condition. Conformably to this
 “ error, they have received a limited education, con-
 “ fined principally to commercial knowledge, and
 “ in no degree extended to those liberal studies which
 “ constitute the basis of education at public schools
 “ in England. Even this limited course of study is
 “ interrupted at the early period of fifteen or seven-
 “ teen years.

“ It would be superfluous to enter into any argu-
 “ ment to demonstrate the absolute insufficiency of
 “ this class of young men to execute the duties of
 “ any station whatever in the civil service of the
 “ Company, beyond the menial, laborious, unwhole-
 “ some duty of a mere copying-clerk. Those who
 “ have received the benefits of a better education
 “ have the misfortune to find the course of their studies
 “ prematurely interrupted at the critical period when
 “ its utility is first felt, and before they have been
 “ enabled to secure the fruits of early application.

“ On the arrival of the writers in India, they are

“ either stationed in the interior of the country, or
 “ employed in some office in the presidency. If
 “ stationed in the interior of the country, they are
 “ placed in situations which require a knowledge of
 “ the language and customs of the natives; or of the
 “ regulations and laws; or of the general principles
 “ of jurisprudence; or of the details of the established
 “ system of revenue; or of the nature of the Com-
 “ pany’s investment; or of many of these branches
 “ of information combined. In all these branches of
 “ knowledge the young writers are totally uninformed,
 “ and they are consequently totally unequal to their
 “ prescribed duties. In some cases their superior
 “ in office, experiencing no benefit from their ser-
 “ vices, leaves them unemployed. In this state
 “ many devote their time to those luxuries and enjoy-
 “ ments which their situation enables them to com-
 “ mand, without making any effort to qualify them-
 “ selves for the important stations to which they are
 “ destined. They remain sunk in indolence, until,
 “ from their station in the service, they succeed to
 “ offices of high public trust.

“ Positive incapacity is the necessary result of
 “ these pernicious habits of inaction; the principles
 “ of public integrity are endangered, and the suc-
 “ cessful administration of the whole government ex-
 “ posed to hazard. This has been the unhappy course
 “ of many, who have conceived an early disgust in

“ provincial stations against business to which they
 “ have found themselves unequal, and who have
 “ been abandoned to the effects of despondency and
 “ sloth.”

The Marquis goes on to say, that “ even the
 “ young men whose dispositions are the most pro-
 “ mising, if stationed in the interior of the country,
 “ at an early period after their arrival in India, labour
 “ under such disadvantages, that they can scarcely
 “ establish those foundations of useful knowledge in-
 “ dispensably necessary to enable them afterwards to
 “ execute the duties of important stations with ability
 “ and credit. And that, with regard to the young
 “ men attached to the offices of the presidency, the
 “ most assiduous of them, being occupied in the close
 “ and laborious application to the hourly business of
 “ transcribing papers, are seldom able to make ad-
 “ vances in any other branch of knowledge, and at
 “ the close of two or three years they have generally
 “ lost the fruits of their European studies, without
 “ having gained any useful knowledge of Asiatic
 “ literature or business ; while those, whose disposi-
 “ tions lead them to idleness and dissipation, finding
 “ greater temptations to indulgence and extravagance
 “ in the presidency than in the provinces, fall into
 “ courses which destroy their health and fortunes ;
 “ and some of them succeeding in the ordinary pro-
 “ gress of the service to employments, their incapacity

“ or misconduct becomes conspicuous to the natives,
 “ disgraceful to themselves, and injurious to the
 “ State.

“ Under all these early disadvantages,” the Marquis
 says, “ it is highly creditable to the individual cha-
 “ racters of the civil servants of the East-India Com-
 “ pany, that so many instances have occurred in va-
 “ rious branches and departments of the civil service,
 “ at all the presidencies, of persons who have discharged
 “ their public duties with considerable respect and
 “ honour.

“ It has been justly observed, that all the merits of
 “ the civil servants are to be ascribed to their own
 “ character, talents, and exertions ; while their defects
 “ must be imputed to the constitution and practice of
 “ the service, which have not been accommodated to
 “ the progressive changes of our situation in India, and
 “ have not kept pace with the growth of this empire,
 “ or with the increasing extent and importance of the
 “ functions and duties of civil servants.

“ The study and acquisition of the languages have,
 “ however, been extended in Bengal, and the general
 “ knowledge and qualifications of the civil servants
 “ have been improved. The proportion of the civil
 “ servants in Bengal who have made a considerable
 “ progress towards the attainment of the qualifications
 “ requisite in their several stations appears great, and
 “ even astonishing, when viewed with regard to the

“ early disadvantages, embarrassments, and defects of
 “ the civil service. But this proportion will appear
 “ very different when compared with the exigencies of
 “ the state, with the magnitude of these provinces,
 “ and with the total number of the civil servants
 “ which must supply the succession to the great
 “ offices of the government.

“ *It must be admitted that the great body of the*
 “ *civil servants in Bengal is not at present sufficiently*
 “ *qualified to discharge the duties of the several ar-*
 “ *duous stations in the administration of this empire ;*
 “ *and that it is particularly deficient in the judicial,*
 “ *fiscal, financial, and political branches of the go-*
 “ *vernment.*

“ The state of the civil services of Madras and
 “ Bombay is still more defective than that of Ben-
 “ gal.”

Nothing can be more clear and convincing than this statement of deficiency in the great body of the civil servants of the Company, before any efforts were made, either in India or in England, to give them a superior education. It is sufficiently well known, though no written documents may remain on the subject, on account of no specific remedy having been proposed, that Lord Cornwallis found the same difficulty in filling the important offices of the state with proper persons as the Marquis Wellesley. Many of the older civil servants were passed over in the

search for the qualifications required, and, even with the greatest range that the rules of the service would admit, the search was not always successful.

Mr. Edmonstone, in his excellent speech at the public disputation, held at the College of Port-William on the 27th of July, 1815, strongly notices the former defects in the education of the civil servants, and adverts particularly to the argument adduced by some persons in favour of the sufficiency of the old system, founded on the progressive prosperity and power of the British dominion in India, and on the success which attended the administration of the concerns of this great empire.

“ When we contemplate,” he says, “ our situation
 “ in this country; when we reflect that we are go-
 “ verning a population of many millions, to whom our
 “ language is unknown; whose religion, habits, man-
 “ ners, usages and prejudices, wholly differ from our
 “ own; no argument would seem requisite to prove
 “ that the diffusion of the benefits and blessings of a
 “ British administration among these our subjects
 “ must essentially depend on the degree in which the
 “ power of communication with the natives of India
 “ is possessed by the public officers employed in the
 “ various branches of this great and complicated go-
 “ vernment. Splendid as has been the career of our
 “ dominion, prosperous as has been the conduct of
 “ our internal concerns, who will allege that no ad-

“vantages have been lost, no evils have been incurred,
 “which a skilful use of the powers of language might
 “not have secured and prevented?”

“Who will say that improved means of direct in-
 “tercourse with our subjects are not indispensably
 “required to co-operate with the enactment and ad-
 “ministration of salutary laws for the purpose of
 “diffusing the knowledge and the practice of those
 “principles of conduct which have a tendency to
 “exalt the standard of national character, to diminish
 “the prevalence of immorality and crime, and to
 “promote the general welfare and happiness of the
 “inhabitants of these territories? Who will maintain
 “that far greater advances in the attainment of such
 “important purposes might not long since have been
 “made, if the existing facilities of Oriental study and
 “acquirement had in early times enabled the Com-
 “pany’s servants to arrive at that proficiency which
 “is now so generally attained?”

These observations are perfectly just, but something further might be added on the subject. The progressive extension and prosperity of the British dominions in India has been founded mainly on its military and political power; but, in the military line and the highest departments of government, circumstances rarely fail to generate the qualifications required. All ages and countries have produced warriors and statesmen. A few great and illustrious individuals, such as

we may suppose might be formed out of the number of Englishmen sent to the east, might be sufficient so to animate the whole body of their countrymen, and so skilfully to manage the natives, as to acquire and maintain enormous possessions against Mahometan and Indian competitors. But it is a very different thing when the question is no longer about the acquisition and maintenance of empire, but the administration of justice and of a good internal government to sixty millions of subjects. Here the few men of great talents, who will always be found among a certain number, are comparatively without power. They cannot act without instruments. These instruments must necessarily be a considerable body of civil servants, not only possessing the means of easy communication with the natives, but of improved understandings, of acquired knowledge, and of habits of steady application and industry. When it is recollected that there is no judge on the bench in England who is not of mature age, and has not shewn himself for many years eminent among a number of eminent competitors, it is difficult to conceive that the judicial department in India should be in any degree adequately filled. And though it might be allowed that out of the number supplied from England in the civil and military line, according to the former system, India would never be deficient in persons fit to command in the field, or advise in the cabinet ; yet that

such a body, so collected, should furnish a sufficient number of persons competent to conduct ably and efficiently the whole internal administration of so great and populous a country, seems next to an impossibility. Nothing, then, can be more futile than the argument in favour of the former system, derived from the progressive extension of our power in the east. In fact the past and present internal state of India directly contradict the arguments. Before the period of the establishment of the Board of Controul and the commencement of the government of Lord Cornwallis, however wonderful might have been the progress of our power, the internal prosperity of the provinces in our possession was generally considered to be on the decline; and, even since that period, the commercial, financial, and territorial prosperity of British India, has certainly not kept pace with the brilliant career of its arms and councils. Considering the long peace which Bengal has enjoyed under the protection of these arms, its cultivation, wealth, and population, have not increased so much as might naturally have been expected; and not only would it be rash to affirm, as Mr. Edmonstone intimates, that no advantages have been lost in consequence of the deficient knowledge of the Company's servants, but it would probably be quite safe to assert, that the interests of the Company and the happiness and prosperity of their Indian subjects must have suffered

materially from this cause; that they suffer in some degree still; but that they suffered much more, antecedently to the commencement of the improved system of education, when the number of those who attained to any degree of proficiency in the languages was extremely confined; when, according to Mr. Edmonstone, the *Arabic* and *Sanscrit* could boast only of a few occasional votaries; when the proportion of the servants of the Company who acquired a knowledge of the *Persian* language was comparatively inconsiderable, and the general standard of proficiency in that language was extremely low; when, unassisted by a Moonshee, few were capable of executing the ordinary business of translating from Persian into English, and still fewer were able to perform the converse of that operation with any grammatical correctness, without the same assistance; when the number of those who were adequately conversant in the *Hindoostance* was extremely limited, and the language of *Bengal* was almost generally neglected and unknown. Mr. Edmonstone then adds, “how essential, how extensive, has been the change in all these respects!”

It might naturally be expected that the defects of the former system would be the least conspicuous in the acquisition of the languages; and that an early removal to India, and an early employment in some subordinate official situation, would not have been very disadvantageous in this respect, however disadvanta-

geous it would be, as directly stated by Lord Wellesley, with a view to the attainments necessary in the higher departments of the service.

But it appears, that even in the languages, with the exception of a few self-taught individuals, the deficiency was very great. What then must it have been in the other qualifications necessary for the internal administration of a great country?

When to these statements of Mr. Edmonstone, and the inferences which follow from them, we add the distinct declaration of the Marquis Wellesley, before quoted, respecting the insufficient qualifications of the great body of the civil servants, it is abundantly evident that an improved education for the civil service of the Company was not an imaginary and theoretical, but a real and practical want—a want which, in some way or other, required unquestionably to be supplied.

SECTION III.

In order to secure the attainment of the qualifications necessary for the civil servants of the Company, is an appropriate establishment necessary? and should it be of the nature of a school, or a college?

THE Marquis Wellesley, after dwelling upon the qualifications necessary for the civil service of the Company, observes that it is unnecessary to enter into an examination of facts to prove that no system of education, study, or discipline, now exists either in Europe or India, founded on the principles or directed to the objects which he had described; and his opinion of the necessity of an appropriate institution was fully evinced by the grand collegiate establishment which he founded at Fort William.

It is well known that this establishment, in its full extent, was not sanctioned by the Court of Directors. The main ground of their rejection of it they stated to be the enormous and indefinite expense in which it must involve the Company, which they considered as

too great for the actual state of their affairs. They paid high compliments to the liberal and enlightened spirit and great ability of the Marquis, though they only expressed their approbation of parts of his plan. They acknowledged, however, the necessity of an improved education for their civil servants, but seemed to think that this object might be effectually accomplished by an enlarged seminary for Oriental learning at Calcutta, combined with an improved system of education in Europe, suitable to the sphere of life in which their civil servants were intended to move.

None of the old establishments in England offered such a system of education. The great public schools, which, upon the Marquis Wellesley's plan of an university education in Calcutta, would have answered perfectly well for the European part of the education till fifteen or sixteen, were evidently insufficient when the Indian part of the education was to be confined exclusively to the Oriental languages, and conducted without any system of discipline.

A regular course of study at Oxford and Cambridge would evidently detain the young men too long in England, and would defer the commencement of their Indian career till the age of twenty-two or twenty-three; a period, which is considered as decidedly objectionable, both with respect to the greater difficulty they would find in accommodating themselves to Indian manners and habits, and to the necessarily

later period of life at which they could expect to return to their native country with a competency.

Whatever difficulties or objections, therefore, might attend an institution exclusively applied to the education of the young persons destined to go out to India as writers, such an appropriate institution seemed to be necessarily required by the specific wants of the Company.

But if an appropriate establishment was necessary, the nature of the object to be attained obviously dictated the propriety of its assuming a collegiate form.

At the time that the establishment in Hertfordshire was founded, the plan of general education projected by the Marquis Wellesley at the college in Calcutta had been given up, and the lectures were confined exclusively to the Oriental languages. It was necessary, therefore, with a view to the qualifications acknowledged to be required in the service, to commence a plan of more general study in England; and for this purpose a school was unfit.

At a school which the boys would leave at an early age, little more could be learnt with advantage than at the usual seminaries of the country. If the age of proceeding to India was in general not later than sixteen, there would certainly be ample time for the acquisition of the Oriental languages in that country before a writer could be employed, or, at least, before he ought to be employed, in any official situation

beyond that of copying-clerk ; and the advantage which he would gain by commencing the Oriental languages at school would be so trifling as not nearly to counterbalance the time employed on them.

It will hardly be contended, that boys under the age of sixteen are fit to commence that course of general reading which may be considered as appropriate to their future destination ; and an attempt to introduce such a system would inevitably occasion the complete sacrifice of classical studies, with scarcely a possibility of substituting any thing in their stead but that mercantile education, so strongly reprobated by Lord Wellesley.

With regard to conduct,—the strict discipline and constant superintendence of a school would be but a bad preparation for the entire independence, and complete freedom from all restraint, which would await them on their arrival at Calcutta ; and as long as they continue to proceed to India at the age of school-boys, whether they are taken from an appropriate establishment, or from the common schools of the country, nothing is done towards removing or mitigating the dangers arising from this cause.

If to these considerations be added the objections which have been made to an appropriate establishment for India, as tending to generate something like an Indian caste (objections which might have some weight if the exclusive education commenced as early as

twelve or thirteen), it may safely be concluded that any expenditure of the Company in an *appropriate school* would not only be entirely wasted, but would probably be the means of giving them servants of less powerful minds, and inferior general abilities, than if they had been taken promiscuously from the common schools of the country.

- To accomplish the particular object proposed some institution was required, which was adapted to form the understandings of persons above the age of mere boys, where a more liberal system of discipline might be introduced; and where, instead of being kept to their studies solely by the fear of immediate observation and punishment, they might learn to be influenced by the higher motives of the love of distinction and the fear of disgrace, and to depend for success upon their own diligence and self-controul; upon the power of regulating their own time and attention; and on habits of systematic and persevering application, when out of the presence of their teachers. Nothing but an institution approaching in some degree to a college, and possessing some degree of college liberty, could either generate such habits, or properly develop the different characters of the young persons educated in it; and mark with sufficient precision the industrious and the indolent, the able and the deficient, the well-disposed and the turbulent. Nothing, in short, but an institution at which the students would remain till

eighteen or nineteen, could be expected properly to prepare them for the acquisition of those high qualifications, which had been stated from the best authority to be necessary for a very large portion of the civil servants of the Company, in order to enable them to discharge their various and important duties with credit to themselves and advantage to the service.

Yet, in spite of these obvious reasons, which seemed to settle the question at once in favour of a college, there were many who preferred a school, as there were many who would have greatly preferred the having neither the one nor the other. The motives for this latter preference were sufficiently intelligible.

Besides the argument for leaving things as they are, which so many persons are always ready to apply on all occasions, it was certain that any system of education at a particular establishment, which was made a necessary qualification for an appointment to India, must tend rather to diminish the value of the patronage of the Directors. In the first place, the expense of the education would generally be considered by the parents and guardians of the young person appointed as a drawback upon the advantage received. And, secondly, the chance that, from inability or misconduct, the appointment might not be confirmed, would be a consideration of a nature to have great weight with those who, it is to be feared, sometimes wish to send out a son, or other connexion, to India,

whose conduct and attainments do not promise a very fortunate career at home.

It is evident that most of the reasons which would determine many persons to prefer the old system to any kind of establishment whatever, for the education of the civil servants of the Company, would determine them to prefer a school to a college, if it were necessary to choose between the two evils. They would be aware that a young person must be educated somewhere, before he reaches the earliest age at which he can be sent to India, and it would not make much difference in expense whether he was educated at a common school or one established by the Company. The early conclusion of his education, and the early period of his proceeding to India, would remove, either wholly, or in a great degree, the objections on the score of expense. They would probably presume also, that as, at a school, the boys would be kept in order by the birch, there would be much less danger of the loss of an appointment. In this, however, they would probably find themselves mistaken. Birch supports discipline, only because it is itself supported by the fear of expulsion: remove this fear, and the effect of the rod will soon cease. In almost all cases, the physical force is on the side of the governed; and few youths of sixteen would submit to be flogged if they did not know that immediate expulsion would be the consequence of their refusal. If the East-India Company

had an establishment for the education of boys from thirteen to sixteen, there is great reason to believe that without the usual gradation of ages from nine and ten upwards, and with any hesitation in resorting to the punishment of expulsion on all the usual occasions, it would be scarcely possible to enforce proper obedience ; and the rod itself would probably be one of the principal causes of resistance and rebellion.

A school therefore, besides excluding at once the great object in view—an education fitted for the higher offices of the government—seemed to present no one intelligible advantage over a college, but that of diminishing, in a smaller degree, the patronage of the Directors. This advantage, to the honour of the Court, was not regarded, in comparison of the advantages which their Indian territories might derive from the improved education of their civil servants; and a college was determined upon.

One of the great objections urged by Adam Smith against the government of an exclusive Company is, that their interests, as a sovereign, are generally considered as subordinate to their interests as individuals, or as a body of merchants. In the establishment of the East-India college, the feelings of the sovereign conspicuously predominated ; and the public did justice to the disinterested motives and the enlarged and enlightened views which prompted the decision.

SECTION IV.

Should the appropriate establishment formed by the East-India Company be in England or India? or should there be establishments in both countries?

THE practical part of this question has been already decided in the Court of Directors by their establishment of an appropriate college in England for the education of their civil servants, and by their resolution to confine the object of their college in Calcutta exclusively to the Oriental languages. But the question may at any time be revived. Feeling present inconveniencies and evils from the establishment in England, the Court may again think of reverting to a system of general education in Calcutta. And it may be useful to state, preparatory to any such experiment, the evils and inconveniencies which are likely to result from a regular college in India.

In the first place, it is well known that the expense would be beyond all comparison greater than in England, probably, at the least, six or seven times as

great; and though the object of an improved education is of such paramount importance that it is the last quarter in which expense should be considered, yet, if this object can be effectually accomplished upon a more economical plan, there can be no doubt of the duty and propriety of adopting it.

In England the most able instructors may be obtained in all the departments of knowledge and literature at salaries quite moderate, compared with those which would be necessary to induce men of the same attainments to afford their assistance in India; and if to these superior salaries be added the much heavier Pension List that would inevitably accompany them, the difference would be still farther increased.

In England every part of a collegiate establishment, the buildings, the table, the attendance, &c. &c. may be kept within very moderate bounds; but in India, where a certain style of living seems to be expected from all the Company's servants, this would be extremely difficult, and the expenditure under all these heads would be upon a much larger and more extended scale.

In England, at the college now established, not only the personal expenses of the students are supported by their parents and friends, but a hundred guineas a year are paid towards their education. If the two years from sixteen to eighteen were spent at a

collège in India, the students would of course be paid the salaries of writers from the time of their arrival; and, reckoning the average of the yearly admissions at forty, eighty persons more than at present would be living upon the Indian revenue. The salaries of the junior writers are 300 rupees a month, or about 450*l.* a year; and on this article alone, therefore, the present system saves 36,000*l.* a year to the Company.

It may be said, perhaps, that it is not to be wished that the expenses of the necessary education of the Company's servants should fall so heavily upon their parents and connexions, and that it would sometimes be desirable to give appointments to persons whose families could not easily support such an expense. That such instances may occur there can be no doubt; but, as a general rule, there can be as little doubt that the preparatory education for official situations not only usually is, but ought to be, supported by the families of the candidates themselves, and in the particular case in question it is highly beneficial to the Company's service that the candidates for writerships should be taken almost exclusively from that class of society which may be supposed capable of paying the expenses of a good common education. There is reason to believe, from the information of residents in India, and from the qualifications of some of the students who even now present themselves for ad-

mission to the college in Hertfordshire, that before its establishment persons were occasionally sent out to India so extremely ill-suited to the situations in which they were likely to be placed, both from their previous habits, and the kind of education they had received, that it was scarcely possible to employ them without injury to the service.

The college in India, established upon the Marquis Wellesley's plan, cost in the first year about 76,000*l.* For the two following years the estimates were about 48,000*l.*, but the change of plan prevented the correctness of them from being ascertained. In neither calculation, however, were the additional salaries of eighty students included. These salaries, it was considered, would be paid equally, whether the writers resided in the college, or were less usefully employed in some subordinate offices; and this was certainly true; but the whole of this expense would of course be saved upon the supposition that the two years from sixteen to eighteen were spent in England.

The expense of the college in England, beyond what is paid by the students, and independently of the building, may be estimated at between nine and ten thousand a year, so that the expenses of the college in India would altogether at the least be six or seven times as great as that in England.

Secondly, in point of regularity of conduct and personal expenses, the advantage possessed by the

college in England will scarcely appear less marked than its advantage in point of economy*.

It is generally acknowledged that the young men who go out as writers to India have the power of borrowing money almost to any extent from natives, who speculate upon their future rise in the service; and during the early part of their residence in Calcutta it is but too common to indulge in an expenditure greatly beyond their incomes. They find themselves besides the members of a privileged cast; and the almost arbitrary controul which they exercise over the persons whom they chiefly see about them must have a necessary tendency to foster their caprices; and render them impatient of authority. If to these causes of irregularity we add the seductions of a luxurious climate, and consider at the same time the critical age from sixteen to nineteen at which they are at first exposed to these temptations, it is difficult to conceive a more dangerous ordeal. The deficient discipline of our schools and universities in England has often been the subject of complaint; but it may safely be pronounced, that if our youth from sixteen to nineteen were exposed to the same temptations as they

* I say this with confidence, notwithstanding the clamour that has lately been made in the Court of Proprietors, and in the public prints, about the irregularities prevailing in the East-India college.

would be during a three-years' residence at a college in Calcutta, their discipline would not admit of a comparison with what it is at present.

But it is not only to be expected, according to all general principles, that violations of any regular system of academical discipline in India would be much more frequent than in a similar institution in England; but the means of punishment, when such offences had been committed, would be much more difficult and embarrassing.

It is well known that in all places of education for gentlemen the efficacy of minor punishments is only supported by the final appeal to expulsion. Even in military seminaries, where strict personal confinement is frequently applied, expulsion and dismissal from the service are the punishments for continued acts of contumacy and rebellion; and in civil institutions, where the intermediate punishments can scarcely be made so effective, this final appeal is still more absolutely necessary. But in India the expelled students, though not perhaps subsequently promoted to any lucrative situation, would still continue to receive the salaries of writers according to their standing; and if the old plan of sending youths to India without any kind of previous selection or examination were reverted to, and they were never sent back, the number might in time become so considerable as to be a serious weight on the Company's finances.

At a preparatory institution in England, if a young man, either from absolute want of capacity, from determined idleness, or any violent act of contumacy, loses his promised appointment to a writership, and is excluded from the service, there are various other lines of exertion open to him. Some employments may be found at home even for a very feeble capacity; the most determined academical idleness till nineteen or twenty may yield to the pressure of strong necessity and real business; and a young man of talents, who from temper, caprice, or any other cause, had been guilty of some violent act of contumacy, might rise to the top of his profession as a lawyer, a soldier, a sailor, or a merchant.

In India there is only one line of employment, and that is the Company's service. A youth, who is expelled from a college in India for any of the causes above enumerated, is expelled by the same authority which disposes of all Indian appointments. If this same authority, after a short interval, promotes him to office even on the supposition that he is then fit for it, an expulsion from the college would come to be considered as of little importance, and its discipline would soon be destroyed.

In the last public examination at the college in India, of which the account has arrived, five students were expelled. Notwithstanding the opportunities of instruction afforded to them, and the repeated

warnings they had received during a protracted stay at Calcutta, they had not acquired such a knowledge of two Oriental languages as would enable them to pass the examination necessary to qualify them for any official situation.

If a test be established any where, either in India or England, and the examination be conducted conscientiously, it may be laid down as a certain consequence that *some*, out of a considerable number of young men, taken without any selection, will fail. If, besides the passing of such a test, obedience be required to a code of academical regulations, however mildly administered, a greater number will undoubtedly fail. And the question is, whether it is not very much better that these failures should take place in England, where various other lines of life besides the Company's service are open, than in India, where they must remain unemployed, a burden to themselves and the Company, or be sent back to Europe at a very heavy expense, and at a more advanced age; or, what is much the worst of the three, be employed when not properly qualified, to the manifest injury of the Company's service and the interest of their Indian dominions; or even, if qualified, to the utter subversion of that code of academical laws which had been established as necessary to the proper training and education of their civil servants?

It is certainly conceivable that parents in narrow

circumstances may wish to get their children off their hands as early as possible, with little regard of the consequences to the Company. . But even such views would, probably, be defeated on the establishment of a college for a three-years' course of academical education in Calcutta. As it has appeared that, according to all general principles, more failures might be expected in India than in England, it would soon be found necessary to send back those who failed to their friends in England. It is understood that this measure was once proposed by Lord Minto, in the case of some students who had resided nearly three years in the college without making a progress in any language. The proposition, it is said, was rejected by the Court at home. But if the number of writers so situated were to accumulate in a considerable degree, the proposition for returning them could not be rejected without obviously and grossly sacrificing the Company's interests, and they would then be sent back at a later age, and under much less favourable circumstances for the commencement of a new career of life, than if they had failed at a college in England. But whether this measure would be adopted or not, it must be allowed that those who look solely to a provision for their children cannot be considered as disinterested judges in a question of this kind. And it is scarcely conceivable that any really disinterested friend to the good government of India,

and the prosperity and credit of the Company, should not say that, if failures must be calculated upon, it is far better, under all the circumstances of the case, that they should take place in England than in India.

Thirdly, in point of efficiency, it can hardly be doubted, that the foundation of a general education would be better laid in England than in India. The most important period in the education of a young man is the period in which he commences a more general course of reading than that which is pursued at schools; and it is of the utmost consequence that this period should be passed under circumstances favourable to habits of study and industrious exertion. But it is not easy to conceive a more unfavourable time for the formation of these habits, and the commencement of new and difficult studies, than the two or three years immediately succeeding the transition from a common school in England to an university in India, at the age of sixteen. Suddenly possessed of an unusual command of money, surrounded by natives devoted to his will; tempted to indulgences of all kinds by the novel forms in which they present themselves, and discouraged from severe application by the enfeebling effects of the climate, he must possess a very steady and unusual degree of resolution to begin a course of law, history, political economy, and natural philosophy, and to continue his classical studies, at the very same time that he is required as his

paramount duty, and the immediate passport to an official situation, to make himself master of two or three Oriental languages. Such a course of general reading may, undoubtedly, be pursued in India at a future time by individuals, during the intervals of official occupation ; but it may be considered as certain that, except, perhaps, in a few rare instances, little or no attention would be paid to these studies in a three-years' residence at Calcutta from sixteen to nineteen, and that, if such a general education be necessary, the foundation of it must be laid in England.

The Marquis Wellesley's college in India had not, it must be allowed, a fair trial. It is hardly just, therefore, to quote it as an example : but, as far as a judgment might be formed of the effects of such an establishment from the manner in which it commenced, it tends strongly to confirm what has been said of the great difficulty of establishing a regular system of discipline, and beginning with success a plan of more general study in an university at Calcutta. The state of the college with regard to discipline is well known, and need not to be entered upon ; and, though other lectures besides those in the Oriental languages were given, they were scarcely ever attended. It has been stated, indeed, by those who have acted as professors at the college in Calcutta, as well as by those who have gone through it as students, that, however great are the advantages it affords in the study of the

Oriental languages, they see no prospect of its ever becoming a place of regular collegiate discipline, and of efficient general education.

But a general course of study, however necessary to the education of those who are to fill the judicial, the financial, and the diplomatic departments in India, or assist in the administration of the Government as Members in Council, is not alone sufficient: and the highest intellectual endowments would be of little avail without a knowledge of the Oriental languages. A certain knowledge, therefore, of these languages, must always be considered as a *sine quâ non* in the appointment to official situations. This knowledge will, indeed, do little without any other combined with it; but no knowledge can do any thing without the means of communication with the natives.

Two objects therefore are to be kept in view; one of the highest utility, and the other of paramount necessity. As a foundation of general knowledge is best laid in the West, and the necessary languages are best acquired in the East, it seems highly probable that two establishments, one in England, and the other in India, may be required to accomplish most effectively the objects in view:—the English establishment to give as good a general education as can be communicated within the age of 18 or 19, with some instruction in the rudiments of the Oriental languages; and the Indian establishment to be confined exclusively

to these languages, and particularly to act as a final test, as far as languages go, of qualification for office.

It has been found, by experience, that those young men, who go out to India tolerably well grounded in the rudiments of the Oriental languages, can, without difficulty, pass the necessary test within the year, and many of them pass it in six months. Upon this plan, therefore, the time taken up in the preparatory education for the civil service would scarcely be greater than upon the Marquis Wellesley's plan. But, even if it were somewhat greater, it is probable that the interests, both of the service and of individuals, would be promoted by this change. It is certainly the opinion of some of the writers themselves, that, even since the establishment of both the colleges, they are advanced to important situations in the judicial line at too early, rather than too late an age. And it by no means follows that the going out to India a year or two later implies a proportionally later return.

The period in which a fortune is made, ought not to be dated from the time of arrival in India, but from the time at which accumulation commences. And, if a year or two more spent in Europe be employed in such a manner as to send the young writer out, not only with superior qualifications for office, but with a greater degree of general prudence, he is likely to begin saving sooner, and will, perhaps, return with a fortune at an earlier age than if he had been exposed

from the age of fifteen or sixteen to a three-years' residence at Calcutta, and the heavy debt which too frequently accompanies it.

No time therefore is really lost either to the service or to individuals by the period devoted to education in England. And, as the expenses of the Indian college, in its present state, without buildings, without a table, without a Principal and Professors of European literature, and general management, and with the limited number arising from only a year, or a year and a half's residence, may be kept within very moderate bounds, there can be no doubt, on the whole, that the present system of education in the two colleges, compared with a regular university course in India, is much more economical, most efficient with regard to general knowledge, and exposed to fewer difficulties in point of discipline and personal dissipation and extravagance.

SECTION V.

Does it appear that the College actually established in Hertfordshire is upon a plan calculated to supply that part of the appropriate education of the civil servants of the Company which ought to be completed in England ?

WHEN the Court of Directors declined sanctioning the collegiate establishment proposed by the Marquis Wellesley, they did not hesitate to acknowledge the necessity of an improved education for their civil servants ; and it was for the specific purpose of securing to them such an improved education before they left England, without detaining them till the usual age at which an university course finishes (to which detention the Marquis had objected), that the Court of Directors founded the institution in Hertfordshire.

At this institution the students commence a course of more general instruction than is to be found at schools, nearly at the same period that they were to commence it in India according to Lord Wellesley's

plan, and *yet* proceed to their destination at eighteen or nineteen, an age at which the constitution is better fortified against the Indian climate than two or three years earlier, but not sufficiently advanced to be open to those objections urged by Lord Wellesley against a detention till twenty-one or twenty-two.

In the East-India college, so constituted, the plan upon which the system of discipline and instruction is conducted seems to be well calculated to answer the purpose in view. Every candidate for admission into the college is required to produce a testimonial from his schoolmaster, and to pass an examination in Greek, Latin, and arithmetic, before the Principal and Professors. This previous examination at once prevents persons from offering themselves who have not received the usual school-education of the higher classes of society; and those who offer themselves, and are found deficient, are remanded till another period of admission.

The lectures of the different Professors in the college are given in a manner to make previous preparation necessary, and to encourage most effectually habits of industry and application. In their substance they embrace the important subjects of classical literature, the Oriental languages, the elements of mathematics and natural philosophy, the laws of England, general history, and political economy.

At the commencement of the institution it was

feared by some persons that this variety would too much distract the attention of the students at the age of sixteen or seventeen, and prevent them from making a satisfactory progress in any department. But instances of distinguished success in many departments at the same time have proved that these fears were without foundation; and that this variety has not only been useful to them in rendering a methodical arrangement of their hours of study more necessary, but has decidedly contributed to enlarge, invigorate, and mature their understandings.

On all the important subjects above enumerated, examinations take place twice in the year, at the end of each term. These examinations last above a fortnight. They are conducted upon the plan of the great public and collegiate examinations in the universities, particularly at Cambridge, with such further improvements as experience has suggested. The questions given are framed with a view to ascertain the degree of progress and actual proficiency in each particular department on the subjects studied during the preceding term; and the answers, in all cases which will admit of it, are given in writing, in the presence of the professors, and without the possibility of a reference to books. After the examination in any particular department is over, the Professor in that department reviews at his leisure all the papers that he has received, and places, as nearly as he can,

each individual in the numerical order of his relative merit, and in certain divisions implying his degree of positive merit. These arrangements are all subject to the controul of the whole collegiate body. They require considerable time and attention, and are executed with scrupulous care and strict impartiality.

Besides the classifications above mentioned; medals, prizes of books, and honorary distinctions, are awarded to those who are the heads of classes, or as high as second, third, fourth, or fifth, in two, three, four, or five departments.

These means of exciting emulation and industry have been attended with great success. Though there are some, unquestionably, on whom motives of this kind will not, or cannot, operate, and with whom, therefore, little can be done; yet, a more than usual proportion seem to be animated by a strong desire, accompanied by corresponding efforts, to make a progress in the various studies proposed to them.

Those who have come to college tolerably good scholars, have often, during their stay of two years, made such advances in the classical department as would have done them great credit, if they had devoted to it the main part of their time; while the contemporary honours which they have obtained in other departments have sufficiently proved that their attention was not confined to one study: and many, who had come from public and private schools at

sixteen, with such low classical attainments as appeared to indicate a want either of capacity or application, have shewn by their subsequent progress, even in the classical department, and still more by their distinguished exertions in others, that a new field and new stimulants had wrought a most beneficial change in their feelings and habits, and had awakened energies of which they were before scarcely conscious.

There are four or five of the Professors thoroughly conversant with University examinations, who can take upon themselves to affirm that they have never witnessed a greater proportion of various and successful exertion in the course of their academical experience than has appeared at some of the examinations at the East-India college.

With regard to the discipline of the establishment, it will be readily allowed that it has not been, in all its parts, so successful. It is well known that disturbances have occasionally taken place, which, at the moment, have shewn, in a considerable body of the students, a total disregard of the rules and regulations of the college. The principal causes of these disturbances will be the subject of inquiry in the next section ; but it is proper to observe here, that the public would form a most incorrect notion of the general state and character of the discipline, and the general conduct of the students, if they were to draw hasty inferences

from these temporary ebullitions. When they have subsided, few traces of their past existence are to be found; and in common times the whole business of the college proceeds with a degree of decency, order, and decorum, which has often been the admiration of strangers, and would be perfectly satisfactory to every competent judge.

In their moral conduct, the students of the East-India college may be advantageously compared with those of either University, or the senior part of any of our great public schools; and they are rather singularly free, than otherwise, from the prevailing vices which beset young men of seventeen, eighteen, and nineteen, particularly when collected together in a large body.

It is from such comparisons, and the general results which appear in after-life, and not from individuals, or individual offences, that any rational judgment can be formed of a place of education.

On the whole, perhaps it is not too much to assert, that, taking literary and moral character together, a considerable proportion of the students of the East-India college, who have proceeded to India, have left it with more improved understandings, a greater quantity of useful knowledge, fitted for the early discharge of public business, and more steady habits of application and good conduct, than could be found among any set of young men taken in the

same way, and at the same age, from any place of public education in Europe: and *some of them* with such distinguished attainments already acquired, such means of acquiring more, and such fixed habits of honour and integrity, that no situation, however high, would be above their powers or beyond their deserts.

It will be asked, however, as the main question, whether the good effects which may be presumed to result from the establishment in England have practically been perceived and acknowledged by competent judges in India? To this question an answer may be decidedly given in the affirmative. The young men who arrive at the Calcutta college from the college in England are not examined respecting their progress in general knowledge. On this point, therefore, there can be no specific testimony. But with regard to *general conduct and character*, and such a knowledge of the Oriental languages as greatly to abridge the period of study at Calcutta, the testimony is most explicit, and from the highest authority.

In 1810, Lord Minto, after having noticed particularly a certain number of students who had greatly distinguished themselves, adds, “ It is with peculiar
 “ pleasure that I do a further justice to the Hertford
 “ college, by remarking, that the official reports
 “ and returns of our college will shew the students

“ who have been translated from Hertford to Fort
 “ William to stand honourably distinguished for re-
 “ gular attendance,—for obedience to the statutes
 “ and discipline of the college,—for orderly and
 “ decorous demeanour,—for moderation in expense,
 “ and consequently in the amount of their debt;—
 “ and, in a word, for those decencies of conduct
 “ which denote men well born, and characters well
 “ trained. I make this observation with the more
 “ satisfaction, as I entertain an earnest wish to find
 “ it proved that the preliminary tuition and general
 “ instruction afforded to the succeeding generations
 “ of the Company’s servants at Hertford will be
 “ found of more *extensive* (I should be disposed to
 “ say, more *valuable*) influence even for India, than a
 “ greater or smaller degree of proficiency in a lan-
 “ guage or two of the East can prove at that early
 “ period.”

In 1812, the following passage occurs in a letter
 from the College Council of Fort William to the
 Governor-General in Council, dated December 29,
 and recorded in the Bengal Public Consultations of
 the 1st of April, 1814:—

“ We take the liberty of repeating in this place
 “ the observations made by the Right Honourable
 “ the Visitor, in his speech, pronounced at the Dis-
 “ putation, holden 22d September, 1810, that the
 “ improvement (a very great and general one) which

“ we have thought ourselves warranted in asserting,
 “ has been very conspicuous in the conduct of the
 “ students who have passed through the college
 “ at Hertford. We trust and believe that this is no
 “ accidental circumstance ; but at all events the fact
 “ is, in our opinion, certain, that, due regard being
 “ paid to numbers, no similar institution can afford
 “ a greater proportion of young men more distin-
 “ guished by the manners of gentlemen, and general
 “ correctness and propriety of deportment, than the
 “ present students of the college at Fort William.”

At nearly the same period this improvement in the general conduct of the students is spoken of as an acknowledged fact, in a letter from Captain Roebuck to the College Council, at Fort William, dated Nov. 10, 1812, and recorded on the Consultations before mentioned :—“ As I believe (he says) it is generally
 “ admitted as a fact that the students now in college,
 “ compared with former years, are much steadier in
 “ every respect (which is, perhaps, owing to their
 “ previous education at Hertford college), I can ac-
 “ count,” &c. &c.

At the Public Disputation in 1815, Mr. Edmonstone, who acted as Visitor in the absence of Lord Moira, after adverting to the objections that had sometimes been made to the college, on the ground of the conduct of the students, observes—“ To whatever
 “ extent the change might have been justly appli-

“ cable at some period of the institution, I have the
 “ satisfaction to know that, at the present time, in-
 “ stances of deviation from the maxims and rules of
 “ prudence and propriety (for such must always
 “ exist in every large association) are exceptions to
 “ the general system of conduct observable among
 “ the students of the college.” He then goes on to
 say—“ This gratifying improvement may, perhaps,
 “ be traced to sources *beyond this establishment*”—
 evidently alluding to the acknowledged effects of the
 institution in England.

These public testimonies from the college at Calcutta are confirmed by the accounts of individuals who have returned from India within the last six or seven years, who agree in stating that what has been sometimes called the New School of Writers at Calcutta is very superior indeed, both in conduct and attainments, to those who were sent out upon the old system.

The period when the conduct of the junior servants of the Company appears to have been most marked with dissipation and irregularity was in the interval between 1801 and 1808 or 1809, when great numbers were collected together in Calcutta at the early ages of sixteen and seventeen, without being subjected to a regular system of discipline, as intended by Lord Wellesley; and the marked improvement so generally acknowledged may fairly be attributed to the esta-

blishment of an intermediate place of education in England, which prevents the sudden removal of a boy of fifteen or sixteen from the strict restraints of a school to the dangerous liberty of a residence at Calcutta.

At the college in England each student has a separate room, in which he breakfasts, drinks tea, and prepares his lectures. This mode of living gives him the opportunity of choosing his own society, and teaches him the habit of regulating his own time; while the discipline is still suited to an age two or three years younger than the average age at the universities; and industry and application are encouraged by every moral incitement which can stimulate the youthful mind. A habit of study so acquired must be the best possible preparation for a residence at Calcutta, and the best preservative against its allurements. And, though it cannot be expected that all should acquire these invaluable habits, yet much is done if they are acquired by a considerable body. Besides, all will be detained in England till eighteen or nineteen—an age when they may be fairly supposed to know better how to conduct themselves in a situation in which they are subjected to no discipline. And, owing to this same detention, all will reside a much shorter time at the college in Calcutta, and find themselves surrounded by a much smaller number of associates. These are causes calculated to operate

favourably on the whole mass, and not only to lessen the shock of the first transition, but to diminish both the duration and amount of the dangers to which they are exposed.

Under these circumstances it cannot be a matter of surprise that the general conduct of the students at Calcutta should have greatly improved since the establishment of the college in England.

On the effect of the college in England in abridging the period of stay at the college in Calcutta, the testimonies are equally satisfactory.

At the public disputation of 1810, before adverted to, Lord Minto says, "That the studies of Hertford will abridge those of Fort William cannot be doubted. This has already been proved."—He had before indeed observed, that the college of Fort William had already derived some of its most distinguished ornaments from Hertford. "I do not speak," he says, "of the merit to which I now allude in comparison only with that of contemporaries of the present year, but I would place it confidently in parallel with the best and brightest period of our college." To warrant this homage, justly and impartially paid to the early fruit of the new (not rival, but associate) institution, he names eight students from Hertford, who had eminently distinguished themselves. Of these the average period of stay at the college of Fort William was about a year, although some of them had delayed their going longer than was neces-

sary; and three had acquired a proficiency in no less than four Oriental languages.

In 1811, the documents furnish the means of a more accurate comparison. In that year the number of students which left the Calcutta college qualified for official situations was twenty, of whom the number from the college in Hertfordshire was twelve, *viz.*

Six who left the college after six months' residence.

Two..... after eight months.

One..... after nine months.

One..... after two years.

Two..... after three years.

The number of students who left the Calcutta college at the same time, but never were at the college in Hertfordshire, was eight, *viz.*

Three after a residence of two years and a quarter.

One..... of three years.

One..... of three years and a quarter.

Two..... of four years.

One..... of four years and a half.

In the one case, the average stay is about ten months; in the other, three years and two months.

It will be unnecessary to go through all the different years; indeed, the means for so doing are not at hand. They will, of course, be subject to considerable variations, arising from the natural variations to

be expected at different times in the mass of talent and industry in the college, and probably in some years the average period of stay may be as much as a year and a half. The summary of the last year of which the account has arrived is as follows: Of eighteen students who left the college, six had resided only six months; two, ten months; eight, about a year and a half; and the other two, three and a half and four and a half years.

In most years one or two are to be found, who, either from inability or idleness, make no progress in the languages. They are detained in consequence a considerable time, and are generally involved deeply in debt. It would unquestionably, be much better for the service, and probably for the individuals themselves, if they had never gone out; and, as their characters are generally pretty well known previous to the natural time of their departure, the authorities of the college in England ought to be allowed, quietly, and without clamour and opposition, as a regular and very important part of their duty to the Company, to refuse their certificates.

Such cases, however, appear to be quite as rare as could possibly be expected; and the very short period in which the great body of the students from Hertford college acquire the requisite proficiency in two languages, and many of them high distinctions in three or four, sufficiently proves that a foundation in these

languages laid in England, and a power thus given of pursuing the study of them during the passage, has a most marked effect in abridging the period of stay at Calcutta.

Lord Moira, at the public disputation of 1814, alludes to the considerable progress made by Mr. Stirling in the Oriental languages prior to his entry at the college by studying at Hertford, and during his voyage to India : and to this, in part, he says, is to be attributed the extraordinary short period in which such extensive knowledge and attainments seemed to have been gained. Mr. Stirling had only resided in India six months ; and in fact it appears, that in almost every year a considerable proportion of the students of Fort William, who have passed through the East-India college at home, attain the required qualifications in that short time ; and among these are generally to be found some of the most distinguished proficient in the Oriental languages. Lord Moira afterwards observes,—“ This is not a seminary, at
 “ which the students in general are to be taught the
 “ first rudiments of the Eastern languages. It has
 “ become, like our Universities at home, a public in-
 “ stitution, affording those advantages necessary
 “ to perfect the knowledge of the different branches
 “ of Oriental literature.” These expressions certainly imply a tolerable foundation in the Oriental languages brought from England. An idea

seems to have prevailed at Calcutta that the college of Fort William might be superseded by the establishment in England ; but it may fairly be allowed that the attention paid to the Oriental languages in England neither can, nor ought, to be such as, generally speaking, to prevent the necessity of a much farther progress after the arrival in India, as a qualification for office. When it is considered that the period of residence at the college in England is only two years, it is quite obvious that the whole of that time exclusively devoted to Oriental study would be insufficient for the purpose in question, while, in the attempt to attain it, the main object of the English institution (which unquestionably is, or ought to be, to lay the foundation of a sound and enlarged European education) would be entirely sacrificed.

Lord Minto, at the public disputation of 1813, speaking of the insufficient knowledge of the Oriental languages acquired at the Hertford college, observes, “ It is not to be concluded from thence that the “ time allotted to attendance on that institution has “ been unprofitably spent ; because *most wisely*, in “ my opinion, the preliminary education of the Com- “ pany’s young servants is not confined to studies “ merely Oriental ; but, together with the classical “ instruction of the West (without which no English “ gentleman is on a level with his fellows), I under- “ stand that a foundation of polite literature is laid,

“ and that the door is opened at least, and the pupil’s mind attracted, to the elements of useful science; the seeds of which being sown, a taste for intellectual exercise and enjoyment is implanted, which seldom fails to develop and mature these first germs of knowledge at the appointed season.”

If, instead of being employed in this way, so justly approved of by Lord Minto, the students at the college in England were to devote their whole attention to the acquisition of an imperfect knowledge of two or three Oriental languages, and, as soon as they arrived in India, were immediately employed up the country in subordinate official situations, it is not easy to conceive a species of education less calculated to improve and enlarge the understanding, and to produce men able and willing to infuse the principles of British justice into a government over sixty millions of Asiatics.

There is nothing, then, which the enlightened friends of good government in India should less wish to see, than the attempt so much deprecated by Lord Minto, in his last speech, of substituting an English education in the Oriental languages for the genuine and practical instruction which is obtained in India; and the English college itself will be perfectly ready to acquiesce in the final opinion given of it by Lord Minto,—that the elementary knowledge acquired there operates sensibly in accelerating the progress of

Oriental studies, and abridging the period necessary for a full qualification at the college of Fort William; but that the institution of Hertford college cannot be expected ever to supersede the necessity of maturing and perfecting Oriental knowledge at the college of Fort William.

The true friends of the college in England will be perfectly satisfied that it fully answers its purpose, and supplies that part of the appropriate education of the civil servants of the Company which ought to be completed at home,—if it effects an essential improvement in the conduct and character of the young men sent out to India;—if it considerably shortens the period of their residence in the college at Calcutta, devoted to the acquisition of the Oriental languages;—and if it lays such a foundation of general knowledge as will greatly facilitate the subsequent pursuit of it, and qualifies a much greater proportion of the civil servants of the Company to discharge with adequate ability the increased and increasing number of high and important trusts which must necessarily be confided to them.

That the college has actually accomplished, in a very considerable degree, the two first of these objects, is clearly proved, it is conceived, by the direct testimonies contained in the foregoing pages. The last object can hardly be the subject of direct testimony; but it may fairly be presumed that this purpose

is accomplished, if an enlarged and improved understanding be considered as useful in conducting the administration of a great empire, and if it is known that the studies in the East-India college are of a nature calculated to attain this qualification, and that a progress has been made in these studies fairly proportioned to the time employed upon them.

SECTION VI.

Are the disturbances which have taken place in the East-India college to be attributed to any radical and necessary evils inherent in its constitution and discipline, or to incidental and temporary causes, which are likely to be removed?

SOME of the difficulties which have been experienced in the government of the college are, perhaps, to a certain extent, inherent in its constitution.

In the first place, an attempt to give a collegiate education, and to place under collegiate discipline persons of an age from two to three years younger than the average age of admission at our universities, may not be in its nature easy. It is generally allowed that the age from fifteen or sixteen to eighteen is the most difficult to govern. It is precisely that period when the character makes the most rapid change in the shortest time. Two or three years at this critical era convert a boy into a man; and any system of dis-

cipline intended to apply to the time when this change is taking place, which happens to be the very time of the residence at the East-India college, is likely to be exposed to various and very opposite objections, according as the earlier or the later age is chiefly considered.

At great schools, where boys sometimes stay till they are eighteen, the seniors in age, who are generally at the same time in the highest classes, form a kind of natural aristocracy, which not only may safely and justly be allowed greater liberties and privileges than others, but may be made, and, in fact, are made, of the greatest use as an intermediate authority to assist in the government of the rest.

In the East-India college, on the contrary, on account of the period of residence being only two years, and some being admitted at eighteen or nineteen as well as at fifteen and sixteen, there is no such natural aristocracy of age, standing, and acquirements; and it is hardly possible either justly to separate the seniors from the juniors, and allow them distinct privileges, or to make effective use of them, as at great schools, in the administration of the discipline.

The second permanent difficulty which the college has to contend with is the chance that some of the young men, whose parents have obtained appointments for them, may be indisposed to the service, and not really wish to go out to-India. Such a

temper of mind will, of course, naturally indispose them to submit to the discipline of the college, or to profit by the education which it offers to them, and will, at the same time, make them most pernicious and dangerous examples to others.

The Directors have endeavoured to get rid of this evil by exhorting all those who feel indisposed to the service quietly to withdraw from the college. But it is to be feared that this exhortation, though obviously just and proper, will not often have the desired effect. Instances have not been uncommon of a persevering opposition to the regulations of the college, which could only be rationally accounted for by supposing a positive disinclination to the service; and yet, if the student has, in consequence of his irregularities, been sent home for a time to his friends, their influence has generally produced letters containing expressions of the greatest contrition for past offences, the most solemn assurances with respect to future conduct, and the most anxious desire to proceed to India—professions with which the conduct of the student after his return to college has seemed in no respect to correspond. It is to be feared that there are young men who would prefer expulsion, on occasion of some general disturbance, when many are involved, to an open and manly rejection of an appointment which is considered by their parents as so valuable; and these feelings, where they exist, are obviously of a

nature to produce a most unfavourable effect upon the discipline.

The third inherent difficulty, which the college has to contend with, is one which at first sight might be thought an advantage, namely, the great interest that each student has at stake, and the consequent severity of the punishment of expulsion. This great severity most naturally produces, both in the governing body in the college, and in the Court of Directors, an extreme unwillingness to resort to it. But the more this unwillingness is perceived, the more advantage will be taken of it, and the more instances will occur of acts of insubordination. It is quite certain that neither of our Universities, nor any of our great schools, could support their discipline for a single year, if they were to shew any hesitation in appealing to the punishment of expulsion—if this punishment, in short, were not always ready as an alternative on a refusal to do impositions in the one case, or to submit to corporal correction in the other. But besides regular expulsions, which are resorted to occasionally in all places of education, to support the discipline, it is still more common to desire the parents of boys, whose habits are bad, and who are doing mischief to others, quietly to remove them. In the Universities, and at great schools, such hints are always taken as commands, and it is no doubt a most effectual mode of breaking combinations, and preventing the spread

of mischief, without exciting public sensation. But in the East-India college no parent can be persuaded to take a step which involves the loss of an appointment. As valuable property is concerned, it is considered that nothing but some great and overt act of immorality or rebellion can justify such a punishment; and unless some such act can be brought forward, which, of course, in many cases, must be extremely difficult, neither a quiet removal nor regular expulsion takes place; and the unavoidable severities of the penal code thus paralyze the arm of authority. On this ground it may justly be doubted whether the regulation not long since passed by the Court, to exclude from the military, or any other branch of the Company's service, those young men who had been expelled from the college, can be considered as a wise one. The punishment of expulsion at the college was too great before, and this regulation has made it still greater; and if the natural unwillingness of all parties to resort to this punishment should increase from this or any other cause, rather than diminish from a sense of duty to India and to the public; the great power of the Directors over the young men at their college, which, if properly managed, might secure the most beneficial results, will be converted into a source of perpetual weakness and inefficiency.

These are, no doubt, difficulties, to a certain extent

inherent in the institution ; and, in order to overcome them, it is obvious that the discipline should have every help that can be given to it ; that the powers granted to those who are to administer it should be fully as large and as little subject to cavil and controul as those which are found necessary in other places of education ; that the system pursued should be marked by steadiness, uniformity, decision, promptness, and impartiality ; and, particularly in reference to the two last difficulties, that there should be no doubt or delay in visiting with expulsion either such single acts as would be so punished at great schools and the Universities, or such a persevering violation of the rules of the college as either indicates an indisposition to the service, or a presumption that patronage or mistaken lenity would, under any circumstances, prevent the entire loss of an appointment.

- If it be asked, whether such have been the powers possessed, and such the system pursued, the answer must certainly be in the negative ; and when it is known that very great adventitious difficulties in the government of the college have been added to the natural difficulties already noticed, it may not be a subject of surprise that those parts of the discipline most likely to be affected by such causes should have failed.

In the original constitution of the college, it was not thought expedient by its Founders to intrust the

power of expulsion to the collegiate authorities. As expulsion involved the loss of a very valuable appointment, the Directors wished to reserve it in their own hands; and, in all cases of great importance, the Principal and Professors were directed to report to the Committee of College, and to wait their decision. It was in consequence believed by many students, that, unless the offence was peculiarly flagrant, they would run little risk of losing their appointments, and that their powerful friends in the India-house would make common cause with them in defeating the decisions of the College Council. This opinion seems to have commenced early, and to have diffused itself pretty generally; and there is little doubt that it contributed to facilitate the rise of that spirit of insubordination which began to manifest itself in the third year after the college was established. It must be obvious that no steady system of discipline could be maintained while the Principal and Professors were, on every important occasion, to appeal with uncertain effect to another body, where the student hoped that his personal interest would prevent any serious inconvenience. Yet this continued to be the constitution of the college for a period of six years, during which there were three considerable disturbances. On these occasions, of course, the Directors were called in; and although the more enlightened and disinterested portion of them, who saw

the necessity of an improved education for their servants in India, were, unquestionably, disposed to do every thing that was proper to support the discipline; yet, the proceedings respecting the college were marked by an extraordinary want of energy, promptness, and decision, and indicated in the most striking manner the *disturbing* effects of private and contending interests. On occasion of the last of these disturbances in particular (that of 1812), the management of which the Court took entirely into their own hands, they detained a large body of students in town for above a month; and after entering into the most minute details, and subjecting all the parties to repeated examinations at the India-house, came to no final decision. The case was then referred back again to the College Council, who were desired to select for expulsion a certain number of those concerned, who should appear to them to have been the most deeply engaged as ringleaders, and the least entitled to a mitigation of sentence on the score of character. When this was done, and a sentence of expulsion passed in consequence on five students, a subsequent Vote of the Court restored them *all* to the service, and they were sent out to India without even completing the usual period of residence at the college!!!

If we consider the real difficulties belonging to such an institution, in conjunction with the uncertain and in-

efficient system of government above described, and recollect, at the same time, that, from the very commencement of the college, there has been a large party connected with India entirely hostile to it, the gradual rise and prevalence of a spirit of insubordination in the college will appear to be vastly more natural and probable than a contrary spirit.

But when a spirit of insubordination and resistance to discipline has once deeply infected any collected body of persons, it is well known how strong a tendency it has to keep itself up; how easy, and almost certainly, the contagion spreads to fresh comers; and how extremely difficult it is effectually to eradicate it.

It is but a short time since the Principal and Professors of the East-India college have been legally invested with those powers in the management of the discipline which are found necessary at great schools and the Universities, and which ought therefore unquestionably to have been given to them at the commencement of the institution. They are called upon to correct and rectify a system of government which it is at length acknowledged has been essentially defective for many years; and, strange to say! an inference seems to be drawn against the whole establishment because it is not already completed! Yet what is the task they have to accomplish, and under what circumstances have they undertaken it? They have not only to overcome by a steady and uniform system of

discipline the natural difficulties inherent in the institution, but, by an union of conciliation, firmness, and the strictest impartiality, to mitigate and gradually extirpate the spirit of insubordination, which, by long unskilful treatment, has infected the institution; and this is to be done, not only without the cordial cooperation of all the natural patrons and protectors of the college, but with a spirit of direct hostility in a considerable body of the Directors and Proprietors, and a disposition in the public to take part with those from whom they hear most of the college, with little or no inquiry into the real merits of the case. The practical effect of this hostility is nearly the same as if the authorities in the college did not yet possess full powers in the management of the discipline; and as no sentence of importance has yet been passed without occasioning a minute inquiry and investigation, which puts the college, as it were, regularly upon its defence, and very few, without giving rise to a most determined and persevering opposition, it is quite impossible that the students should be fully impressed with the idea that the power of punishing really rests in that quarter, where all parties would agree that it must be the most effectual in repressing acts of insubordination.

A further evil consequence of this hostility is, that language is publicly used and reports generally circulated, calculated to fill the minds of the students with

the most unfavourable prejudices. In general, when a parent sends his son to a school or to the University, he endeavours to impress him with a respect for the place to which he is going, and the authorities to which he will be subject. It is to be feared that some young men come to the East-India college with very different impressions;—with the impression of having heard the college abused, and its downfall prognosticated, by those whom they must of course look up to as the persons that ought to influence their feelings and direct their conduct. It is scarcely possible that the students who come to the college thus prejudiced, should ever feel that attachment to the place of their education, the effects of which are on every account so desirable; and it is difficult to conceive that an uniform spirit of order and obedience should prevail among those who have frequently heard that another *row* would destroy the college, and effect that object which they had been taught to consider as desirable. It is not meant to be asserted that any of the patrons or friends of the students have directly incited them to rebellion; but that the opinions which they have held, and the incautious language which they have used, must upon young minds necessarily have produced the same effects.

Whether it is possible for any set of men contending against such disadvantages, to make the college what it ought to be, is a point on which it is difficult to pro-

nounce a decided opinion. At all events, it will be allowed that time is necessary as well as attention and ability.

Independently of other difficulties, time alone can overcome those that essentially and unavoidably belong to every new institution. If the proper executive powers had been given to the college at first, and it had been at all times fully supported by its founders and patrons, it would certainly have been rash to have pronounced finally on its competence or incompetence to fulfil its intended purpose, in a less time than that which has now elapsed since its foundation—about ten years. But these powers, though now formally granted, cannot yet appear to the students to be undisputed, and can scarcely have begun to have their natural operation. Surely, therefore, it would be still more rash to pronounce finally on what may be done, in a less time than another ten years; as it will be allowed that a considerable portion of that period must unavoidably be spent in correcting the effects of past errors.

The main and almost single object to be accomplished, is to eradicate the tendency to occasional acts of insubordination.

Notwithstanding the late virulent attacks, it may be confidently asserted that this tendency, and the unpleasant consequences which necessarily result from it, form the only just ground for stating that the col-

lege has not fairly answered the purpose for which it was instituted.

When the general good order of the college is considered, notwithstanding the natural difficulties adverted to in the beginning of this section, it is scarcely possible to conceive that this evil should not be susceptible of cure. But, to produce this effect, it is necessary that a full and perfect conviction of the stability of the institution, and the steadiness with which the collegiate authorities are able to maintain their decisions, should by repeated experience be fully impressed on the students.

That this has not yet been done, the persevering efforts that have been made to shake some late decisions, and the idea that has prevailed that an application would be made to Parliament to withdraw its legislative sanction from the establishment, afford sufficient proofs. And till this has been done, it may confidently be asserted, that nothing approaching to a fair experiment, has been made of the practicability of removing the only essential evil of which the college justly stands chargeable.

The supply of competent and well-disposed servants, to fill the high official situations of India is the object to be accomplished; and that plan which, consistently with the present legal and constitutional relations of the Company with the Government, most

effectually attains this object, is the plan which ought to receive the sanction and support of the Legislature.

If the Legislature thinks that the institution of the college was an error, and that the acknowledged and glaring deficiency in the education of the Company's civil servants upon the old system, may be supplied in some other way more effective, and less subject to difficulties, let it at once be abolished. But if no plan presents itself which holds out a fair prospect of doing what is specifically wanted better than the one actually established, let the existing institution be supported in such a manner as to put an end to all that doubt and uncertainty which is so fruitful a source of offences. If the statutes and regulations of the college are faulty, there are legal means of altering them ; if the Principal or Professors are from any cause whatever incompetent to their situations, all or any of them may be removed : but if the establishment itself be a proper one, and destined to answer a very important purpose, it should be so fully and cordially supported as not to be liable to be shaken by the caprices of a few young men. Such caprices it is impossible to answer for in an establishment not as yet sufficiently sanctioned by time, and to which the parents and friends of many of the students are known to be hostile. But by steadiness within, and strong support without, they may undoubtedly be rendered at first ineffectual, and by degrees

be prevented from shewing themselves in acts of insubordination.

It has been sometimes stated as extremely hard that a young man and his parents should suffer so severe a loss as that of an appointment to India on account of a few irregularities in early youth ; but this argument, if it were allowed, would be conclusive against all laws. It is surely still harder that a man should sometimes suffer capitally for irregularly supplying some of the most pressing wants of nature.

But even with reference solely to places of education, the East-India college is by no means the only one where valuable property may be lost by misconduct in early youth. At Winchester, for instance, the boys on the foundation succeed in a regular course to fellowships at New College, Oxford, which may be considered almost in the light of a provision for life, and are valued by parents accordingly ; yet on one occasion, not many years since, a greater number was expelled, and lost this valuable provision, than has been expelled during the course of the ten years that the East-India college has been established, although in the one case the institution was old, and in the other new. Many other instances might be mentioned of considerable loss of property incurred by misconduct in an early age at our great public seminaries.

It will however very rarely happen that a young man, whose habits and attainments would qualify him

to become an useful servant of the Company, should be so unfortunate as to subject himself to the punishment of expulsion. Such a case, however, may possibly happen, and, when it does, it must be considered as a painful, but necessary, sacrifice to those general rules, the gross violation of which cannot be passed over without a sacrifice of much greater and more general interests than those of an individual and his connexions.

With regard to young men of a very different description, it cannot surely be a matter of regret, in any public view at least, that those who have shewn headstrong, refractory, and capricious tempers, united with habits of idleness and dissipation, should not be allowed to go out to India, and be furnished with an opportunity of tyrannising over its suffering inhabitants, and of bringing the English name into hatred and disgrace. All the offices in India may not require talents; but all must require a certain degree of industry, good conduct, and inclination to the service. And, beyond all question, one of the most important uses that the college can answer, one of the means by which it may confer the most extensive benefits upon India, is, by separating from the service those whose habits appear to be of a nature only to encumber, impede, and injure it.

The collegiate authorities now legally possess the power both of expelling, and of refusing certificates; but,

unfortunately, from the disposition shewn by the founders and patrons of the college, and that part of the public connected with India, in every case where the loss of an appointment is in question, a full support in the exercise of this power cannot be depended upon; although there can be no doubt that every act of collegiate punishment that is unopposed and unquestioned tends to render such acts in future less necessary; and every act that is so opposed and questioned tends to increase the probability of the recurrence of that conduct which had called it forth.

If this difficulty could be removed, the best hopes might be entertained of the result. And if the college were so supported, as to enable it gradually to subdue the spirit of insubordination, by removing refractory and vicious characters without clamour or cavil, and to exercise its discretionary powers in refusing certificates, according to the letter and spirit of its statutes, and with a view to the real interests of the service and the good of India, there is the strongest reason to presume, from the testimonies of what the college has already done, and the further good effects which might be confidently expected from the results just adverted to, that it would answer, in no common degree, the important purpose for which it was intended.

SECTION VII.

Are the more general charges which have lately been brought against the college in the Court of Proprietors founded in truth? or are they capable of distinct refutation by an appeal to facts?

IT has been stated already in Section VI. that the only plausible grounds for saying that the college has not fully answered its purpose are the occasional disturbances which have taken place in it; and these disturbances have been traced to the difficulties which have been constantly thrown in the way of a firm and uniform exercise of collegiate authority. But in the Court of Proprietors, on the 18th of December, the most unmeasured accusations of every kind were heaped on the college. Mr. Hume is said to have affirmed, that, instead of its being a place where young

men are formed in their morals, prepared in their character, and qualified in their education, it was the disgrace of England, and of every person connected with it ; that it was incessantly the scene of riot, disorder, and irregularity ; and that the inhabitants, who lived in the neighbourhood, were in a state of perpetual dread and alarm from the wanton excesses committed by the students.

These are indeed most serious charges ; and if they were true, or even approaching to the truth, such a state of things must have produced a very marked deterioration of character in the young men who have gone out to India from the college. But, instead of this deterioration, what are the accounts from Calcutta? They are, that Lord Minto, Governor-General, the College Council of Fort William, Captain Roebuck, the Secretary of the College and Examiner, and Mr. Edmonstone, the first in Council, have all left written testimonies that a very great and general improvement had been conspicuous in the conduct of the students who had passed through the college at Hertford, and that they stood honourably distinguished, in the language of Lord Minto, “for regular attendance, for obedience to the statutes and discipline of the college, for orderly and decorous demeanour, for moderation in expense, and consequently in the amount of their debts, and, in a word, for those decencies of conduct which denote men well born,

“and characters well trained.” Now, it is well known, that some little jealousy and fear of the college in England have occasionally prevailed among the friends of the college in Calcutta, owing to the idea, that the use of the latter might be superseded by the establishment of the former. Such testimonies are therefore the more honourable to those who gave them, and the more to be trusted by those who really wish to know the practical effects of the college in England on the conduct of the Company’s junior servants in India. And under these circumstances they must be considered as *facts* which furnish a direct contradiction to the affirmation of Mr. Hume. They shew that, in the judgment of the most competent and disinterested authorities, the students at the East-India college *are formed in their morals, prepared in their character, and qualified in their education*, for the important stations they are likely to fill, and that the Hertford college, instead of being the disgrace of England; has been rendering, and is rendering, most essential service to India.

I certainly would have no connexion with an institution which could *justly* be considered as the disgrace of England; but I should think it a pusillanimous desertion of a good cause if I were to allow myself to be driven away by a clamour which I know to be founded either in interest and prejudice, or in an utter ignorance of what the college really is.

The testimonies above alluded to*, and more fully detailed in Section V., are really of the kind to determine whether the college answers its purpose or not; but, instead of referring to any such *facts*, or endeavouring to get information from competent and disinterested judges, who have spent some time in the college, and have been astonished at the scene of order and regularity which they witnessed, after the absurd rumours they had heard on the subject, Mr. Hume seems to have sought for the character of the college from fathers irritated at the merited punishment of their sons, and from some Hertfordshire country gentlemen, tremblingly alive about their game,—two of the most suspicious quarters from which information could possibly be obtained.

Every man acquainted with our Universities and public schools must know, that young persons may come to them from a domestic education, apparently innocent, and yet in less than two years richly deserve to be expelled. Instances of the kind have fallen within my own observation at Cambridge, and yet I mean to send my only son there, if I can afford

* These testimonies are further confirmed by the letters of all the most distinguished students in India who have passed through the college in England, and by all the civil servants I have met with who have returned from India within the last five or six years, without a single exception.

it, as the best place of education that I know. But, in the instance about which Mr. Hume seems to have made so silly a parade, I believe there was never any question of innocence. Let Mr. Hume candidly and manfully produce the name of the person who is now become an outcast of society from the contagion of the East-India college. Let his previous character be traced; and let it be seen, by an *appeal to facts*, whether he was not much more likely to corrupt others than to be corrupted himself. His example indeed could hardly have failed to produce a most pernicious effect, if the good sense and moral feelings of the great majority of the students had not induced them, from the very first term of his residence, to shun his society.

It is utterly astonishing to me that a man of sense, a man of the world, and a friend to the good government of India, as I before thought Mr. Hume was, should lend himself to retail the ebullitions of disappointed fathers, who, however justly they may be pitied, are the very last persons that should be heard as authorities, particularly as it is known that there have been persons of this description, who, after having vainly attempted by misrepresentations and menaces to intimidate the college authorities, have most imprudently and rashly, as well as wickedly, vowed to pursue them with the most determined hatred and hostility.

With regard to the country gentlemen of Hertfordshire, the other suspicious source from which Mr. Hume appears to have derived his information, they are of very high respectability, and I feel much indebted to them for the uniform personal kindness and attention they have shewn me; but I cannot conceal from myself, nor can they conceal from me, that, with one or two splendid exceptions*, they have been from the very first inveterate enemies of the college. They prophesied early that the building would become a barrack, and their conduct has not been unfavourable to the accomplishment of their prediction. It would seem to be from this quarter, or some of their friends, that the materials were furnished for the querulous paragraph in the *Times*, about the Principal being made a justice of the peace without a foot of land in the county †. Now I would willingly appeal to the most competent judges of the persons who ought or ought not to be made justices of the peace, with a view to the maintenance of the

* The most distinguished one is Lord John Townshend, the nearest neighbour of the college, whose property almost surrounds it.

† Dr. Batten, as a clergyman having a considerable benefice in Lincolnshire, is as legally qualified to become a justice of the peace as any magistrate on the bench, nor was his appointment in any respect different from any other justice of the peace in the county, as falsely asserted by the *Times*.

police of the country, whether the head of so large an establishment as that of the East-India college, situated two miles distant from any town, should not be one. The appointment was recommended by the President of the Board of Controul, Lord Buckinghamshire; and though it has never been used; and probably never will, in the maintenance of discipline, as it relates to students, it was unquestionably a highly proper one. Such observations, therefore, on this subject, as those in the *Times*, only throw ridicule on the persons who make them.

Having mentioned the *Times*, I cannot help noticing the novel and strange doctrines promulgated in a scurrilous paragraph about the college, on the 27th of December, in answer to *Maro*, who has no connexion with the college. I could not have conceived it possible that any English writer, with the slightest pretension to character, would have dared to avow that a lad of seventeen or eighteen, who offends against the criminal laws of his country, is not amenable to those laws, because he happens to be a gentleman's son, and to be resident at some school or college. The editor of the *Times* has made this sentiment his own by the manner in which he has inserted it; otherwise I should have thought that it could only have come from the father of some worthless sons, who, being conscious that they were likely to commit offences deserving of imprisonment, pillory, and *public*

whipping, was very desirous, as he might well be, of finding some plea for getting them off with a *private* flogging. With regard to the scandalous and libellous insinuation at the end of the paragraph in question, let every inquiry be made on the subject, and the more minute and accurate it is, the more agreeable it will be to the college.

But to return to the country gentlemen of Hertfordshire; I can most readily enter into their feelings, in not liking an establishment of eighty young men, from sixteen to twenty, in their immediate neighbourhood. Had I the choice of settling in a country residence, I should certainly avoid the vicinity of Oxford or Cambridge, Eton or Harrow. They may be fairly allowed, therefore, to wish for the removal of the college; but on that very account they may be legitimately challenged as witnesses against it, at least till they come forward with their names, and produce specific charges. Let some three or four of them, and the same number of the respectable inhabitants of Hertford, declare conscientiously, and on their honour, "that the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of the college live in a state of perpetual dread and alarm, from the wanton excesses committed by the students," and I will then believe what I have not the slightest ground for believing at present; but, till some such proof as this is offered, I maintain that an appeal to facts would shew that

the asseveration of Mr. Hume is absolutely untrue, and founded on some grossly false, and probably anonymous, information.

Of the general conduct of the students, I can affirm, from my own knowledge, that they are beyond all comparison more free from the general vices that relate to wine, women, gaming, extravagance, riding, shooting, driving, than the under graduates at our universities; and, I really believe, more free than the head classes of our great schools. If I were to send my son to the East-India college, I should feel he was in a safer situation in all these respects than either at Eton or Cambridge. To those who will not judge on these subjects by comparison, but, without any knowledge or experience of what can be done with young people, have formed Utopian views of youthful innocence and perfection, which they expect to see realised, I have nothing to say.

Mr. Randle Jackson has been pleased to state, that he does not mean to propose the abolition of the establishment, but merely its reformation, and conversion into a school. He thinks that the education given at the college is not of the right kind, and that it is not necessary to make young men mount to the higher rank in literature, in order to teach them "to weigh tea, count bales, and measure muslins."

If the main business of the great majority of the civil servants of the Company really were to weigh

tea, count bales, and measure muslins, something might, perhaps, be said for Mr. Jackson's opinion; but what is the statement of the ablest Governor-General that India ever saw? It is, "that commercial and mercantile knowledge is not only unnecessary throughout every branch of the judicial department (which includes much more than half of the service), but those civil servants who are invested with the powers of magistracy, or attached to the judicial department in any ministerial capacity, although bearing the denomination of merchants, factors, or writers, are bound by law, and by the solemn obligation of an oath, to abstain from every commercial and mercantile pursuit." * * * *

No more arduous or complicated duties of magistracy exist in the world, no qualifications more various and comprehensive can be imagined, than those which are required from every British subject who enters the seat of judgment within the limits of the Company's empire in India." These are the offices for which Mr. Randle Jackson, in a fine vein of irony and eloquence, laughs at the absurdity of sending out well-educated men, under the happy image of a little army of Grotiuses and Puffendorfs.

But the judicial, though the largest, is far from being the sole department quite unconnected with trade. The financial and political departments employ a considerable body of the civil servants; and the

fact really is, that, out of four hundred and forty-two persons in the civil service in India, only seventy-two, including the collectors of the customs, have any connexion with trade; and even these, Lord Wellesley says, should have many of the qualifications of statesmen*. Such being the *facts*, according to the testimonies of the Marquis Wellesley, and the India Register, which, I presume, are better authorities than that of Mr. Jackson, is it not perfectly obvious that the education of the civil servants should be fitted for the high and important stations held by the great body of them, and that those who are comparatively unsuccessful in the career of improvement should supply the departments where less abilities are required? To talk then, in the present state of India, of an education fitted for weighing tea, counting bales, and measuring muslins, betrays a degree of ignorance and folly, of which I did not think Mr. Randle Jackson capable.

But Mr. Jackson is not satisfied with saying that the education at the East-India college does not accord with his own narrow views on the subject. He joins lustily in the clamour about violence and licentiousness, and then, with a view to give greater force to his next argument, he observes, that it would be a great palliative of this general mis-

* See Sect. I. p. 10.

conduct if the friends of the college could come forward, and refer to their progress in literature, as a counterpoise to their boyish levities ; but that unfortunately this could not be done, as would appear by an extract he would read from a Report furnished by the college itself. Now, notwithstanding this extract and others, the false inferences from which I will presently advert to, I, as *a friend* of the college, and with much better opportunities of information on the subject than Mr. Jackson, do come forward and assert that its literature has been on the whole eminently successful ; that the papers produced at every public examination shew no common degree of industry and talent in the various branches of learning to which they are applied ; and that the progress made in the Oriental languages is clearly and irrefragably proved by the rapidity with which the students from the East-India college are able to qualify themselves for the final examination at the college of Fort William ; and, consequently, that an appeal to *facts* directly contradicts Mr. Jackson's assertion. Let the Oriental Visitor, Dr. Wilkins, be asked his opinion on the subject ; and, though I well know he differs from me on some points relating to the form of the institution, I know he is too honourable a man not to avow in public what he has distinctly said to me in private ; namely, that the very short time in which a large portion of the students passed through the college at Calcutta was a clear

proof that they must have come from a good place of education for the Oriental languages at home.

With regard to the extract first read by Mr. Jackson, it seems to have been taken from the Report of the Oriental Visitor in December, 1815, in which it appeared that a certain number of students (five, I believe, out of twenty-nine) had been unable to pass the Oriental test. To draw from this circumstance an inference that the Oriental languages had not been well taught at the East-India college would be the same as to infer that education at Cambridge was extremely ill conducted, because some men almost every year are refused their degrees; or that the classics were not well taught at Eton or Westminster, because they send forth every year into the world some incorrigible blockheads. The proper inference, in general, ought only to have been, that the students in question were not proper persons to send out to India. But, in the individual instance referred to, there really was something to be said for them. It was the very first time that the Oriental test had been applied; it was in some respects an *ex post facto* law, not having been announced till the third term of the residence of those students who were first subjected to it; and they were, further, not sufficiently aware of the nature and extent of it. Whether this was a sufficient excuse for the petition made to the Court, and the indulgence granted, I will not venture to give an opinion, thinking it quite

immaterial to the question. In the next examination of May, 1816, only one failed, and was detained another term; and, in the one just passed, none failed. This last examination indeed has been particularly distinguished by extraordinary eminence in some departments of Oriental literature, combined with the most successful exertions in European studies.

The next document adverted to by Mr. Jackson, from which he seems absurdly to have drawn very large inferences, is a confidential Report, of May, 1816, made by the College Council to the Committee of College in the India-house, candidly describing those fluctuations in the amount and direction of the mass of talent and industry in the college, which must necessarily take place in every institution in which the studies are various. It is a homely, but a true, saying, that you may bring a horse to the water, but cannot make him drink; and, though all the students at the East-India college are required to attend the stated lectures appointed for them, on pain of impositions, yet no rational person can suppose that their attention can be directed, at all times, in the same measure and quantity, to each. Could any thing on earth be more natural than that, when a test was appointed in the Oriental languages *exclusively*, the students should think that Oriental literature was more highly appreciated by the Honourable Court of Directors than the other branches of learning taught at the college, and that they ought,

therefore, to direct towards it a greater portion of their time? And yet the relation of this simple fact has been twisted into an inference that the students at the East-India college are allowed to do just as they like with regard to the choice of their studies. What a prodigious ardour for misrepresentation does this shew! I will just add, in reference to the last paragraph of the extract on which so much stress has been laid, that if such a report was unhappily required from the great schools of the country, and was given with the same frankness, it would appear that no very inconsiderable proportion of the boys might fairly be said, *in spite of the rod*, to have abandoned the only studies of the place.

The extraordinary part of this business is, not the Report itself, but the place where it is now to be found,—the public newspapers!!! It may shortly be expected that the monthly Reports of conduct, which have lately been required, will be published in the same way, and that the gentlemen of the college will be subjected to prosecutions for libellous aspersions on the characters of some of the students, by calling them irregular. In point of fact, the formal threat of a prosecution for a libel, through the channel of a lawyer's letter, was really sent to the Registrar of the College not long since, in consequence of a detailed Report being required of the character of a young man,

whose certificate it was impossible for the College Council, consistently with their duty, to grant.

But to return to Mr. Randle Jackson. The great weight and force of his eloquence seem to have been directed to shew the use and advantage of flogging, and the disadvantage of caps and gowns. He is reported to have pronounced, with very great energy, the following pithy maxim: "That those who did not *understand* should be made to *feel*;" and the sentiment seems to have been received by repeated and long-continued cheers.

Now flogging may be a very good thing in itself, but I am totally at a loss to conceive what Mr. Randle Jackson, and his friends in the *Times*, can mean by considering it as a *substitute* for expulsion. Let any master of a great school in the kingdom be asked whether he could maintain discipline by mere flogging, unsupported by the power of sending his boys away; and, unless his opinion is given in direct contradiction to his practice, he will say, that it is perfectly impossible. Only the other day, four or five boys were expelled from Harrow. Last year, five, I believe, or more, were expelled from Eton. And experience shews that even the black-hole and military discipline will not do *

* No Englishman will, I trust, venture to propose a military system for the education of the future administrators of justice in India. This would be taking hints from the late Emperor of France with a vengeance. But, after all, it appears, that it will not supersede banishment and dismissal.

At this present moment *five* are banished from the military seminary of the Honourable the East-India Company, at Addiscombe, of the merits and efficacy of which so much has been said.

One would really think that the people who talk about the wonderful effects of corporeal correction had not only never been at a great school themselves, but had never seen a man who had been at one. A more chimerical project scarcely ever entered into the brain of a visionary than that of superseding the use of expulsion among youths of sixteen by mere school-flogging.*

With regard to caps and gowns, they are evidently useful in discipline, by rendering concealment more difficult; and pointing out the individuals, who may be occasionally seen without them, as bound upon some expedition contrary to the regulations of the college. And if, in addition to this obvious use, they have, in the present case, contributed to inspire some manly feelings rather earlier than usual, they have, in

* Not long after Dr. Keat became head master of Eton, he is said to have flogged eighty boys in one day, most of them above sixteen. But what gave him the power of exercising this act of discipline? Solely and exclusively the power of saying, "If you do not submit, you no longer belong to Eton school." Nor would the *threat* have been sufficient, if it had not been known that he could have put it in execution without the slightest opposition, and would unquestionably have done it if the boys had not complied.

my view of the subject, been of service. The objections, which have been made by Mr. Jackson and others to this innocent badge, are perfectly ridiculous. As to the Universities, they must be much above feeling the slightest jealousy on the subject; and every rational man belonging to them must heartily laugh at the laudable zeal of the London citizens, to inspire them with a becoming dread of such a horrible usurpation.

If the Honourable Court of Directors, sanctioned by the Legislature, should determine to abolish the establishment in Hertfordshire as a college, I do most earnestly and most conscientiously recommend to them not to have any *appropriate* institution for the education of their civil servants. They may entirely rely upon it that the main difficulty attending the present establishment, instead of being removed, will, in some respects, be aggravated by its conversion into a school, and they will entirely fail in accomplishing what ought to be the great objects of an education for the Indian civil service. If I were to describe a narrow education, one the least calculated to infuse a "spirit of British justice into the government of sixty millions of Asiatics," it would be the taking boys at thirteen from the common schools of the country, placing them in a seminary where the Oriental languages were considered as the only passport to India till sixteen, and then sending them into

offices up the country to act as copying-clerks, with only one or two, perhaps narrow-minded Europeans to converse with,—a system expressly and specifically reprobated by Lord Wellesley. When a youth is reading Demosthenes and Cicero, or even Homer and Virgil, he is unquestionably gaining something besides mere words, something that will tend to invigorate, enlarge, and improve his mind; but, when he is applying to the Oriental languages, he is really getting little more than the possession of an instrument. Of the great importance, and indeed absolute necessity, of this instrument for the service in India, it is impossible for any man to be more convinced than myself. I believe even that I was the first that proposed the present test in the Oriental languages, as the absolute condition of a final appointment to India. It is unquestionably true that no important station in the East can or ought to be held by persons not acquainted with these languages. It is equally true that no important situation under the French government ought to be held by a person who does not understand French. But it really appears to me that it is taking as narrow a view of the subject to consider the Oriental languages as *all*, or nearly all, that is necessary in the education for the civil service, as to say that any man who understands French is qualified to be a French judge or a French minister of state.

Far better than such a narrow education, still em-

barrassed with all the difficulties about expulsion, would be the taking boys from the common schools of the country at about seventeen, and subjecting them to a strict examination in classical literature, and in the rudiments of the Oriental languages : the first to shew that they had received the education of gentlemen, and that their minds were improved and capable of improvement ; and the second to ascertain that they had made some progress in the languages absolutely necessary to their future destination. These are specific qualifications which might be distinctly described, and it might be left to the parents of those who were likely to be appointed, to put their sons in a way to acquire them wherever they might choose.

This system would, without doubt, be better calculated to give able servants to the Company, than the narrow education just described. But still it would be subject to great disadvantages ; and, independently of the loss of the more general education which is given in the present college, and seems to have had the best effect in invigorating and improving the mind, there would be nothing to break the sudden transition from school discipline to the perfect liberty of a residence in India.

If I had no connexion with the college, or with India, further than the interest which every Englishman ought to feel in the good government of the Indian territories, and yet could speak with the same know-

ledge of the subject as I can now, after an attention to it for ten years, I am confident that I should say that the specific object which ought to be aimed at by the Honourable Company, in the education for the civil service, is precisely that which is so much reprobated by Mr. Jackson, and others in various quarters, namely, that of endeavouring to inculcate, gradually, manly feelings, manly studies, and manly self-controul, rather earlier than usual. Those who go out to India must and will be men the moment they reach the country, at whatever age that may be; and there they will be immediately exposed to temptations of no common magnitude and danger. To prepare them for this ordeal, Mr. Jackson and the silly writers in the *Times* recommend their being whipped till the last hour of their getting into their ships. I own it appears to me that the object is more likely to be attained by a gradual initiation into a greater degree of liberty, and a greater habit of depending upon themselves, than is usual at schools, carried on for two or three years previously, in some safer place than Calcutta.

The attempt is not without its difficulties, and may be subject to partial failure; but I am quite convinced that it is mainly to the success of this attempt, notwithstanding the tremendous obstacles which have been opposed to it, that the great and general improvement in the conduct of the students at Calcutta must be at-

tributed ; and if the college is destroyed, and boys are sent out to India fresh from the rod, it will soon be seen that this improved conduct will no longer be remarkable.

The *system* of the college is, I really believe, not far from what it ought to be*. That there are faults in the administration of it will be readily allowed, some perhaps within, (for what administration is faultless?) but many more and much greater without. Among these are the multiplicity of its governors, consisting not only of the Court of Directors, but of the Court of Proprietors ;—the variety of opinions among them, some being for a college in England, some for a college in Calcutta, some for a school, and some for nothing at all ;—the constant discussion arising from this variety of opinion, which keeps up a constant expectation of change ;—the interest of individuals to send out their

* Little other change is wanting than that an appointment should be considered, in spirit and in truth, not in mere words, as a prize to be contended for, not a property already possessed, which may be lost. If the Directors were to appoint one-fifth every year, beyond the number finally to go out, and the four-fifths were to be the best of the whole body, the appointments would then really be to be contended for, and the effects would be admirable. Each appointment to the college would then be of less value, but they would be more in number, and the patronage would hardly suffer. A Director could not then indeed be able to send out an unqualified son. But, is it fitting that he should? This is a fair question for the consideration of the Legislature and the British Public.

sons as early, and with as little expense of education, as possible, an interest too strong for public spirit;—the very minute and circumstantial details, in all the proceedings of the college which are required, to be seen by all the ladies and gentlemen who are proprietors of India stock;—the impossibility of sending a student away without creating a clamour from one end of London to the other, greatly aggravated and lengthened by the power thus furnished, of debating every step of the proceedings;—the chances that the details above adverted to will enable some ingenious lawyer to find a flaw in the proceedings, with a view to their reversal;—the never-ending applications made to the college, when a student is sent away, for re-admission, assuming every conceivable form of flattery and menace;—the opinion necessarily formed, and kept up in this way among the students, that sentences, though passed, will not be final;—and, above all, the knowledge they must have, from the avowed wish of many of the proprietors of East-India stock to destroy the college, that a rebellion would be agreeable to them.

How is it possible to answer for the conduct of young men, under such powerful excitements from without? For my own part, I am only astonished that the college has been able to get on at all, under these overwhelming obstacles; and that it has got on, and done great good too, (which I boldly assert it

has,) is no common proof of its internal vigour, and its capacity to answer its object.

The present virulent attack upon the college has been meditated some time; and it could hardly fail to be known to the students that a disturbance this autumn would have been hailed by many of the Court of Proprietors as the happiest omen of success. Under these circumstances, the orderly conduct of the students for the last year does them the highest honour. And it is not a little discreditable to the character of the present attack, and the motives which have dictated it, that it was brought forward, not at a time when an unhappy act of violence might have given some plausible ground for it, but after a period of great quiet and order, and at the conclusion of a term eminently distinguished for great industry, and successful literary exertion.

THE END.

(The following is a translation of the original text, which is written in a cursive hand and is very faint and difficult to read. The text appears to be a letter or a report, possibly related to the printing process or the publisher's business.)

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. in relation to the printing of the book, and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the printer, and will be ready for the press in a few days. I am, Sir, very respectfully,
 Your obedient servant,
 W. Clowes, Printer, Northumberland-court, Strand.

THE END



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