Government of Bengal

History of Hooghly College 1836—1936

by

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PREFACE.

No apology is needed for the publication of a history of Hooghly College in its centenary year; a hundred years of uninterrupted and not inglorious life deserve a record. But I owe an apology for the shortcomings of this work. It has been written in the scant intervals of leisure during the last twelve months—and that is not the way to do good work. I have been able neither to study all the available material nor to weave it into as attractive a form as I could have wished. The result, which I sincerely deplore, is that the history is unworthy of the College it commemorates.

At the same time, it will not be without value, I trust, to old and present students of the College. College loyalty and pride are not very strong in India, perhaps partly because the history and traditions of a College are unknown to most of its alumni. But Hooghly has a fine record. Its beginnings are associated with Mahomed Mohsin and Macaulay; it has produced some distinguished men and many more who have lived honourable and useful lives. Its situation, by the banks of the Hooghly, is beautiful; and the building, though ill-adapted for a College within, is one of the noblest and most harmonious architectural compositions in Bengal, except for the later excrescence of the Chemistry Laboratory. A College history will, therefore, strengthen the affection and pride which there is so much else to justify.

Nor may it be without its value to students of the educational and social history of Bengal in the last century—for the College possesses unique records and an attempt has been made to use them as fully as space and time permitted.

Many friends have helped me in this task. The officers of the Bengal Records Office were most courteous and helpful and gave me valuable advice and guidance. My colleague, Professor J. N. Sikdar, very kindly looked through many of the packets of copies of letters issued from 1874 to 1903. My old pupil, Mr. Nikhilnath Chakravarty, consulted the files of periodicals and several books in the Imperial Library for me. Mr. A. K. Chanda, I.E.S., Professor S. C. Sarkar of the Presidency College, Professor S. C. Mukherjee of this College, and Professor H. H. Crabtree of St. Paul's College read through large portions of the manuscript and made useful suggestions. Finally, my thanks are due to the Government of Bengal for permission to consult and publish many extracts from the official papers both in the College Office and in the Bengal Records Office.

I was often tempted in the course of the work to digress into subjects connected with the general history of education in the province; but I have attempted to resist the temptation. Occasionally, however, I have transgressed the strict limits of the subject, when the relevance and importance of the topic seemed to require such a digression. For the personal opinions expressed I alone am responsible. But my object has been to avoid controversy and to present a panorama of the life and work of the College from generation to generation.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

A history of Hooghly College is justified not only by the centenary, but also by the existence of an unusually complete series of records. The uninstructed zeal which from time to time purged the College library of "useless" books, some of which would be rare and valuable now, was seldom turned against the office papers; neglect as much as care has ensured their preservation. These records fall roughly into four classes. First, there are the copies of "letters issued" from the College, chiefly to the controlling educational authority. Up to 1873 they are neatly engrossed and bound. But from 1874 to 1904 the rough drafts were merely folded and tied up in bundles, which were thrown into a couple of boxes. Mice and time have played havoc with them and a great many papers have been irretrievably destroyed. Since 1904 the copies have been properly filed. All these have been indicated in references by the letter "A". Secondly, there are the letters received from the Educational Authorities, General Committee, Council or Director. They are arranged in bound volumes in a practically continuous series from the beginning, but one or two volumes are missing. These are indicated by the letter "B". Thirdly, there is the miscellaneous correspondence, letters sent to or received from the auxiliary schools, magistrates, the Public Works Department, the Accountant-General, the University and so forth. These are indicated by the letter "C". Lastly, there are records other than letters. The most valuable of these are (1) the series of "acquittance rolls" or salary registers, which extend, with only two or three gaps, from 1840 and supply accurate and detailed information about the personnel of the staff and the holders of scholarships, (2) the rolls of students and admission registers, which cover almost the entire period, (3) a few volumes of circulars or college notices, especially two from 1844 to 1883, (4) the annual reports in manuscript or print from 1875, the earlier ones being included among the volumes of "letters issued."

Such are the materials that exist in the College; and it is doubtful whether any other College in the country possesses so long, varied and continuous a series of records. But, in addition, a valuable collection of relevant documents is housed in the Bengal Records Office. Unfortunately, these are by no means so complete. The General Committee of Public Instruction controlled education from 1823 to 1842. Of its papers there remain only five volumes of general "Proceedings" and eighteen volumes of "Letters Issued and Received." These have either no index at all or no satisfactory index and the papers themselves

are not always arranged in chronological or topical order. There are also several volumes relating to special subjects or institutions. The papers of the Sub-Committee for Hooghly College have disappeared and all that survives is a single volume of accounts for 1836-39. Happily, Mr. Woodrow had in 1860 collected and published Macaulay's educational minutes and notes from the General Committee's Proceedings, but many of the volumes which then existed are now missing.

The Council of Education was the immediate controlling authority from 1842 to 1855. Its records have completely vanished, with the exception of two miscellaneous volumes of no interest to us.

Thus, for the period after 1842 we are obliged to fall back on the Consultations or Proceedings of Government, chiefly in the Education Department. A rather unsatisfactory manuscript index in fourteen volumes helps the student for the period 1842-59; and after 1859 there are printed indexes.

The earlier papers of the Director of Public Instruction appear to have been destroyed. They are not preserved among the Bengal Records and the office of the Director knows nothing about them. But it is possible that they are lying forgotten in some unvisited store room.

These are the chief unpublished materials. Of the printed records the most useful are the following. First, the Annual General Reports on Education published by the General Committee, the Council of Education and the Director. The Hooghly College Library has a more or less complete series of them. Secondly, earlier histories of the College, of which I know of only two, Mr. Kerr's account in his Review of Public Instruction in Bengal from 1835 to 1851 and the short but useful summary compiled by Mr. Krishna Chandra Bhattacharyya, officiating Principal, in 1930. Thirdly, there are the contemporary newspapers, which, however, do not provide much fresh information. Finally, interesting sidelights on the history of the College are thrown by such works as the Collection of Papers relating to the Hooghly Imambarah and Toynbee's Sketch of the Administration of Hooghly.

For this history I have looked through practically all the material in the College and in the Bengal Records up to 1915 and a good many papers after that. Professor S. C. Sarkar of the Presidency College very kindly searched through the three volumes of Mr. Brajendranath Bannerji's collection of press cuttings for relevant references from the Bengali papers and Mr. Nikilnath Chakravarti explored the earlier

English newspapers. I have not been able to tap or use as fully as I should have liked the recollections of old students and teachers who are still alive and some of whom joined the College as early as the eighteen-seventies. All the printed works mentioned have been consulted.

Quotations are given throughout with the original spelling and punctuation.

I decided, after some hesitation, to give full references for statements made in the text. They are grouped by chapters at the end so as not to interrupt the ordinary reader; on the other hand, a serious history can scarcely dispense with references, especially to sources most of which are not in print nor readily accessible. Some day a scholar with more time and ability than I have will write a detailed history of education in Bengal; and he will find the Hooghly College records a mine of information which I have been by no means able to exhaust.

History of Hooghly College, 1836—1936.

CHAPTER I.

The Genesis of the College.

The foundation of Hooghly College is associated, directly or indirectly, with some remarkable men and it was one of the events of a remarkable time. The influence of Ram Mohun Roy, who died in 1833, was at its height after 1815. The Hindu College was opened in 1817. In 1823 the General Committee of Public Instruction was appointed. The advent of Lord William Bentinck as Governor-General gave a strong impetus to all movements for social reform and educational progress. In 1835 Government definitely decided to encourage the spread of Western Science and English rather than of Oriental learning and languages, and education in India was turned into the channels along which ever since it has mainly flowed. These were, perhaps, the crucial years in the intellectual and moral regeneration of Bengal.

But these new forces were still confined for the most part to Calcutta. The foundation of a college at Hooghly was the result of another set of circumstances. Hooghly was an important port in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and many Mahomedans, even from far Persia, had settled down and prospered in the place. Such were Agha Motaher, to whom Aurangzib had granted large jagirs in Jessore and elsewhere, and Agha Fazlullah. Agha Motaher rebuilt the Imambarah on the banks of the river. To his only child, Manu Jan Khanum, he bequeathed all his property. His widow, however, married the son of Agha Fazlullah and had a son by this second marriage, Mahomed Mohsin, born in 1730.[a] Manu Jan's marriage proved childless and in her old age she summoned her step-brother to her side to help her in the management of her estates. Mahomed Mohsin had, meanwhile, made the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina and travelled through Turkey, Egypt, Persia and Central Asia, spending many years on the road and in the learned and sacred places of Islam. He was already an

[a] There is a short account of Mahomed Mohsin in Bradley-Birt: Twelve Men of Bengal.

old man when he returned to India and finally to Hooghly. Some years later, in 1803, his sister died, leaving him all her wealth. Mohsin was now rich, but he had neither wife nor child nor any near kindred. His own habits were simple and austere and he used his new riches almost entirely in charity. Anxious that his charity should survive him, he created in 1806 a deed of trust, by which he appointed two mutwallis who were to administer the income of the property. The revenue was to be divided into nine shares, of which three were to be devoted to sacred uses, four for pensions, stipends and charity and two to the remuneration of the mutwallis.[b] Six years later Mahomed Mohsin died.

The mutwallis, in whom he had placed entire confidence, soon proved unworthy of the trust. They neglected the proper objects of the endowment and wasted the money in quarrels, bribes to the police and gifts to their own relatives. They forged a perpetual lease in their own favour, purporting to have been executed by Mohsin before the deed of foundation. The Board of Revenue intervened under Regulation XIX of 1810, which gave it the supervision of all trusts of a public nature, and appointed Syed Akbar Ali Khan as Visitor. This did not improve matters and in 1818 the mutwallis were dismissed and Akbar Ali Khan was appointed mutwalli. The Board took over the management of the Syedpore estate in Jessore, which formed by far the largest part of the property. In 1921 this was sold in putni tenures for nearly six lakhs of rupees.[c]

Meanwhile, litigation had begun. There was a rival claimant to the zemindary, who took his case from court to court, till it was finally dismissed by the Privy Council in 1830. On the other hand, Wasick Ali, the son and nominee of one of the original mutwallis, brought a suit for reinstatement as co-mutwalli in 1826. His claim was rejected by the Hooghly Zillah Court, then by the Court of Appeal in Calcutta and lastly by the Sudder Dewani Adawlut in 1835.[d] Government was thus definitely recognised as the trustee to the estate. During these years a large part of the annual income had been saved, in addition to the money from the putni sales. The question of the use of the income and the surplus had now to be decided.

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[b] A translation of the full text of the Trust Deed is given as Appendix A.

[c] All the important documents relevant to the history of the Mohsin endowment are printed in the "Collection of Papers Relating to the Hooghly Imambarah, 1815-1910." Calcutta, 1914.

[d] It is often assumed that this suit went up on appeal to the Privy Council; but it was actually terminated by the decree of the Sudder Dewani Adawlut.

The trust deed did not provide for any expenditure on education nor did it contemplate any accumulation of income. On the other hand, the trustees—Government had now taken their place—had been given large powers to dispose of the revenues as they liked; and a school had for some years been attached to the Imambarah.* The proposal to spend the surplus on an educational institution was, therefore, at once natural and happy. The first official adumbration of this scheme was apparently in a letter from Mr. Macnaghten, Deputy Secretary to Government, to the Sudder Board of Revenue, 6th July 1830, in which he suggested the endowment of a madrasah at Hooghly from the unappropriated funds of the Syedpore trust estate. "The most obvious purpose to which the surplus could be applied, with reference alike to the perpetuation of the founder's name and to the promotion of useful knowledge not entirely of a secular character, would be the establishment of a Mudrussa in which, in the first instance, Mahomedan learning might alone be taught, but which at no distant period it might be hoped would willingly receive the solid advantages of European science."[1] The General Committee of Public Instruction was asked to report on this suggestion.[2]

That Committee took a rather broader view. They wrote on the 27th October 1831: "Various considerations induce us to suppose that it will not be necessary to limit the objects of the institution, even in the outset, to Mahomedan Literature and Science alone. Besides the precedents offered by the Delhi and Agra Colleges in which both Mahomedans and Hindus are educated, and where to Persian and Arabic, Hindu Sanskrit and English are superadded, it appears from a Report on the Hooghly endowment received from the Judge and Magistrate of Hooghly in 1826, that a School of a mixed nature has been maintained there from the very Funds in question by the Mootawullee. At that time the School was attended by 83 young men and boys, of whom 16 were reading Arabic, 7 Persian and 60 English. The Establishment comprised also a Bengali teacher. In making these, therefore, the objects of tuition in the new College, of which the existing School presents the rudiments, no innovation will be made nor any arrangement adopted incompatible with the impressions and feelings entertained by the native residents at Hooghly."[3]

Accordingly, a local Committee at Hooghly was appointed to prepare a plan for the new institution and Dr. Thomas A. Wise, Civil Surgeon,

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*In Fisher's Memoir we read that in 1817 the existence of a small school attached to the Imambarah was reported. Sharp: Selections from the Educational Records, Part I, p. 190.

was chosen as its Secretary on a salary of Rs. 300 a month, 13th March 1832. The members were W. Braddon, the Commissioner, W. H. Belli, the Collector, D. C. Smyth, the Magistrate, and Akbar Ali Khan, the Mutwalli. This Committee proposed an institution of eight or ten classes and about 200 pupils and the erection of a building in two storeys on the piece of land to the east of the Imambarah, about six bighas in extent, which was then covered with huts.[4] The Committee also superintended the existing Imambarah schools, and books in Arabic and Persian to the value of over Rs. 2,200 were supplied for the Madrasah.

Wasick Ali Khan's appeal to the Sudder Dewani Adawlut, however, stopped further progress and the General Committee thought that the control of even the existing schools by the local Committee was inexpedient.[5] Government agreed, the local Committee came to an end and the salary of Dr. Wise ceased from July 1833.

The suit, as we have seen, was unsuccessful; and towards the close of 1834, some of the residents of Hooghly and Chinsurah petitioned for the enlargement of the Imambarah schools.[6] The Governor-General ordered the Board of Revenue to send a statement of the financial position and it appeared that in February 1835 the sum in deposit in Government securities and cash amounted to Rs. 8,63,543-13-8.[7] The plan was revived and in April the Secretary to Government asked the General Committee to "furnish with as little delay as possible a suitable scheme for the establishment of a College for general instruction." "The Governor-General in Council, though he would provide for imparting to all classes of the population instruction in every possible branch of useful knowledge, is nevertheless of opinion that the institution should be essentially a Mahomedan seminary of education so as to satisfy the just expectations of that class of the population of which the beneficent founder of this Charity was during his life a member."[8]

Only a few weeks before, on the 7th March 1835, Government had issued the famous Resolution which decided the long and heated controversy between the Anglicists and the Orientalists. "His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science amongst the Natives of India, and that all the Funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone." But the Mohsin endowment stood on a different footing; it was not part of the general education fund; hence, the rather

paradoxical character of the declaration. Macaulay, himself a member of the Supreme Council, understood it to mean that "no religious instruction ought to be given except according to Mahometan principles. But lectures on general literature and general science may, of course, be attended indiscriminately by all classes."[7]

In June the local Committee was revived, with Mr. Belli, Mr. M. S. Gilmore, Nawab Akbar Ali Khan and Dr. Wise as members. In 1832 the local Committee had reported that Rs. 1,47,000 would be necessary for the erection of a school house and for repairs to the Imambarah and that an annual income of Rs. 35,388 would be available for the maintenance of the College. These matters were again referred to the local Committee for their opinion, as Dr. Wise had suggested the purchase of a suitable building.[8] But it was not clear what share, if any, of the annual income the College would be entitled to and in October the Governor-General in Council passed definite orders in the following terms:—

"The Governor-General in Council, deeming himself to have succeeded to the full authority and powers assigned by Hajee Mohsin to the Mutwallies, considers it to be entirely in his power to determine upon the appropriation of the funds subject of course to the condition of adhering as closely as possible to the wishes of the testator in points in which they have been declared.

Now it appears that the growing income from the Jessore estates was the only fund in the testator's contemplation, and the expenses of the Imambarah, the Mutwallee's allowances, with the pensions and establishments are charged specially upon that income which is estimated by the Sub-Committee at Hooghly to yield the sum of Rs. 45,000 per annum.

The Governor-General in Council, adverting to the conditions of the will, resolves that three-ninths of the income from the zemindarees shall permanently be assigned for the current expenses of the Imambarah, etc., and of the two-ninths of this income assigned to the Mutwallees, but which are now at the disposal of Government, the Governor-General in Council assigns one-ninth to the Agent or Mutwalee appointed by Government, but he does not deem it necessary to appoint a second Mutwalee or to appropriate the second-ninth share assigned by the testator to the co-trustee nominated in the original will. This ninth, therefore, will be available for general purposes of a beneficial nature.....

The four-ninths of the zemindaree income appropriated by the testator to pensions and establishments must remain burthened with these charges, but as many of the pensions, etc., will have lapsed, the Governor-General in Council considers that the income arising from such lapses may be fairly added to the

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[7] Mr. H. Woodrow collected Macaulay's educational minutes from the records of the General Committee and they were published in the Proceedings of the Bethune Society for 1859-60 and 1860-61. Calcutta, 1862. Most of them are short notes or comments on the papers circulated. Their terse and vigorous language, so different from the solemn formality of official correspondence, is as refreshing as their robust common sense. 16th April 1835.

surplus fund appropriable to general purposes. The expenses of the hospital will, however, remain a permanent charge under this head, but there appears to be an expense incurred for education at present which will of course merge into the general fund.

In pursuance of the principles above laid down, there remains at the disposal of Government for general purposes of a beneficent nature one-ninth of the annual income from the zemindaree. Second, the lapsed pensions, etc., and 3rd, the entire amount arising from the interest of the accumulated fund now invested in promissory notes of Government.

The Governor-General in Council is of opinion that, after setting apart from this last mentioned fund such amount as may be necessary to provide appropriate buildings, including the charge of rebuilding or repairing the Emambarah and other religious edifices, if it should be found necessary to renew these, the entire remainder should be considered as the trust fund, the interest of which with the other items specified may be appropriated to the purposes of education by the formation of a Collegiate Institution imparting instructions of all kinds in the higher department of education according to the principles heretofore explained."[10]

In March 1836 the General Committee wrote to Government, outlining their plan for the College, for which, even after setting apart Rs. 1,40,000 for buildings and repairs, an income of sicca Rs. 54,000 they expected would be available. "It should include two Departments, the English and Oriental, the benefits of instruction afforded by which should be open to candidates of every sect and creed willing to conform to the established rules and discipline..... The resort of students should not be encouraged by stipends, but the inducement of honorary and pecuniary prizes to the most proficient students may with propriety be held out..... The institutions should be placed under the direct control of the General Committee or some section thereof without the intervention of any local Committee. The last suggestion appears to the General Committee advisable because the proximity of Hooghly admits of prompt communication and occasional visits of the members of the General Committee and because it ensures a supervision of the affairs of the College more unvaryingly efficient than can be hoped from that of officials of the place who are often changed and unlike the members of the General Committee never chosen on account of zeal in the cause of education."[11] The general principles were those laid down by Macaulay.* "At all events," he wrote, "I would give no authority over this College or over any of our Colleges to a Collector or a Judge merely because he is a Collector or a Judge. Such an officer may be incompetent; he may be indifferent; he may be adverse. When we repose such a confidence, we ought to repose it in the man, not in the office."[12]

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*Macaulay's note is printed in full as Appendix B.

On the 8th June Government approved generally of these proposals. The General Committee promptly issued English and Persian advertisements for teachers and notices of the opening of the College.[13] The Local Committee was authorised to hire Perron's house on a lease of two years at a rent of Rs. 142 a month. The establishment of the College involved the extinction of the Imambarah schools. At the end of 1835, there were 87 pupils in the English school who were taught History, Geography and Arithmetic and were housed in a single room; and there were 37 in the Oriental school.[14] In July the General Committee wrote to Dr. Wise, who had been chosen Principal; "Your salary as Secretary to the local Committee will cease from the 31st July when also the entire establishment of the School now attached to the Imambarah will be abolished."[15]

Accordingly, on the 1st August 1836, the New Hooghly College opened in Perron's house, with Dr. Wise as Principal and under the immediate control of the General Committee. That Committee then consisted of seventeen members, some of whom were among the ablest Englishmen who have ever served in India. Macaulay was President and among his colleagues were many of his chief friends. "There is a little circle of people," he wrote home, "whose friendship I value and in whose conversation I take pleasure: the Chief Justice, Sir Edward Ryan; my old friend, Malkin; Cameron and Macleod, the Law Commissioners; Macnaghten among the older servants of the Company, and Mangles, Colvin and John Peter Grant among the younger. These, in my opinion, are the flower of Calcutta society."[16] Of them Sir Edward Ryan, Sir Benjamin Malkin, C. H. Cameron, Ross Mangles and J. R. Colvin were all on the Committee. Still another member was Macaulay's brother-in-law, C. E. Trevelyan; and the Indian community was represented by Radhakant Dev and Rassamoy Dutt and the next year by Prosonna Coomar Tagore and Ram Comul Sen.

Dr. Wise, the Principal, was also a man of eminent accomplishments, not in his profession alone.[17] Born in 1802, he took the M.D. degree at Edinburgh in 1824 and came out to India as Assistant Surgeon in 1827. Four years later he published a treatise on the Pathology of the Blood, but he found time to make himself proficient in Persian and Arabic as well. Gifted with untiring energy and public spirit, he established the first general hospital in Chinsurah, introduced vaccination, organised an Agricultural and Horticultural Society and also acted as Post Master.[18] After his return from India in 1851, he became an F.R.C.S. of Edinburgh in 1852 and an F.R.C.S. of England in 1859. He published works on the Barah Bhuyas of Eastern Bengal,

on the Hindu System of Medicine, on the Diseases of the Eye and on Cholera. Macaulay wrote of him as one "whose qualifications entitle him to the highest respect."[19] No better man could have been found to take charge of the infant College.

Dr. Wise still remained Civil Surgeon and some members of the Committee were uneasy. Macaulay, however, had no qualms. "I doubt," he said, "whether we are likely to find so good a Principal as Dr. Wise. At all events it is certain that we shall find none so cheap ..... Besides, there must be a medical man to attend the hospital attached to the institution (the Imambarah hospital). If we employ Dr. Wise as Principal, his services will of course be given gratuitously to the hospital; and, though there may be no regular system of medical education, the Mahomedan youths, who all love to pick up a smattering of physic, will learn something which may at least keep them from poisoning, if it does not enable them to cure."[20]

The building which was hired for the College, and which it has almost continuously occupied ever since, was perhaps the noblest and most commodious in Chinsurah. It was generally called Perron's house. Perron was one of the most successful of the many European adventurers who sought fame and fortune in India at the end of the eighteenth century.[h] His real name was Pierre Cuillier. Coming out to India as a common sailor, he obtained service first under the Rana of Gohud and then under Scindia. He soon became Scindia's Chief European officer and practically ruler of all the land between the Ganges, the Jumna and the Kumaon Hills. But when war broke out between the British and Scindia in 1803, Perron was superseded, and retired with a considerable fortune. He was forbidden to live in Calcutta and towards the end of 1803 made his home for a while at Chinsurah, which was then still a Dutch possession.

It has been generally assumed that he built this house, but his historian says that he "bought and embellished a fine residence at Chinsurah.[i] He had never intended to live permanently in India and within a few months asked for permission to leave the country. The

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[h] There is a recent full-length biography of Perron by A. Martineau.

[i] Martineau: Perron, p. 181. Perron "acheta et fit amenager une fort belle demeure à Chinsurah." The building, however, has always been known as "Perron's house" and its plan has an architectural unity which suggests a single mind. In the *Calcutta Gazette* of 10th October 1805, there was an advertisement offering for sale "the house at Chinsura, now nearly finished, built by order of General Perron, leaving for Europe." Crawford: *Hooghly District Gazetteer*, p. 279n., Martineau says naively "La maison de Perron a été transformee en collège. L'Hooghly—Collège comptait en 1882, six cents élèves, tant anglais que musulmans". p. 181n.

permission was given in April 1805 and early in January 1806 he sailed for France, where he brought the château of Frasnes and lived for twenty-six years longer. Thus, he spent only about two years in this house and it was here that his son, Joseph François-René, was born and his first wife died. She was buried at Chandernagore. Joseph, the first youthful inhabitant of this building that history knows, married Caroline, daughter of Oudinot, Duke of Reggio, one of Napoleon's famous marshals.

The house which Perron had occupied when he was Governor of the Doab became eventually part of the Anglo-Oriental College founded by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, which afterwards developed into the Aligarh Muslim University. His house at Chinsurah passed into the hands of Prankissen Halder, a wealthy landowner, and is still remembered as having been the scene of lavish entertainments and nautches. Haldar was afterwards sentenced to imprisonment on the charge of forging Government securities and the Seal Family, who had a mortgage on the house, purchased it cheap when it was sold in execution of a civil court decree in 1834.[1] It was from them that the General Committee hired it for the accommodation of the College.

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[1] A short account of the history of the property is given in the letter of the Local Agents to the Commissioner of Revenue, Hooghly. "The owner of these two houses is Prankissen Haldar regarding whose title no doubt exists. During the year 1829 and previous to his conviction for forgery this person being in great difficulties borrowed the sum of 37,000 rupees from Prankissen Seal giving him a bond for the amount payable on demand and at the same time executed a deed of agreement binding himself as further security for the payment of this debt to mortgage to Prankissen Seal when called upon the two houses in Chinsurah which the Committee now propose to purchase. Prankissen Seal, however, it would appear, instead of acting upon this agreement and exacting a deed of mortgage from Prankissen Haldar sued him in the year 1934 upon the simple bond, obtained a judgment in his favour and had the two houses in Chinsurah put up at the Sheriff's sale in satisfaction of the debt when they were disposed of to the present owner Bissumbhur Seal, the nephew of Prankissen Seal, for the sum of 16,500 sicca rupees." B. 4th September 1837.

CHAPTER II.

The First Ten Years, 1836 to 1846.

The new College opened under the fairest auspices. Chinsurah and Hooghly were particularly favourable places for the enterprise. For many years, there had been in the town and its neighbourhood a network of vernacular schools under a European Superintendent, maintained by liberal grants from the General Committee.[a] The ground had thus been well prepared. The *Friend of India*, a consistent advocate of elementary vernacular education, wrote in 1839: "Let the Committee keep in mind their triumphs in Hooghly and the popularity of their school in Dacca. In both these places, especially the latter, there was no such influence of situation as in Calcutta and its suburbs. But no two places, to which the Committee have extended their operations, had been favoured like these with vernacular European schools: which had, by twenty years' culture, cleared away all prejudices, and imparted both the desire and the capacity for receiving any education the Committee might think of bestowing."[1] The College when it opened was inundated with pupils; and its establishment was rightly regarded as one of the major events of the year. Even the *Edinburgh Review* noted its success as one of the signs of a new era of enlightenment in India.[2]

At that time, Chinsurah and Chandernagore appear also to have been regarded as health resorts. "The situation of both," said the *Friend of India*, "is eminently healthy; the surrounding country is free

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[a] There are three volumes among the General Committee's papers dealing with the Chinsurah schools. There is a short summary in the Report for 1830 (Proc. of Gen. Com., 1823-30, pp. 514 ff): "The Chinsurah schools were originally set on foot by private charity and were established in a number of villages about Hooghly and Chinsurah in 1814-15. In the latter year they were taken under the care of the Government and Rs. 600 a month appropriated to their maintenance, of which 200 formed the salary of the Superintendent. The allowance was increased in 1816 to 800 rupees a month, but was subsequently limited to its original amount. In 1824 the schools were placed under the general control of the Committee of Public Instruction.

The Chinsurah schools are at present 14 in number situated on both banks of the river above and below Hooghly. The number of scholars on the books is 1,050 of whom about 800 attend with some regularity. The instruction given in them is confined to the Bengali language—reading, writing and arithmetic with some insight into Geography and Natural History."

Fisher's Memoir gives some other details. The schools were projected by a missionary, May, and at his death in 1818 there were 36 schools with 3,000 pupils. Sharp: Educational Records, Part I, p. 188.

A less favourable account of these schools is given in a letter to the *Samachar Chandrika*, 3 March 1832, Bannerji, II 55-57.

from jungle; and as the population is not dense, the towns are not infected with the elements of disease." [b]

Hooghly College had another advantage in the large resources it could command. Its annual income in the first year was about Rs. 50,000; no other college, except the Medical, cost as much. But in a few years even this proved inadequate to the maintenance of the establishment that the demand for education required; and the Committee had to supplement the income from the endowment from its own general funds.

In his first report the Principal ascribed the popularity of the College to other reasons: the presence of numerous families in the neighbourhood who obtained a livelihood in Calcutta from their knowledge of English, the secular character of the studies in the institution, the fact that it was the only free school in a populous locality conducted under the sanction of Government and the expectation of improved prospects from an English education.[3]

But, whatever the causes, the numbers that thronged the College in the first days surpassed all hopes and upset all arrangements. The sanctioned scheme had envisaged two departments, with a principal, a professor and three teachers for the English Department and ten maulvies and two pandits for the Oriental.[4] But, within three days, twelve hundred boys had joined the English Department alone and five new masters had to be hastily added.[5] The College must have presented a scene of fine confusion, fifteen hundred pupils jostling each other in the crowded class rooms and new arrivals pouring in every day. Admissions were soon limited to the last Saturday of each month.

One of the problems of the Committee was that of securing good teachers. As we have seen, advertisements were issued and two sub-committees dealt with the numerous applications. Fifty-eight candidates were interviewed for the Oriental Department.[6] Dr. Wise was Principal and for the post of Professor Mr. James Sutherland was chosen; he joined early in the next year. Sutherland had had a varied career and his education had been practical rather than academic. He went to sea at the age of fourteen and after seven years came to India and entered the Indian Marine Service in 1816, first at Bombay and

[b] *Friend of India*, 31st May 1838. Many Calcutta residents had week-end houses at Hooghly, Chinsurah or Chandernagore. Readers of Hickey's Memoirs will remember that he had a house at Chinsurah, probably the one facing the main College gate. On the other hand, the official vital statistics of recent years show that the Hooghly-Chinsurah municipality has a much higher death rate than any other town of comparable size in the province.

then at Calcutta. He commanded several vessels, but in 1828 he joined J. Silk Buckingham on the staff of the *Calcutta Journal*. He spent the next few years partly at sea, partly in journalism and partly in a mercantile house. He was connected with various papers, the *Bengal Chronicle* which became the *Bengal Hurkaru*, the *Calcutta Chronicle* which was suppressed by Government and the *Bengal Herald*.[7] It was from the editorial chair that he passed to the professorship of literature at the College.

Mr. Cooper and Mr. Kelly were appointed second and third masters. "Considering that the largest number of pupils in the English Department is likely to consist of the Hindu youth of Hooghly and its vicinity,"[8] Babu Eshanchandra Banerjee was chosen as the fourth master. He had been a teacher first in the General Assembly's School and then in Captain Wilkinson's School in Chota Nagpur and at this time was Headmaster of the Subscription School at Hooghly. Babu Sreenath Pal and Mr. De Cruize were also teachers in the upper school.

It was no easy matter in those days to obtain the right type of men for the higher or even the lower teaching posts. There were not many qualified Europeans in India who were prepared to accept such positions; but, curiously enough, the army proved a useful recruiting ground for professors. Men of good birth, and good education, who had enlisted in the Company's forces as the result of some youthful misdemeanour, were often anxious to change to some more congenial profession.[c] The price for a discharge was, however, generally beyond their means, although about this time it was reduced. Corporal Graves, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, was in 1831 drawn from the artillery into teaching.[9] Leonidas Clint, a prizeman and senior optime of Trinity College, Cambridge, had also joined the artillery, but after some negotiation his discharge was purchased in 1838[10] and he was appointed a master in the Hindoo College. D. L. Richardson was an officer in the army before he turned to teaching. All of these were, at one time or another, on the staff of Hooghly College.

But the army alone could not provide the English teachers for the increasing number of schools and colleges. "I am every day more

[c] "The Company's Artillery comprises individuals of every rank and almost every profession, from the Marquis to the clown, from the under-graduate of Oxford and Cambridge to the apprentice. Individuals who have, perhaps in the buoyancy of youth, taken one false step, are often led to take a second, through the fear of encountering the censure of their friends, and to enlist into the Artillery, under a change of name.....The privations of the voyage, and the hardships of a soldier's duty, very speedily bring on a strong anxiety to retrieve the error, and to enter on more congenial pursuits. But the high price hitherto fixed on a discharge has necessarily prevented the execution of their wishes." *Friend of India*, 5th January 1837.

and more convinced," wrote Macaulay in 1837, "that, as our operations extend, and as our schools multiply, it will become more and more necessary for us to take some course for procuring a regular supply of good masters from England. At present we are forced to put up with the leavings of every other trade and profession. A missionary who becomes tired of converting, a newspaper writer who has quarrelled with the editor, a shopkeeper who has failed, a clerk in a public office who has lost his place, are the sort of people whom we are forced to look to. Even of these the supply is so limited and uncertain, that we can hardly venture to reject any man who can read, write and work a sum."[11] Some of the teachers in the lower classes scarcely reached even this very modest level. [d] In July 1837 Dr. Wise wrote to the General Committee that Mr. C. G. D. Betts, a European, educated in England, had been strongly recommended to him and had afforded "the most satisfactory proofs of his excellent moral character and general intelligence."[12] He had therefore appointed him to a junior post, but we read that a few weeks later "Mr. Betts candidly confessed his inability to give an examination in arithmetic, history and geography."[13] Another teacher of the lower school, Mr. Vogel, was examined with the following result: "Reads prose pretty well, as far as pronunciation is concerned, but makes many mistakes. Reads poetry indifferently, often parses incorrectly. Geography—very deficient in his knowledge of this subject. Arithmetic—knows the simple rules."[14] The Committee took pains to examine all candidates and some of the original question and answer papers are still preserved among their records. A Mr. Stewart asked for his papers back again: "I am not altogether satisfied with the cleanliness and neatness of my paper written yesterday. As a favour, therefore, and only as a favour, will you kindly let me have it for ten minutes only, to write it over again?" There is a pencil note on the answers: "In consequence of this note the answers were returned and the following sent back. It contains *considerable* additions to the former paper."[e]

On the whole, however, the Hooghly College was fortunate in its early teachers. Wise and Sutherland were both able men. Wise remained Principal till February 1839, when he was appointed Secretary to the General Committee. Sutherland officiated during Wise's

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[d] In February 1841 about half-a-dozen of the masters of the Junior School were dismissed "with reference to their general ignorance and defective pronunciation." A, 23rd February 1841.

[e] Sub-Com. for Exam. of Teachers, Gen. Com. Rec. Macaulay wrote, "I cannot say much for the show which the candidates make at these examinations. Instead of asking Mr.——questions in history, the best course would perhaps have been one which Dean Milner is said to have taken with a very ignorant man at Cambridge, to give him a little scrap of paper, and desire him to write all that he knew." Woodrow: Macaulay's Minutes, 28th June 1837.

absence on four months' leave in 1838; and on Wise's departure he was appointed Principal, but illness obliged him to take leave for two years at the close of 1839.[f] Dr. Esdaile officiated as Principal from November 1839 till December 1841. During most of this time there was no professor, till Clint was appointed in July 1841. Cooper, and after him Rochfort, were headmasters. Esdaile, like Wise, was Civil Surgeon as well as Principal and the *Friend of India* protested against the proposal to make the post of Principal "an appendage to the office of Civil Surgeon."[15] But Esdaile was also a remarkable man, if not as versatile as Dr. Wise. Born in 1808, M.D. of Edinburgh in 1829, he came out to India in 1831. He was the first to demonstrate that it was possible to perform surgical operations without pain under anæsthesia caused by mesmerism; and his achievements in mesmeric surgery, at a time when chloroform was still unknown, attracted much attention.[g] He published various works on mesmerism and a collection of travel letters.[16]

In January 1842 Sutherland returned as Principal, but in July 1844 he was appointed Superintendent of Marine. The Council communicated to him their appreciation: "The Council of Education cannot pass over the opportunity afforded, by the transfer of your valuable services to another Department, of recording the high sense entertained by them of your ability, zeal and the eminent success with which you have conducted the public duties of an important and responsible office, in an Institution, the mixed nature of which surrounded it with many difficulties, not common to most Colleges in this country."[17] Esdaile was again a candidate, but the Council was "opposed to the duties of so very important and responsible a position as that of Principal of a College being entrusted to any officer, however, zealous and able, who is unable to devote the whole of his time to their performance." The Council recommended Captain Richardson who was then in England, but the Deputy Governor was "not satisfied of the propriety of passing over the claims of Mr. Clint in favour of an officer not now in the country."[18] Clint was accordingly appointed; and Rochfort, an Irishman, who had spent two years at Trinity College, Dublin, and had taught for twenty years in India, was promoted to be professor. In November 1844, J. Graves, another

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[f] "We understand that Mr. James Sutherland, Principal of the Hooghly College, has obtained leave of absence to proceed to the Cape or Europe, on sick certificate, for two years. The Government acting upon their *liberal* rule as to the uncovenanted service, have, we learn, refused to allow him any part of his salary during his absence, and left him dependent upon the generosity of his *locum tenens* Dr. Esdaile!" *Calcutta Literary Gazette*, 2nd November 1839.

[g] There is an account of Esdaile's mesmeric surgery in Toynbee's Sketch of the Administration of Hooghly. App. Q.

Dublin man, was appointed headmaster. Clint stayed till November 1846 when he left to take charge of La Martinière College, Lucknow.[18] He subsequently returned to Bengal and was Principal of Krishnagar and officiating Principal of Presidency College.[h]

The General Committee made attempts to obtain suitable teachers from England through Macaulay and other old members who had returned home. Mr. King of the Council of Education, Whitehall, wrote to Mr. Trevelyan at the Treasury in May 1840. "On the receipt of Mr. Macaulay's letter, I directed copies of its enclosures, containing Sir E. Ryan's communication, to be made in this office and I personally wrote to various influential persons.....In the University of Cambridge I wrote to two of the tutors.....I did not think the University of Oxford would contain any competent person."[20] But even the superior University of Cambridge could only produce a gentleman who had left before taking a degree![i]

Almost equally difficult was the problem of accommodation. Perron's house was at first leased only for a year or two[j] and was regarded as a merely temporary home. Trevelyan and J. C. C. Sutherland, who inspected the College in September 1836, went into the question carefully. They reported that there were three alternatives: to buy Perron's house, to build on the site adjacent to the Imambarah or to obtain the cantonment buildings in Chinsura, "from its centricality the most convenient for our new university."[21] The Sub-Committee for Hooghly College were generally in favour of a new building. "It is the opinion of the Sub-Committee that the edifice for the New College should be well raised to consist of two stories and to be erected on a scale affording accommodation for the Instruction of 600 students only."[22] There were to be twelve class rooms, two spacious libraries and six retiring rooms for teachers, suitable outhouses such as coach houses and stables, lodges for servants and refreshment rooms for pupils, handsome principal staircases with others at each end, a covered portico and long colonnades. "No dormitories

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[h] When Clint left the Council resolved: "That Mr. Clint be informed of the very high estimation in which his zeal and abilities are held by the Council of Education, that the state in which he leaves the Hooghly College is considered to be in every way most creditable and that the Council part with Mr. Clint with much regret as they consider him in every respect an able and excellent officer." A. 29th January 1847.

[i] Mr. Ireland. After leaving Cambridge he was a teacher at Hull College. Mr. Lodge came soon after. In 1844 the Governor-General sanctioned the import of more men from England. Orig. Consult. Beng. Edn. 16th October 1844. No. 2.

[j] The Local Committee was asked to hire Perron's house for two years. A. 18th June 1836. In A. March 1838 we read that the house was hired for one year first, and then for five.

should enter into the design, but if required they should be erected detached at a distance."[23] But Trevelyan regarded the first alternative as the best and cheapest and Macaulay agreed.[24] In January 1837 the General Committee instructed Dr. Wise to buy the house if he could get it for sicca Rs. 14,000.[25] But there were again doubts and hesitations. A new delegation which visited the College on the 4th February 1837 reported that "the house seems to have been originally well built and proportioned, but without much improvement and architectural ornament would not have the imposing aspect or even the accommodation which ought to belong to an institution so richly endowed."[26] Trevelyan dissented again. "After the most attentive consideration, I cannot discover any point in which Perron's house is unsuited for the College. Its situation is unequalled. It contains a noble central Hall and ample accommodation for 800 students. It is a well-built and well-designed edifice, and also though blackened by long exposure to the weather without repair, it presents a very handsome front towards the river; and even at the enhanced price which is now put upon it and calculating the repairs at the highest estimate, it may be fitted for the purposes of the College at least (*sic*) one-fourth of the sum which it would cost to clear the ground and build a new one."[27] In April Dr. Wise wrote that the owner was disposed to sell for Rs. 20,000[28] and the General Committee in July formally approved of the proposal to buy Perron's house, as well as another house in the vicinity which also belonged to Prankissen Haldar.[29] The Governor-General in Council authorised the purchase of the house and three bighas of land adjoining.[30] But when the Committee had decided on Chinsurah (instead of Hooghly) as the permanent site of the College and Perron's house as suitable, difficulties arose. Nabinchandra Haldar put forward a claim to the property and his father, Prankissen, also demurred.[31] To make the title safe, an attempt was made to induce the Haldars to join in the conveyance; and, at length, early in 1839 Dr. Wise drew a bill for Co. Rs. 23,333-5-4, of which Rs. 21,333-5-4. (Sicca Rs. 20,000) were to go to the Seals, and Rs. 2,000 to the Haldars.[k] Two months later Government sanctioned the purchase of the adjoining piece of land for Rs. 1,000.[32]

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[k] A. 7th June 1839. The land bought for the College was exempted from rent But over Rs. 500 had to be paid as registry fee. The Secretary, Government of India, wrote to the Gen. Com., 3rd March 1841: "With respect to the registry fee, I am directed to state that this is a custom of the late Dutch settlement of Chinsurah which has been continued by our Government on account of local considerations, and that as it is at present under farm the Government cannot exempt the College from the farmer's share of the payment.....viz., one-half, but the half of the amount collected for the Revenue will be remitted." The fee was at the rate of five per cent. on the sale price.

But now the Haldars began to draw back. The General Committee, thereupon, stopped the rent for the house and the College was moved at the end of February to the Officers' Barracks, the Oriental Department going to the Field Officer's quarters.[33] But in May the barracks had suddenly to be vacated[34] and as the Committee did not wish to rent Perron's house again, the College was closed for a week till other houses were hired. The English Department was eventually distributed in three houses, the Arabic in one.[35] "This place is very deficient in large dwelling houses."[36] The change was not altogether for the worse, for the Principal wrote: "The Moulvies and students (of the Madrasah) are pleased with their accommodation which is better than that they had in Perron's house."[37] Presently, however, the Haldars withdrew their objections and the sale was completed.[1] Meanwhile repairs had already begun, for the building was in a sad state of decay and the accommodation was insufficient. A visiting deputation had said: "This fine and capacious mansion is quite inadequate to the accommodation of the congregated scholars of the two departments. It is impossible that study can be successfully prosecuted in such a dense throng."[38] Two thatched sheds for the lowest classes had been erected some time ago.[39] In March 1840 the English Department was back in one of the wings.[40] No early plan appears to be extant and we cannot be certain what changes were made. But the entrance gate was now built and the three small lodges, two on the north side and one to the south-east. The public offices and outhouses were erected and the roads laid out. The old Dutch drain was covered over and the ghat was constructed. In the main building, some of the verandahs were enclosed, two new staircases were put up to the north and south, a room was built over the portico and another room was divided into two.[41] The Annual Report for 1840-42 says: "There are on the upper floor one large Hall, 103 feet by 35, and seventeen good sized Compartments. In the lower there are nineteen good sized Compartments."[42] The main building had thus assumed its present shape in 1841. The cost of the repairs and additions was about Rs. 40,000.[43] The enclosure of the verandahs, however, rendered the inner rooms dark and airless. The inscription in the entrance hall also dates from this time.[44] I have not been able to discover exactly how the rooms were allotted. The Madrasah apparently occupied the south wing on both floors. The office was in a corner of the hall, screened off for the purpose.[45] The library was probably in one of the dark rooms on the ground floor, for

[1] The Haldars afterwards asked for Rs. 3,000 more, alleging an oral promise of Dr. Wise, but the claim was not allowed by Government. Orig. Consult. Beng. Edn. 21st May 1851, No. 1, 16th July 1851, Nos. 44, 45, 6th August 1851, No. 10.

there is a regular monthly item in the accounts for "oil and candles for light in the library."[46] The new room over the porch was intended to be a private room for the Principal and a Committee room for deputations from Calcutta.[47] The thatched sheds were now, probably, abandoned. They were not very safe and one was blown down by a storm in March 1838 and re-erected at a cost of Rs. 42-8.[48] The College building itself suffered severely in the cyclone of June 1842 and over Rs. 2,000 were spent to repair the damage.[49] The English class rooms boasted benches, but the Madrasah met in the simple traditional fashion, mats for the pupils and sheets for the maulvies to squat on.[m]

The immense influx of students was from the beginning a source of considerable embarrassment. On the day the College opened there were 686 pupils in the English and 130 in the Oriental Department; 823 more students joined the English Department during the course of that month, but 496 left, about half of whom "merely signed their names and did not return."[50] We should remember that there was no admission or other fees to pay. Dr. Wise explained that "a large proportion of those who have withdrawn did so in consequence of the great distance at which their residences are situated, and others probably ceased to attend when no longer amused by the novelty of the institution. Many of those who formerly seceded have, with a caprice often observable in the native character, again presented themselves as candidates for admission."[51] At the close of 1836, there were still 1,013 pupils in the English and 223 in the Oriental Department; but by the end of 1837, the English pupils had fallen to 750, while the Madrasah had 274.[52] It is difficult to conceive how the students were accommodated in the early years; and when the institution moved into rented houses, they must have sat as close and thick as leaves in Vallombrosa.

The number of teachers proved wholly insufficient to cope with this multitude and five more were hastily appointed. But even this was inadequate and boys from the first class were put in charge of some of the lower classes as monitors. "The monitor's zeal is stimulated by the promise of books, but calls on their time must retard their own improvement."[53] Trevelyan and Sutherland, in September, suggested that the English Department should be divided into an upper and lower school, each with four classes, the classes being subdivided when necessary.[54] This was done and more teachers were

[m] The College accounts show that benches were bought. There are also regular items " for washing sheets for the mauluvees." In March 1838 " 14 small mats for the hakim's class " were bought. It is possible that in the other Madrasah classes the pupils sat on benches.

appointed; but the sections into which the lower classes were divided, in some as many as four, soon ceased to be duplicates. In October 1838 the Principal reported that the pupils above the lowest class were graded into six classes in the upper and twelve in the lower school, "each of which is under a different master and exhibits a sufficient difference in their acquirements to authorise such an arrangement."[55] But this soon proved over-elaborate, and the former division was restored.

Difficulties were caused not only by numbers, but by disparities of age. The Report for 1837 says that in the elementary class there were many youths over sixteen. "From lads whose initiation has been thus protracted, little can be hoped and their intermixture with mere children is prejudicial to discipline."[56]

Several factors contributed to effect a gradual reduction of numbers. The success of the College and the popularity of English education led to the opening of other schools in the neighbourhood. As soon as the College was fixed in Chinsurah, the General Committee wished to open auxiliary schools for Arabic, Persian and English at Hooghly.[57] But there was already a school at Hooghly. The zamindars of the district, under the influence of Mr. D. C. Smyth, the Judge, had given money for a school, and a building was erected in 1834. Eshan Chandra Banerjee was Headmaster of this Zemindari or Subscription School in 1836.[n] The managers asked the General Committee to provide a teacher for the school from the Mohsin endowment on the ground that "pride of rank and caste will render the benefits of the new College unavailable to the children of the native supporters of the school."[58] The Committee refused: "It disapproves entirely of the principle of exclusion and segregation which is involved in your proposition."[59] A year later, the school house was offered to the Committee and the offer was accepted.[60] In October 1837, Wise wrote to Smyth, who had meanwhile left Hooghly, that the school would be open to all classes of the community for

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[n] The Zemindari school was actually opened, with two teachers, in April 1836. In July 1836 there were 23 pupils, all of whom paid fees. *Samachar Darpan*, 9 July 1836, Bannerji, III 209-10. It would appear, however, that when Hooghly College was opened as a free school, the Zemindari school ceased to exist. Joykissan Mukherjee wrote in 1843 to the Principal.

"By the time the house was finished the grand College of Muhammad Muhsin came into existence at Chinsurah. In consequence the Managing Committee felt a considerable doubt as to the possibility of maintaining a paid School, when such a large and free institution (at that time the Chinsurah College was free) was established in its very neighbourhood. After some delay a negotiation was opened for the transfer of the building for a branch school to the College." C. 9th July 1843.

instruction in English, Bengali and Persian.[61] The school actually opened on the 4th December 1837, with a Head Master, two assistants, two pandits and two maulvies. By the end of that month there were 227 boys on the rolls. As it was auxiliary to the College and under the supervision of the Principal, it was now called the Branch School. The only condition of the transfer was that preference should be given to the nominees of subscribers when the number of candidates might exceed the accommodation.[62]

Mr. Smyth died in 1841, widely lamented.[o] The *Friend of India* published an eloquent tribute, which is worth quoting: "For many years he filled the office of Judge and Magistrate of the district of Hooghly.....with the highest credit to himself and benefit to the people. During his administration of that district, it was kept in the highest order. His energy spread a salutary terror, not only among the disturbers of the public peace, but, what is of far more importance, among those who are appointed to guard it. His very name seemed to produce a magic effect on every grade of native functionaries.....Amidst all the cares of office, he still found leisure to improve the appearance and increase the conveniences of the district, and the roads around the station, together with the numerous embellishments with which he adorned the town of Hooghly, bore ample testimony to his public spirit."[63]

The Branch School continued to prosper. At the close of 1838 there were 299 boys in the English and 65 in the Oriental Section. The building was too small for the numbers and the crowding was even greater than in the College. In an outhouse, twelve feet by ten, no fewer than fifty boys were packed: "In the verandah to the west there are one hundred young children. The Council may conceive in what a state these poor children must be, packed together with their bodies touching in such weather as we have lately had and in the hottest part of the day!"[64] Babu Parbutty Churn Sircar, the capable Head Master, died of cholera in November 1843[p] and he was succeeded by the second master, Khettermohun Chatterjee.

As early as March 1838 it was proposed to start an infant school at Hooghly.[q] Macaulay had regarded infant schools as no part of

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[o] There is a portrait of Mr. Smith in the Branch School Hall. See also *Bengal Herald*, 5th September 1841.

[p] The Principal wrote: "In him the Institution and the Educational Service have lost a valuable instructor on whose conduct in the management of the school under his care I have had frequent occasion to report most favourably." A. 13th November, 1843.

[q] Dr. Wise had, in fact, proposed an infant school in his Report for 1838.

the work of the Committee,[r] but he had left India; and Trevelyan and Wise were both strongly in favour. The Bishop of Calcutta recommended a Mr. Gomez[65] and in February 1839 the school opened with 53 Hindu and 3 Moslem boys.[66] Besides Mr. Gomez, there was a teacher for Bengali. The school met in a small bungalow of bamboo and matting in the Branch School compound and the classes were held from half-past nine to half-past one, with an hour for recreation. The school proved very popular for a time and the number of pupils quickly rose to 98, but after a time it fell again to between 40 and 50. On the death of Mr. Gomez in 1851—he was drowned while bathing in the river—the institution was abolished "as provision for the education of infants now exists in the Hooghly district."[67]

Another school, started at Tribeni by two young men, was in 1839 brought under the superintendence of the Principal. This, as well as a private school at Umerpore, were inspected by members of the College staff. The Tribeni school declined after some years and the Principal wrote in February 1842: "On the whole my impression is, that conducted as this school now is, if it serves the purpose of keeping the boys and the young men who compose it out of mischief for a few hours in the day, that is all the good it effects or is likely to effect as long as it is so conducted or misconducted."[68] The Umerpore school came to an end in 1844 with the death of the proprietor, Kalikinkar Palit, as the Council declined to take it over.[69]

The school at Seetapore* stood in a closer relation to the College. "The Seetapore Fund was a special endowment granted in consequence of a bequest for the purpose by Mr. Cartier in 1772 and renewed by

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[r] Macaulay's argument is worth quoting. "The use of such institutions is to provide a place where the children of the poor may be safe, cheerful and harmlessly, if not profitably employed while their parents are at work.....This is, I believe, a correct account of the Infant Schools of England. We do not at present aim at giving education directly to the lower classes of the people of this country. We have not funds for such an undertaking.....I should consider it therefore as quite inconsistent with our whole plan to set up an Infant School resembling those of England, an Infant School for the children of coolies and tailors. And before I listen to any proposal for establishing an Infant School of a higher kind, I shall be glad to know whether respectable Hindoo and Mahomedan parents would be inclined to send their young children just beginning to walk and talk from under their roof. I am most friendly to Infant Schools in cases in which the mother is unable to look after her children.....But I cannot bring myself to think that where it is in the mother's power to devote herself to the care of her family, very young children can be placed anywhere so fitly as under their mother's care. The relation of parent and child is the foundation of all society.....As to the corrupting influence of the zenana, of which Mr. Trevelyan speaks, I may regret it. But I own I cannot help thinking that the dissolution of the tie between parent and child is as great a moral evil as can be found in any zenana." Woodrow: Macaulay's Minutes, 31st July and 10th August 1837.

* Seetapore is a small village in Hooghly district, about 18 miles due west of Konnagar. It is best reached, by train from Howrah to Bargachia and thence by road.

Warren Hastings in 1781. After some discussion and one or two appeals three-fourths of it were made over to the late General Committee of Public Instruction to found a preparatory school for the Hooghly College, the remaining fourth or Rs. 456 per annum being assigned to the hereditary Mootawullee for the expenses of the Musjid."[70] Accordingly, in 1839 an English school was opened in addition to the existing madrasah which was conducted by the mutwali.[71] From the beginning the pupils paid fees, which met about half the expenses of the staff of two masters and two pundits.[t] The early reports by members of the College staff were favourable. In 1840 we hear of the strict discipline, the regular attendance and the great proficiency of the pupils as well as of the interest taken by many inhabitants of the place, one of whom lent a house for the school during the first year.[72] In 1840 two thatched bungalows were erected at the cost of Government, not in Seetapore itself, but in Jheekra, a neighbouring village, about 30 miles south-west of Hooghly and 16 west of Calcutta.[73] But soon there were difficulties. The mutwali objected at first to any inspection of the madrasah. The attendance became very irregular. In a report for 1845, Mr. Rochfort, the officiating Principal, was moved to slightly absurd eloquence about the Seetapore school. "Remote from English society and without the visitation of any of the principal Government functionaries, whose presence excites emulation in the minds of the pupils and whose wisdom rectifies the course of study, and preserves discipline, the Seetapore school, uncheered by the smiles of patronage, possesses only a precarious and dwindling existence." "It seems necessary," he continued, "that an English school situated in the recesses of a native population should be placed under a European, for a native master in such a position sinks into luxurious indolence, and permits the school routine to pursue its drowsy course, without communicating intellectual improvement."[74] A European master, Mr. H. W. Fox, was presently appointed, but the drowsy indolence of the school was not seriously interrupted.

New schools also arose nearer home. Two were opened in Chinsurah by old students of the College. Digamber Biswas founded the Chinsurah Preparatory School in 1844. It soon had 200 boys and five teachers and was supported entirely by fees. The Chinsurah Seminary in Burra Bazar was founded by Hari Chandra Roy in the same

[t] For a full history of the Seetapore endowment, see Orig. Consult. Beng. Edn. 9th January 1850. No. 24. The Government of India decided that the endowment could not be used for general education or be transferred to the General Committee, so that the School was supported from the endowment only during the first year and after that from the general education fund. See also Toynbee: Sketch of the Administration of Hooghly, pp. 119, 120.

year.[75] It was managed by a Committee consisting of senior students of the College and respectable inhabitants of the quarter, some of whom subscribed to its support.

Private schools of this type depended largely or wholly on fees, but instruction at the College was still in the main gratuitous. At first, all pupils were free, but they had to pay the whole or half of the price of their class books. In 1838 some fees were demanded from parents who could afford to pay: "This has been attended with the double advantage of impressing the students and their parents with the proper value of education, and by reducing the expenses of the College will enable us to extend its influence by the formation of other establishments."[76] Slowly the "pay system," as it was called, made its way. In 1839 no fewer than 130 boys paid fees and 252 in 1841, but at the close of 1844 there were still 281 free pupils and 213 after another year. It was proposed to reduce the number of free students gradually to a hundred. "Thus the College would no longer interfere with private enterprise, by giving for nothing an education which in the new schools must be sold to a remunerative price."[77] In January 1846 new rules were issued by the Council. No student was to be admitted to the College or promoted to its senior department who could not pay for his education, the fees being fixed at a minimum of Rs. 3 for the senior and Rs. 2 for the junior department. Special cases were dealt with by a committee of masters.[78] By 1855 the number of free pupils had dwindled to four and the total fees amounted to Rs. 11,000 a year. The students of the Madrasah were, by the terms of the Trust, free and so were the scholars of the Anglo-Persian Department and the children of the Infant school.

Another way in which the number of students was reduced was by the removal of the older pupils. A limit of age for admissions was laid down as early as 1837: no pupil over 12 was to be admitted to the junior school; if over 14, the candidate had to be qualified for the first class of the senior school; and no one over 16 was to be admitted at all.[79] "The experience of the Hindoo College," says the Report for that year, "shews that the most proficient students who have reflected the greatest credit on the institution, are those who entered as children and ascended from the lowest to the highest classes."[80] This was a distinct improvement, but wide differences persisted as late as 1845. There were pupils from the ages of fourteen to twenty-three in the third class and in the lowest class of the junior school there were youths of eighteen and children of five. The rule was, evidently, not strictly applied. From time to time those who were too old or too

stupid were sent away. Admissions were also deliberately restricted because of the lack of room.

Fortunately, we have very complete details of the courses and subjects of study. Many of the pupils in the lowest classes had barely passed beyond the alphabet. In the junior school as a whole a great part of the time was devoted to instruction in and through Bengali, while in the upper school the pupils were "almost entirely engaged in the acquisition of the higher branches of English literature and science."[81] In the examination at the close of 1836, the first class "read tolerably well the 4th No. of the Poetical Reader, and understand very fairly what they read; answer historical questions from the two parts of the Brief Survey of History which they have finished. They correct false syntax with ease. They can find out on the maps most places proposed to them, and understand the motions of the Terrestrial Globe.....In Arithmetic they have learned as far as vulgar and decimal fractions, which they understand and work readily, and in Geometry to the 20th proposition of Euclid."[82] The lowest class knew the letters in English and Bengali and read "Pleasing Tales" in Bengali well.

This was after only four months of tuition. Considerable progress was made during the course of the next year. The first class was examined by Mr. Sutherland, the Secretary. The Principal wrote that "the students being wholly unused to the sort of examination they underwent, being village boys, and having heard that the Secretary was a much more severe examiner than they actually found him to be, were under a degree of trepidation which rendered them incapable of acquitting themselves"[83] well. They read and explained an unfamiliar passage from Milton and some of them knew the 36th proposition of the third book of Euclid. In Algebra they had reached simple equations and surds. They also knew a little Astronomy, Mechanics and Optics. Two years later definite courses of study were laid down for all institutions under the Committee. The subjects of the first class were as follows:—

History of England—Hume and Smollett.

Modern Europe—Russell.

History of India—Robertson.

Bacon's Essays.

Smith's Moral Sentiments.

Richardson's Poetical Selections.

Algebra.

Integral and Differential Calculus.

Spherical Trigonometry.

Astronomy.

Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Hydraulics, Pneumatics, Optics.

Drawing and Perspective.

Mechanical and Architectural Drawing.

Practical Surveying.

Translation from the Vernacular into English.

English Composition.

Bengali Composition, Translation and Grammar.

Sanskrit Grammar, Composition and Set Books.

To this were added Jurisprudence and Political Economy. Few students of the present day have the advantage of such a wide and well-balanced course of study.

As many of the students would look for employment under Government, courses of lectures in the Regulations were occasionally given, in 1840, for instance by the Superintending Pundit, who had himself been a munsiff.[84] Later, there was a Regulations class.

In 1842 Dr. Esdaile, although no longer Principal, proposed to give some lectures on Chemistry and Physiology. "Among my last readings with the First Class," he wrote, "we came to the passage in Hamlet where it is said, 'Old men have weak hams.' Knowing the strange blunders they fall into, I asked the meaning of "hams" here and everyone said, 'it was dried pig's flesh!'[85] I have not been able to discover whether the lectures were actually given.

In 1843 a special course on law and jurisprudence was commenced by the Advocate-General, Mr. J. Edwardes Lyall, at the College of Fort William. It was attended by students of the Hindoo and Hooghly Colleges and in the examination at the end of the course Noratan Mullick obtained a certificate of creditable proficiency.[86] The Committee paid the boat hire. "As the lectures took place on Saturday and the Friday is a half-holiday at this College, the students attending the lectures lost by going down only one day of their regular studies."[87] The Principal complained in July that "since the examinations for Moonsuffships have been instituted and some students have been awarded diplomas and more especially since the intention of Government to appoint Deputy Magistrates has been announced, I have observed that the students—Oriental and English—are all

except the classes of the junior department, filled with the idea of obtaining situations and neglecting other studies for that of law and regulations."[88]

There was one subject in which in those early days the students of the Hooghly College were second to none. At the prize distribution in 1844 the President said: "In one respect indeed the Hooghly Institution appears to be in advance of the Hindoo College; I mean as regards Vernacular Education."[89] The Council of Education repeated this encomium the next year: "In one Department, the Vernacular of Bengal, it is not surpassed by any College or School in this Presidency."[90] The Governor-General in his speech on Prize Day in 1845 used almost the same words.[91] One of his predecessors, the Earl of Auckland, had offered a watch for the best translation into Bengali of Bacon's Essay On Truth. The report of the examiner, Mr. Marshman, on the translation of Hurra Chunder Ghose ran thus; "The youth has not, in some few instances, caught the exact meaning of the author, but the general character of the translation is fidelity; and some of the most difficult passages have been rendered with an accuracy and a just appreciation of the beauty of the original, which is surprising. The style of the Bengali is remarkable for purity and classical excellence. The writer has a knowledge of his own language which is rarely met with in young men whose time is devoted to English studies.....If all the alumni of our Colleges could write Bengali with equal ease and chasteness, the reproach would be removed that in their eagerness for the acquisition of a foreign language they had forgotten their own."[92] In 1841 the General Committee asked the Principal to forward a note on the plan of instruction in Bengali followed in the College "to enable them to forward these to the Managing Committee of the Hindoo College for being adopted by them."[93] From the beginning there were well-qualified Bengali pundits and regular teaching in Bengali.

A separate Sanskrit class existed for some time. In 1837 a pundit was appointed to teach "that interesting language."[94] Thirty students joined and "the difficulties of the language requiring all their attention, they do not attend any of the other classes."[95] But perhaps difficulties so absorbing proved too much for the pupils. We read that the class dwindled in numbers and the next year was abolished.[96]

The equipment necessary for this wide range of studies was generously provided. In 1837 show-cases were ordered for a small museum,[97] which does not appear to have materialised. In December of

that year a set of valuable instruments was purchased from a Mr. Cracroft for Rs. 2,880.[98] They included an azimuth and altitude instrument by Troughton, an achromatic telescope with wire micrometer by Dollond, a transit instrument by Jones and an astronomical clock with a mercury pendulum by Barraud. This clock still keeps time for the College, but the other instruments cannot now be traced. The General Committee also divided between its five colleges about £600 worth of apparatus which it obtained from England.[99] In January 1837 the College got some pieces of electrical apparatus, including a plate machine. In June 1838 came an electro-magnetic machine and other things. Dr. Wise presented a box containing two solar and a compound microscope.[100] But there was no place for Mr. Cracroft's instruments and they had to be sent to Calcutta to be kept in order by Mr. Gray, the watchmaker.[101] Some time later they were installed; for in 1843 masons were employed to make a square hole on the roof "of the room now used as an observatory."[102] But the arrangement was not satisfactory; and two years later the Principal pleaded for a small observatory, on grounds some of which now seem a little quaint. "To see scientific pursuits constituting the amusement of the College students would be a most delightful proof of high and advancing civilisation. Mean time might be given daily to the surrounding district by dropping a ball from the roof of the College, which would be visible from Chandernagore and Hooghly. The exact division of time contributes to a profitable use of it and is essential to punctuality."[103] In 1845 again two cases of "philosophical apparatus" were sent by the General Committee. In November of that year came a locomotive engine with rails, which cost Rs. 166-10-8.[104]

Even more important than apparatus was a good supply of books. In 1836 the General Committee obtained a large number of books from England and distributed them among its institutions. The list bears evidence of Macaulay's hand in the selection, for it contained many of his favourites. But his views were too unorthodox to be accepted altogether. "Grammars of rhetoric and grammars of logic," he wrote, "are among the most useless furniture of a shelf. Give a boy Robinson Crusoe. That is worth all the grammars of rhetoric and logic in the world. We ought to procure such books as are likely to give the children a taste for the literature of the West; not books filled with idle distinctions and definitions, which every man who has learned them makes haste to forget."[105] In the report for 1837 there are two lists, one of class books, the other of library books proper.[106] The class books included Prose and Poetical Readers, Murray's and

Lennie's Grammars, Goldsmith's Histories (of which Macaulay had a very poor opinion), Walker's Dictionary, Chamier's Arithmetic and so forth. It was only in May 1837 that the first library books came. Among them were Robertson's Charles V and America, Hume and Smollett's History of England, Milton, The Spectator, the Encyclopædia Americana. A little later came a large collection containing the Arabian Nights, Gulliver's Travels, Robinson Crusoe, Sandford and Merton, Pilgrim's Progress, Gil Blas, Don Quixote, The Vicar of Wakefield, Richardson's and Smollett's Novels, Plutarch's Lives and Gibbon's Rome, Boswell's Johnson and Southey's Nelson, Miss Edgeworth's Tales, some of the Waverley Novels and many of the English poets and dramatists. Some of these original works are still in the library, thanks to their neglect by later generations. The first library rules bear the date 15th October 1837.[107] The library was to be open from 9 to 4 on all week days; only one book was to be taken out at a time; a duodecimo volume could be kept for a week, an octavo a fortnight and a quarto a month. Persons who were not students could borrow books on paying a small monthly subscription and giving security for their return. "By thus interesting the inhabitants in its prosperity it is expected the Library will be increased from time to time by private contributions."[108] This hope did not prove altogether illusory. Mr. Trevelyan presented thirteen books to the College in 1836, few of which can have been of much use; a Code Napoléon, a Latin Virgil, Campbell on Rhetoric, Bell on the Hand (whatever that may have been), Necker's Finances of France.[109] Various other gifts were received. In 1842 Mr. Cheape, the Judge, presented the Encyclopædia Britannica in eighteen volumes, Hume and Smollett's History in seventeen, Scott's Life of Napoleon in nine.[110] Babu Deonath Dutt gave two 20-inch globes and Mr. Samuells, the Magistrate, a set of maps: The College had an admirable collection of globes, orreries and maps—there were about a hundred maps alone.

The Library was at first housed probably in a long dark room. During the repairs this was divided into two, one part being still used as the library. In December 1842 it was probably moved to a large room on the upper story.

The earliest books were purchased through Thacker Spink, Astell and Co. and other booksellers. Later, all books were purchased and distributed through the Central Book Agency. This was abolished in 1842 and institutions were again allowed to buy books where they liked, subject to a fixed maximum amount. But the Council urged that it should have the sole control of the supply of books, partly to introduce uniformity in text-books, partly to prevent waste of

money on "unprofitable works such as popular tales and stories" (what would Macaulay have said to this?) and partly because they could obtain a larger discount on books from England. Government, accordingly, sanctioned the establishment of the Book Agency.[111] The grant for library, class and prize books was in 1842 Rs. 180 a month for the College and its subordinate institutions,[112] but this was increased by Rs. 35 the next year. Between 1840 and 1842, however, books to the value of over Rs. 13,000 were purchased.[113]

It should be remembered that much of the money was spent on class books, which were procured by the College and sold to the pupils. Those which remained unsold cumbered the library shelves. In 1848-49 it was found that there were 1,320 new, 2,130 second-hand and 2,650 old class books in stock. Many of them were sold at reduced rates. The Report for 1850 said, "It has been usual to include in the library return of this College all the class books .....The number of library books properly so called has always been much smaller than it was made to appear. Of the 9,275 volumes in the College Library on the 31st December 1848, nearly 6,000, or about two-thirds of the whole, were common class books.[114]

In 1844 the first catalogue of the English books was printed. But the Principal confessed that "the arrangement of it is very indifferent owing to the inexperience of Mr. Vernieux, the Librarian, such matters, and his having mistaken the instructions given to him."[115] The first librarian was Mr. Han. In March 1838 Bholanath Ghose was appointed Assistant Librarian on Rs. 10 a month to allow the library to be kept open two evenings in the week,[116] but this experiment was apparently soon abandoned.

To encourage the habit of reading, the General Committee in 1840 offered a medal in each college and school "to the student who has made the greatest progress during the year, in the knowledge attained from the study of the books in the Library."[117] In 1850, however, it was decided to select a particular subject each year and to examine candidates in the books they had read on that subject. The first topic chosen was the Geography and History of Bengal from the accession of Akbar, with special reference to its productive resources, commerce and the civil and political condition of the people.[118] But there was seldom more than one candidate and the scheme does not appear to have attained its object.

Various other medals and prizes were awarded from time to time. I have already mentioned Lord Auckland's medal for the best Bengali

translation. In 1845 Mr. Money offered a gold medal for the best historical answers in the Senior Scholarship examination and a silver medal for the best translation of one of Addison's essays.[119] The next year the Governor-General, Sir Henry Hardinge, presented books of the value of Rs. 200 to the most distinguished pupil of Hooghly College on the results of the annual examination of the year.[120]

When the College was established the Committee had decided that students should not be attracted by scholarships.[121] Macaulay, in particular, was strongly opposed to the stipendiary system, against the opinion of Dr. Wise and many others;[122] and he regarded the popularity of the College as ample justification of his views. On the other hand, the students paid no fees in the first years, and, even later, fees were taken only from those who could afford to pay. When fees became compulsory, there was more excuse for stipends. Macaulay, however, proposed annual prizes for the best boys. "This course would, it appears to me, produce all the good, and scarcely any of the harm which is the effect of the stipendiary system. It would excite the students to vigorous exertions. It would not tempt them to lie down in idleness after success."[123] He suggested a few large prizes of two or three hundred rupees each. In the first rules, a sum of Rs. 2,600 a year was allotted for prizes in both departments together.[124] In 1836 each class got prizes for regular attendance, Grammar, Reading, History, Geography, Arithmetic and Geometry. The next year there was an even more liberal award, especially in the Madrasah. In 1839-40, however, the Committee issued comprehensive rules for its institutions by which a system of scholarships was created.[125] The Junior English scholarships were to be Rs. 8 each, tenable for four years, the senior English Rs. 30 for the first two years and Rs. 40 for the next four. Five junior and seven senior scholarships were assigned to Hooghly College. In addition, there were to be a senior and a junior scholarship open to public competition in the College and each of the auxiliary schools was given a junior scholarship to be drawn in the College. Thenceforward, the scholarship examinations became the chief event of the academic year. In 1845 the rules were revised, six more junior scholarships were given to the College, three more to the Branch School and one more to Seetapore.[126] There were other changes from time to time. The papers were set and marked by the most distinguished men available and even the Governor-General did not disdain to lend a hand.[u] The standard was, on the

[u]For instance, in 1845, the Essay was set by Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-General, the paper on Literature by the Hon'ble C. H. Cameron. History by the Hon'ble Sir Henry Seton and Daniel Eliott.

whole, a high one. The question papers and the best answers were printed as appendices to the Annual Reports.

Besides the general scholarships, two others were attached to the College. When the Branch School was handed over to the Committee a balance of about Rs. 4,000 remained in the Zemindary Fund.[127] The subscribers wished to use the interest for scholarships to enable Branch School boys to complete their studies in the College. Small stipends of three or four rupees were at first given to needy pupils, but in 1843 it was decided to give two scholarships of Rs. 8 each on the results of the junior scholarship examination.[128] At one time it was proposed to call these "Smyth's scholarships," but eventually they were known as Zemindary scholarships.[129]

In 1846 the Secretary to the Council of Education wrote to the Principal: "Rani Katiani, the proprietor of large landed estates in Bengal, has placed at the disposal of Government the sum of Rs. 5,000, to be expended on some object connected with the Education of the people. It has occurred to the Deputy Governor that the most advantageous mode of disposing of this liberal donation is to found a Senior Scholarship in the College of Mahomed Mohsin at Hooghly of the value of 18 rupees a month."[130] This was the origin of the Rani Katiani Scholarship, which is still awarded.

The problem of holidays was a vexed one in a mixed institution like the Hooghly College. As soon as the College was opened, the Committee prescribed the total: 29 Western Hindu holidays, 26 Bengali Hindu holidays, and 12 Mahommedan holidays.[131]. Sundays were whole holidays and Fridays half. The week at first consisted of 33 working hours. Classes began at 9-30 and broke up at 4, with a period of rest from 12 to 12-30. The next year the interval was increased to a whole hour, the upper school continued to 4-30 and the lower school stopped at 4. The Committee had suggested that the classes should go on to 5. During the hot months the classes were sometimes held in the morning.[v]

In 1814 there was a considerable reorganisation of the College. The number of classes was reduced from eleven to four in the junior school and the senior school was also to have four, each class having as many sections as necessary. Each section would have its own

[v] The staff and students were generally in favour of morning school in the hot months. But the Principal wrote in May 1852: "Dr. Ross, the Medical Attendant of the College, considers morning school injurious to the health of the boys. They leave home, he says, in the morning without breaking their fast, and do not return till 11 o'clock or, in some cases, till 12; which he considers too long to be without food."

teacher, but each class of the junior school was to have a "superior master" on a higher salary who would oversee the work of all the sections as well as teach his own. Boys were to be promoted after the half-yearly examination, on their proficiency in English and Bengali. The salaries of the teachers of the senior school were also generally raised, and altogether there was an increase of Rs. 634 a month in the English Department. Similar changes were made in the Oriental Department.[w] In 1844 Professor Clint proposed the separation of the College classes proper from the school: "the former to include only those capable of competing for scholarships, the latter comprizing all the classes below the 2nd of the present higher department and being divided as the whole Institution is now into Senior and Junior."[132] Nothing, however, was done at the time.

Besides the English Department there were an Anglo-Persian and an Arabic Department. The Anglo-Persian existed from the beginning and was intended for boys who wished to learn both Persian and English. It was divided into three classes under two teachers, but the pupils were irregular in attendance and slow in their progress, which was attributed to the attempt to learn two languages at a time. The classes were attended chiefly by Hindus, and Dr. Wise suggested that only Mahomedans should be admitted.[133] Again in 1840 the Principal reported that the class had "totally failed as an incentive to the Mahomedans to learn English."[134] Out of the 58 pupils, only 24 were Mahomedans. The Hindus joined it to escape fees, for instruction was free. "The majority of the Mahomedans are too old to make any progress in English and are besides very irregular in their attendance."[135] The Principal advised either the suspension of the class or the exclusion of all but Moslem pupils with Moslem teachers. He also suggested that all young boys in the Madrasah should be taught English. But even the removal of the Hindu boys and the substitution of a Mahomedan for a Hindu teacher did not produce any permanent improvement. In 1842 we read that "the state of the Anglo-Persian class.....is so very unsatisfactory that it seems to me a useless expense." The class was accordingly abolished, but it was revived in 1846 and again proved a failure.

If the Madrasah students were reluctant to learn English, they were quite contemptuous of Bengali. The Bengali class attached to the Madrasah had seldom more than a few pupils and those chiefly

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[w] The details of the existing and proposed establishment are in the General Report for 1839-40, cxx. Altogether an increased expenditure of Rs. 2,011 per month was proposed for the College, Branch and Infant Schools. This was to be met by a contribution from the general funds of Rs. 2,400 a month.

"Hindus of a very unpromising appearance." The Mahomedans, we are told, regarded Bengali as "a dialect of no dignity and of little use."

It is time to say something of the Madrasah. The Madrasah attached to the Imambarah, like the English school, was abolished when the College was founded. The present Hooghly Madrasah dates, therefore, from 1836 and not, as is often claimed, from 1817. Apparently none of the pupils and very few of the teachers of the original institution joined the College. The old pupils of the Imambarah school asked for the continuance of their stipends, and Dr. Wise supported the claims of some of them, but the General Committee refused all except four.[137] Macaulay's comment was this: "As to those who are receiving stipends I feel some doubt. That men of thirty and thirty-five should be supported in this way seems very absurd, and still more when we find that these have large families, which are subsisting on the funds designed for education.....Look at No. 10 for example. He has been living on a stipend eleven years. He is near thirty, and we are told that he will not have completed his education for four years to come. Moghal Jan, again (No. 1) is near thirty. He has been paid to learn something during twelve years; we are told that he is lazy and stupid. But there are hopes that in four years more he may have completed his course of study. We have had quite enough of these lazy, stupid, schoolboys of thirty."[138]

On the other hand, ample provision was made in the new institution for the Oriental Department. In 1837 the Madrasah, like the College, was divided into an upper and a lower school, each with four classes and sections. There were two head maulvies, a Shia and a Sunni,[x] and eleven others. The pupils at the close of the year numbered 274, including 62 Hindus. For many years there were

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[x] The great majority of the pupils were always Sunnis; but Mahomed Mohsin was a Shia, and it was feared that the institution might be made a predominantly Shia one. To a petition of some of the Sunni inhabitants of the place in 1835, the Governor-General in Council sent the following reply: "The large endowment for the intended College at Hooghly will certainly not be applied to provide instruction for only one or for any one peculiar Sect of Mussulmans.

An institution of such a nature, established on so large a scale, and with no definite mention of its being set on foot for the dissemination of the peculiar doctrines of a particular Sect cannot under the supervision of the British Government be perverted to an intolerant purpose.....The introduction of separate classes of doctrinal instruction in the proposed college, the funds of which are sufficiently ample to provide both for Soonee and for Sheea teachers in the proportion that pupils may offer desiring instruction in either doctrines will effectually prevent confusion of the Sects, and allow the extension to each of equal educational advantages." B. 25th March 1835.

Nevertheless, there were frequent quarrels between the sects in the College (see Chapter III). Learned Shias were so few in Bengal that the Shia head maulvies had to be brought from Lucknow.

Hindus and sometimes Christians in the Madrasah. But the number in class was very different from the number on paper. The attendance was extremely irregular. The numbers represented, besides the natural demand for Arabic learning, "the fictitious demand which is created by the mere foundation of a costly establishment like this, by the splendid attractions of the salaries of thirteen moulvees paid at a higher rate than was ever before known in India, and by the chance .....of sharing in thirty scholarships.....or at least of obtaining such a portion of the liberal sum allotted for prizes as would afford a subsistence during the short period of competition."[139] The method method of teaching also was defective. Scarcely any progress was made in Arabic, although in the Regulations and in Persian the pupils were more proficient.

The students came and went when they liked. In 1842 the Principal called them together and pointed out that they were "in the habit of leaving the College after an hour or two's study, some going and others coming to supply their places," and he ordered them to attend all day. "They answered me that if I issued such an order and attempted to enforce it the Oriental Department would be reduced to the scholarship students."[140] Nothing more was done at the time, but in March 1844 the Council ordered that all students should attend from 11 to 4. This was disobeyed and the Principal closed the gates and gave the durwans strict injunctions to let no one out before the proper time. Several of the students attempted to force their way out; and when the durwan complained of them they "committed a cowardly and riotous assault" on him, in spite of the presence of several maulvies on the spot.[141] The ringleaders were handed over to the magistrate and sentenced to short terms of imprisonment, but all except one were acquitted by the judge.[142] Nine were expelled by order of the Council. One of them had forwarded a petition containing a number of false signatures, "thus adding the offence of forgery, including that of carrying away some books belonging to the College, which he pledged to someone in the town, to his other misconduct."[143] The mutwalli of the Imambarah was reported to have countenanced the rioters, saying that "if the durwan had been assaulted he was an insignificant fellow and some of these students were descendants of nobles!"[144]

Matters did not immediately improve. The Annual Reports for 1844 and 1845 contain long criticisms of the working of the Madrasah. "The first and most remarkable fact.....is the absence of classification. This makes the mudrussa a place of private tutoring, not of public teaching. In consequence of the great number of books read

in the Mudrussa, and the small number of pupils reading any one book, and the different stages of progress at which the students of that one book are, the 189 students constitute in reality 125 classes or more, though the number supposed to exist is but 13." A single maulvi taught eighteen books to twenty-seven pupils! Nor did the students make much progress even in that one book; they were prepared for examination only in the first ten or twelve pages. "The second characteristic of the Mudrussa is the excessive uproar. This arises from all the students in the room but one having nothing to do, as none of them are reading the same book or passage of a book as that one. Most of them are idle and noisy on this account. Some of the remainder are, perhaps with the accompaniment of great physical exertion, which adds its share to the noise, learning some book by heart..... A few may be sleeping, which will, after what has been said of the noise, be the occasion of surprise to those who have not noticed the tired appearance of some of the students. The third evil .....is the irregularity of the attendance.....and the impenetrable mystery of the registers.....The student knowing he can have at most but a brief interview with his tutor, elects.....to come as late as he can; or, coming early, makes some pretence for going away before the appointed hour, four o'clock, or perhaps goes away without even the form of an excuse."[145] "It cannot be expected that much good should result from this and other Mudrussas as long as they remain in the present condition. Even the best pupils who have been instructed in them merely obtain a superficial knowledge of Persian; know how to translate (by rote) from Arabic books which in themselves are totally useless; and have a superficial knowledge of Mahommedan law. Their intellects and feelings remain uncultivated and self-conceit strengthens their prejudices. To obtain this education they spend eight years and but few of those who attempt to obtain it succeed."[146] The Principal suggested the appointment of a separate superintendent and the introduction of "vivifying studies, like History, Geography, Natural Philosophy and Practical Mathematics, all now totally neglected." These were to be taught in Urdu and not in Arabic.

The condition of the madrasahs of the time afforded strong proof that the Anglicists were right in the great controversy that had ended in 1835. Nowhere was Oriental learning offered under conditions so tempting as in Hooghly; and even there it was a failure.

Some improvement was recorded in 1846. The Secretary reported to the Council that "the condition of the Oriental Department was such as to entitle it to the entire approbation of the Council. The

average attendance was greater than at any former period of the existence of the Mudrussa. The system of simultaneous class instruction has been introduced into the Senior Department with much success.....the classes were clean, quiet, orderly and presented more the appearance of an English than an Oriental school. The study of English appeared to be gaining ground rapidly in the estimation of the pupils .....The Bengali and Urdu Classes appeared also to be getting on well."[147]

Members or deputations from the General Committee paid frequent visits to the College, which was directly under its control. Mr. Trevelyan and Mr. Sutherland, the Secretary, came in September 1836 and made a large number of recommendations, among them that "in compliment to the benevolent founder" the institution should be called[v] the "College of Mahommed Muhsin." Mr. Walters, the Commissioner, and Mr. Samuells, the Magistrate, who had evinced much interest in the College, were appointed Visitors; on Mr. Walters' transfer to Calcutta, Mr. Lowis took his place as Visitor. Sometimes, as in 1838, a large deputation came to examine the pupils and present prizes. There was no bridge then over the Bally Khal; proposals were afoot to erect one. The *Friend of India*, writing in support, said that "during the rains, when the current runs at the rate of 7 miles an hour, and the influence of the tide is scarcely perceived, a trip from Calcutta to Chinsurah by water is a voyage of fifteen or sixteen hours, though the distance is but thirty-two miles."[148] The visitors, therefore, sometimes came by land up the left bank and crossed over. In April 1837 a bill was put in: Messrs. Cook and Co. to hire of buggy and horse for taking Messrs. Sutherland and Trevelyan to Hooghly, Rs. 8-8. Crossing and recrossing for do., Rs. 2.[149] But steamers were beginning to ply on the river.[z] In February 1837 the deputation came to Hooghly "in one of the iron steamers,"[150] and again in 1838. In January 1842 both methods were combined. The members came up by land as the tide was contrary and returned by steamer.

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[v] The College was at first called simply the New Hooghly College. A month after it was opened it received the formal name of the College of Mahomed Mohsin. But after a few years it was again referred to, even in official correspondence, as Hooghly College, probably because that was shorter and more convenient and in line with the names of the other mofussil colleges, Dacca, Krishnagar, Berhampore, Patna. For some years, both names were used alternatively. In 1842 the Judge of the 24-Pergunnahs wrote to the "Principal of the College of Hooghly": "With reference to certificates granted by you to the individuals noted in the margin who are described as students in the College of Mahomed Mohsin, will you do me the favour to state whether that institution and that described in other certificates granted by you are identical" C. 30th November 1842. Gradually the shorter name ousted the other altogether. I have found the more formal name in scarcely any records after 1860; nor, on the other hand, as far as I can discover, was that name ever officially abandoned or changed.

[z] Steamers ran between Calcutta and Hooghly as early as 1828. Toynbee: Sketch of the Administration of Hooghly, p. 113.

The programme was: "Leave Calcutta in two barouches at ½ to 6 a.m. Relief pairs of horses at Cox's Bungalow and Pulta Ghaut. Breakfast at Barrackpore. Endeavour to rendezvous at Hooghly by ten. Leave at two by steamer and arrive in Calcutta by 6."[151]

Prize days were great occasions. The visitors were welcomed and reinforced by the chief officials and inhabitants of Chinsurah.[aa] The students appeared in their best attire.[bb] Sir Edward Ryan, the Chief Justice and President of the General Committee, led the deputation in the early years. In 1843 and 1844 the Deputy Governor, W. W. Bird, gave away the prizes. His speech the first year was an eloquent and moving address: "It is by Institutions such as this, located here and there, themselves the depositaries of learning and throwing out, like the far-famed Banyan tree which we see around us, branch Institutions on all sides, to take root and throw out in their turn other branches, that it is hoped in process of time to accomplish that moral and intellectual regeneration, which was no doubt the primary object for which, and not for our own personal aggrandisement, the Government of these vast territories has been entrusted to us."[152] In 1845 Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-General, himself presided, having come up with the party from Calcutta in a steamer.[153] The next year it was the turn of the Deputy Governor again, Sir Herbert Maddock. He referred particularly to the Madrasah. "With an endowment richer than that of any other institution of Oriental learning in India, or perhaps Asia, with professors so able, and rewards so well worthy of your utmost exertions to obtain, I cannot doubt that Mahomed Mohsin's Mudrussa will always hold a position second to none in this quarter of the globe."[154] Unhappily neither professors nor prospects availed to counteract the effects of an evil tradition. He also congratulated the College on the performances of its candidates in the various examinations: "They have on this occasion vied successfully with the older and richer College of Calcutta."[155]

Some of the scholars of Hooghly College were, in truth, young men of considerable promise and ability. About Shamkisto Paulit, a senior scholar, who died in April 1843 of cholera, the Principal wrote

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[aa] In 1842, we read that " during the distribution of the prizes, His Highness the young Nawab of Moorshedabad arrived, to witness the ceremony; but none of the Native Members of the Council of Education attended; in fact, we believe they do not feel much interest in the Hooghly College." *Bengal Herald*, 19th March 1842. In 1845, the Chaplain of Chinsurah, while lending chairs, wrote that he would not attend Prize Day " lest it should be thought that I approve of the Government system of education, which, as far as I understand it, does not seem consistent with what ought to be the principles of a Christian government." C. n. d.

[bb] " The Principal expects that every student of the College who has a turban or cap in his possession will wear it on Monday next." C. 27th February 1847.

that he was "the most assiduous student in the whole college..... He was highly respected by everyone in the Institution for his uniform good conduct and amiable manners and to such an extent had he won the attachment of his class mates, that on entering the class room to-day I found them so much affected by his death as to be utterly incapable of attending to my instructions, and I dismissed them, for indeed I was scarcely less touched myself by this sad event."[156] Another brilliant scholar, whose career was also cut short by sudden death, was Jadunath Das. He was "equal to any student of his standing in any of the Presidency Colleges. At the last examination he gained Lord Hardinge's prize, and his mathematical papers were pronounced by Mr. Christopher to be of a very superior order, exhibiting evidence of ability, such as would have enabled him to have gained high honours at Cambridge. In other respects he was also an excellent scholar, and as remarkable for his industry, perseverance, modesty and docility of demeanour, as for his ability and extended acquirements."[cc]

The problem of employment was even then a difficult one for students; the chance or offer of a post lured many of them away before they had completed their studies. Many naturally obtained posts as teachers; some entered private firms as clerks; but an increasing number found service under Government as munsiffs, darogas or clerks. A few of the officials welcomed and encouraged the appointment of educated young men to the public service. The Report for 1843-44 mentions in particular Mr. Donnelly, the officiating Commissioner of Abkari,[dd] and Mr. Money, the Collector of Hooghly, as discriminating patrons of higher education. Mr. Donnelly wrote that "the great obstacle to the appointment of most Native lads educated at the several Public Institutions is, that they cannot read written Bengali with fluency, that they are much better acquainted with English than their own language" and that "unfortunately most of them are unwilling to undergo the drudgery of learning official duties in the subordinate grades of service."[157] Mr. Money was of the opinion that "the public good, as well as the Government interests, are best

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[cc] The Principal wrote of Jadunath Das: "This College—I may say indeed the cause of Native Education—has suffered a serious loss in the death of that student. He was certainly the most distinguished student of this institution and seemed fitted to excel in every branch of knowledge to which his attention was directed.....He died of a fever after eleven days' illness at the age of 19 years and 9 months." A. 2nd November 1847.

[dd] In 1846 the following students of Hooghly College were employed under Mr. Donnelly: Hurro Chunder Ghose—Abkari Superintendent (November 1844); Mathuranath Banerjee—Abkari Superintendent (October 1844), Dhuronydhur Roy—Sheristadar (November 1844), Jadab Chander Bose—Peshkar (March 1846), Issur Chunder Chatterjee—Peshkar (June 1845). C. n. d.

consulted by the disposal of appointments in the Local Courts, as rewards for high distinction obtained in the Public Seminaries of Government. The most responsible appointments have been too long held by men of low attainments, and what is of more serious consequence, by men whose Education has not been such as to imphose upon them sufficient restraints against moral delinquency."[158]

In October 1844 the Governor-General issued an important Resolution. As it was desirable to offer to educated young men "a fair prospect of employment in the public service, and thereby not only to reward individual merit, but to enable the State to profit" by obtaining well-qualified officers, Government had decided that preference should be given to educated men in all appointments.[159] The Council of Education was asked to prepare a list of worthy candidates every year. The Council published rules for an examination for insertion in the list.[160] At the first examination eight candidates appeared, all of whom were from Hooghly College. Two of them were placed in the first class and the rest in the second; five of them soon obtained posts.[161] The lists were published annually, but appointing officers often paid little attention to it.

In the Annual Report for 1839-40, there is a summary of the nature of the employment of students from the Government schools and colleges. No fewer than 328 were teachers. Among the rest, 2 were Abkari Superintendents, 23 were Deputy Collectors, 7 Sudder Ameens, 18 Munsiffs, 170 Writers, 128 Vakils, 25 Sub-Assistant Surgeons, 57 Assistant Surveyors, 61 Merchants. The Abkari Superintendents got Rs. 500 a month, the Deputy Collector and Sudder Ameen Rs. 300, the Munsiff and Sub-Assistant Surgeon Rs. 100, the Writer from Rs. 10 to Rs. 100, the Vakeel Rs. 15, the teachers from Rs. 16 to Rs. 60.[162]

The teachers of Mohsin's College were more liberally paid. The Principal's salary was Rs. 600, the Professor got Rs. 500, the Headmaster at first Rs. 300 and then Rs. 400. In 1842 the salaries of the other teachers in the upper school ranged from Rs. 100 to Rs. 300, in the lower school from Rs. 50 to Rs. 200. The two head maulvies were

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[158] When Mr. Mouey was transferred from Hooghly, the students of the first class sent him an address of thanks and he promised to consider all applications recommended by the Principal. C. 4. April 1844, No. 112. A little later he wrote to the Principal: "Some of your alumni some time ago applied to me for appointments in my office. My time has been so fully taken up that I could not reply to them. Besides I had innumerable applications from different quarters. The young gentlemen deserve however better treatment and I must request you to offer them my apologies." C. 29th August 1845. He also offered to award a gold and a silver medal annually for the best English and Bengali essays as long as he remained in India. His courtesy was equalled by his generosity and both were remarkable even at that time.

paid each Rs. 300 and the others from Rs. 30 to Rs. 120. The head pundit got Rs. 60 and the lowest Rs. 20. In August 1838 the salaries of the English Department amounted to Rs. 2,546, of the Mahomedan to Rs. 1,525, of the Bengali to Rs. 205 and the servant establishment to Rs. 104. In addition, the rent amounted to Rs. 142 and there were other expenses, making up a total for the month of about Rs. 4,691. In August 1846, the salaries of the English Department were Rs. 3,256, the Oriental Rs. 1,370, the Bengali Rs. 191 and the clerical and menial Rs. 179.

The detailed accounts which exist in the College records are of considerable interest and throw much light on wages and prices at the time. Wages were, as one would expect, low. A carpenter for a whole month cost Rs. 6 and a mali Rs. 4. There were no malis at first, but after two or three years an attempt was made to create a garden; plants were either purchased or brought from the Botanic Gardens, the flower beds were hedged round and temporary malis were engaged. A bricklayer was paid in 1838 about three annas a day and a cooly about an anna and nine pies. The punka-puller's wages varied from an anna and a half to two annas a day. An eight-day striking clock had been bought soon after the College opened for Rs. 190. It was probably placed high on some wall, perhaps in the hall, for in February 1841 there is an item, bamboo ladder for winding clock, 8 annas. The clock was in the charge of a man who was paid Rs. 4 a month for looking after it. If, as is likely, it was the clock by McCabe which still keeps excellent time and has needed no repair or overhauling for the last five years, it is difficult to imagine what the man did for his money besides risking his neck on the ladder and winding the clock once a week. He demanded more, however, when the Branch School clock was also placed in his charge, with the result that he was dispensed with. In January 1851 a sun dial was ordered at a cost of Rs. 38.

The dhobie was paid twelve annas a month at first for washing the sheets on which the maulvies sat, but later only eight annas. The charge for binding books varied from three annas or even less to twelve annas; but the estimate "for an octavo volume half-bound in English calf, plain and strong" was Re. 1-8. A palankin to bring money once a month from Hooghly to the College cost twelve annas to a rupee. Cart hire was a rupee a day. The hire of a boat for bringing books from Calcutta in July 1837 was Rs. 2-8, and the same amount was paid the next year for a boat to take the large clock down to Calcutta. The students who attended the law lectures in Calcutta must have gone down in two boats, the charge for two journeys there

and back being Rs. 18-6. Some Assamese boys had been sent to the Medical College, but being found unfit for study there, they were transferred to Hooghly College. Here their progress was equally unsatisfactory and at last they were sent back to Assam by boat. The hire amounted to Rs. 67-8.

Furniture was cheap. A square table and a small almirah cost only Rs. 6 each in 1837. But a large oblong table cost Rs. 60 and a desk for the clerk Rs. 10. Benches, eight feet long, were Rs. 5 each. A show-case for the museum, being an unusual piece, cost Rs. 100. We do not know what was in the show-case, perhaps a stuffed alligator, which was varnished in April 1838 and needed varnishing again in November, each time at a cost of two rupees! Black-boards at first formed no part of the ordinary class room furniture, but in 1839 there is an item. "two painted boards for teaching Arithmetic," 4 by 2½ feet, Rs. 7. Chalk was naturally used only in the Mathematics classes and the expense on it was small. Some rooms had swinging punkhas; a 16 ft. one cost Rs. 14. But the pandits had to be content with hand fans, 20 for 10 annas. Chairs were two rupees each.

These were the prices of country furniture. The European firms in Calcutta were as expensive then as now. In 1841 Burn and Co. sent in a bill, including Rs. 180 for an oblong table, Rs. 165 for another, Rs. 50 for a writing desk, Rs. 200 for four teak book-cases and the same amount for ten black-boards. There was, of course, a great expenditure of stationery which was supplied free to the pupils. Steel nibs were unknown and the writing was all done with quill pens, and in the Madrasah perhaps occasionally with reed pens. Quill pens varied from Re. 1-12 to Rs. 3 a hundred and the consumption was enormous. In the last six months of 1845 no fewer than 2,625 quill pens were bought. Lead pencils varied from four to twelve annas a dozen and eighteen dozen were used during the same period. Slate pencils were also in great demand and the usual price was eight annas to a rupee a hundred; they were thriftly put in tin tubes. An extraordinary number of pen-knives was used up; one can scarcely think they were spoilt by mending pens. Government now keeps a jealous eye on umbrellas, not one may be bought without the special sanction of the Finance Department itself. In those days, however, umbrellas were bought by the score; they were probably made of palm leaf and bamboo and were about two annas each. Of ink there were two kinds, of paper many. English ink was more expensive than Bengali ink. The best kind of paper was "Europe foolscap" costing Rs. 8-8 to Rs. 9 a ream. Bengali foolscap (perhaps the same as "Serampore foolscap")

was about Rs. 5 a ream, French foolscap Rs. 3-12 to Rs. 4-8 and China foolscap only about Rs. 4 or even less according to the quality. Cheap Serampore foolscap cost only Rs. 2 per ream.ff

When the College was opened Dr. Wise suggested that it should have its own arms. Macaulay wrote: "I do not see why the Mummeries of European heraldry should be introduced into any part of our Indian system.....A lion rampant with a folio in his paw, with a man standing on each side of him, with a telescope over his head, and with a Persian motto under his feet must seem to them (the people of India) either very mysterious or very absurd."[163] Dr. Wise was able, however, to get brass badges for his peons and a stamp for sealing letters. The badges cost four rupees each.

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ffThese details have been taken from the College accounts preserved in the earlier records.

CHAPTER III.

From 1847 to 1860.

We come now to a period of rapid change in the educational history of the country. The Council continued to be in charge of education till 1854. In that year the Despatch of the Court of Directors (Sir Charles Wood's Despatch) formulated the educational policy of the Government and outlined remarkable developments. A Department of Public Instruction under a Director was immediately organised and in 1857 the University of Calcutta was established.

The transfer of control from the Council to the Director was a change which the spread of education and the growing complexity of its problems rendered, perhaps, inevitable. An amateur body of busy men, although they had a professional secretary, could scarcely direct and supervise the increasing number and variety of educational institutions. But the change was not wholly for good, especially as the first Director, W. Gordon Young, was a civilian, familiar with the routine methods of a secretariat, but with no special knowledge of education in this country.[a] His appointment produced some natural heart-burning among those who had grown gray in educational work. Men like Macaulay, Trevelyan, Ryan, Cameron and Bethune, although they could not devote all their time to educational administration, were capable of taking a larger, more generous view of education than more mediocre men who, immersed in the details of administration, seem to have believed that circulars spelt policy and "returns" meant progress. That was the "golden age,"

[a] Sir George Clerk, Secretary of the India Board, wrote a note in March 1858, in which, among other things, he condemned "the practice of appointing Civilians or others, properly belonging to the civil or military administration, to conduct any of the departments of education. When so engaged, they are themselves in a transition state. They are looking for promotion in departments quite unconnected with education." Sir Frederick Halliday, the Lieutenant-Governor, replied that "the Court of Directors have encouraged the employment of their Civil Servants at the head of the Departments of Education, and I may submit that it is obviously desirable that the Government should, through its own servants, have the closest and securest control over that branch of administration, so as to guide it according to its own views." Gen. Rep. on Public Instruction for 1857-58, pp. 54(*a*) and 126. It is difficult to see how civil servants were more the servants of Government than educational officers. Not only the Director but two of the most highly paid Inspectors were civil servants in 1855. Orig. Consult. Beng. Edn. 15 March 1855, No. 121. In 1860, when Mr. Young went on furlough, the Bengal Government wrote to the Government of India: "Under the orders of the Home Authorities, Mr. Young cannot be succeeded by a covenanted officer..... The full authorized salary of the Office was originally fixed at Rupees 3,000 per mensem, but Mr. Young drew only Rupees 2,500. Mr. Ricketts has recommended Rupees 2,000 as the salary of this Office in future, and this amount appears to the Lieutenant-Governor to be sufficient." Apparently a civil servant doing the same work as an educational officer deserved a higher remuneration. Edn. Proc. 17 April 1860.

from 1835 to 1850, when the control of education was in the hands neither of professional administrators nor of professional politicians. Fortunately, it was by them that the foundations were laid. How wise and liberal their views were can be seen, for instance, in Cameron's Address to Parliament on the Duties of Great Britain to India. But the most remarkable difference, to my mind, is another. Anyone who studies the educational records before and after 1854 will, I think, miss in the latter period that touch of humanity, of sympathy, which makes the earlier records still vital and moving. This is chiefly a matter of atmosphere, of feeling, but one or two examples may illustrate the contrast. Before 1854 prize days were notable ceremonies and the President of the Council, the Deputy Governor or even the Governor-General himself made time to preside over them, and they were considered important enough to deserve a week's holiday. After 1854 they became purely college functions too trivial even for a holiday or ceased altogether. Again, the General Committee and the Council of Education let few Principals leave without placing on record a generous appreciation of their work. After 1854 the teacher is regarded as a hired mercenary without human feelings and official commendation is rarely, if ever, forthcoming. Not principals alone, but teachers and even students won praise from the Council when they deserved it. Even at this day one cannot read without emotion such speeches as those delivered by the President, J. E. D. Bethune, at the Krishnagar and Dacca College Prize Distributions in February and March 1851. They are printed in full in the General Report for 1850-51,[3] but I cannot resist quoting from the concluding passage of the first:—

"I miss among you the intelligent countenance of one who last year was counted among the brightest ornaments of your College, and whose premature death, in the blossom of his youth, has excited the regret alike of his teachers and his class-fellows, poor Ombica Churn Ghose! I saw his eye lighten last year, when from this chair I exhorted you to exert yourselves to maintain the honour of your College, and assuredly I reckoned that he would not have failed to do his part. He has been taken from us; it has pleased God that the promise of his early years should not ripen to bear its mature fruits; but though he is dead, his name and memory live among us. I noticed with melancholy pleasure the monumental tablet your kindly recollection of your late companion has placed on the walls of your College, and, by which, while seeking to record his merits, you have also done honour to yourselves.....

And you, Omesh Chunder Dutt, whom I have so often had occasion to mark out for praise, be assured of this that not even in that moment,

which you probably thought the proudest in your life, when from this place I hailed you as the first scholar of your year throughout Bengal, not even then did I look on you with so kindly a feeling or so hearty a desire to serve you, as when I heard of your affectionate kindness to your dying friend and competitor; when I learned how carefully you had tended him in his malignant disorder, undeterred by the terror of contagion....."

Such a speech was never made and never could have been made after 1854. The flowers of human charity and generous praise wither in the arid clime of departmental administration. Nor is this a mere matter of rhetoric. A change like this of spirit affects in many subtle and impalpable ways the whole character of the educational system. (*b*)

The internal economy of the Hooghly College also suffered many changes during the period. After ten years it was recognised that higher education had reached the point that justified a more definite organisation of the institution. Accordingly, at the close of 1846, the English Department was divided into the College and the Collegiate School. The classes were rearranged and the first two constituted the College. The School remained in two sections, the senior division consisting of three classes and the junior of four.[3] No one was to be admitted into the College Department except such as were either senior scholars or capable of gaining a senior scholarship. The result was that, in some years, scarcely any boys were promoted to the College classes.[4] After 1849 college students were divided into four classes instead of two.[5] In 1856 the School ceased to be in sections and the classes were numbered consecutively, the lowest being the first class. In the College also the top class was now called the fourth and the lowest class the first.[6] The next year the Senate of the new University affiliated the Hooghly College at its meeting on the 2nd May. During the same period, radical changes took place in the Oriental Department also, which will be described later.

The numbers in the institution remained more or less steady, between four and five hundred in the English Department. In the College proper, the number varied a good deal, the year generally beginning with sixty or seventy and closing with thirty or forty. In 1854-55 there was some increase, which was attributed partly to the new railway. "It has already had some effect in bringing respectable

b The character of official correspondence itself changes, becoming more and more formal and losing both vigour and individuality. I have looked in vain in the College records after 1880 for any touch of humour.

natives who are engaged in business in Calcutta to reside at Hooghly."[7] But, especially after 1855, there was a strong tendency for students to leave the College after the second year. In December 1856 there were only two in the fourth year and the next year only a single student remained in the third year and none in the fourth. The chief reason was that the staff in the College was insufficient to teach up to the B. A. standard. Chemistry, for instance, was a compulsory subject, but the College had no professor of Chemistry. Students who wished to graduate had, therefore, to go to the Presidency College. The Presidency College had other advantages also. It had a Law Department, so that its students could study for law and an arts degree at the same time. Again, the value of scholarships in Calcutta was higher than in the mofussil. Two exhibitions of Rs. 10 each, tenable only at the Presidency College, were offered to the best junior scholars at each of the mofussil collegiate schools. These could be held for four years, whereas in the mofussil colleges the scholarships were worth only Rs. 8 and could be held only for two years.[8] Thus, "the Presidency College with its large staff of officers has the additional advantage of making a selection of all the best students in the Bengal Presidency at the commencement of the Senior Scholarship course."[9] It is no wonder that the Principal of Hooghly complained that his students were "enticed" away. The Director suggested that the mofussil Colleges should definitely teach only up to the second college year and that the third and fourth year students should all be sent to the Presidency College. But the Principal, while admitting that "the most promising students have hitherto at the end of two years voluntarily applied for a transfer to the Presidency College" and acquiescing in the practice, protested against any formal rule, "as it would, in my opinion, degrade this College in the estimation of the Natives."[10] The result was that no candidates from Hooghly College appeared for the B. A. Examination till 1866, but the College retained, on paper at least, its higher classes.

Other causes also helped to diminish numbers. The new Engineering College drew away some. Many became teachers in the aided schools that sprang up in the district after 1854. Some were frightened away by the quick succession of changes in the examinations and courses of studies.

Hooghly College, which had hitherto occupied a prominent place in the educational system, sank thus after 1854 into a secondary position for a few years. The Department refused to provide an adequate

staff; and the preferential treatment accorded to the Presidency College weakened all the mofussil colleges.

Some attempts were made in the earlier years to widen the range of studies in the College. Assistant Professor Brennand proposed in 1847 to give a course of lectures on Physical Science and in 1856 one on Chemistry to the senior students to prepare them for the B. A. A considerable amount of apparatus and chemicals was ordered,[11] but Brennand was transferred a few months later. There was no regular teaching of Chemistry in the College till much later.

In 1856 Dr. Liebig, Professor of Zoology at the Presidency College, was deputed to lecture once a week on Animal Physiology at Hooghly;[12] but the experiment does not appear to have lasted long.

In 1847 the Council suggested that meteorological records should be kept at the College and a few instruments were supplied.[13] These were found useless and were returned for repair and perhaps little was done in the end. Professor Thwaytes, however, used a rain gauge, but it was stolen from his house; a second one disappeared from the College compound. "Pluviometers," perhaps because of the copper in them, proved irresistible to the local thief and a reward of fifty rupees was offered in vain. This is the only recorded instance of theft in the College.

Mr. Welby Jackson,[c] who visited the College in 1853, proposed the institution of law classes and the introduction of practical surveying, but these suggestions bore no immediate fruit. In April 1854 the old Regulations class, attached to the Madrasah but attended also by College students, was found to have outlived its usefulness and was abolished.[14]

Drawing was another "extra" subject. In 1847, the Council proposed to appoint as Professor of Drawing and Surveying on Rs. 300 a month Mr. C. Grant, "an artist of known ability, and great local reputation." But Government would not sanction "so heavy an expense." There was, however, a drawing master for the English and another for the Oriental Department. The English post was given up on the resignation of Mr. Vernieux and the Madrasah master taught such College students as wished to learn Drawing. At one time there was considerable enthusiasm and some plates were ordered as models. But the

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[c] Mr. Jackson inspected not only educational, but also Administration and Judicial offices generally. His report was published in 1854 in the Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, No. XVI.

Principal reported that some of them were unsuitable, either because they were not sufficiently draped or because some of the postures were "coquettish": The drawing master limited himself to human studies and stiff landscapes and could give no instruction in any useful kind of drawing. A proposal to give him six months' training was refused and the drawing class gradually declined. By the end of 1860 there were no pupils and the drawing master, Mobaruk Ali, was recommended for pension.[16]

In 1849 the Calcutta Normal School was abolished and the Council arranged for a normal training class to be attached to the Hooghly College under the superintendence of Mr. Knighton;[17] but he resigned shortly after and the scheme never materialised.

The great majority of the pupils of the English Department were Hindus. There were very few Mahomedans in the College classes, but towards the end of the period the amalgamation of the Anglo-Persian classes brought a considerable number of Mahomedans into the school. In early years several native and East Indian Christians attended the institution,[d] but the establishment of the Free Church School in the neighbourhood drew away most of them.[18] In September 1848, out of 442 pupils, 11 were Christians and 4 Moslems; in May 1857, there were only 4 Christians and 8 Moslems among 474 pupils; but in April 1860 the number of Moslems had risen to 33.

Generally, the behaviour of the students appears to have been admirable. The maulvies were, indeed, in the habit of denouncing some of their pupils as "notoriously wicked" and worthy to be "corrected with rods," but this was more imagination than fact; and the Council rebuked them for their exaggerated language. Corporal punishment was, in fact, prohibited by the rules—the Council did not share Dr. Middleton's belief in the virtues of a thrashing. Expulsion was the penalty for serious offences, but on at least one occasion the Principal suggested a flogging when the culprit was young and the punishment of expulsion was obviously too drastic.[20] Breaches of discipline were, however, rare. The students of the second class refused to pay a fine of two annas for not preparing their lesson and stayed away, but eventually they paid and apologised.[21] Some boys of the junior school absented themselves because the head master refused a half-holiday for the marriage of one of their class-fellows; the ringleader was expelled. Again, in 1858, there was an instance of insubordination in the second class and fifteen students were dismissed but they were afterwards readmitted.

[d] One of them had the curious name, Walter Elijah Raleigh.

One of the most troublesome students in the School was a Government ward, who was exceedingly irregular in attendance and made no progress in his studies. After the Puja vacation of 1847 he was absent for three months "owing to illness which he admits to have been caused by excessive bodily indulgence." He had an allowance of Rs. 500 a month at his own disposal, "a sad state of things for a boy scarce fourteen years of age," as the Principal rightly said;[22] and yet he would sometimes not pay his fees on the excuse that he had not the means. At last after much forbearance on the part of the College, he took himself off. Later, some other Government wards belonging to the Sing family joined. They were placed under one of the best old students of the College as private tutor and their conduct was much more reputable. In 1852 two lads of good family came from Assam, Preolal and Minodhur Dutt; "the first," wrote the Secretary to the Council, "who have come so far for education and as it is important to encourage others to follow their example, I am sure you will show them every kindness."[23]. Unfortunately, one of them died at Chinsurah in June 1853 and the other left soon after.

The old age limit for admission and retention remained. In 1847 a great many boys who were too old for their class or too stupid to make further progress were dismissed.[24] In 1848 a boy from the Anglo-Persian Department applied for admission to the English classes. "My age," he explained, "is not exceeding about 15 or 16 years. But on account of my growing stature, I appear a sentinal (sic), of gigantic aspect. However, it is not my fault as it is the will of God."[25] A circular of 1852 reiterated the rule that no one was to remain more than two full years in a class, those found unfit for promotion being sent away.[f] Admissions were to be made only once in three or six months.[26] When the University was established, however, the age limit for entrance to the College classes

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[e] This reminds one of the story of the earlier students who were sent by the Ceylon Government to the Calcutta Medical College. They refused to travel except as cabin passengers and it cost Rs. 1,200 to bring four of them to Calcutta. When any of them became ill—which was often—he was sent for a river voyage on a daily allowance which a first class gazetted officer might envy. They were allowed palankeen hire to attend church on Sundays. Dying, they were almost as expensive as alive; one died and his funeral cost Rs. 333! Orig. Consult. Beng. Edn. 2 April 1845, 19 November 1845. The later students were "more respectable in conduct and character than any of their predecessors, and it is hoped that the low vices and degrading practices which disgraced and rendered inefficient some of those sent to Ceylon have now nearly disappeared." Gen. Rep. for 1845-46, pp. 128, 141, 142. It is a matter for regret that advantage was not taken of the Medical College centenary in 1935 to compile a detailed history of that institution for which abundant and most interesting records exist.

[f] The rule was not strictly enforced. There are numerous instances in the Registers of pupils staying more than two years in a class. The persistence of some of them was remarkable. One boy spent seventeen years in the nine school classes; another was seven years in the highest school class.

was removed, but no one over 21 was eligible for scholarships and no one over 23 for medals or prizes.[27]

Fees, of course, continued to be obligatory on all new students and the income from fees gradually increased as the old free pupils left. But, on the results of the scholarship examinations, a certain number of "free tickets" were awarded; and holders of scholarships paid no fees. Nor did all the rest pay the full rate. In 1853 we hear that out of 64 students in the four college classes "only sixteen will pay the full rate of three rupees, while twenty-four will pay from one rupee to one rupee and a half, three will pay eight annas, four will pay nothing and the remaining seventeen are scholarship-holders."[28] In 1854, however, it was laid down that all students should pay the full rate; there were to be no free pupils or reduced rates. Fees were imposed during this period in the Oriental Department also The rate in the school was two rupees, which was much higher than in the neighbouring schools. Principal Richardson proposed the reduction of fees as a remedy for the fall in numbers; but the Council replied that "it was not the intention of Government to secure merely the filling up of the classes in their own College, but to cause the general extension of education; and that if this is accomplished, as it appears to be in Chinsurah, by private enterprize, the object is not only completely fulfilled, but it will gradually enable the Council to render the College essentially a Collegiate Institution, as it ought to be, and not a mixed College and School, as it is at present."[29]

Stationery had always been supplied free to the pupils. But in 1858 the Principal proposed that the lads should be required to get their own. "So long as stationery is supplied to them free of cost, they are utterly indifferent about wasting it.[30] This was done.

The changes in the scholarship examinations belong to the general history of education in Bengal rather than to the history of any one college. The senior scholarships were distributed among the different classes, so that it sometimes happened that a boy lost his scholarship when he was promoted, and if he elected to stay in the same class those inferior to him were promoted.[31] In 1852 the College staff suggested that there should be two sets of examinations—College examinations for admission and for the award of scholarships at the beginning of the first and third years, and general Council examinations in the middle of the college course for promotions to the upper division, and a final leaving examination. After the first Council examination a student would specialise in either literature or science or keep both. Scholarships should be tenable for two years.[32]

These proposals were not accepted wholly, but the junior scholarship examinations were left entirely to the officers of each institution. The University when it was founded held an Entrance Examination and another for the B. A. degree. But the Entrance Examination was not at first a necessary condition for admission to a college and college students themselves appeared for it. In 1859 one third year and six first year students of Hooghly College were candidates for the Entrance Examination.

Various medals were offered for competition. Jadunath Das won the Governor-General's prize of Rs. 200 in 1847. The same year Norotun Mullick won Mr. Money's gold and Ganga Charan Sircar his silver medal. Babu Kissory Chand Mitra, then Deputy Magistrate at Rajshahi, and afterwards an eminent publicist, offered a gold medal,[33] which was won by Kalachand Bose. In 1851 a Gooroo-Charan Das gave a medal to the student most proficient in drawing.[34] Issur Chandra Doss got the Money gold medal in 1852 and the next year it went to Dwarkanath Mitter. The library medal was also occasionally awarded.

The prize distributions were a feature of College life, at any rate up to 1850. The Council sanctioned a week's holiday for it in 1847. The next year the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, came to present the prizes, travelling by steamer from Barrackpore.[35] A guard-of-honour of police was present. In 1849 and 1850 the Deputy-Governor came. After that there is little reference to prize days in the College records.

Many of the best students who were in the College during this time fulfilled their early promise in later life. When Norotun Mullick left the College in 1847 he wrote a graceful letter of thanks to the Council: he was the first student under the control of the Council who had retained his senior scholarship for the full term of six years.[36] During his college career he won nearly every scholarship, medal and prize that was open. He entered Government service and rose to be a subordinate judge. Another student who rivalled his College record was Dwarkanath Mitter, who held a senior scholarship for several years and obtained the Money gold medal and the library medal in 1853. While he was in College he was involved in a tragic accident; a boat in which he was travelling upset, his younger brother was drowned and some library books he had borrowed were lost. In 1854 he was transferred to the Presidency College at his own request to take advantage of the law classes. His legal studies proved

fruitful and after a few years of practice as an advocate he was appointed a judge of the High Court in 1867, when he was only thirty-four years old. He died in 1874, leaving behind a brilliant reputation as a judge of acute mind and wide learning and a wonderful mastery of English.

There were others who won fame in the field of Bengali literature. The name of Hurro Chunder Ghose was mentioned in the last chapter as the winner of Lord Auckland's prize. The duties of a deputy collector did not prevent him from continuing to cultivate his native language. In January 1854 the Principal brought to the notice of the Council "a Dramatic Composition written in Bengali, in imitation of Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice by Hurro Chunder Ghose..... The author's Proficiency as a Bengalee scholar and the respectable appointment he at present holds are guarantees that this is not one of those hare-brained productions which sometimes emanate from young Hindoos. There is also a modesty in the plan of the work which recommends it highly."[37] This was the play "Bhanumati Chittabilash," published in 1853.

Another student who left his mark on Bengali literature was Ganga Churn Sircar. He had joined the College on the opening day and left in 1846. He retired as a sub-judge in 1882 and died in 1888, but is best remembered as a Bengali writer. His son, Akshay Chandra Sircar, achieved even greater fame in the same field.

Hurro Chunder Ghose and Ganga Churn Sircar were both thrown into the shade by another student of the College, Bunkim Chunder Chatterjee. At College he was easily the best man of his year. In 1854 he was first in the junior scholarship examination with 275·5 marks, while the second obtained only 229·25. He outdistanced his fellows again in the senior scholarship examination. In 1856 he, like Dwarkanath, joined the Presidency College to study law, and he was one of the first graduates of the new University. As early as 1854 his Bengali writings drew public attention. We read that Romony Mohan Roy and Kalli Churn Ray Chowdhury, zemindars of Rungpore, gave twenty rupees to Bunkim, who was then a pupil of the first class of the senior school, "for some good poetical compositions which appeared in the Probakur newspaper."[38]

Hooghly College was thus one of the nurseries of Bengali literature. But in the examinations of 1852 the Hooghly students obtained

very low marks in the subject, their average being 11 and that of the Krishnagar candidates 28. This result was surprising in view of the consistently high standard of Bengali at the College for many years. The Principal explained it, probably with perfect truth, as due to "some bias in the mind of the Examiner in regard to what he considers a good vernacular style." The examiner for that year was Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, who, as a product of the Sanskrit College, had "imbibed the notion that that only is a good Bengali style in which there is a considerable infusion of high Sanskrit words."[39]

The problem of employment always loomed large before the students; many of them were ready at any stage of their education to accept a post. The new professional institutions drew numbers of students away from the arts colleges. The Law Department of the Presidency College, the Engineering College and, to a smaller extent, the Medical College, attracted many candidates. When the Normal School was opened in Calcutta seven Hooghly students obtained stipends.[40]

The ablest students appeared for the examination for inclusion in the Governor-General's list of those qualified for public service. But many of the appointing officers paid little attention to this list. Mr. Bethune in his speech at Dacca confessed that "notwithstanding the more recent and distinct pledge promulgated by the Government of India that, in the disposal of official patronage, a decided preference shall be shown to those who distinguish themselves in the annual examinations, and by which every officer responsible to that Government ought to feel himself as strongly bound, as if it had issued from his own lips, it is by many slightly regarded."[41] Occasionally, probably as the result of reminders from above, district officers asked for lists of candidates from the colleges. In 1850, for instance, there was a demand for police darogahs from a large number of magistrates. The Principal in recommending candidates wrote: "The Mahomedan candidates are placed first, as generally speaking, they are physically stronger than the Hindoos, and better fitted for the active duties of a Police Officer. But so far as knowledge of English may be considered a qualification, the Hindoos are superior to the Mahomedans."[42] Again, "the Hindoos generally prefer the quieter occupation of a Writer in a public office, though on a much smaller salary."[43] Mr. H. V. Bayley, the Collector of Hooghly, gave situations to several of the College students.[44] Some of the most distinguished were appointed deputy magistrates or munsiffs, but the majority appear to have drifted into

teaching. The Council held examinations for actual or prospective teachers, grading them according to their capacity.

It may be of interest to give a summary of the establishment as it stood in January 1860. In the English Department the Principal was assisted by fourteen teachers; four worked wholly or partly in the College classes. The salary of the Principal was still Rs. 600, that of the Professor Rs. 500, of the Headmaster Rs. 400, of the second master, who was also assistant professor, Rs. 300. The next two were paid Rs. 200 each and the others ranged from Rs. 40 to Rs. 150. In the Arabic Department there were six maulvies, the head maulvi on Rs. 300 and the others varying from Rs. 30 to Rs. 100. In addition there were two Persian teachers and six Bengali pundits. The first and second clerks had Rs. 40 each and third only Rs. 10. The head clerk, Jibun Banerjee, was in the College for many years and was much trusted by successive Principals. The post of collecting sircar still survived on a salary of ten rupees. The menial staff consisted of three duftries, five peons, three durwans, a gowallah, a bhisti, two farashes, two mehtars, and three malis, their wages being four, five or six rupees. Malis were first employed as permanent servants from 1856.

For some years the Civil Surgeon was the medical attendant to the College on a monthly remuneration of Rs. 100*a*. He treated sick teachers and students, but the Imambarah Hospital was two miles away and the students petitioned for a wholetime sub-assistant surgeon. The most notable event in the medical history of the College was the discovery in 1848 that about a hundred and fifty boys were afflicted with the itch and ringworm—there were not enough medicines in Chinsurah for their treatment.[46]

The general belief that the College was maintained wholly from the Mohsin funds during the first thirty years is true only with considerable qualification. In 1853 the endowment consisted of Sa. Rs. 7,34,800 in the 5 per cent. loans and Sa. Rs. 52,600 in the four per cent. loan. The annual interest was about Co. Rs. 41,500. In addition, the institution was entitled to a ninth part of the income from the Syedpore Estate, which varied from Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 8,000 a year. In 1854 when the investments were transferred from the five to the four per cent. loans, the interest was reduced by Co. Rs. 7,837. The total income from the Mohsin funds

a It was in 1844 that the Civil Surgeon was first appointed medical officer to the College on an allowance. Medicines were to be given free. Orig. Consult. Beng. Edn. 16 October 1844, Nos. 9 and 10.

to the College was thus about Rs. 47,000 on the average before 1854 and about Rs. 40,000 since.

From its general funds the General Committee made an assignment of Rs. 28,902 to the College under Government Order of the 16th December 1840. In the same Order Government sanctioned a scale of expenditure amounting to Rs. 81,018 per year for the College and the Branch School. The expenses, however, seldom reached this figure. In 1858-59, for instance, the cost of the College was Rs. 55,877-6-8 and that of the Branch School Rs. 6,794-8-4.

For many years the expenditure of the Oriental Department was not shown separately; but it is not impossible to form a rough estimate. In 1850 the salaries of the maulvies amounted to about Rs. 17,600 and to this we should add Rs. 1,000 for a share of the establishment and Rs. 4,700 for the scholarships, making a total of Rs. 23,300. For the first twenty years the students of the Oriental Department paid no fees and the expenses had to be met entirely from the Mohsin funds. Thus, about half the income of the endowment was spent immediately on the Madrasah, without counting the cost of European superintendence at all. The students of the English Department paid a considerable and increasing amount in fees, about Rs. 7,000 in 1850-51. On the English Department only about twenty or twenty-five thousand rupees were spent on the average from the Mohsin funds. It was calculated in 1852 that the monthly cost per pupil in the English Department was Rs. 2-10-11 in 1836-37 and Rs. 7-5-6 in 1850-51; in the Madrasah the corresponding figures were Rs. 8-5-5 and Rs. 14-8.[1]

Of the auxiliary institutions, the Infant School came to an end in 1850. The Branch School continued to prosper. The maximum limit of 250 pupils, which was fixed in 1847, was always reached for some years; but after 1850 the numbers decreased somewhat; in May 1859 there were only 181 pupils. In January 1860 the establishment consisted of a head master and six assistant teachers and two pundits. Throughout the period Babu Khettermohun Chatterjee remained head master. In the General Report for 1849-50 he was specially commended: "Some of the Native masters in the employ of the Council are believed to be excellent Bengali scholars, and they are

[1] Through some oversight, the one-ninth share from the Mohsin estate was not spent on the College for many years after 1842. It had been allowed to accumulate, and in 1860 amounted to Rs. 1,67,106. Then the question of its disposal arose, and it was credited to Government. Educn. Proc. October 1860, Nos. 69-70; January 1861, Nos. 2-3.

not only most efficient teachers, but all their schools are in a most creditable state. Foremost among them may be mentioned Khettermohun Chatterjee, head master of the Hooghly Branch School"[46] and others. On the whole, the history of the Branch School during the period was one of quiet progress.

The Seetapore School had a more troubled career. In a moment of exasperation, Richardson wrote: "Really the Seetapore establishment by some fatality perplexes me more by unexpected demands than the Hooghly Branch School, the Infant School and the College altogether."[47] We have seen that Captain Fox was appointed head master. But the Council had not realised that the conditions of the place were such as to make it impossible for a European to live there comfortably or work effectively. Fox soon suggested that either he or the School should be transferred; but the Council refused both requests: "Its location is determined by a testamentary bequest which cannot be set aside."[48] Fox wrote again to explain the difficulties of his existence. He and his family lived in a room or two in the school house, which was airless and leaked like a sieve in the rains. "A breath of wind can hardly be obtained from the south, unless it blows half a gale; and from the north none at all, in consequence of the dead wall.....Every article of food must come from Calcutta."[49] The most earnest entreaties could not procure a punkah from the Council. At length the Council sanctioned Rs. 350 for a bungalow for the head master, which was little more than a hut with three small rooms. But the builders cheated Fox; he was obliged to pay another hundred rupees from his own pocket; and when he asked for accounts from the contractor, according to his own statement, "a crowd of ruffians from all sides attacked me in the most violent manner with stones and clubs."[50] The next year he fell ill and for long periods was unable to attend school. He had a serious fall from a horse; he survived an attack of cholera; his head swelled to an incredible size; and when their baby was born Mrs. Fox had neither doctor nor companion except her husband who was himself prostrated with sickness. Meanwhile the Council had discovered that the school had been maintained by the Seetapore endowment only for the first year or so, as the Government of India had decided that the endowment could not be used for general education or transferred to the General Committee; since then its expenses had been met from the general education funds and the school could, therefore, be moved to a more eligible spot.[51] Chattra, between Baidyabati and Serampore, was proposed and the people of Baidyabati promised about Rs. 4,700 for a school-house. In December 1849

the Seetapore school was abolished and the buildings were sold for Rs. 79. But on the plea of a deficit in the education budget Government refused to sanction the new school at Chattra.[52] The Report for 1849-50 diagnosed the unhealthiness of Seetapore as one of the chief reasons for the failure of the school. "The headmaster suffered much from repeated attacks of sickness.....Nor are the people of the surrounding district much alive to the advantages of education."[53] So much had things changed in ten years!

Some other schools were regarded as ancillary to the Hooghly College. As early as 1844 Sutherland had visited Midnapore School.[54] In 1849 the posts of Inspectors of Schools were abolished and the Principal was asked to inspect the attached schools.[55] In December 1853, again the Council wrote that as the office of Inspector had been given up "it was deemed.....a matter of some importance that the Principal of every College should be personally acquainted with the state and working of the schools affiliated to the Institution under his charge."[56] Accordingly, the next month Mr. Kerr visited the schools at Midnapore, Bankura, Cuttack, Balasore and Purnea (the two last recently established) and wrote a long and interesting report on them. With the formation of the Education Department and the reorganisation of the Inspectorate, the Principal ceased to have any direct connection with these outlying institutions, but for many years junior scholarships from them continued to be tenable at the College.

During these years the changes in the personnel of the staff were numerous and rapid. At the close of November 1846 D. L. Richardson was "inducted" as Principal by the Secretary to the Council. After being invalided from the army, Richardson had been successively Professor of Literature in the Hindoo College and Principal of Krishnagar. He was a man of considerable literary attainments, a scholar, poet and essayist. "I may forget everything about India," Macaulay is reported to have said to him, "'but your reading of Shakespeare, never." The Council described him as "the most eminent Professor of Literature in India."[57] Richardson, Rochfort and Graves were all qualified to teach literature rather than science, so Rochfort was transferred and his place was taken by Thwaytes, a young Cambridge graduate, who had been for a few months in the Hindoo College. Other changes followed so quickly

Before Thwaytes was appointed to Hooghly, Dr. Mouat, the Secretary to the Council, heard him lecture at the Hindoo College and made a report on his teaching. Orig. Consult. Beng. Edn. 11 November 1846, No. 8.

that on the 30th April 1847 there remained in the English Department only one member of the staff who had joined in 1836 and out of the seventeen teachers no fewer than eleven had come in 1846. Mr. J. Graves was Head Master and Mr. W. Brennand second master; both of them took part in the College teaching. The next in rank was Eshan Chandra Banerjee. In October 1848 Richardson exchanged places with James Kerr, the Principal of the Hindoo College. Kerr remained Principal till April 1856 when ill-health obliged him to take leave. He never returned to the country, but resigned from the Service in September 1857.

Meanwhile, in March 1853 Brennand went to Dacca to officiate as Head Master. The vacancy was not filled up for some months, but in February 1854 D. Foggo was appointed. In November 1853 Eshan Banerjee went as second master to Krishnagar and Mr. Beaneand came to Hooghly in his place. Sickness compelled Foggo to resign, and first E. Lodge and then G. H. W. Conroy were appointed instead. Mr. Clermont who had acted for some time as second master was replaced by Eshan Banerjee. Thwaytes officiated as Principal in Kerr's place. With the constitution of the Education Department began that complicated practice of "paper appointments," which has ever since characterised its working. For instance, in February 1857 Thwaytes was appointed Principal of the new Berhampore College, but he was to continue to officiate as Principal of Hooghly in Kerr's absence. When Kerr resigned he was made permanent Principal of Hooghly. Graves, who officiated for a few months in the same year as Principal of Krishnagar, came back in September as Professor. In December 1858 Eshan Banerjee was transferred to Berhampore. In June 1859, Thwaytes went on leave for six months and first Graves and then Lodge officiated.

One post, that of Writing Master, was abolished during the period. In all the junior classes half an hour each day was devoted to writing "copies." This was by no means a waste of time, for the pupils acquired "with wonderful facility a very correct style of handwriting. The same delicacy of touch which enables Hindoo fingers to weave cloth which has been compared in fineness to "woven wind," enables them to write almost without training a smooth beautiful hand. In all the junior classes there is a regularity and uniformity in the handwriting which one would look for in vain in Schools at home."[59] Mr. Vogel had held the post almost from the beginning; he was not well qualified as a teacher, but he was an admirable writing master. He retired in 1856 and the Director

of Public Instruction with relentless departmental logic abolished the post, because no other institution had a writing master.[60]†

On the whole, the staff appear to have worked loyally and harmoniously. But the Principal had to suspend one of the senior masters for a time: he was habitually late, in spite of warnings. There was also some friction between some of the Indian teachers, led by Eshan Banerjee and his brother Mohesh, and the European and East Indian members of the staff, beginning apparently in Eshan's disappointment at not getting promotion as rapidly as he hoped. In 1850 some attacks in a newspaper, the *Hindoo Intelligencer*, on Graves and Brennand were suspected to have been instigated by the Banerjees, although they denied all connection. The next year, an old rule that "the Hindoo or Mahomedan masters will wear their turbans, the Christian masters will not wear their hats in the class room," was found to have been generally broken by some of the masters.[61] To a petition of the masters the Council replied in peremptory terms: "The masters are not the judges of what is essential to the interests and prosperity of the Institution in which they serve. When their opinions are asked they may give them. When not required, it will be more decorous for them to be silent on the subject."[62] Thus authority decided what perhaps reason could not vindicate. Matters came to a head in 1858. Some students of the second school class were rude to Mr. Ure. The Principal believed that some of the Indian teachers were behind them and recounted a long history of suspicions, specially against Eshan Banerjee.[63] He was, thereupon, transferred to Berhampore and another teacher was sent to Krishnagar.

In August 1850 the Council asked all the Indian masters to pass an examination in Bengali, "with a view to ascertain their capacity for instructing their pupils in the vernacular.....and to convey in their own tongue the knowledge they have themselves acquired."[64] An examination was arranged at the Hindoo College, but when the masters went there they found no one to examine them and the matter was dropped. With more reason, the non-Indian teachers were required to pass tests in the vernacular in 1860.[65]

† All students of the College did not write a good hand. In 1853 Mr. Buckland, the Magistrate of Hooghly, complained of the "bad English handwriting" of two students of the College to whom he had given posts, C. 23 April 1853. But the general level was high. There is a remarkable contrast between the neat copper-plate writing of the letters sent out from the College with the irregular and sometimes almost illegible writing of the letters received. Some years later, Sir G. Campbell, the Lieutenant-Governor, regretted the absence of writing masters in Schools (see Chapter IV).

In 1850 the Principal put forward an interesting proposal for the institution of "Fellowships," which were to be held by the best students who would otherwise have left College. They were to be for a limited period and the Fellows were to assist in the teaching. "The object to be aimed at, in the first instance at least, is the introduction of a system by which the education of a student may be continued and the influence of the College felt, for a few years after he ceases to be a student."[66] The Council, however, could find no money for the purpose.[67]

Kerr was an active and able head of the College. His "Review of Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency from 1835 to 1851," of which the first volume was published in 1852, is a useful and accurate summary of educational progress and based on considerable research. Two other members of the College, Thwaytes and Eshan Banerjee, collaborated in compiling a list of old students of the Hooghly College. It was ready by the end of 1850 and was sent to the Council. "It might be sufficient," said the authors, "to publish only the names of those who distinguished themselves at College or who have since risen to situations of respectability. The undistinguished many, the *oi polloi* who have never emerged from obscurity, may be passed over in silence."[68] The Council agreed to publish the list in the Annual Statements.[69] But apparently this was not done and no copy of the first Historical Register of the College seems to have survived.

In 1856 the Department, forgetful of Macaulay's wise precept, appointed the chief officials of the place *ex officio* as Visitors for the College and the Branch School—the judge, the collector, the magistrate, the civil surgeon and the principal sudder ameen.[70] There had been one or two Visitors in the early days of the College, men like Samuells, who took a genuine interest in the Institution, gave books and prizes and helped in examinations. But now when the College was well established and under the charge of experienced educationists, it is difficult to see what the judge or the sudder ameen were competent or expected to do. The Principal was not aware of the arrangement till he heard of it from the Visitors themselves.[71] The result was what might have been foreseen. Each of the Visitors paid one or two visits and one of them made himself offensive. After 1857 they paid no visits at all. The book which was kept for their remarks remained blank and the Department was unable to benefit by their wisdom or inexperience.[72]

Till 1848 Vernieux was librarian. Then he resigned and set up as a professional conjuror; but when his "hopes of making money by magic" failed, he wished to withdraw the resignation, which was not permitted.[73] Chandicharan Shome, an old student, was appointed librarian out of forty-five candidates. He died, however, before the end of the year and his place was filled by Jogessur Ghose. On his appointment as a teacher in the School, Okhoy Chunder Burmochary, teacher of the Regulation class, became librarian. He was dismissed in 1858 and S. Vogel, son of the old writing master, was selected.

As we have seen, a catalogue of the English library had been prepared in 1843; but no correct list of the losses and additions was made till 1848.[74] In 1850 a fresh catalogue was compiled by the librarian under the superintendence of Professor Thwaytes.[*] The catalogue of 1843 had contained 2,355 volumes, that of 1850 had 3,4[illegible][75] But there was great carelessness in the administration of the library. Stock was not taken even when librarians changed. The result was that in 1857 it was discovered that everything was in confusion. Books on different subjects were mixed together; volumes of the same set were scattered; and a great many books, to the value of over Rs. 900, could not be traced.[76] The librarian was suspended and afterwards dismissed and his salary for three months was forfeited.

In spite of these losses, the library grew. In 1856 there were 3,500 works with 6,770 volumes, of which, however, 1,711 were class books for sale. These class books had gradually accumulated, cumbering the shelves, and in 1849 a large number were sold at reduced rates.[77]

Gifts were few during this period. Dr. Mouat, the Secretary to the Council, presented some useful works in 1849.[78] The Council and the Department regularly sent copies of certain official publications to the library. Most of the books, however, were purchased. Rarely, they were bought second-hand from private individuals; for instance, in 1851, a set of the *Friend of India* from 1836-50, Bewick's British Birds, six volumes of the *Calcutta Journal of Natural History* and a set of the *Illustrated London News* from the commencement to 1850 were purchased from Mr. Russell.[79] Bewick's British Birds have disappeared, but the rest are still in the library. Generally, books were obtained through book-sellers in Calcutta. But in

[*] A copy of this catalogue has, fortunately, survived, the earliest that we have.

1851, the Council ordered that all books should in future be bought through the Government Book Agency.[80] Further restrictions of the kind that administrative departments seem to indulge in, followed. Orders were to be sent only twice a year, in January and July. The result of these vexatious regulations was, as always, inconvenience, delay and loss. In 1856 the Principal complained that the text-books in zoology which had been ordered were not supplied at all. Some books indented for in June 1855 came exactly a year later.[81] The Encyclopædia Britannica, which local book-sellers advertised for Rs. 350, was supplied to the College at Rs. 500.[82] At last, in 1857, Government gave principals power to purchase books where they liked and the Book Agent was directed to close accounts with the colleges.[83] The sanction of the Director was still necessary for all indents; but even this last restriction was presently abandoned.[84]

As the library grew more accommodation had to be found. In 1850 it was removed to the room over the portico, which had been occupied by two maulvies.[85] Four years later the Council ordered that the books should be stored in closed almirahs in the Hall.[86]

The library was used to a considerable extent. In 1853 the Principal arranged to open it every day at 9 a.m., an hour before college began.[87] In 1854-55 about 1,480 volumes were borrowed. But again, new rules limited its usefulness. In 1859 outsiders were forbidden to borrow books without the permission of the Director; and at the same time students were obliged to deposit six rupees before they could take books out.[88] The fatal idea was gaining ground that the first principle of library administration was that books should be kept safe rather than that they should be read.

The importance of games was not sufficiently recognised in those early days. I have found only two references in the records of the first fifteen years. In 1841 the Principal wrote to Mr. H. Betts, who had been transferred to Chittagong. "Having been informed that you have carried off a set of cricket bats, etc., belonging to the College, I request that you will either return them or send their value (Rs. 28) that they may be replaced."[89] But I have found no trace in the accounts of the purchase of any bats and no evidence of any games having been played in the early years. In 1843, the Headmaster of the Branch School asked the Principal for permission to purchase some bats and balls, "materials," as he put it, "for their gymnastic exercise during the hours of recreation." The School

already had a set of wickets presented by Mr. Leycester and an "English bat" presented by David Hare. He estimated the cost of a "London made large bat" at Rs. 2.[90] This had to go up to Government for sanction as an unusual item of expenditure.[91] In 1854, Mr. Jackson, after his visit to the College, suggested the introduction of active athletic sports, such as rackets and cricket. The Principal proposed the erection of a rackets court and asked for sanction to purchase every year at the beginning of the cold weather a set of cricket bats and balls.[92] This was probably done, for we hear of a cricket match which was arranged against Krishnagar College.[93] [t] The rackets court, unfortunately, was never built.

Some years before, the Magistrate of Noakhali, in asking for candidates for the police, aired some curious views on education. He recommended, among other things, that "sword exercise and the like should form a prominent feature in our course of study."[94] The Council, however, had more sense or caution than the Magistrate. In 1855 an attempt was made to introduce gymnastics. M. Montigny a Frenchman and a professional gymnast, was appointed teacher of gymnastics for six months at the Presidency and Hooghly Colleges and the subordinate schools[95] and a site for a gymnasium was prepared and some apparatus was obtained from Calcutta.[96] M. Montigny came twice a week to train the young men. But in the hot weather the attendance declined, although the class was held from 6 to 7-30 a.m. "The students of this College," complained the Principal, "will practise Gymnastics only in the cold season."[97] Even in the cold season, however, their enthusiasm was small and the Indian masters were reported to be adverse to any kind of physical recreation for the pupils. A little later M. Montigny resigned and the gymnastics classes seem to have stopped altogether.

Not only were there no games, but there were no vacations in the first years. The list of holidays prescribed by the General Committee did not make provision for any long vacation; the longest breaks were of five days each for Doorga Pooja and Mohurrum. Some time later the list was revised and apparently the Pooja holidays were extended and some of the others dropped. In January 1847 the boys at the College and the Seetapore school attended class on Saraswati Pooja day, but refused to read or write.[98] In September of that

[t] "Notice is hereby given that the English and Bengalee Departments of the College will be closed from Saturday, the 26th instant (December), to Saturday, the 2nd Proximo, both days inclusive, for the express purpose of a Cricket Match being played between the students of the Hooghly and Krishnaghar Colleges on the Krishnaghar ground." "In consequence of the members of the Cricket Club refusing to go to Krishnaghar the Holiday granted.....is suspended till Saturday next." Circulars No. 814 and No. 816 of 24 December 1857 in Circular Book I.

year the Council issued a new list of "Hindoo and other" holidays, to a total of 61.[m] The list is interesting in several respects: it provided for a long vacation of 35 days, beginning with Mahalaya and including the Doorga and Shama Poojas; seven days were allotted to holidays following the prize distribution; New Year's Day, Good Friday and Christmas Day were also holidays and so was Her Majesty's birthday.[99] No provision was made for Mahomedan holidays in general institutions, and indeed the Moslem pupils were only a handful. The Madrasah, however, had its own holidays, including a vacation for the whole period of the Ramzan.[n] In December 1850 the Council suggested that the annual examination and the long vacation should begin with the hot weather. The staff of the College did not approve of the change for the School: "It is admitted that the hot season is unfavourable to every kind of exertion. But this inconvenience is in great measure obviated by the now firmly established practice of assembling in the morning instead of the daytime during the two hottest months." But for the College proper, they urged different treatment and suggested two long vacations in the year of two months each—in March and April and in September and October. "An interval of six or eight weeks for recreation every half-year would give a freshness to study and an elasticity and energy to the student which are lost in following an unvaried routine for eleven months without intermission."[100] This sound proposal was not accepted and nothing was done for a time. But sometimes the heat proved unbearable and in June 1852 the Council allowed the College to close for about a week "should there intermediately be no fall of rain or favourable change in the weather."[101] At length in September 1853 a new scheme was issued.[102] The long vacation was to run from the 15th April to the end of May, 45 days, and 15 days were allowed for the Pooja holidays. In addition, there were to be only two Hindu holidays, Jagadhatri and Saraswati, and three Christian holidays, making a total of 65. All other holidays were strictly forbidden. When, in 1851, the Principal closed the College on the

[m] The incidents in the College had raised a public discussion about holidays. The Council explained that the Hooghly College list was modelled on that of the Medical College, in which many Hindu holidays were dropped. They also stated that Pandit Eswar Chandra Sarma, Assistant Secretary to the Sanskrit College, had with the concurrence of the Pandits drawn up a memorandum suggesting the abolition of native holidays and the institution of long vacations in the Sanskrit College. Rasamoy Dutt drew up a list of 28 Hindu holidays, which the Deputy Governor considered reasonable. Orig. Consult. Beng. Edn. 23 June 1847, Nos. 8 and 12. It was as a result of this discussion that the new list was compiled.

[n] As the College and the Madrasah had each its own set of holidays, the question arose which the Principal should enjoy. In 1846 he was asked by the Council to waive the Hindu holidays and take the Mahomedan only. Orig. Consult. Beng. Edn. 25 November 1846, No 6. The Shia students had special holidays for themselves. Circular Bk.

first of August, the anniversary of its foundation, the Council reminded him that its previous sanction was necessary for any extra holidays.[103] In 1858 the Director objected to a holiday for the prize distribution: it was "not among those sanctioned by authority."[104] The abolition of all the minor Hindu holidays, however, led to difficulties. The students frequently applied for half-holidays and, on the recommendation of the Principal, half-holidays were sanctioned for Dol Jatra, Charuck Pooja, Rath Jatra and Ulta Rath.[105] After 1853 the examinations were held just before the summer vacation. But in 1858 the University examinations were moved to December and consequently the holiday list was again revised. The summer vacation was limited to fifteen days in May and the long vacation was for a month immediately after the Entrance Examination, that is, from about the 10th December to the 9th January. Doorga Pooja was still to have fifteen days, Jagadhatri and Saraswati Pooja a day each, with a day for Good Friday and the Queen's Birthday.[106] But a fresh difficulty arose when the Anglo-Persian classes were absorbed by the School. The number of Moslem pupils was now larger and the local Moslems petitioned that they should have holidays, as in the Madrasah, for Ramzan; but this was refused.[107]

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[o] A list of the actual holidays in 1858 may be interesting:—

January 1 and 2. All. New Year's Day.
January 20. English Department. Saraswati Pooja.
February 27. All. Lunar Eclipse.
March 1. English Department. Dol Jatra (half-holiday).
March 8. All. Visit of the Director of Public Instruction.
March 20. Shia classes. 3rd Shabun.
March 23. All. Capture of Lucknow.
March 31. Sunni classes. Subrat.
April 1. Sunni and Shia classes. Subrat.
April 2. All. Good Friday.
April 16-May 31. All. Summer vacation.
July 13. English Department. Rath Jatra (half).
July 20-22. Shia classes. Id-uz-zuha.
July 20-24. Sunni classes. Id-uz-zuha.
July 20. English Department. Ulta Rath (half).
July 31. All. Anniversary of College.
August 11-25. Sunni and Shia classes. Mohurrum.
August 25. English Department. Lunar Eclipse.
September 1. English Department. Janmastami (half).
October 6-23. English Department. Doorga Pooja.
October 6. Sunni classes. Akhirichar Shumba.
November 1 and 2. All. Proclamation of the assumption of the Government of India by the Queen.
November 6. English Department. Shama Pooja.
November 15 and 16. English Department. Jagadhatri Pooja.
November 18. English Department. Nobanno (half).
December 25. All. Christmas.

In 1859 the Pooja holidays were extended for an unusual reason, "the unruly conduct of large bodies of discharged European soldiers that have become the terror of this station. They have been guilty," wrote the Principal, Mr. Lodge, "of most gross and violent outrages."[108] For some days the bazars were closed; many people left the town and many of the students stayed away.[p] The magistrate was helpless. The Council accordingly allowed the College to close a few days earlier.[109]

Several attempts were made to solve the vexed problem of accommodation. In 1845 the Council pointed out that some of the lower rooms were unsuitable for classes and "the number of pupils even now in attendance, is greater than can be accommodated with comfort, convenience and efficiency, as respects the maintenance of discipline." As soon as money was available, "a separate location should be found for the Mudrissa."[110] The next year the Principal proposed the purchase of a building "on the rear of the Hooghly College," which belonged to Prankissen Haldar.[111] But the Military Board reported that the house was dilapidated beyond repair and would have to be pulled down. Government offered Rs. 3,000, but the mortgagee wanted Rs. 10,000 and the mater was postponed as the price was regarded as too high,[112] a decision that many later generations were to deplore. In 1848 the South Infantry Barracks were vacant and permission was given by Government for the removal of the English Department to that building.[113] This was done towards the close of the year, while the Arabic classes remained in Perron's house. For the first time in their history both sections had ample accommodation. But, unfortunately, in May 1849 the barracks were required for troops and the College had to return. But the distress was alleviated by the decrease in the number of pupils and the reduction in the number of classes. In 1838 there were in the English Department about 700 pupils in 19 classes; in 1858 only about 500 in 16 classes. It is true that many of the rooms were dark and all were noisy; "seven rooms of the English Department being so connected that it is impossible for any teacher in those rooms to make himself heard by his whole class, without interrupting other classes.....In this building it would be impossible to separate the lower classes by closed doors, the greater number of the rooms having only a borrowed light."[114] But, at any rate, there was no sitting room.

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[p] That this was not by any means the only occasion on which the soldiers got out of hand can be seen from the note on Chinsurah military affairs in Toynbee: Administration of the Hooghly District, pp. 134-37.

The European masters found it difficult to get comfortable houses to live in. In 1846, when Richardson took charge, he was allowed to reside in the room over the portico.[115] a But he soon complained that it was inconvenient to use the same room as a sitting and a sleeping rom and exchanged it for two rooms in the south wing, then occupied by the head maulvies.[116] When the English Department moved to the barracks Thwaytes also got quarters in the north wing of Perron's house and the other members of the staff were given rooms in the barracks.[117] After the return of the College, the Principal was the only teacher who had rooms in the College building.

From time to time the Public Works Department carried out repairs, annual or quadrennial. Complaints about its work were frequent and apparently not unjustified. In 1846 the Secretary to the Council wrote that "the repairs of the College are nearly finished and the doors painted of a deep blue colour, which however eligible for concealing dirt is not keeping with the appearance of the rooms, in fact they are a perfect eye-sore."[118] In the following March the Principal was still urging the removal of "the large heaps of Krishnaghur stone which have been left for so many months near the College Ghaut."[119] In Thwaytes' correspondence especially there are many observations about Public Works Department work, which have perhaps not yet lost all point. About an overseer he writes: "The repairs he does make are invariably ill-done and he obtains my signature to the completion of the work by sheer importunity accompanied by every manner of petty vexation."[120] Again, "it would appear that there are several contractors who delight in interfering with each other. For instance, one set of men go into a room, and put up scaffolding and commence whitewashing; presently another set come in, put up more scaffolding and do what they call oil-rubbing the woodwork and disfigure the walls considerably in taking down the bamboos. While all this is going on, a third set commence floor scrubbing and by the dust they create damage the effects of both oil-rubbing and whitewashing, as neither the oil nor the whitewash are dry, so that by the time a room is finished it is if anything worse than it was before."[121] Sometimes it was the other way round. "Six weeks have elapsed since the old drain was broken

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a Richardson asked for quarters or an allowance of fifty rupees for rent. The Council wrote that in their opinion "the Head of every College should reside, if possible, on the premises, as his constant personal superintendence both during the hours of study and recreation, is deemed of the greatest importance in the maintenance of discipline." Government declined to pay rent. Orig. Consult. Beng. Edn. 11 November 1846, Nos. 9-11.

up and up to this date not one-eighth of the new one is completed. At present there are two workmen and one woman at the job; two are smoking and the third is looking on. Such is generally the programme of performance varied by short intervals of work and occasional noisy disputes."[122] "As usual, the D. P. W. seem to be postponing (repairs) till things come to their worst, having apparently no faith in the stitch in time that saves nine."[123]

An improvement which the Principal often urged was the substitution of asphalt for the mud or brick and mortar floors. Mud is "several months before it is dry enough and hard enough for use. It soon wears away under the rubbing and digging of hundreds of little feet. Asphalt dries in a day or two, and is as hard and durable as iron."[124] Asphalt was laid in some of the lower rooms in 1847 at a cost of Rs. 1,440 and in most of the remaining rooms in 1861.[125]

Several portraits adorned the hall during this period. A copy of a large engraved portrait of Dwarkanath Tagore, who had recently died, was presented by the Memorial Committee to the College and placed in the hall in 1847.[126] In 1851 some local gentlemen subscribed for a portrait of Mr. Cameron, the late President of the Council, a copy of that in the Calcutta Town Hall;[127] this was also hung in the College hall. At the same time the Principal suggested that a picture of Dr. Wise which was in the Branch School could more appropriately be placed in the College; but the subscribers did not wish it to be removed.[128r] In 1850 the Council sent a portrait of Haji Mahomed Mohsin for the College.[129s] The portraits of Dwarkanath Tagore and Mr. Cameron have disappeared; what happened to that of Mahomed Mohsin we shall see later.

It is time to turn to the Madrasah. In 1846, as we have seen, its aspect was more promising than it had ever been before. But it quickly relapsed into the old state and every effort to improve it failed. The Bengali class, which was started in January 1846, had at first fifteen pupils under a pandit.[130] But by 1850 there were only one or two Moslem boys in it. One of the maulvies who had a son in the English Department complained that he was in danger of learning Bengali from his teacher. "Do you not wish your son to learn Bengali?" "No, never" was the answer.[131] The Bengali class was soon abolished.

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[r] Unfortunately, this has now disappeared from the Branch School and I have been unable to trace it.

[s] "The Council have succeeded in obtaining from Dr. Wise of Dacca a correct likeness of the late Haji Mohamed Mohsin." Orig. Consult. Beng. Edn. 24 July 1850, Nos. 8-10. It cost Rs. 170.

The Anglo-Persian classes had also been revived in 1846. But in 1853 the Principal reported that the result of the experiment was not encouraging, partly because the pupils gave only an hour a day to English, and suggested its abolition.[132] But the Council, ever hopeful, had in view a fresh scheme of reorganisation, which was carried through the next year. The pupils of all the junior classes of the Madrasah were examined in English and formed into four classes according to their proficiency. Thus was formed a new Anglo-Persian section which absorbed the junior section of the Madrasah.[133] It consisted of 57 boys who devoted their time chiefly to English and Persian. But the Report for 1857-58 complained again of the apathy and irregularity of the pupils. "From the last two years' experience it is evident that a separate English Department for the Mahomedans is unnecessary."[134] The sons of the maulvies were themselves the most negligent. In November 1858 only thirty pupils remained. Every effort to infuse life into the institution collapsed in the face of the "utter indifference of the Mahomedans to instruction of any kind."[135] The teachers were able men, the first master, Waris Ali, being "the only Mahomedan in Bengal who has competed successfully for a Senior Scholarship in a Government College."[136] The Principal again urged amalgamation and this time the Anglo-Persian Department was merged in the English School, so that all the Moslem pupils who wished to learn English had now to join the general classes.[137] The change was beneficial. Amalgamation did what segregation had failed to achieve. The Report for 1859 noted with satisfaction that "the number of Mahomedan students has increased. Many of them have made highly satisfactory progress in their English studies and have carried off prizes in their respective classes."[138]

The history of the Arabic Department was also a tragedy of frustrated hopes and plans. In 1851 the Principal argued for the introduction of the "pay system" into the Madrasah on the ground that what was free was not valued and that the removal of the worthless students would raise the whole tone of the Department. "A considerable number in this Mudrussa, at least one-third of the whole, consists of an idle and apathetic class, who being admitted on easy terms take it easy throughout. This mass can scarcely be acted upon by any motive, either of fear or favour."[139] The fees he proposed to give back in the shape of prizes and scholarships to the deserving; but this was not immediately sanctioned. Meanwhile, in 1850, the Council had appointed the Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah as Director and Visitor to the Hooghly Madrasah. He was to organise studies and conduct examinations, but not to interfere with internal discipline.[140] The guidance

of Dr. Sprenger and Principal Lees, two eminent men, was thus available. In 1852 the Council envisaged a reform of the Hooghly Madrasah on the same lines as those proposed for the Calcutta institution. "As far as it can be accomplished, the two Madrussas should be assimilated in studies and discipline."[141] Dr. Sprenger drew up an elaborate scheme and the lower classes were, as we have seen, turned into a separate Anglo-Persian Department. The five Arabic classes which remained constituted the Madrasah proper and a new scheme of studies was prepared. All new pupils were ordered to pay a monthly fee of eight annas in 1856.[142] Meanwhile, in 1850 students over 28 had been removed from the Madrasah and in future no one was to stay who was over 26. But it was all in vain. In spite of fees, in spite of the removal of the middle-aged and the incorrigible, the attendance was still irregular and the numbers steadily fell. In 1853 there were 183 pupils in the Madrasah, including 20 Hindus. In May 1857, there were only 120. The local Moslems petitioned in 1857 for the abolition of fees, but the Principal pointed out that " since the introduction of the pay system.....in June 1856 no fewer than 69 students who were receiving a free education have been struck off the rolls.....for long continued absence without leave; from this circumstance alone it would appear that the abolition of the schooling fees would in no way increase the usefulness of the Institution."[143] In 1858, after the removal of the Anglo-Persian classes, the Arabic Department counted only twenty students and two years later there were only eighteen, with an average daily attendance of ten or eleven.[144]

The fact seems to have been that pupils came to the Madrasah not to study Arabic, but to obtain one of the numerous and valuable scholarships. Few of them belonged to the district. Many were lodged in the Imambarah or in the houses of the maulvies who hoped to recoup themselves from the scholarships of their guests. When the number of the scholarships was reduced and the Imambarah was less readily open to Sunis, the number declined.[145] The Principal recommended that the Department should be abolished and the students allowed to join the Calcutta Madrasah, the maulvies being appointed Persian teachers in the School.[146] There is little doubt that only its connection with the Mohsin endowment saved the Madrasah at this time from extinction.

The Visitor attributed part of the blame to the teachers; men bred in the old traditions, who looked on the professorial chair as a place of dignified repose rather than of service and opportunity. They were at least as well paid as any maulvies in the country; but none of them

seems to have achieved any reputation as a scholar or a teacher. Nor did any of their pupils win renown. "Since its foundation, nobly and magnificently as it has been endowed, few if any really learned men have gone forth from it."[147] The teachers were unable to enforce punctuality or regularity. Some of the most experienced died or left during the period. The head Shia maulvi, Syed Mohammed, went to Lucknow on leave and died two days after he got there. The Principal recommended the abolition of the post, as there were only 16 Shia pupils among 214; but the Council did not agree. The head Sunni maulvi, Akber Shah, retired on a pension in 1856. Every vacancy became an occasion for a scramble between the Shias and the Sunnis, a feud which periodically reappeared in the Madrasah.[148] A particularly acrimonious controversy arose when the head Shia maulvi began to teach the Hidayat to his class. The head Sunni maulvi denied his right to lecture on the book as it treated of Sunni law. "It is (difficult to describe the eagerness and violence with which the question was discussed. Each party produced documents, facts and witnesses favourable to his side, and after every effort in this way seemed exhausted, new facts and new documents were brought forward." The matter was referred to the Council, which showed the wisdom of Solomon in its decision that "both the Soonee and Shea head Maouluvees be allowed to teach the Moohummudan law, required in the Hon'ble Company's Courts, only on the assumption that it can be taught without reference to the doctrinal differences between Shea and Soonee; and, if it cannot be taught without reference to religious dogmas, that its study in the College will be prohibited altogether."[149] This effectually settled the dispute—not a word more was heard.

One of the maulvies obtained six months' leave on the ground of "mental confusion," which he ascribed to the immoderate use of snuff.[150]

Even at their best, the maulvies seem to have been incapable of anything but the most mechanical kind of teaching. The pupils were encouraged to memorise their books—even reading was sometimes done by memory. A curious phenomenon was noticed in the examination of one of the Anglo-Persian classes. "A boy after reading well for some time would suddenly stop. After being again set agoing he would go on, like a watch wound up, most fluently for some time and then stop again."[151] Appropriately enough, one of the books for that year was "Tales of a Parrot." Outside the narrow range of their studies the pupils knew nothing. The Secretary to the Council, after examining one of the classes, reported that "none of them appeared to know

anything about Turkey or China. Maps are entirely unknown to them; history seems to be pursued as a dry philological study, or a mere collection of names and dates, and I fancy that the remainder of their acquirements are very much of the same order."[152]

Some of the pupils had, however, one unfailing resource for the examinations. There is scarcely a single year in which the examiner does not complain of unfair practices by the Madrasah candidates. Boys copied from each other; they took in books or pages from books; friends outside threw in answers. Even the maulvies were not free from suspicion and in 1847 the Council ordered that English masters should be placed at the disposal of the Examiner to prevent unfair practices.[153] In spite of all these ingenious aids to success, the results were deplorable. At the examination in 1854, for instance, the highest marks awarded to Hooghly candidates were 26 in the Senior and 36 in the Junior Scholarship Examinations out of a total of 180. Even those who obtained seven or eight marks qualified for a scholarship. "The Council hesitate to award scholarships to Musulmans on four per cent. of the total number of marks while from Hindus they require fifty per cent."[154] The sole bright spot in the history of the Madrasah during this time was in 1856 when Dr. Sprenger recorded with surprised satisfaction that there was no copying. "Both the candidates for Senior and Junior Scholarships deserve very great credit for the manner in which they answered them."[155] For the first time, the Junior candidates beat the Calcutta Madrasah.

It is not surprising that Madrasahs of this type proved the despair of those entrusted with the control of education. In 1858 the Lieutenant-Governor wrote a Minute on the subject, which is printed in the General Report for 1857-58.[156] He pointed out that reform was impossible without a different type of teachers, but such a class was not forthcoming. The existing teachers "are not only generally opposed to innovation, but are unable to comprehend our views in the alterations we propose, or to see any good in them, but the contrary." "When an English Scholar," he continued, "hears of a Mahommedan learned in Arabic, he forms an idea very different from what we know of the reality. A learned Mahommedan in Bengal means a man of extremely narrow, prejudiced and bigoted views, even on the subject of Arabic learning itself. He neither knows nor cares for Literature, as we understand the word. He has never read any Arabic Poetry and never means to read any. He probably could not understand it if he were to try. He is profoundly ignorant of all History and Geography, even as connected with his favorite language, with his nation and with his

religion. Of science he knows nothing, and does not believe in it when it is explained to him. But (if he be not a pretender, as is very often the case) our Moulavee in Bengal is a skilful Grammarian, a verbal Logician, a technical Rhetorician and a profound and painful Metaphysician."

But he confessed that " the Madrussah at the Hooghly College stands altogether on different ground (that is, as far as abolishing it was concerned). We are certainly bound to keep that up according to Native usages and in the most effective manner possible." So the Hooghly Madrasah survived; but many more lean years were to elapse before it became a useful institution.

CHAPTER IV.

From 1861 to 1886.

The next twenty-five years of the College were a period of quiet and gradual development. In 1861 the Principal and a single professor, with the help of the head master, taught the College classes; at the beginning of 1886 four professors, an assistant professor and four lecturers assisted the Principal. In 1861 the College sent up candidates for the First Arts Examination alone; at the end of the period its students appeared not only for the F.A. and B.A. Examinations, but even for Honours and M.A., and there was a flourishing Law Department. The number of college students more than doubled in the interval. Even the accommodation was improved: a new block of class rooms was built and two hostels were established.

At the beginning of the period it was still difficult to get competent professors from either Great Britain or India. A few good men came out, like Sutcliffe, Lobb and Cowell, but for its higher officers the Department had often to look outside. Atkinson, who succeeded Young as Director, had been Principal of La Martiniere, Calcutta; and so had Woodrow, one of the first Inspectors and later Director. The pay and prospects of the profession were not attractive to young English graduates, especially when compared with the far higher emoluments and prestige of the Civil Service, which was now open to competition. In 1863 a Mr. Drover was sent out from England and appointed supernumerary master in the Hooghly Collegiate School. But his work proved so unsatisfactory that his contract was cancelled the following January at a cost to Government of Rs. 1,500.[1] On the other hand, the standard of attainments required for the new University examinations implied a teaching staff with high qualifications. "The Entrance Test," wrote the Director, "is at least as high as that of any University with which I am acquainted, and the Degrees, especially the Degrees in Arts, undoubtedly imply an amount of Book Knowledge more extensive and varied, and I believe, I may add, more accurate than is required for Degrees of the same kind in any country in the world."[2] In 1862 the Director recommended a higher graded scale of salaries for Principals and for the Service generally. "From recent inquiries which have been made at Oxford and Cambridge the fact has been ascertained that with the present prospects of the Department the sort of men required cannot be induced to enter the service, even on minimum salaries of Rs. 400 per mensem."[3] Two years later a Cambridge don wrote: "There are at Cambridge just now several men

returned from India who, I think, are disposed to dissuade good men from accepting the appointments. They say that they would be placed at a disadvantage both as regards emolument and rank when compared to the Civil Service; and as the latter is so very easy of attainment, we can with difficulty hope to persuade anyone who sets a value on himself to accept the former."[4] Cowell, Principal of the Sanskrit College and a distinguished Orientalist, himself a first class Oxford man, said the same thing. "It is useless to deny that the Education Department demands quite as much culture and talent as the Civil Service. In fact, I believe the present men in the higher ranks of the Department will bear a very favourable comparison in point of University distinctions with any year of the Civilians since the opening of the Service."[5] At last in 1865 the higher Educational Service was reorganised; its members were put on graded salaries and arranged in four classes. The Principal of Hooghly College was placed in Class II on Rs. 1,000—1,250 and the two professors in Class IV on Rs. 500—750.[6] The salary of the Principal, which had been Rs. 600 since the foundation of the College, was now suddenly raised and the prospects of the Service generally were much improved. Compared to the salaries of Civil Servants these scales were still low, but they sufficed to attract a succession of able scholars and teachers. Cambridge still supplied more recruits than any other University. In 1867, out of the twenty-eight members of the Service, nine had no degrees (survivors of the old regime), nine were Cambridge graduates, four came from Oxford, three from Dublin and three from other universities. Among them were men of high academic distinction. Woodrow was a wrangler of 1846 and had been Fellow of Caius. C. B. Clarke was third wrangler in 1856 and was a fellow of Queens'. C. H. Tawney was first in the first class in the classical tripos in 1860 and was a Fellow of Trinity. Mr. Beebee took a first in both the mathematical and classical triposes in 1865, rowed in the University boat and was a Fellow of St. John's. A. W. Croft had been lecturer at Exeter and Trinity Colleges, Oxford. A few years later came Alexander Pedler, afterwards a Fellow of the Royal Society, and George Watt. Probably the Educational Service in Bengal had never so many able men as between 1865 and 1885.

If it was difficult at first to get good men from England, it was even more difficult to get them from India. "The University of Calcutta," wrote the Director in 1878, "turns out men of good general education; it does not turn out scholars."[7] It is true that in 1867 there were three Indians in the graded service, one of whom was Bhudeb Mukherjee and another Eshan Chandra Banerjee of Hooghly College, but

Indians did not get easy admission to the higher posts and the lower posts were neither graded nor well paid. The best graduates found more ready and remunerative openings in the executive or judicial services or at the bar. As early as 1867 a scheme for grading the lower posts was prepared, but it was postponed till Mr. Croft revived it in 1877. He pointed out that the pay generally was much lower than in other services.[8] The next year the Secretary of State sanctioned the scheme and the Subordinate Educational Service was organised in seven classes.[9]

During the first fifteen years, Mr. Thwaytes remained the head of the College. From May 1867 to October 1868 he was on leave and he continued in harness till March 1876 when he again prepared to go home on furlough.[10] But his health had broken down and he died in Calcutta before he could sail. He had been on the staff almost continuously for thirty years and Principal for nearly twenty, a longer tenure of office than that of any other incumbent of the post. The affection and respect of his colleagues and pupils found expression in the endowment of the Thwaytes medal, which is still awarded to the student who obtains the highest number of marks in Mathematics in the Degree Examinations.

Two others of the old brigade had already disappeared from the scene. Professor J. Graves, who had joined in 1844 as Headmaster, died on the 1st April 1865, also on the eve of furlough.[a] A man with a high sense of duty and of a sincere piety, he had been ordained in 1863. A marble tablet in the College hall, erected by his pupils, perpetuates his memory.[b] In January 1872 Eshan Banerjee retired, the last of those who had joined the College when it first opened.

The death of Thwaytes was no insignificant event in the inner history of the College. Not long ago a history of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, appeared in commemoration of its jubilee; but it is a history not so much of the institution as of the men who fashioned and inspired it—C. F. Andrews, Susil Rudra and others. This is true of

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[a] The deaths of Graves and Thwaytes just before they went on furlough remind one of the inscription on an old Dutch tomb at Sadras, quoted by Hickey:—

Mynheer Goldenstack lies interred here.

Who intended to have gone home next year.

[b] The inscription on the tablet runs thus: "To the Memory of the Reverend James Graves, B.A. of Trinity College, Dublin. Born 17th October 1805. Died 1st April 1865. For the last twenty years Head Master and Professor of English Literature in the Hooghly College. This Tablet has been erected by the masters and pupils of the Institution in which he laboured so long and usefully."

Graves was, according to his own statement, "the first Graduate of any European University engaged in the Government Education Department in Bengal." Bengal Edn. Proc. 9. 28 October 1861.

many missionary and some private institutions, but it cannot often be true of a Government college. Human personality is there hampered on every side. An elaborate code of rules and regulations fetters freedom and experiment. Frequent transfers prevent a man from getting to know his colleagues and pupils and from planning any improvements which will take time to mature and bear fruit. In any event, every proposal for improvement has to run the gauntlet of successive scrutinies, from the Director, the Education Department and perhaps the Finance Department—and, if it comes through at all, emerges limp and emaciated months or probably years after its initiation. Promotion generally involves a change of work. In such circumstances, the interests and affections, the thoughts and hopes of a man can never attach themselves strongly to a single institution. The principle of religious neutrality, again, forbids any sharing of one's profounder beliefs and loyalties and the intercourse of teacher and pupil is necessarily on a superficial plane. Many of these defects are inseparable from the ordered routine of a public department, but their cumulative effect is to weaken the influence of personality. Not many men have made a deep impression on a Government college or have disappeared leaving a sense of void and loss behind. But Mr. Thwaytes, at any rate, spent thirty years in the College, almost the whole of his working life. He was married in Chinsurah; all his children were born here.[c] He had become almost an "institution." He remembered a time when neither the University nor the Department existed, when men like Cameron and Bethune gave freely of their time and thought to education, not because it was a part of their official duties, but because they hoped from it nothing less than the regeneration of a people. To some extent he reveals himself even in his official letters. Though grave and reserved and perhaps a little sensitive of his dignity, his soul was never wholly enslaved by routine.

When Thwaytes was away on furlough in 1867-68, Samuel Lobb, a Cambridge man, was is charge. Lobb attempted several innovations, none of which, however, outlasted him. He arranged a series of evening meetings in the College hall, to which the public were invited. Among others, Koylash Chunder Bose, the Secretary of the Bethune Society, spoke on Ram Gopal Ghose; Mr. Nesfield of Krishnagar College on the historical credibility of the Mahabharata, the Rev. J. Long

[c] 11 December 1847 was a holiday "in compliment to Professor Thwaytes upon his marriage." Circ. 322. 10 December 1847. The Chinsurah Church Register contains the record of the baptisms of his children. It is curious that, while holdays were given for the deaths of the Directors, Atkinson and Woodrow, in 1876, no holiday appears to have been given for the death of Thwaytes. 1875 and 1876 were fatal years for the Higher Educational Service. Ten names in the list for 1875 are missing in that for 1877.

on Bengal a hundred years ago.[11] Lobb also attempted to form a debating club for the students. "Such a Club formerly existed at the Presidency College, and there appears to be no reason why one should not be constituted here."[12] With more questionable wisdom he auctioned duplicate library books. He tried to revive prize day as a public ceremony. As we have seen, prize days had become formal, almost purdah, functions. For Prize Day in 1855 the Principal sent round the following notice: "Mr. Young, the Director of Public Instruction, will be present, but no other Visitors. It is Mr. Young's wish that those who are to receive Certificates or Prizes should assemble in the Library where the Prizes will be given away, and that all the other students should remain in their respective classes"[13]—a striking instance of the lack of imagination. Lobb's advertisement was, however, almost as quaint. "As the Officiating Principal is anxious, if possible, to have a public distribution of the prizes this year, he wishes in order to invest the ceremony with some éclat, that a few recitations from classical English authors should be given." A prize was offered for the best essay on the influence of Western education on the future of India. "It is desirable that the essay should embody a few remarks, thanking the gentleman who may preside for his kindness in attending."[14] The Metropolitan presided that year.

W. Griffiths succeeded Thwaytes as Principal and held the post with one break till 1885 and again from 1888 to 1892. He seems to have had a sense of humour, for he gave a holiday in his own honour: the College was closed for a day "in recognition of the congratulations and good wishes of the students on my being confirmed in the post of Principal."[15] Meanwhile, the staff had grown considerably. Towards the close of 1864, in response to the Principal's appeal for an additional professor to enable the College to prepare students for the B.A. Examination, a second post was created in the fourth class.[16] Mr. Masters was appointed, but he was soon transferred to Krishnagar, where three years later he died. At Hooghly he was followed by C. W. V. Bradford, another Cambridge man, who had taken a first class in the Natural Science Tripos in 1861. But he was often ill and was sent in 1868 to the Presidency College, his place being filled by R. Parry. In January 1870 E. Lethbridge was appointed to a new third professorship. Two years later, Eshan Baperjee was succeeded by another distinguished Indian, the Rev. Lal Bihari Day, "well-known," said a Government Resolution, "for a proficiency in English not surpassed by any Native of Bengal." He was an accomplished and versatile writer and his "Peasant Tales of Bengal", and

other works are still read.[d] In August of the same year Lethbridge gave place to F. J. Rowe. Parry, Professor of Philosophy, went on leave in March 1873 and J. Willson, Trinity College, Dublin, joined the same month as Professor of Chemistry and Botany. In January 1874 George Watt, then only twenty-three years old, replaced Willson. Rowe was afterwards Principal of Presidency College and Watt (later Sir George and C.I.E.) became eventually Economic Adviser to the Government of India. His exhaustive work on the Economic Products of India is still an indispensable book of reference. It would be tedious to chronicle all the transfers in detail. Towards the close of 1878 one of the posts of professor was replaced by that of a lecturer and Abinas Chandra Dutta, who had been trained in England, was appointed lecturer in Science. Dr. Watt left at the same time and Jadab Chandra Banerjee, the Assistant Surgeon, who had taught the Civil Service classes, became Assistant Lecturer in Chemistry and Botany. His death in 1879 was mourned as that of "an assiduous and clever teacher and an enthusiast about his work."[17] Dr. Gregg, the Civil Surgeon, took over his duties. In 1881 Haridas Ghosh was appointed Professor of Mathematics, but this post was also made a lecturership in 1882 and bestowed on Kisori Mohan Sen Gupta, who remained for about twenty years and became one of the most popular teachers in the College.[e] Early in 1883 Abinas Dutta, a young officer of great promise, died of cholera and Braja Ballab Dutt became lecturer in Science.

In 1864 the University substituted classical languages for Bengali in its courses and accordingly a Professor of Arabic and an Assistant Professor of Sanskrit were appointed, outside the grade.[18] The first Sanskrit Professor "complained of the work being too heavy and resigned his situation within a month of his appointment."[19] His successor was Gopal Chandra Gupta, who had been a Deputy Inspector of Schools. The first Professor of Arabic was Maulvi Obeydullah. At the same time, law classes were opened at the College and the first Lecturer in Law was Troyluckhonath Mitra, an old student of the College, one of the most brilliant graduates of the University and afterwards a Doctor of Law and Tagore Lecturer.[f]

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[d] There is a short life of Lalbihari Day by G. Macpherson, which, however, has little to tell of his work in the College. For some time Day edited an interesting journal, the *Bengal Magazine*.

[e] A portrait of Kisorimohan Sen Gupta and a tablet to his memory were placed in the College Hall this year, the gift of his son, Dr. Naliniranjan Sen Gupta, who has also endowed a gold medal to commemorate his father's long connection with the College.

[f] The Government of India and the Secretary of State censured the Government of Bengal for sanctioning the appointment of the Law Lecturer in anticipation of approval, Beng. Edn. Proc. 11, 12. November 1865.

At the close of the period, the staff of the College consisted of the Principal and three Professors in the higher Service, three lecturers—in Science, Mathematics and Botany—the Professor of Arabic, the Assistant Professor of Sanskrit and the Lecturer in Law.

The Collegiate School was under the charge successively of Mr. Twentyman, Mr. J. S. Graves, Mr. Good, Eshan Banerjee, Radhagobinda Das and W. E. Cantopher. Mr. Good was a truculent and difficult person and a quarrel with the Principal resulted in his transfer to Dacca.[20g]

In 1864-65, as we have seen, the B.A. classes began and the Hooghly College became the most successful of the mofussil colleges. It was not touched when in 1872 Krishnagar and Berhampore were reduced to the second grade. Candidates were prepared for the Honours Examinations also, but in 1874 the Honours classes were stopped for a time and the students sent to the Presidency College. Physics, Chemistry and Botany were taught and the College was better equipped for Science than for Arts teaching. In 1875 Dr. Watt laid out a botanic garden in the western half of the College compound and the eastern strip of the Madrasah Hostel.[h] The whole space was dug up and laid out in beds and a large number of specimens from the Sibpur Botanical Gardens were planted out. Several cement ponds were made for the water plants and an elaborate system of drains supplied water pumped up from the river through pipes. But the heavy rains and the bores broke the pipes year after year and the Public Works Department repaired the damage only after all the water plants had perished! In 1880 Dr. Gregg, "taking advantage of the experience of previous years, endeavoured to preserve the water plants in earthen pans filled with water, and so saved many of them from dying."[21] In 1876 a special grant of Rs. 1,000 was made for books on Botany and Physical Science. A large staff of malis and menials attended to the garden and the herbarium. The Botany Department of the College was at that time the most efficient in the province.

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g Mr. Good seems to have been one of those unfortunate people with a perfect genius for quarrelling. At Dacca he made himself so unpopular that he was sent to Berhampore. At Berhampore he was so rude to the Principal that he was dismissed. "Before he came out to Bengal, he had run a similar but shorter course in the Bombay Education Service." Beng. Edn. Proc. 2-6. October 1867.

h The Director had rejected the first proposal for a botanical garden on the ground that a mali to collect specimens was enough. The garden as laid out covered about an acre and a half. A curator and several malis were appointed at the same time. A. 30 October 1874, No. 442.

In 1874-75 a new block was erected to the north of the main building for the Chemistry and Botany classes. It consisted of three rooms—one for the laboratory, one for the practical Chemistry class and a large lecture room. From 1877 to 1883, each year we find successful candidates from Hooghly in the M.A. with Honours lists. Most of them offered Botany, but others passed in English and one in Mathematics. But the first to pass the M.A. from this College was Ameer Ali, who in 1868 obtained Honours in History.

The results in the F.A. and B.A. Examinations were generally not so creditable. For instance, in 1863 out of 31 candidates only 11 passed the F.A.; in 1870 only 15 out of 42; and in 1880 only 20 out of 69. In the B.A. the percentages were usually a little better. It should be remembered that the standard was high and the results of Hooghly were at least as good as those of most other colleges. The Principal considered that the large proportion of failure in the F.A. was "due partly to the unwieldy size of the First and Second Year classes. Thirty is the limiting number of which a class ought to consist.....Many, however, of those who belong to our first and second year classes have not the remotest chance even under the most favourable circumstances of passing the First Examination in Arts .....The source of this evil is of course to be traced to the University Entrance Examination which is so conducted as to flood our Colleges systematically, year after year, with a number of students who whatever their other attainments may be are certainly ignorant of the very rudiments of Arithmetic."[22] The standard of the Matriculation has certainly not been raised, but the standard of all the higher examinations has probably been lowered.

The best students generally went to Calcutta; but sometimes Hooghly College sent up men who won high rank in the examinations. In 1872 Bipin Vihari Gupta of the Collegiate School stood first in the Entrance Examination. In 1879 one of the B.A. candidates, Atul Krishna Ray, was placed second in the first class and gained the Eshan, Vizianagram and Laha Science Scholarships, amounting in all to about Rs. 140 a month. But the student of the College during this period who won the highest distinction in later life was Ameer Ali. He secured a second grade junior scholarship in 1863 and a senior scholarship in 1865. When he passed the B.A. the Principal obtained for him one of the Mohsin scholarships of Rs. 50 a month, which had originally been attached to the Madrasah, but had for some years not been awarded.[23] In 1868 he took Honours in History and as a special mark of approbation the scholarship was extended for another year.[24] The next year he applied for one of the

scholarships recently instituted by the Secretary of State for study in England. In forwarding his application the Principal wrote: "Ameer Ali is upwards of twenty-two years of age and is therefore debarred from competition. I beg therefore that you will be pleased to bring his case before His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor..... I have known Ameer Ali from his childhood, and always found him upright in his conduct and frank in behaviour—much superior to any other Mahomedan I have been brought in contact with—he is also a sound scholar so far as he has read, and judging from what I have seen of his character and disposition, he will, I have no doubt, make good use of the opportunity offered him for extending his knowledge in England, and that he will turn it to proper account in after life."[25] He was awarded the scholarship and amply justified the expectations of Mr. Thwaytes.

The Law Department proved very popular from the beginning. Only those were admitted who had passed the First Arts Examination. "But for this judicious restriction," wrote the Principal, "I doubt not that the whole College and School would enroll themselves members of this Department."[26] In the first year there were 27 pupils, 16 belonging to the Third Year College class and the rest outsiders. The fee was two rupees a month and the salary of the lecturer Rs. 200. The lectures were delivered in the morning from nine to ten. In 1866 the fee was raised to five rupees, but there were 57 students in the three law classes together. The next year, for the first time, candidates appeared from the College for the B.L. Examination and three passed. Although the number of students was large, the number of those who obtained the degree was curiously small; in 1870 only four candidates presented themselves and only one passed. Many took up only the Pleadership course. Students of law naturally knew how to circumvent it: a dozen of them were discovered to have been systematically tampering with the attendance registers and were each punished with fine of thirty rupees.[27] The first lecturer, Troyluckhonath Mitra, left at the end of 1874 and the general law classes were then taken by Navin Krishna Mukherjee, who was lecturer in law to the Civil Service classes. But, by 1879, law no longer attracted students. The number fell to 13 and Government sanctioned the retention of the Department only on condition that it should be self-supporting. The lecturer, accordingly, no longer received a fixed salary, but was paid from the fees of the law students up to a maximum of Rs. 2,400 a year.[28] The fee was five rupees for the first year and seven for the next two. The course was of three years, of which two had to be

after graduation. Four lectures a week were delivered, two to the first year and two to the second and third year combined. Ambika Charan Mitra and Sibnath Banerjee held the post in succession to Navin Krishna Mukherjee. The foundations of the law library were laid with a special grant of Rs. 700 in 1865; and every year new books were purchased and Government sent copies of the law reports.

At the beginning of the period the fees in the College were three rupees. In 1861 the Director proposed to raise them to five, since Presidency College students paid as much as ten.[29] But the Principal protested that "the majority of the students who enter the College classes are not wealthy"[30] and the fee was raised only to four rupees a month.[31] But in 1866 another rupee was added,[32] and in 1877 still another. Mahomedan students paid only one rupee. By the new rules of 1861 fees were levied from those who held scholarships. The income from fees rapidly increased. In 1860-61 College students paid only Rs. 811 in fees, the next year Rs. 2,452, in 1865-66 Rs. 6,356 and in 1881-82 as much as Rs. 12,854.

This increase was also due in part to the larger number of students who now attended the College. In 1860 there were only 29 students. The next year the number rose to 61, as a result of more liberal stipends and the institution of the F.A. Examination. The establishment of the B.A. and Law classes also produced an immediate response and in 1865 there were 133 students. Thereafter the increase was very gradual, but in 1877 another sudden rise brought the number up to 208. This was the high water-mark during the period. In 1881-82 we read that the First Year class was small in consequence of the establishment of "a Free College at Burdwan." In 1884 there were only 130 students, the reduction being due partly to "ordinary causes connected with the supplementary examination (held by the University for those who had failed), which have temporarily operated to reduce the number in most of the larger colleges, and partly because the addition of elementary physiology to botany in the new standard for the B.A. degree has deterred many students from joining the Hooghly College, in which botany has been for many years selected as the regular subject of instruction, out of the alternative subjects of the B course."[33]

While the income from fees grew, the expenditure was also growing with the increase of the staff and the grading of salaries. In the early years the expenses of the College alone were not separately reckoned; but after the foundation of the University attempts were

made to distribute the total expenditure under the heads of College, School and Arabic Department. For 1860-61 it was estimated that the share of the College was Rs. 15,592, that of the School Rs. 37,540, of the Madrasah Rs. 7,558. On the other hand, the fees from the College were Rs. 811, from the School Rs. 11,000, from the Madrasah only Rs. 74·8. Later, the expenditure on the College was separated entirely from that on the other institutions. In 1874-75 it amounted to Rs. 39,252 and in 1885-86 to Rs. 48,575.

The detailed accounts survive for the earlier years. The items of expense were much the same as twenty years before. Although students had now to provide their own stationery,[1] about two hundred "Europe quills" were used every month; they cost Rs. 3-6 a hundred. The Madrasah still used reed pens in 1862. The first mention of steel nibs that I have traced was in June 1862, when a box was bought for twelve annas for office use. English foolscap cost Rs. 10 or 12 a ream and French foolscap Rs. 3-12. Gharri hire had risen to Re. 1-8 for a drive to Hooghly and back. Punkah-bearers were paid an anna and a half per day. Chalk was supplied apparently only for the mathematical classes. A considerable amount of money was spent on binding worn books, for instance Rs. 323-4 in 1864. One item now ceases. The Government of India itself had laid a ban on umbrellas; and the purchase of sixteen for four rupees in 1863 for the use of the servants during the monsoon was not allowed. One regular expense is about twenty rupees a month for coolies "to clean the roads and the compound," supplementing the labours of the three malis on the regular staff. A good deal of money was spent on plants, flower-pots, bamboos and so forth for the garden.

After the creation of the Education Department and especially after 1860 begin those recurring periods of monetary stringency which still frustrate the plans and impede the steps of those who are concerned with educational administration. In 1861 we hear of "the existing financial crisis and the urgent necessity for reduction of expenditure whenever possible."[34] The net result for this College was that the office of Drawing Master was suspended. In 1871-82 there was a fresh agitation for economy. Sir George Campbell was then Lieutenant-Governor. He had come with the avowed intention of reforming the administration. "What was contemplated," in his own words, "was a more active system of Government in Bengal instead of the old laissez-faire."[35] Very seldom in India has contemplation been translated

[1] For examinations students were still provided with quill pens. This was stopped only in 1868. Circ. 1337. 3 July 1868.

into act with a fiercer energy. Those who have suffered from the general sleepy conservatism of departmental administration will regard the jolts he gave it with a certain malicious pleasure.[j] The records of the College itself bear witness to his indefatigable activity: the volume of "letters received" suddenly swells threefold after 1870. He insisted on information and he got it. The General Report on Public Instruction for 1872-83 is far the largest in the whole series. Alone of all the Director's Reports in the College Library it has burst its binding and shivered into over seven hundred foolscap pages. No detail was too trivial for his personal attention; and yet no regime was more prolific of large schemes and fresh enunciations of policy. For the first time since Macaulay—and the last—the whole field of education was surveyed, not by a commission, but by a man who meant to get things done.

This is not to say that all he proposed or did was wise. His zeal sometimes outran his discretion and knowledge and he was forced occasionally to retreat from untenable positions he had too rashly occupied. One of his first encounters with the Education Department was over the rule that educational officers should qualify in a vernacular language. Bengali, Hindi and Urdu had till then been considered as alternative vernaculars of Bengal for this purpose; but the Government now insisted that an officer who had passed in Urdu should again pass in Bengali. The matter went up to the Secretary of State, who, although himself the head of the Campbells,[k] and in spite of the support given by the Government of India to the Lieutenant-Governor, wisely decided that "professors of English Colleges, when nominated in England, should not be required to pass in more than one of the vernacular languages of the Presidency.....Gentlemen selected in England as professors for India of some branch of Western science are men of mature years, and often at a time of life when the acquisition of an eastern tongue is accompanied with great difficulty. I am therefore of opinion that to lay down a rule imposing the acquisition of an indefinite number of Eastern languages on such gentlemen would be inexpedient."[36] Next, Sir George issued a Minute on the Teaching of the Vernacular Languages and by a stroke of the pen decreed that "Urdu is absolutely abolished in all our schools and all our teaching" on the ground that it was a "*farrago* of bad Arabic and Persian, set off with a few Hindustanee verbs and conjunctions."[37] Another Minute of the same date declared that "no Oriental classics will be compulsory in any Government establishments" and that "Sanskrit will not

[j] When Sir George visited a place, officials usually found urgent business at the other end of their district! He was obliged to issue a Minute on the subject.
[k] The Duke of Argyll.

be taught in any schools unless it be in certain high schools under special sanction." "As a special concession to the Mahomedans, whenever there is a sufficient demand to justify the supply, there will be a special class to teach Mahomedans Arabic or Persian after their own fashion."[38] After much active remonstrance and passive resistance, these orders were considerably modified and in course of time completely neglected. Another order of the 13th December 1871 changing headmasters into assistant professors was acknowledged to have been passed "under a misapprehension" and withdrawn.

We are, however, concerned not with Sir George's experiments in education generally, but with this College in particular. The Lieutenant-Governor was anxious that elementary education should be extended and that the money necessary should be found partly by retrenchment in higher education. Krishnagar and Berhampore Colleges were, as we have seen, reduced to the second grade. But Sir George wrote that "the Hooghly College is decidedly by far the most flourishing and successful college after the Presidency College, and certainly should, if possible, be fully maintained. It is true that the distance from the Presidency College is not great, but then the fees at the latter institution are very high; and when there is such a demand for education, the Lieutenant-Governor would be very sorry to deprive those who cannot afford such high rates of the cheaper education which the Hooghly there affords them."[39] Hooghly College, therefore, remained inviolate.

Sir George desired that education should be as practical as possible. Although a D. C. L. of Oxford, he had little faith in the virtues of dead languages and abstract speculations; but he advocated with characteristic vigour the teaching of drawing, surveying and technical science. "The first of the technical sciences" to be taught in schools, he urged, should be a good handwriting. "In former days Bengalees were celebrated for their English handwriting. For very moderate salaries excellent men used to be procurable to go to the farthest parts of India, who wrote hands which left nothing to be desired..... Nowadays His Honor is led to believe that in many or most schools writing is not regularly taught as an art at all, but is picked up anyhow. His Honor does not see a writing master among the staff of most schools; and he finds that many highly paid native employés in our offices write extremely bad hands."[40] Thus the clock came back to the starting point; but it does not appear that a separate writing master was appointed at Hooghly. Drawing and surveying classes were, however, started. Science was also encouraged, but an additional professor was not at once appointed. On the other hand, the Principal was ordered to reduce the expenses of the School which was

regarded as "unusually expensive. The Collegiate Schools in Calcutta are self-supporting."[41] The contingent allowance of the College and School were to be brought down to Rs. 2,500. The posts of collecting sirkar, chowkidar and one of the two posts of librarian were now abolished.

One of the Lieutenant-Governor's favourite schemes was the reform of the Subordinate Civil Service. He wished to obtain a new class of men for the lower executive service by competitive examination after systematic training. A Resolution of the 24th May 1872 suggested the establishment of a Practical Civil Service Department attached to the Hooghly College, and a small committee was appointed to draw up the details of the scheme. Their report, dated the 25th June 1872—rarely do Government committees work with such expedition—proposed that the course should run over four years and that the candidates should be selected from those who had passed the Entrance or a higher examination. The fee was to be a rupee for Mahomedans and five rupees for others. The subjects were English, Mathematics, the Vernacular, Engineering and Surveying, Drawing, Botany ("to direct the attention of the future members of the Subordinate Executive Service to the importance of developing the vegetable resources of India"), Practical Chemistry and Physical Science, the Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes, Jurisprudence and the Executive Service Rules, Riding, Gymnastics and Swimming—an admirable, if slightly too ambitious, curriculum. The committee feared that the classes could not be opened till the following January. But Sir George's energy was not to be gainsaid. In August the Civil Service section was in full swing, with 6 graduates, 18 F.A's, 108 Matriculates and 6 others as pupils. They were arranged in two classes. The additional staff consisted of a lecturer on Botany and Chemistry, a Law lecturer, two teachers of Drawing and Surveying, a teacher of English, a teacher of Gymnastics, a Riding Master, a compounder, pressman and mali.

The classes flourished for a time and produced a considerable number of "Campbell's Sub-Deputies," as they were popularly called. But the number of students decreased year after year. In 1875 there were only nine students left and the Principal proposed its abolition. Recruits for the Subordinate Service were now obtained in other ways and the classes lost their *raison d'être*. The second year class was closed down in April 1875 and, shortly afterwards the first year class. But the gymnastic instructor and the lecturers in Chemistry and Law were retained for the benefit of the College.[42] The Survey School lasted for two years longer.

The College building suffered few alterations during this time. Some of the rooms were paved with asphalt—"very badly done," complained the Principal.[43] The cyclone of October 1864 caused considerable damage to the building; and in November 1867 came a hurricane: "the compound, upon which great pains had been bestowed, was reduced to a perfect desert."[44] In 1871 the Commissioner of the Burdwan Division suggested that since Chinsurah had been condemned as an unhealthy military station, the barracks should be bought for the College. "The students are said to be overcrowded in the house which they now occupy, which is a magnificient house, though not well adapted for the purposes of the College.....The present college is eminently suited for the residence of a wealthy and enlightened native, and will doubtless meet with ready purchasers." In an emergency, he added, the barracks could be temporarily reoccupied by troops, as the Dacca College was at the time of the Mutiny.[45] The Principal, however, objected on the ground that, while the barracks would provide excellent class rooms, they were not suitable for lodgings; the cost of alterations and annual repairs would be great; and the condition of having to evacuate the building in an emergency was intolerable. "There is no lack of accommodation for the classes in the present building; all that is required is a house in which the Mahomedans can be boarded and lodged and in my opinion no place here is better adapted than the Scotch Mission House."[46] Mr. Thwaytes did not show much foresight in this matter. The purchase of the barracks would have provided ample space for the whole institution and saved it from the suffocation it has endured for the last half century.

The very next year, the establishment of the Civil Service classes imposed a fresh strain on the accommodation. The north-east verandah on the ground floor was now enclosed with masonry and a circular iron staircase took the place of the old wooden stairway, which had for many years been in a dangerous condition. The library was removed from the large room on the upper floor in the north wing to a room on the ground floor. Thus a room and part of the verandah in the north wing upstairs was set free for the Civil Service classes and the instrument room was turned into a laboratory for them. "By this arrangement all the College and Civil Service classes would be upstairs and all the School classes on the ground floor."[47] Two years afterwards as we have seen, a new block of three rooms was erected for the Chemistry classes.

The need for hostels had also become very urgent, particularly for the Mahomedan students, many of whom came from other districts.

Of the 48 pupils in the Madrasah in 1868-69 only 8 belonged to Hooghly zillah and no fewer than 19 came from Chittagong—there were very few colleges or madrasahs in East Bengal in those days. In the Report for 1861-62 the Principal wrote: "The difficulty of obtaining cheap and healthy lodgings in Chinsurah is a great inconvenience to mofussil students and one of which they frequently complain; during the rainy season last year many of them suffered in health owing to the want of proper accommodation. With encouragement and a little pecuniary assistance lodging houses might be established in the neighbourhood of the College and the boys resorting there placed under the charge of a respectable native."[48] A little later one of the masters offered to superintend a lodging house if there was a sufficient number of applicants.[49] Very slowly the idea took shape. In 1871, at last, the Scotch Mission House, lying to the south of the College compound, was bought at a cost of Rs. 25,000 for a lodging house for the Mahomedan students. It was almost as imposing and well situated as the College building; and even more unsuitable for its purpose. Some repairs and additions were, indeed, made; but nothing short of razing and rebuilding could ever make it into a good hostel. In the first estimates of the Public Works Department there was no provision either for a latrine or for a kitchen.![50] When he finally countersigned the plans the Principal suggested that "white-wash be substituted for Black painting, Purple coloring, Rose coloring, Yellow coloring.....There is also an item 'Purple painting' connected with a staircase which may be struck out."[51] The taste of the Public Works Department at that time seems to have been rather flamboyant.

Towards the close of 1872 a hostel for Hindu students of the College, School and Civil Service classes was opened in the rooms of the barracks till then occupied by the aided female school of Mr. Baboneau, which the year before Mr. Thwaytes had denounced as unsuitable. The ground floor of the officers' barracks, adjacent to the College, was an alternative which the Principal rejected.[52] The boarders paid rent at the rate of a rupee each. "After the Hostel is fairly established a further fee might be levied from each student, sufficient to pay the establishment, the cost of fitting up the rooms, and give a monthly remuneration to the Master in charge."[53] In 1874-75

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[52] The officers' barracks were then occupied by persons some of whom could find no better amusement than "discharging missiles at the students as they leave and enter the College compound." The Principal had to write to the Commandant asking him to stop "this dangerous and somewhat puerile amusement." A. 4 November 1867, No. 271.

there were on the average twenty-four boarders. "The greatest freedom is allowed to the boarders, the principal thing insisted on being cleanliness, and owing to the fines which it has been found necessary to impose on some of the boarders for persistently filthifying the verandahs, dissatisfaction has arisen."[54]. The chief difficulties were, on the one hand, the turbulence of the Civil Service students "who appeared to take a delight in finding fault with every arrangement made for their comfort and benefit," and, on the other, caste prejudices. The boarders, for instance, objected to the admission of a student on the grounds that his father had visited England and the boy had once been a boarder in a missionary institution![55] But in 1877 the number rose to 41, including two teachers, 18 college students and 21 schoolboys. Government allowed "head money" at eight annas a boarder and the boarding fee had been reduced from four to three rupees a month. In 1885 there were 60 boarders in the Hindu and 60 in the Mahomedan Hostel. The latter had room for a hundred boarders and Government in 1874 sanctioned thirty free boardership. The Director visited it in 1876 and was "exceedingly pleased with the state of the institution."[56] The cost to Government of the Hindu Hostel was Rs. 898 and the expenses of the Mahomedan Hostel, Rs. 2,168, were met almost entirely out of the Mohsin Fund, Government paying only ground rent and municipal tax.

Supervision was, as it still is, the weak point in the organisation of Government hostels. No family quarters were provided. The Superintendent of the Mahomedan Hostel asked for the use of the stables and outhouses which he proposed to convert into dwelling rooms, building a wall in front at his own expense. But the Principal feared that the presence of women might cause jealousies and disturbances.[57]

There was apparently no addition during the period to the College picture gallery, but a disaster happened to one of the old pictures. The workmen, while renewing a beam, "accidentally sent a brick through the portrait of Mahomed Mohsin." "The picture," wrote the Principal, "has no merits as a work of art; it was copied from one in the possession of the Nawab of Dacca and presented to the College by Dr. Wise. But," he added, "I think it is very desirable that the College should have such a memorial of its founder."[58] Mr. White of Calcutta agreed to make a copy for two hundred rupees.

A new catalogue of the library was prepared by Vogel in 1864 and printed. It was sold at four annas each, and a copy has survived. Four years later Vogel resigned to take up the scarcely more attractive,

but probably more remunerative, post of Superintendent of the Burdwan Jail. Bhabani Charan Dhar became librarian, but he was obliged to deposit Rs. 500 as security.[59] The same year a Resolution of Government forbade the purchase of books or maps in England except through the Secretary of State, who could obtain a larger discount from the book-sellers.[60] A circular of 1871 ordered that indents for books, except those published in India, should be sent every half-year to the Director for transmission to the Secretary of State. Nor could books be bought from the Calcutta shops, although the Local Government gave provisional permission for their purchase from the Calcutta School Book Society.[61m] These vexatious restrictions caused as much inconvenience then as similar rules do now. In 1870-71 over Rs. 1,000 remained unspent and no prizes were given, as no books could be purchased locally.[62] In 1874-75 only a single book was purchased as the grant had been reduced. The Principal of the Medical College wrote that "the existing system renders our book allowance as little conducive as possible to the utility of our Library in an educational point of view."[63]

But the library steadily grew. The Report for 1860-61 gives the number of volumes as 4,610; students of the College borrowed 642 volumes during the year and the schoolboys 146. In 1865 we hear that "a taste for general light reading is at last springing up";[64] in 1865-66 as many as 1,487 books were taken out by the students. A number of "supernumerary," duplicate and "useless" books were sold from time to time. In 1878 there were 6,798 volumes in the English library, classified as follows:—General Literature—1,423, History—1,087, Science and Mathematics—863, Fiction—614, Poetry and Drama—562, Biography—461, Theology and Philosophy—426, Economics and Law—381, Travels—357, Dictionaries and Works of Reference—308, Natural History—256, Sanskrit and Bengali—60, Periodicals—607, Atlases—20; there were 8 globes and 12 maps. The Madrasah library had 1,494 Arabic, 957 Persian and 236 Urdu volumes, chiefly copies of class books for the use of pupils. In 1868 a set of 95 volumes of the *Edinburgh Review* was bought for Rs. 150.

In July 1877 the separate post of librarian was abolished and the head clerk took over the duties in addition to his own, the second clerk

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[m]The Calcutta School Book Society was formed in 1821, with a Government grant of Rs. 500 a month. When, in 1855, the Government Book Depot was closed, the whole of its business was transferred to the Society. It was, therefore, practically, under the Department. Beng. Edn. Proc. 54, 55. May 1872.

acting as assistant librarian. A considerable amount of money was saved, for while the librarian had a salary of fifty rupees, the head clerk got only five rupees more for this accession of work."

The general scholarship rules were radically modified during the period. In 1861 the senior and junior scholarships were thrown open to all; there were to be nine first grade scholarships of Rs. 32 each, and fifteen second grade of Rs. 27 each, three for each of the five circles.[65] In 1867 the rules were again changed.[66] Sir George Campbell once more revised the whole system and established a graded series of public scholarships from primary schools to the University.[67] One of the Hooghly College scholarships, the Rani Katiani, was for some reason not awarded from 1855 to 1862. In 1868 Government suggested that as the capital and income had increased two scholarships of twelve rupees each should be awarded; but in deference to the Principal's opinion it was decided that the surplus should accumulate till another scholarship of sixteen rupees could be paid.[68] In 1867 Durga Charan Laha endowed several scholarships, among them one for a Hooghly College graduate preparing for Honours in any branch, three studentships in the Collegiate School of three rupees each and five in the College of five rupees. The latter were to remain at the disposal of the founder and his heirs and are still awarded.[69]

Special prizes were still occasionally forthcoming. In 1867 Chucken Roy and Basudeb Mukherjee gave a gold and a silver medal to the first student from the College in the B.A. and the F.A. respectively. The gold medal was won by Ameer Ali and the silver by Umesh Chandra Chatterjee. In 1868 the Principal offered an essay prize and the Civil Surgeon, Dr. Thompson, an annual prize of Rs. 25. Raja Poorno Chunder Roy of Sheoraphuli also offered a silver medal every year for the best essay on a given subject. The Bishop of Calcutta gave away the prizes that year. Raja Poornendo Deb Roy of Bansberia also offered a silver medal. In 1870 Pramatha Nath Mitra shared with a Krishnagar candidate the prize given by Mir Muhammad Ali of Kumarkhali for the best essay from a student of any of the Government mofussil colleges.

Discipline was generally good; I have come across only one instance of serious trouble. In April 1873 a student of the fourth year class was asked to leave the room. He did not obey and was ordered out.

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[n] By dispensing with the librarian the College was able to buy some books. "Thus a small but regular allowance has been secured for the first time since Sir George Campbell cut down the Library allowance and contingent grant in 1873." Ann. Rep. for 1877-78. Mrs. Griffiths rearranged and catalogued the Library in 1878.

Thereupon, nearly the whole of the fourth and second year classes and a few others stayed away. They were asked to explain to the Principal one by one. Two were expelled, four others rusticated for the rest of the year and scholarships were withheld for a few months. Meanwhile, the disaffection had spread to the School and there were petitions against the Head Master and some of the other teachers. "We are daily treated.....like babies, if not like inferior animals..... His voice is not loud enough to be audible to the whole class and his delivery is hasty and indistinct and withal the words used by him in explanation are bombastic and Johnsonian to the extreme." One of the masters was suspended for instigating this petition and the storm subsided.

During the first years of the period Nabin Chunder Doss was head master of the Branch School. On one of his visits the Principal was struck by the appearance of disorder. "Several boys were lounging outside the gate and as soon as they caught sight of me they rushed in, evidently to give warning."[70] The head master was transferred to Birbhum and Jogessur Ghose took his place. In 1869 three additional class rooms were built, the cost being met partly by public subscriptions. There was still some slackness. In 1870 the Principal came one day to find the head master absent in the cutchery consulting some pleaders; another teacher was asleep in his class room, the boys "amusing themselves in their own way"; a third was reading a law book preparing for the Law Examination.[71] Jogessur Ghose left at the end of 1875 and was succeeded by Lakshmi Narayan Das. In 1876 Kalidas Mukherjee became head master and he held the post till 1888.

The College hours do not appear to have been very long. The classes in the General Department were engaged from 10 a.m. to 2-30 p.m., the four and a half hours being divided into five periods.[72] The number of holidays remained much the same. In 1872, for instance, the College had a summer vacation of a month and a winter vacation of a month as well as a Pooja vacation of a fortnight. In addition, there were nine Hindu holidays, two Christian holidays and five Mahomedan holidays, not including another day for Mahomedan students of the College and a day each for the Convocation, the anniversary of the College and the visit of the Director and the visit of Justice Dwarkanath Mitter. The Madrasah holidays were a fortnight for Mohurrum, about five weeks for Ramzan, five days for Id-uz-zuha and four other Mahomedan holidays, besides four other general holidays. Owing to the representations of the Mutwalli, the list of holidays was altered. In 1880 we find only six general Hindu holidays

and seven Mahomedan ones, of which two were for Shia festivals.[73] In 1861 the Madrasah had asked for the benefit of the summer vacation, but this was refused as it had a large number of holidays of its own.[74]

The whole character of the Madrasah changed during this period. As early as 1862 the students petitioned that they should be taught English for an hour a day.[75] In that year there were only sixteen pupils in the whole institution; the teachers were weak and disheartened. The post of head maulvi had been left vacant since the dismissal of Ali Uzhur in February 1862; and in 1865 the second maulvi, Mahomed Mustaquin, died. The Principal put this forward as a good time for reorganisation. "So convinced am I of the utter worthlessness of the Institution that, notwithstanding the surprising fact that thirteen lads out of eighteen obtained scholarships at the last examination, I have no hesitation in recommending its abolition as a separate Department."[76] The local Moslems wanted an English education for their children and it was proposed that the Madrasah should be amalgamated with the General Department, special privileges being conceded to Moslem pupils. The next year the third maulvi retired after more than thirty-three years of service. During Thwaytes' absence on furlough, however, the Madrasah enjoyed a sudden revival. The number increased in a year from 20 to 41, although there were only two maulvis and two classes. When Mr. Lobb left the Madrasah presented him with an address, to which he made a rather indiscreet reply.[o] Mr. Thwaytes, when he returned, was accused of discouraging the development of the institution. He answered that the growth in numbers was merely the result of the larger number of scholarships awarded. In fact, practically every student had a stipend. In 1869 there were still 48 pupils, but most of them came from other districts. "During the last nine years, 91 students have left the Madrasah. Of these not more than 21 have got employments, and with the exception of two who are employed as teachers in the Hooghly College, none earn a salary above Rs. 20 per mensem.....Since the abolition of the Quazee Adawlut in the Zillah Courts, the situation of Moonshee or that of village priest is all that is left for the Madressa students."[77] Soon after, Mr. Campbell, Member of the Board of Revenue, and Mr. Sutcliffe visited the Madrassah to advise about its future.[78] A large committee was appointed in March 1871 and they presented a report proposing new courses of studies for both the Calcutta and the Hooghly Madrasahs

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[o] Mr. Lobb had to apologise for receiving the address. Beng. Edn. Proc. 3 January 1870.

and a new system of scholarships for Madrasah and Moslem pupils. They also suggested that the Mohsin endowment should be used exclusively for the benefit of Mahomedans and that "the College Department at Hooghly be maintained with a view to its becoming ultimately the chief seat of higher English education for the Mahomedans."[79] In accordance with their proposals for the Madrasahs, which were accepted by Government, the Hooghly Madrasah adopted the new scheme of studies. It was proposed to appoint two teachers for English and Bengali; in addition, there were four maulvis, all of whom were, as the Principal wrote "ex-students of this Madrasah, so that their knowledge of the Arabic language is not very great."[80] These changes, like others in the past, proved useless. The number of students fell, in spite of the new hostel, from 54 in 1871 to 32 in 1872 and 24 in 1873. During 1872-73 twelve new pupils were admitted, seven withdrew and thirteen names were removed for continued absence. Even in 1885 the Hooghly Madrasah counted only thirty-nine pupils, a smaller number than that of any other madrasah in the province.

The agitation against the diversion of the Mohsin endowment to the education of non-Moslems bore fruit. For some time Government had been a little uneasy on this point. In a Resolution of the 24th May 1872 Sir George Campbell stated his view that "the Government cannot feel itself in a position above reproach till, say, half the net cost (of the Hooghly College).....is found from other sources than the endowment."[81] Accordingly, a sum of Rs. 16,300, saved by the reduction of two posts at Krishnagar, was given to Hooghly and a corresponding amount from the Mohsin funds set free for Mahomedan education elsewhere.[82] A little later the whole cost of the Hooghly College was taken over by Government. The Government of India made an addition of Rs. 50,000 to the grant for education in Bengal to maintain the College. The income from the endowment, amounting to Rs. 55,000, was thereupon diverted—apart from Rs. 7,000 allotted for the Hooghly Madrasah—to the establishment and maintenance of new madrasahs at Dacca, Chittagong and Rajshahi and to the payment of stipends and part-fees for Mahomedan pupils in schools and colleges.[83]

CHAPTER V.

From 1887 to 1906.

We have now come to the last half-century of the life of the College, from what one might call the mediæval to the modern period. This transition involves peculiar difficulties for the historian. It is true that the materials are more abundant; and to official correspondence and reports one can now add oral testimony, for many of those who were pupils and teachers in the College in the eighteen-nineties are still with us. But, on the other hand, I have been precluded from drawing upon personal reminiscences to any large extent, partly because of the notorious fallibility of the memory about things that happened forty or fifty years ago and partly because much of the information available consists of anecdotes more piquant than edifying, which it would be indiscreet to publish about persons perhaps still alive. The correspondence also becomes steadily more and more formal. The files of communications received from the Director become collections of printed circulars, general orders or at best notices of transfers or "postings". I have turned the pages of scores of these files and discovered singularly little of any individual interest, little that bore on Hooghly College alone. The search is now more tedious, the results more meagre. In increasing measure, this College becomes merely one of a number of Government institutions and, clothed in this prison garb, all that is distinctive in its physiognomy is gradually effaced. Many of the problems of this period again are still active and it is scarcely possible to describe them without some degree of caution and reticence.

The first twenty years, from 1887 to 1906, were perhaps the darkest phase in the history of the College. The number of students, indeed, increased steadily for a few years, but then there was an equally persistent decrease. At the close of 1887, there were 175 students in the College, nine of whom were reading for honours in the final year. At the close of 1893, the number of students had risen to 273, with fourteen honours men in the fourth year. But in December 1905 there were only 160 students and six reading for honours. After twenty years, there was no net gain in numbers. The staff was distinctly weaker. In January 1886, the staff consisted of the Principal, three professors in the higher graded service, and six other teachers—four were Europeans. In January 1906, there were eight members altogether, only one of

whom was a European and none belonged to the Indian Educational Service. Government spent about Rs. 49,200 on the College in 1886-87, but in 1905-06 only Rs. 27,300. The range of affiliations was also restricted, for the Botany department was abolished. The Branch School, which had been for two generations intimately associated with the College and under the supervision of the Principal, was in 1902 transferred to the care of the Inspector of Schools. During the middle of the century the College was, as it were, the mother of a large family of auxiliary schools; but now it stood almost alone—its brood had all taken flight, except the Collegiate School and the Madrasah which were housed in the College buildings; and even those were soon to be either physically or administratively independent.

It is not altogether easy to explain this decline. To some extent the other mofussil Government colleges shared the same fate. Perhaps the starting point was the Report of the Education Commission of 1883 which for reasons of general policy suggested that Government should close down or hand over control of some of its mofussil colleges. The Commission did not, indeed, include Hooghly College in this list, for Hooghly was at that time the oldest and most prosperous of all the mofussil colleges. But Governments appear to be too often moved by considerations of gain and ease rather than of public policy; they take the line of least resistance; and the prospect of saving money on education has generally been an almost irresistible lure. The Finance Committee of 1886 recommended that Government should close Hooghly College, the students being sent to Presidency College.[1] The only way to save the College was to reduce its expenditure and the Director in 1891 suggested that it should be staffed entirely by teachers recruited in India. But, for a few years, the sword hung over its head and the existence of the College was precarious.[2] Fortunately, the crisis passed, but the patient emerged weak and dispirited. The higher grade posts were one by one removed; and in 1897, when the Educational Service was reorganised and the number of higher posts was reduced from 41 to 27, Government decided that even the Principal of Hooghly College should be an officer of the Provincial Service.[3]

At the beginning of the period, Mr. Mowat was officiating as Principal for Mr. William Griffiths. Griffiths came back in July 1888 and remained till April 1892, when he took charge of Presidency College. He was followed here by Mr. (later Dr.) William Booth, a Dublin graduate, an eminent mathematician and keen and skilful at many games. In April 1897 Booth became Principal of Presidency College

and Mr. William Billing was appointed Principal of Hooghly. Mr. Billing was a graduate of Calcutta University and was a member of the Provincial Service, but he had officiated for eight years in the higher Service as Principal of Krishnagar. "His management of the College (Krishnagar) is said to have been marked by a very creditable degree of success, and he is reported to be a good teacher and an excellent disciplinarian."[4] He was accordingly promoted in 1897 to the Indian Educational Service and, with one break, he was Principal till March 1903. Meanwhile, there had been an agitation against the notification of the Government of India, 23 July 1896, that the College should be staffed exclusively by members of the Provincial Service. Raja Peary Mohan Mukherjee and others sent a petition against the decision. They pointed out that the results of Hooghly College in the University Examinations were almost uniformly better than those of Dacca and Patna, colleges which still retained Indian Educational Service officers. "Your memorialists need not enlarge," they wrote, "upon the inestimable benefits which students derive under the superior teaching and moral influence of Professors educated at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and the other great centres of education in Europe."[5] The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Woodburn, was sympathetic. He noted: "I visited the College yesterday. It is a fine building, and it is doing good work. The memorial is from the natives of the place. Could we move for an addition of one to our cadre in the Indian Educational Service?" But this proved impracticable. In the event, the petition was not forwarded to the Viceroy, but the memorialists were informed that for some time at least arrangements would be made for an Indian Educational Service officer or at least a man with European qualifications to be in charge of the College.[6] Mr. Billing was, accordingly, succeeded by Mr. R. W. F. Shaw, who had already twice officiated as Principal. Mr. Shaw was a member of the Provincial Service, but a graduate of Aberdeen. He left in July 1906 and his place was occupied successively by Mr. Edmund Candler, Mr. Harinath De, the great Bengali linguist and a graduate of Cambridge, and Mr. J. N. Das Gupta, a Balliol man.

Meanwhile, the other members of the higher Service had all been replaced by Provincial Service men. Of the three professors who were on the staff in June 1886, Mr. Fisher died in September and his place was not filled till nearly a year later by Phanibhusan Mukherjee, a graduate of London. The Rev. Lalbihari Dey retired at the close of 1888 and he was succeeded by Mr. J. Mann. Mr. S. C. Hill took Mann's place in November 1891, but when he went on furlough in May 1894, a lecturer was appointed, Satish Chandra Banerjee. Mr. Robson

went away in 1888 and Mr. A. Macdonell, who had taken a double first class at Oxford, came instead. But Macdonell was soon transferred and Mr. Billing was appointed to officiate as Professor. On Billing's departure in 1890, Mr. E. M. Wheeler, afterwards Principal of Krishnath College, Berhampore, was appointed as Assistant Professor. Wheeler left in 1892 and was succeeded by Lal Gopal Chakravarti, Devendranath Mallik, a Cambridge graduate, and Debendranath Basu in turn. In April 1895 Phanibhusan Mukherjee, the last of the higher grade Professors, was transferred and the post was turned into a lecturership for Hriday Chandra Banerjee. Several of the junior teachers of the College were men of high qualifications and ability. Kisori Mohan Sen Gupta, for instance, who taught Mathematics for about twenty years, was an admirable and very popular teacher. But it cannot be denied that the loss of all the higher posts reacted disastrously on the efficiency and reputation of the College and on the number of its students.

The abolition of the Botany Department was another serious misfortune. After the transfer of Dr. Watt the Civil Surgeon, Dr. Gregg had carried on the teaching of Botany. But he went on furlough in 1886 and the question of the retention of the classes was raised. Botany had once been very popular, but new University Regulations had added Physiology to Botany and the number of students immediately fell. At Patna and at Rajshahi the classes were thereupon closed and at Hooghly there were only five students in 1887. The Principal recommended abolition, but Mr. Croft, then Director, took a large view. He pointed out that Government Colleges should offer a variety of subjects. "If the Botany classes at Hooghly are to be closed, there will remain only the class at Cuttack—a small and insignificant remnant—and it may be apprehended that even that class will be forced to follow suit, owing to the difficulty of finding teachers of Botany, who have hitherto been found among the M.A. students of the Hooghly College. The only possibility," he continued, "of creating a class of Indian botanists lies in the maintenance of Botany classes in some of the Government Colleges." He admitted that even those who had passed their M. A. did not always keep up the subject. "One student accompanied Dr. Watt in an arduous journey to the inner Himalayas, and Dr. Watt hoped that he would become a botanist; but I believe he has become a pleader."[7] But these arguments were wasted; and the Government of India decided to abolish the classes as there was no real demand.[8] The result of such an attitude was that advanced botany has never been taught in any college in Bengal, apart from Presidency College—and the province,

which perhaps more than any other depends on agricultural products, has never encouraged the teaching of botany and has not produced a single botanist of high reputation.

It is no wonder that Hooghly sank to the position of a second-rate College. The Resolution on the Annual Report for 1898-99 commented on the fact. "The most notable feature of the returns of the Government Colleges is the continued decline of the Hooghly College. In five years the numbers have fallen by a half."[9] But apparently Government were unaware that the decline was the direct consequence of its own efforts at economy.[a]

On the other hand, in 1901 the University added Physiology and Sanitary Science as subjects for examination; and it was proposed to enlist the help of medical officers to teach them in the Government colleges. Accordingly, arrangements were made for the Assistant Surgeon at Hooghly to deliver courses of at least twenty lectures on each subject for a remuneration of Rs. 160 for each course.[10]

The consolidation of the Service system was accompanied by an increasing frequency of transfers. Very few teachers—Kisori Mohan Sen Gupta was one of the rare exceptions—stayed in the College for ten or even five years at a time. The kaleidoscopic changes produced a completely new personnel every few years. Of the teachers who were in the College in June 1886 only one remained in July 1893; of those who taught in July 1893 not one survived in August 1904. In 1888-89, five of the ten members of the staff left and five new men came, and this was by no means exceptional.

The teaching was not so rigidly specialised then as it is now. A teacher often had to lecture on more than one subject. We hear that the professor of Physics taught a little Mathematics and the professor of Chemistry taught a little Physics. In 1893, when a certain lecturer left, another was recommeded by the Director in a telegram which ran thus: "X says can lecture English, Logic, Political Economy, Chemistry. Will he do in Y's place?" The average amount of work for a teacher was nineteen hours a week.

The condition of the College Library affords another illustration of the results of this policy of foolish economy. As we have seen,

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[a] The Principal ascribed the fall in numbers chiefly to the bad results of 1897, when only 6 out of 45 candidates passed the B.A. and 29 out of 79 the F.A. and partly to the establishment of a new college at Hetampur in 1898. A. 14 March 1900, No. 560.

the post of librarian had already been abolished and the head clerk, for an allowance of five rupees, acted also as librarian. In 1886, however, the duty was shifted to the second clerk who received an addition of ten rupees to his salary.[11] Naturally the clerks were unable to do the double duty effectively. Many of the books decayed and perished. In 1885 a temporary librarian was sanctioned for six months on a salary of Rs. 30 to arrange and catalogue the Arabic and Persian books in the library.[12] The next year the Local Moslems asked for a special Moslem librarian to be in charge of this section, as they alleged that their sacred books were neglected and spoiled.[13] The catalogue had not been revised since 1878 and in 1892 a temporary clerk was appointed for two months to prepare a new catalogue.[14] Two hundred and fifty copies were printed at the Government Press and the price was eight annas a copy. The Principal urged the appointment of a separate librarian and a temporary librarian was at last appointed in 1893 on Rs. 25 a month;[15] and the next year the post was made permanent.[16]

The annual grant for the library was Rs. 400, but out of this after 1896 came the subscriptions to periodicals and newspapers. But, as before, no freedom was allowed in spending the money. Books and publications included under the head of "Contract Contingencies"[b] had to be purchased from one of two recognised firms through the Librarian of the Bengal Library.[17] In 1888 a Resolution of the Government of India laid it down that periodicals should be ordered only through the Superintendent of Stationery, Calcutta.[18] Everything had to be sanctioned by the Director or some higher authority. In 1894 the Lieutenant-Governor refused to allow the Principal to order *"Notes and Queries"* and the *"Educational Times,"* "as it does not appear that any other Colleges are supplied with them."[19] But the most amusing instance happened some years before: "The Lieutenant-Governor sanctions the expenditure of three annas incurred by the Principal of the Hooghly College during the month of April 1879, in the purchase of a copy of a Bengali Almanac for the use of the College."[20]

[b] Those who are not familiar with Indian official terminology may find this expression obscure. Contingent charges, that is, charges apart from salaries and so forth, were divided into regular, special and contract contingencies. Regular contingencies included such items as house allowances, keep of elephants, rewards for the destruction of wild animals and the diet of insane persons. Special contingencies meant such expenses as the purchase of elephants and mathematical instruments, process fees and medical stores. Contract contingencies covered the purchase of tents, repair of boats, deportation of vagrants, postage, diet of insane persons on release and irrecoverable process fees. See, for example, Finance Dept. Resolr. No. 3262, 14 July 1891. The subtlety that distinguished between the board of lunatics in an asylum and their diet on release, between process fees and irrecoverable process fees, was worthy of a scholastic theologian.

Not only was the purchase of books made difficult but it was almost impossible to consult them in the library. Till 1906 there was no reading room, but in that year one of the library rooms was equipped with a large desk and a couple of benches to provide space for reading.[21] A student had to deposit a sum of money before he could borrow books from the library; and, as the deposit was not compulsory, very few students took out books at all. The figures are almost unbelievable. In 1902-03 only 11 students took out books, in 1906-07 only 31. The total number of volumes borrowed in the latter year was 276.

It is difficult to conceive of anything more inept than this whole system of library administration. Here was a library of several thousand volumes, 9,165 in 1906-07, some of them rare and old. The care of it was entrusted to an uneducated and overworked clerk. Many books were ruined beyond repair by neglect and were sold by auction. Every year a considerable sum was sanctioned for new books, but they could only be purchased through one or two specified channels and every bill had to be approved by the Director. To consult books in the library was till 1906 almost impossible, and under the deposit system very few students took them home. But the authorities could, no doubt, congratulate themselves that everything was done on a uniform system and according to rule and that no students could with impunity lose or deface books. If no one read them, if they were eaten by white ants or bookworms or rotted untouched, as many of them did, in dark, damp rooms, that was nobody's business.

The laboratories were improved in some respects towards the end of the period. It is true that most students now preferred the A or Arts course for the B. A., especially after the abolition of Botany; but a considerable number took up the B or Science course. The normal annual grant for the purchase of scientific apparatus and chemicals was £100. Apparently, some rule, which I have been unable to trace, ordered the purchase of certain kinds of apparatus in India, for Dr. Booth in one of his reports condemned "the present scheme of obtaining scientific instruments" as "nearly equivalent to giving away good money for bad instruments. Apparatus made in this country are of little use in any college worthy of the name where quantitative scientific measurements ought to be made." Plans were made for the extension of the laboratories at a cost of over Rs. 5,000 and in 1902 a room was added; and a Mansfield patent oil gas apparatus was installed at a cost of over Rs. 2,300.[22] The next year, however, the Principal still complained of the defective lecture room and the unsatisfactory

arrangements for practical work.[23] A shed was presently erected to store coal for the gas plant. In 1905-06 fresh changes were made in the laboratories. A gallery arose in the lecture threatre, which was also furnished with a long lecture table. Eight new benches replaced the old ones in the Chemistry laboratory. A skylight and some windows supplied a little more light. It was proposed to build two store-rooms. The Chemistry laboratory was thus made as efficient as an ill-planned and ill-ventilated building would permit and thirty-two students could do practical work at a time.[24] Nothing was yet done for Physics.

But perhaps the greatest achievement of the period was in the encouragement of games and sports. In earlier chapters, we have read of the attempts to introduce gymnastics and cricket, but these attempts were sporadic and only partially successful. The first notice of athletic sports that I have seen was in 1873, when a holiday was given for the sports.[25] But apparently this was not repeated for many years. The gymnastic classes continued after a fashion, but aroused little enthusiasm. Mr. Wheeler took an interest in the matter and revived cricket and football in 1890-91. In December 1891 the Director was present at an inter-collegiate gymnastic competition between Hooghly and Krishnagar, Hooghly winning the first prize. The next year, the advent of Mr. Booth gave a considerable impetus to games; a cricket match was played against Krishnagar and a football match against the Engineering College. The expenses were at first met partly by subscriptions raised from gentlemen of the station, but this proved an exiguous source, and the students made voluntary contributions, Government giving a grant equal to the amount raised by the students. From 1893-94, every student was required to pay an entrance fee of a rupee and an annual subscription of a rupee towards the athletic clubs.[26] The Report for that year includes an interesting and characteristic note by Mr. Booth, which I quote at length. "I played a deal of cricket last cold season with the students and some of them made considerable progress. It is well to remember however that cricket is a game not easily learnt. I was going to say by a Bengali but that is not what I wish to say for it is not the whole truth; the fact is, even Britishers themselves do not easily learn the game. It takes a lot of time, labour and patience to learn the fine old game. Mr. Foley, the wellknown wicket-keep and Cambridge Blue, very kindly brought from Calcutta a team of Europeans and I need scarcely say the home side was beaten; but we all had I believe a good day and fairly good sport. The Principal of the Howrah Engineering College very kindly sent a team of native students of his college and though the visitors were far and away

as far as 'form' is concerned superior to the Home side, yet the Home side won by ten wickets.

I believe the match was won because the Home side did not attempt round arm bowling. They trusted wholly to straight fairly well-pitched underhand delivery. The visitors trusted almost entirely to round arm bowling. It is a pity we cannot put up a temporary fence to keep cows off. Anyhow, it is well we have a good ground of any sort to play on.

Last year the students of both the School and College played football according to the Association rules. They invited a team of European soldiers from Barrackpore (a very smart lot of men they were too) and the students were badly but by no means disgracefully beaten. Some of the students played a very dashing and determined game, but their adversary were old hands and very smart indeed. On a second occasion they played the same or nearly the same team from Barrackpore. On this occasion the students played a student of the Bishop's College resident in Hooghly and strange to say the students placed the only goal obtained to their credit. Altogether their play at the Association game is very promising."[27]

The next year the College entered for the Lansdowne Cricket Shield and beat the Patna College; and also for some of the events in the athletic sports held on the Dalhousie Club ground in Calcutta. The football team competed for the Cooch-Behar Cup and the Elliott Shield. For some years there was considerable enthusiasm, if little success in the tournaments. Mr. Billing wrote in 1899: "One of my chief difficulties in connection with the games is to get the lads to behave with a reasonable amount of honesty: it seems to have been quite an accepted principle that to bring in half-a-dozen players who have no connection with the College or School is a perfectly admissible practice and a legitimate mode of strengthening the College team when trying conclusions with a strong club."[28] The first hockey match was played in 1899. The first considerable success was in 1904 when the College won the Victoria Football Challenge Cup. In that year a general sports competition was organised, attended by students from the College and the schools in Chinsurah, Hooghly and Chandernagore and the cost of the prizes was met by public subscriptions. At the sports in 1906, the silver medal for the best athlete was won by Debendranath Mondal of the College.

In January 1905 a Common Room was at last provided for the students. It was dark and airless indeed, but had a matted floor and

some furniture and was supplied with a number of newspapers and magazines, many of which were obtained cheap from the Station Club.[29] The expectation that it would serve as a meeting place for teachers and students was not, however, fulfilled. Nor did the staff attend the debating club started in connection with the Common Room. "They seem to be under the impression," complained the Principal, "that mixing more freely with students will lower their dignity and prestige."[30] But, at any rate, the Common Room itself was, in spite of all its defects, a notable addition to the amenities of the College.

The endowed scholarships and medals were regularly awarded. In 1880, Joykissen Mukherjee proposed to spend a balance of Rs. 292 which had accumulated in the Zemindari Fund on prizes for boys of the Branch and Uttarpara Schools; and finally three temporary free studentships were given.[31] In the same year the surplus of the Rani Katyani Fund was used to purchase Rs. 2,000 of Government stock and a second scholarship of sixteen rupees was instituted.[32] The Principal was now authorised to award the Zemindari and Rani Katyani scholarships and the Thwaytes medal himself.[33] In 1893 the value of the Zemindari scholarships was reduced from eight to seven rupees each, as the stock now paid only 3½ per cent. instead of 4 per cent., interest.[34] And the next year the promissory notes were endorsed to the Comptroller-General who henceforth paid the interest to the Principal.[35]

Many of the students of this period distinguished themselves in the University examinations, especially in the earlier years. The Pachete prize for the first place in Sanskrit in the F. A. Examination was won by three Hooghly College students—Jagannath Kundu in 1889, Hrishikes Chandra in 1891, and Asutosh Chatterjee in 1893. 1893 was a specially successful year, for the College had the first, third and fourth places in the F. A., Asutosh Chatterjee being first and Jogindra Nath Pal third; and in the B. A., two men in the first class. Jogindra Nath Pal was awarded a Government of India scholarship for study abroad in 1895 and in 1893 the same scholarship was given to Atul Chandra Chatterjee, who had been a student of the College from 1889 to 1891. Both of them became members of the Civil Service and the latter rose to positions of great trust and is well known as Sir Atul Chandra Chatterjee. One of his contemporaries was Upendranath Brahmachari, now Sir Upendranath, whose medical researches and discoveries have made his name famous throughout the country. Two others of the same year devoted themselves to education—Narendranath Ray who was for many years Principal of Ripon College and Dr. Jajneswar Ghosh, a versatile scholar, who was Principal of the Anandamohan

College. Indubhusan Brahmachari, who joined the College in 1891, was afterwards Premchand Roychand scholar and Mouat medallist. Among the younger men are Sudhansu Mohan Bose and Bijan Kumar Mukherjee, two eminent lawyers, and Dr. Sushil Kumar Mukherjee, an opthalmic surgeon of high reputation. Among the older, two other names may be mentioned—Rai Bahadur Lalit Mohan Chatterjee, an experienced educationist, and Rajendralal Sadhu who rose to the rank of a District and Sessions Judge and who is still one of the most active and sincere friends of the College and one of the most public-spirited citizens of Chinsurah.

The Hindu Hostel had to change its abode during this period. It was housed in the Dutch barracks, but in 1894 the Public Works Department proposed to convert the rooms into an office for the Comptroller of the Post Office.[c] The scheme was, however, abandoned in 1895.[36] In 1901 the barracks were required for a detachment of military police and after much negotiation it was finally decided to erect a new building for the hostel in the south-west corner of the maidan. The first estimate amounted to over Rs. 17,000, but eventually Government sanctioned Rs. 13,679 for the building.[37] The plans were prepared by the Public Works Department and the building was ready for occupation in June 1903. But the Principal pointed out that there were no store rooms or servants' quarters, nor a boundary wall.[38] These rooms were sanctioned in 1905 at a cost of about Rs. 1,600 and the wall came the next year and cost Rs. 2,100.[39] But an even more serious omission was the absence of any quarters for a resident Superintendent, an omission which seems, however, to have been a deliberate part of Government policy, for nearly all Government hostels still display the same characteristic. Accommodation existed in the new hostel for 38 boarders, but the Superintendent had to be content with a single room, which was both office and living room. The earlier Superintendents were either clerks or school teachers, and it is not surprising that they were able to exercise little influence on the boarders. In 1897-98 we read that the number of boarders fell in consequence of the enforcement of discipline: "Under the former Superintendent there was no pretence of this."[40] The Superintendent's allowance was at first Rs. 25 a month but later on he was paid at the rate of eight annas a boarder. In addition, Government at first met the cost of the establishment and allowed

[c] There were proposals by the Civil Surgeon to move the Hostel to the Old Post Office at Chinsurah and to the "Cell buildings". About the former the Principal wrote that "within twenty yards there are three privies, a dead house and a ward for moribund cholera patients": The name of the latter is sufficiently suggestive. The Civil Surgeon does not seem to have believed in prevention being better than cure! A. 22 September and 15 October 1897, Nos. 225, 269.

"head-money" at eight annas per boarder towards the boarding expenses. The establishment grant was withdrawn in 1903 and the head-money in 1905.[41] In 1887, the number of boarders was 72 and the cost of the Hostel to Government was Rs. 914-8. By 1896, the number had fallen to 30 and the expenditure to Rs. 737-8; 1899 was the low-water-mark, with only 15 boarders and Rs. 586. Thereafter, the boarders increased, but the economies mentioned led to a saving of money. In 1903 there were 18 boarders and the cost was Rs. 444; in 1906 again 30 boarders, but the cost was only Rs. 354. The number of boarders in every case is that at the close of March, when many had already left, and the average was usually considerably higher.

The numbers in the Mahomedan Hostel were much larger, partly because of the Madrasah pupils and partly because of the free boarderships attached to that institution. During most of the period, there were between 65 and 100 boarders, but in 1906 there were 113; only about fifteen or twenty of them were college students, the rest being pupils of the School and the Madrasah. The net cost to Government was on the average about Rs. 2,000 a year, which was met from the Mohsin funds. To the thirty original free boarderships two more we added in 1888, to be held by ex-students of the Seetapore Madrasah studying in the Hooghly Madrasah, in recognition of the old connection between the two institutions.[42]

The Collegiate School also had a chequered history during this period; Shib Chandra Som, the Head Master, was followed at the close of 1887 by Nandalal Das, who held office till 1893. Then came Hariprasad Banerjee who was appointed Assistant Inspector in 1896 and was succeeded as Head Master by Khirod Chandra Ray Chaudhuri. In 1902 Kailas Chandra Bhattacharyya, in 1904 Baradaprasad Ghosh, in 1905 Muhammad Azizul Huq and in 1906 Haridas Banerjee were successively Head Masters. Till 1895 the School had the advantage of an excellent second master, Rasamoy Mitra, afterwards a Rai Bahadur and Head Master of the Hare and Hindu Schools.

The number on the rolls in March 1888 was 330, but it rose to 431 in 1892. That was the peak and thereafter the decline was rapid and alarming. In 1897 there were only 300 pupils, in 1900 only 231, in 1903 only 154. The reasons ascribed for this fall were, first, the raising of the fees in 1897 and, secondly, the opening in 1897 of another and much cheaper school, the Training Academy. On the other hand the Collegiate School had year after year an excellent record in the Entrance Examination. In 1887 only one boy failed out of 45. The

average percentage of success for the ten years from 1891 to 1900 was no less than 75. It is certain that this was much higher than that of any neighbouring school, but the Bengali parent even now will rather send his son to a school which is cheap and inefficient than to one where the fees are higher and the chances of success greater. In 1902, the Principal requested the Director to lower the fees but it is unlikely that this was done. There is no "reverse gear" in the Government motor—it will raise fees but never lower them. Another terrible handicap of the Collegiate School was its accommodation. The classes were held in the rooms on the ground floor of the College building, into some of which not a ray of direct sunshine has ever penetrated during the last hundred and thirty years and which are incapable of improvement. Towards the close of the period the sluggish conscience of Government was beginning to feel qualms and attempts were made to find a separate house for the School.

The Branch School suffered the same vicissitudes and for the same reasons. In 1888 it had 343 pupils, but after 1893 the numbers fell to 295 in 1895, 243 in 1898 and 163 in 1901. Kalidas Mukherjee, Srikrishna Chatterjee, Ramdas Chakravarti, Rajendralal Banerjee, Haricharan Ray and Rajendralal Gupta all acted as Head Masters between 1888 and 1901. The results of the School in the Entrance Examination were far less satisfactory than those of the Collegiate School; in 1888 only 5 boys passed among 33; in 1893, 14 out of 20, in 1893 4 out of 13. But in 1900 all the eleven candidates passed. For many years, the Branch School was threatened with abolition. The Director wrote in 1893: "As the Branch School is only two miles or so from the Collegiate School the propriety of keeping it up at Government expense is doubtful."[43] In 1900 again there was a proposal to deprovincialise it;[44] but in the end nothing was done, except that in January 1902 the control of the School was transferred from the Principal to the Inspector of Schools, Burdwan Division.

About the Madrasah there is not much to say. The numbers on the whole slowly increased, from 36 in March 1887 to 87 in March 1906, especially after the appointment of an additional maulvi to teach English, in accordance with the suggestion of the Principal in 1896. The total income from fees was about two or three hundred rupees and the average expenditure was a little over Rs. 2,000.

The Law Department of the College attracted few pupils. In 1887 there were as many as 40, but after that it fell. Between 1892 and

1906, the number never reached 20 and was often below ten. The results were generally satisfactory, but in 1900 not one of the seven candidates passed. The Lecturer received the fees of the pupils as his remuneration.

In 1899 the medical charge of the College was entrusted to the Assistant Surgeon instead of to the Civil Surgeon, Government saving thereby fifty rupees a month.[45]

CHAPTER VI.

From 1907 to 1936.

In this chapter, we are dealing with our own times and I have considered it proper to refrain from giving references for the facts in the narrative. The facts themselves are well known and contemporary official papers can scarcely be regarded as historical material. I have contended myself with a summary of the growth of the College in various directions, for these were years of steady development and increasing usefulness.

When the period began, the new Regulations of the University were just coming into operation. Every college had to seek affiliation afresh and its resources were carefully investigated. A Mufassil College Committee reported on all the colleges outside Calcutta. Government sent round Mr. V. H. Jackson as a special officer to make recommendations about its own colleges and Mr. Jackson's report on Hooghly College is an interesting and careful survey and his proposals appear to have been both practical and intelligent. He was struck, as all visitors were, by the congestion of the building, in which three separate institutions struggled and gasped for air and light. Three classes met in the hall—in Sanskrit, Mathematics and Persian. "The Sanskrit Professor has an extremely loud voice—so loud as to be heard all over the building, so that the hall is probably the worst place in which he could possibly have been put." The Madrasah had four classes in one room and three in another. The Collegiate School still met on the ground floor in rooms with "no light, but rather darkness visible." Mr. Jackson considered that the College had "not outlived its usefulness or reputation." He recommended that the College should teach Sanskrit and Persian, History, Logic and Mathematics as optional subjects for the I. A. and Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry for the I.Sc. He considered that B. Sc. affiliation was not immediately desirable but that it should be obtained as soon as possible. For the B. A. the College should provide teaching in Sanskrit and Persian, History, Philosophy and Mathematics, but not in Economics. For teaching up to the new standard, more teachers were necessary. "The staff of the Hooghly College has been worked harder than in the other Government Colleges.....In fact, the staff has, in my opinion, attempted to do too much, for it has been attempting the M. A. work in English and Sanskrit, and Honours work in all subjects except Philosophy and Persian. This attempt to maintain the former reputation of the College, in spite of the lessened support which it has received from Government, is praiseworthy. The

opinion of the staff at this College is that the decline in the numbers and importance of the Mufussil Colleges is due to the discontinuance of Honours and M. A. teaching. I am inclined to assign other reasons for this decline, chiefly the increased amount of attention paid to the Presidency College. And I think that in this College as in all Mufussil Colleges, the greatest improvement will be effected by a concentration of the resources of the College—first on the Pass courses, and afterwards on the Honours courses, for the Bachelor Degrees." Mr. Jackson estimated that a Professor of English, an Assistant Professor of English and History and an Assistant Professor of Sanskrit were necessary for efficient teaching in the subjects he proposed for affiliation. The Collegiate School should be removed to an entirely separate building and the Madrasah should move to the ground floor or go to another building.

Some of these recommendations were carried out by Government. In 1907 a temporary lecturer in English, another in Sanskrit and a lecturer in Mathematics were appointed. Mr. Kuchler and Mr. Cunningham inspected the College for the Syndicate on the Science side and Dr. P. K. Ray and Mr. Cunningham on the Arts side. Affiliation was given in Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry for the I. Sc. and a little later in Sanskrit and Persian, History and Mathematics for the I. A. In 1909 affiliation was secured up to the B. A. Pass stage in English, Mathematics, Sanskrit, Persian and History. Neither Logic in the I. A. nor Philosophy or Economics in the B. A. were taught in the College. The result was that, while the I. Sc. courses drew students, the numbers in the Degree classes fell suddenly and remained low for many years. No fewer than fifty students were sent up for the B. A. Examination of 1908, 37 in the A and 13 in the B course. Of them 25 passed, six gaining Honours in the different subjects including the first place in History. But by 1910 the B. A. classes had dwindled to 15 or 20 students in each year. At last, in 1913, the College was affiliated to the B. Sc. Pass standard in Physics and Chemistry and to the Honours standard in Mathematics. In 1916 affiliation was obtained in Logic. In 1919 came affiliation in Philosophy and Economics. Since then, there has been no further extension, except Honours affiliation in a few subjects. At present, the College teaches English, Bengali and Urdu, Sanskrit and Persian, History, Logic, Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry up to the Intermediate standard; English, Bengali and Urdu, Sanskrit and Persian, History, Philosophy and Economics, Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry up to the Degree standard; and English, Sanskrit, History, Philosophy, Mathematics and Physics up to the Honours standard.

The new affiliations involved new teachers. In 1913, a demonstrator in Physics and another in Chemistry were appointed; and in 1927, when Physics was raised to the Honours standard a second demonstrator in that subject was sanctioned. The removal of the Collegiate School in 1913 to another building rendered co-operation in teaching between School and College impracticable. The Head Master had lectured on Mathematics to the College and the Professor of History had taught School classes. In 1914, an additional lecturer in Mathematics was appointed for the College. In 1919 came professors in Philosophy and Economics. Before the new Regulations came into force, the staff of the College consisted of the Principal, six professors and a lecturer; and the head master also helped in the teaching. Thirty years later, the total number of teachers had increased to twenty, not reckoning two laboratory assistants.

Meanwhile, the status of the Principal was also raised. Mr. Harinath De was followed in 1907 by Mr. J. N. Das Gupta, who had taken honours in History and Jurisprudence at Oxford and who officiated as Principal for two years. Then came Bepin Vihari Gupta, an old student of the College, a brilliant graduate of the University and an experienced educationist, who had already been Principal of Ravenshaw College. He was followed by Mr. Sarada Prasanna Das, another distinguished scholar, who held office for four years. Then in 1915, a member of the Indian Educational Service was appointed Principal, Mr. J. M. Bottomley, now Director of Public Instruction. When Mr. Bottomley was transferred after five years, there was a quick succession of officiating appointments—Mr. Hem Chandra De, Mr. E. F. Oaten, Mr. R. N. Gilchrist, Mr. De again and Mr. Satish Chandra De, all in the course of fifteen months! Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham followed and he remained Principal for nearly seven years. Rai Bahadur Krishna Chandra Bhattacharyya, a very eminent philosopher, came next and in 1930 the present Principal took over charge. The first three of this long list, although they were not members of the Indian Educational Service, were men of great ability and numerous improvements in the College were the result of their energy and foresight.

Among the professors, too, were men scarcely, if at all, inferior in talent and distinction. Those who seek the full tale of them should turn to the list of members of the staff in the Historical Register of the College. Here, only a few names can be mentioned. Bepin Behari Sen was for many years Professor of History, a post which he left only to assume the duties of Professor in the University. The same path was trod by Syamadas Mukherjee, who was also an old student, and

by Bhagabat Kumar Goswami Shastri. Among other teachers of the period—to name only those who have left—were Rai Bahadur Jyotibhusan Bhaduri, Rai Bahadur Hemchandra De, Mahamahopadhyaya Ashutosh Shastri, Khan Bahadur Muhammad Musa. Two old students of the College, who were also teachers here for many years—Rai Bahadur Gopibhusan Sen and Professor Purnachandra Bhattacharyya—endowed medals when they left, one for Chemistry and the other for Physics.

The number of students also gradually increased. In March 1908 there were 149 and for several years the growth was slow. But in 1913 there were 190 and the next year 213, "the largest number in the history of the College." But this record was soon broken and in 1920 the number had risen to 255. There was again a drop, which the Principal accounted for by "the prevailing economic distress." In 1926, again, the number increased to 278 and in 1930 to 302. In March 1936 the number was again 302, but earlier in the year there were 325 students on the rolls. On the whole, the growth has been, like all sound developments, gradual and steady.

With the increase in classes and students, the inadequacy of the accommodation was more acutely felt. Mr. Das Gupta had a wonderful vision of the acquisition of the whole strip of land to the west of the College, on which would arise a hospital for the hostels and a building for the Collegiate School. "When this is done, this part of the town would be converted into an educational quarter, and the clearing of the intervening *bustees* would greatly improve the sanitation of the neighbourhood of the Government educational institutions of the station." In the Report for 1912-13 we read that "funds have been allotted for the construction of a separate residence for the Principal." At last, in September 1913, the Collegiate School was removed to a rented house near the river, about half a mile north of the College. The people of the town and the staff of the School were opposed to the separation as they feared that the School would lose prestige and popularity. These fears have proved false, but unfortunately the house which was chosen —but there was little choice in the matter as no other was available—provided accommodation, which was superior indeed to the tenebrous shades of the dungeons of Perron's house, but was inadequate in other respects. The College now ceased to have any connection with the School, for the Principal had no place, even on its Managing Committee. To those who do not know the versatility of the District Magistrate in India, it may seem strange that the Principal should have been cut off from any contact with the School which he had con-

trolled for eighty years and the main object of which was to send students up to the College.

Mr. S. P. Das had plans even more ambitious than those of Mr. Das Gupta. He envisaged the removal of the Madrasah classes from the College building to a new school-house at Hooghly, with its hostel in the same compound. The Madrasah Hostel was to be turned into a hostel for the Hindu students of the College and the Hindu Hostel to become in turn the Mahomedan Hostel for the College. The new Mahomedan hostel building was to provide quarters for some of the junior members of the staff. Houses were to be erected for the Superintendents of the two Hostels. The land to the west of the College compound was to be bought and used in part for new buildings and in part as a small playground. The College would thus be sole occupant of Perron's house and round it would be ranged the hostels and the houses of the College teachers. It was a fine conception, but not one single part of it has materialised. The Madrasah was reluctant to leave the College compound, preferring their familiar prison to an undiscovered freedom; and, for the rest, the slow processes of administration and "financial stringency" strangled nearly all plans for development.

One thing, indeed, was done. The Chemistry laboratory was enlarged in 1914-15, at a cost of about Rs. 11,500, by the addition of the three rooms on the north—the B. Sc. practical room, the small lecture room and the balance room. The verandah was added later. This second set unfortunately shut out a good deal of light and air from the original rooms and perhaps a better plan could have been made. At the same time, the gas plant was removed to the small shed to the north-east and the room it had occupied was converted into a second balance room. A distillation plant was also set up by the side of the gas plant.

The Physics Department was housed on the ground floor of the north wing of the main building. When the Collegiate School departed, two rooms were set free for Physics. One of them was used for B. Sc. practical classes and the other as a store room and dark room. The old store room was divided into two unequal parts, the larger being fitted up as a lecture room and the smaller as a workshop. In November 1913 a mechanic was appointed on a pay of Rs. 15. The next year the dark room was supplied with galvanometers and spectroscopes.

The removal of the School benefited the library as well. As we have seen, the library was crowded into two rooms on the ground floor,

but now two more rooms were allotted to it. All the four rooms, however, were filled with almirahs and racks and the accommodation for reading was still limited to the desk and benches which Mr. Das Gupta had provided. More books came in every year; and with the increase in affiliations Government gave a larger grant. The grant was at first Rs. 400 a year, but in 1908 it was increased to Rs. 600 and in 1919 to Rs. 1,000 a year. A special grant of Rs. 1,200 was given in 1908 and another of Rs. 750 in 1919 on account of the new Economics and Philosophy affiliation. In 1925 the annual grant was fixed at Rs. 2,000 a year, but a few years later the financial depression brought it down again to Rs. 1,000—an amount wholly inadequate to the needs of the ten or eleven departments of the College.

The number of books gradually increased. In March 1908 there were 9,349 volumes; in 1913, the new catalogue showed 11,754; in 1927 as many as 13,842; and in 1936 the total was 15,633. Meanwhile, a considerable number of books had been removed. Over a thousand volumes suitable for the School, the Madrasah and the Common Room were handed over to those institutions between 1906 and 1912. The School library and the Madrasah library which had formed part of the general library were now altogether separated. In 1922, the Principal obtained permission from Government to sell off a number of "old and useless" books. The Calcutta booksellers declined to buy them and over eighteen hundred were sold by auction in the College. Many more, which had been weeded out, remained unsold even at the price of waste paper and lay about on the library floor for some years. Eventually, they were carefully examined and in this unsold débris were discovered several first editions, for instance that of Enoch Arden, interesting sets like the first sixteen volumes of the *Illustrated London News* and some beautiful engraved books and atlases. The "purging" had evidently been done with more zeal than knowledge. A few years later, some hundreds of law books were, with the consent of Government, transferred to the University Law Library.

The College Library received two considerable bequests of books during the period. Paramesh Chandra Mallik, a student of the College, left by will a valuable set of works on Chemistry to the College, which are kept together as a separate collection. About five hundred volumes of general literature were bequeathed by the late Colonel D. Rose, of the Indian Medical Service.

Perhaps the most important improvement in the Library in recent years was the substitution of steel shelves for the almirahs and racks.

As these shelves are twelve feet high, it has been possible to stack nearly all the books in two rooms. A room—furnished with thirty small tables and chairs—has thus been set free as a reading room for students; another as the librarian's office and reading space has also been provided for members of the staff. The net cost of this change, which has transformed the appearance of the Library, was only about Rs. 1,300.

A catalogue had been printed in 1905. A few years later it was discovered that about a hundred books had disappeared. The rules were accordingly revised, a careful stock was taken and a new catalogue was printed in 1912. A fresh catalogue appeared in 1929; but even this was very imperfect and arranged on an inconvenient and antiquated system. A thorough revision on scientific lines is now in progress.

At the beginning of the period, the librarian was still a man with little education and no special qualifications—no more, indeed, could be expected for the salary. The librarian was at first paid Rs. 30, but every change of personnel became the opportunity for a reduction of the salary, which came down from Rs. 30 to Rs. 20 and then to Rs. 15! In 1920, at last, a graduate librarian was appointed on Rs. 50; and, very wisely, he was sent once a week to the Imperial Library for several months to learn his work. The prospects of the post were soon after improved by a scale from Rs. 80 to Rs. 120. Finally, a few months ago, the Librarian was again sent to the Imperial Library for a full course of training in librarianship.

In 1908, the Director abolished the practice of requiring deposits against books and all students were allowed to borrow books freely. The result of the old rule had simply been that the library remained unused and its abrogation caused a remarkable change. In 1906-07 students took out only 276 books, but in 1911-12 no fewer than 2,301 were borrowed. It seems incredible that so many years should have elapsed before this unfortunate restriction was removed. But a few years ago a deposit was again required from students wishing to borrow books. Governments have short memories. Only the insistence of the College authorities that all students should pay the deposit has prevented this rule from producing effects as disastrous as in the past.

The restrictions on the purchase of books still continue.

During the last year we tried the experiment of placing a certain number of books on open shelves with immediate access to any reader, the books being changed from time to time. Every facility and every

inducement will be necessary before the average student develops a taste for general reading.

We have now ample reading space and good accommodation for the books. But many of the books are old and sadly out of repair. For Honours work the library is quite inadequate and it is useless for any research. On the other hand, it possesses an interesting collection of old books and a few that are rare and valuable. Perhaps the greatest treasure is a copy of Ackermann's Cambridge (1815) in two volumes with beautiful aquatints in excellent condition. We have also a copy of Thorntons' Elementary Botanical Plates (1810) with magnificent steel engravings. Among other books are a set of the *Illustrated London News* from 1842 to 1853, a set of the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society from 1665 to 1800, the *Edinburgh Review* from 1802 to 1870, the *Friend of India* from 1835 to 1850 and first editions of Lavengro, Dombey and Son, Felix Holt, The Mill on the Floss, Scenes of Clerical Life, Westward Ho!, Enoch Arden, Mrs. Gaskell's Right at Last, Trollope's Castle Richmond, several Ruskins and others.

The Common Room also developed greatly during these years. It was housed at first in one of the rooms opening on the hall on the upper floor. A small library of selected books was gradually added to it, and a considerable number of magazines and periodicals provided amusement and instruction for the less studious. In 1912 it was removed to the semi-circular east verandah on the ground floor and the same year an annual fee of a rupee was levied on each student. But the students had to go through some of the Madrasah classes to reach the Common Room and the maulvis complained. In 1915 the Madrasah staff room and the Common Room changed places, an exchange which was certainly not advantageous. The new room was dark and airless and inconveniently near the College classes. But the Common Room stayed in this penumbra for the next twenty years. Last year, however, we decided that the permanent memorial of the College Centenary should take the form of a new building for the Common Room; and by the time this History is in print, the Centenary Common Room—the fruit of the generosity of old students and friends—will have arisen in the north-west corner of the compound to provide ample and attractive accommodation for our students between lectures.

In 1907-08 a literary club was organised, chiefly owing to the energy of two junior members of the staff. Papers were read and debates were held, more or less regularly, for many years. But the

students were not enthusiastic and periodical efforts were necessary to galvanise it into a semblance of life. During the last two or three years a new Science Society has shown more vigour.

In 1914 we hear of a proposal to publish a College magazine, but it was not till five years later that the magazine appeared. The cost was met entirely from a levy of one rupee and four annas from each student. There were at first three issues each year and then only two. The magazine was for some years conducted almost entirely in Bengali, but now there is an English section as well.

For many years, there had been no prize days in the College. In 1914 and 1915, however, these functions were revived and prizes were given for both literary and athletic proficiency. A little later the nature of the ceremony was changed. "The first Speech Day of the College took place on the 26th February 1917. The local public and guardians of students were invited to be present on the occasion.' A few medals and prizes were also distributed. The first "Speech Day" seems also to have been the last for many years. It was not till 1931 that another attempt was made. Since then Founder's Day has every year been celebrated on the 1st August, the day on which the College opened. Founder's Day has proved a useful means of bringing together old and present students and of strengthening College fellowship and loyalty.

In 1919 the College "Poor Fund" was created with the object of raising money to help needy students. In the first year Rs. 155-8 were collected. The Poor Fund has, in a modest way, been of real help to many students who found the cost of education too much for their meagre resources.

From time to time, the College also raised money for deserving objects outside. In 1919 the students acted a play and raised Rs. 400 for the Cyclone Relief Fund. The next year a night school was started in the College building, social work was done in some of the neighbouring villages and by a house-to-house collection the students gathered about Rs. 800 for the Midnapore Flood Relief. In more recent years money was raised for the Bihar and Quetta Earthquake Funds. A play has become a regular feature of the Founder's Day celebrations.

Games became more and more popular. In 1910 the Principal wrote: "The Hooghly College students have been distinguished for their love of athletics and sports ever since the days of Dr. Booth.....

The varieties of physical exercises in which the more active and enterprising among the College students indulge keep them free from many of the vices which spring from physical weakness and make them as a body bold, straight forward and truthful." In 1911 the Coronation Durbar was celebrated by sports as well as a general illumination of the College: and for many years the annual sports, when they were held at all, were usually held on Durbar Day. Cricket and football were regularly played on the maidan and in 1915 hockey was introduced. In consequence, the athletic fee was increased by four annas. Three years later we hear of a proposal to start a tennis club and to lay out two courts, but nothing came of it, although tennis was played for some time on a ground near the military barracks. Four years ago, however, a court was at last prepared in the College compound in the space to the north of the Chemistry laboratory. Basket-ball was played in 1918-19.

Till a few years ago, however, almost the only games students could play were football, cricket and hockey. In these the College could generally raise good teams. In 1922-23, for instance, the College won the Gladstone, Griffith and Suresh Modak cups in football, won six, drew three and lost only one match in cricket and lost only a single game in hockey.

On the other hand, the College had no ground of its own. From the first, the students had been allowed the exclusive use of the central part of the maidan which came to be known as the College ground. But in 1909 the Military Police were also permitted to play on it one day in the week. Worse was to come, for in 1913 the control of the ground was taken away from the College and vested in the newly formed Hooghly Sporting Association under the District Magistrate. It is true that the College were allowed to play on the ground four days in the week, but with years the position has become more and more difficult. The number of clubs, some of them ephemeral, affiliated to the Association has increased and more and more the College is being ousted from the maidan. A few years ago an unfortunate incident occurred in a football match in which a few students of the College were alleged to have taken part. No opportunity was given for defence and with unseemly haste the Association proceeded to forbid the College from using the ground altogether for a year. An intolerable situation was thus created and although the ban was removed after a few weeks the feeling of insecurity it aroused has remained. That the one Government College in the place should be debarred by a private association from the use of a Government ground for games

is a situation that would seem to ordinary persons almost Gilbertian. But Government have done nothing yet to alter the position, apparently unmindful of the fact that opportunities for games are the best way of keeping the minds of young men away from less innocent interests to which they are only too prone.

In the circumstances, we decided that the only solution was to provide room for as many games as we could in the College compound itself. Fortunately, about this time Government sent a trained Physical Instructor of a type different to the old type of gymnastics teacher; and under his supervision we have been able to start basket-ball, tennikoit and volley-ball; and we hope soon to have a fives court as well. A considerable number of students can thus be kept occupied in healthy recreation within the College walls where the writ of the Sporting Association does not run; and, in fact, games of some kind are compulsory now for all first year students.

The gymnasium was at the beginning of the period in a deplorable condition. The apparatus was old and the instruction stereotyped. In 1914, however, a temporary Instructor was appointed on a pay of twenty rupees, and the post was made permanent the next year. The apparatus was renewed in 1914-15 at a cost of about Rs. 500. But we hear in the Report for 1920-21 that "one horizontal bar, a pair of parallel bars and two posts that once did duty for a trapeze, represent its whole equipment." The Governor, on a visit to the College in 1924, gave a grant of Rs. 500 which was spent in repairing and replacing the apparatus. The gymnasium, however, remains exposed and uncovered and during the rainy season it is often impossible to use it.

In 1919 Mr. Bottomley, then Principal, presented a cup for competition among the College classes in football.

The new University Regulations of 1907 insisted on a Governing Body for each college and accordingly Government appointed a Governing Body for Hooghly College, which consisted of the Commissioner, Burdwan Division, as *ex-officio* President, the Principal as Secretary and a member of the College Staff. In 1916 the Governing Body was reinforced by the addition of a representative of the local public—the first was Rai Mahendra Chandra Mitra Bahadur. In 1922, however, the Governing Body was considerably enlarged; the staff were given two representatives and three members of the public were included. The constitution of the Governing Body has, however, made little difference to the administration of the College; the powers

delegated to it are comparatively small; and the internal control of the College is vested, as before, in the Principal under the Director of Public Instruction.

In 1928-29 a few electric fans were put into some of the class rooms, but as the punkhas were removed at the same time the change was scarcely an improvement. A single fan in a large class room seating a hundred students does little more than make the heat felt; in the large hall there are two fans. Since then, the hall and all the darker rooms have been equipped with lights. A scheme for more fans received "administrative sanction" several years ago and waits patiently for money.

The laboratories have also been supplied with current and lights. A dynamo, set up in 1910-11 in the Physics laboratory, was dismantled when connection was made with the general town supply. An electric pump has replaced the old rotary hand pump. The Chemistry Department has now a second gas-holder.

The College had the honour of visits from Governors of Bengal in November 1914, June 1920 and July 1924.

As we have seen, at the beginning of the period, the Hindu Hostel had its own building and the Mahomedan boarders were in the Madrasah Hostel. The new Regulations ordered the separation of College students from schoolboys in hostels; and in September 1907 Hindu schoolboys were removed from the Hindu Hostel and Moslem College students from the Madrasah Hostel and they were housed in two hired buildings. Although the number of Moslem boarders was small, Government sanctioned the erection of a new building. A small plot of land, 13½ cottahs in extent, was acquired near the south-west corner of the College compound and a hostel of five rooms and out-houses was constructed. The land cost about Rs. 5,700 and the building Rs. 16,274. The Superintendent occupied one room and the four others could accommodate sixteen borders. The Mahomedan Hostel was probably useful, although it was seldom full. But a second block was added the next year to the Hindu Hostel at an expenditure of over Rs. 20,000. This was, as far as one can judge, an unconsidered measure, for there was no great pressure on the existing accommodation. Although there was now room for about fifty inmates, the number scarcely ever exceeded thirty and after the imposition of seat rents and furniture rents by Government it fell to twenty or even less. Half the money spent on the new block would have been enough for a small house for the Superintendent.

Both hostels have had a succession of good Superintendents, men who have carried out their duties with tact and firmness and diligence. And this in spite of the fact that their remuneration, small to begin with, has been repeatedly decreased. Every change of Superintendents became the occasion for a reduction of the allowance; and in the Mahomedan Hostel it fell from Rs. 25 to Rs. 20 and then to Rs. 15 and to Rs. 13-5 and finally to Rs. 11-5. And, as the last straw, the Superintendents are now compelled to pay a proportionate share of taxes for the rooms they occupy.

In many ways it was fortunate that most of the students of the College stayed with their parents or near relatives and that there were few boarders in the hostels, for it is generally in hostels that trouble begins. And these were years of continually reviving unrest and disturbance. The partition of Bengal aroused a storm of agitation all over the country and, as everywhere, students were particularly affected by the excitement. 1911 and the following years were a time of difficulty and again in 1922, in 1928 and in 1930 there were disturbances. On the whole, Hooghly College students kept their heads very well and although there were many hartals and occasional picketing there was seldom any violence, the College was never closed for any length of time and very few of its students or old students were implicated in any political conspiracy or acts of terrorism. The College has a singularly clean and wholesome record in this matter and its students and teachers continued to do their work in an atmosphere of comparative calm and general good-will.

During the last few years women students have sought and gained admission to the College. There are no girls' high schools in this town or district and only a few girls have wished to join the College; nor has the College room for many. Three girls passed University examinations from this College and their names are duly recorded in the Register. One of them obtained a high place in the I.A. Examination and was awarded a University medal.

The general results of the College in University Examinations were satisfactory during the period, without being brilliant. In 1908 six students obtained honours and one of them was first in History. The results in 1910 were poor, only 9 out of 30 passing in the I.A., 4 out of 16 in the I.Sc., and 5 out of 17 in the B.A., but this was unusual. In 1918 two candidates obtained first class honours in Mathematics. In 1919, there was a first class in Sanskrit and another in Mathematics. In 1930 only one failed in the B.A. and only one in the B.Sc. Examination. In 1922 and again in 1923 there were two first classes

in Mathematics; the next year there were as many as four. The general results in the B.Sc. Examination were particularly good. After 1924 there have not been many first classes from the College, but in 1927 there was a first in Mathematics and in 1932 one of our candidates was first in the University in Philosophy. The results in the Intermediate Examinations varied, but generally the percentage of success was much higher than the average of the University. 1934 was a good year. Every candidate passed the B.A. and only one failed in the B.Sc. In the I.A. 18 passed out of 25 and in the I.Sc. 30 out of 36.

Among students who joined the College after 1907 many have risen to some eminence in the professions or in the public service; but it would be invidious to select names for mention.

The work of the College Office was, to some extent, lightened by the removal of the School. In 1912 the Madrasah was also given its own clerk and the College clerks thenceforth had to deal only with the work of the College. The purchase of a typewriter in 1911 was also a material help, although it must be confessed that the beautiful handwriting of the early records is as clear as, and much more attractive than, the typed copies of the present time. But, best of all, the College was fortunate in having the services of a succession of unusually competent, hardworking and loyal head clerks. Sarat Chandra Mukherjee and Sib Dayal Dikshit, in their way, did as much to ensure the smooth and efficient working of the College as any principal or professor.

The menial staff suffered little change. Their pay was gradually increased, but their number was reduced or threatened whenever there was financial stringency. The seven malis, for instance, were cut down to six and eventually to four.

The new University Regulations led to the extinction of the law classes, which had long been declining. The course of study was greatly extended and the Vice-Chancellor, Asutosh Mukherjee, himself a lawyer and a judge, declared that a staff of four lecturers would be necessary to teach the new course successfully. It was obvious that the law classes in the mufassal colleges could not fulfil these conditions and they presently came to an end. In 1909, however, the pleadership class at Hooghly was revived with Ambica Charan Mitra, the old law professor, as teacher; but it did not prove popular. In some years there was no student at all and by mere atrophy the class ceased to exist.

The Madrasah shared in the renaissance of the College after 1907. Mr. Archdale Earle, then Director, took a keen interest in the institution and put forward a scheme for its reorganisation. Three additional maulvis were appointed and efforts were made to encourage the study of English which was then an optional subject. A new scheme of studies was proposed. The result of these measures was immediately apparent. The number of pupils jumped from 85 in March 1908 to 141 in 1909. Most of them, coming from other places, sought admission to the hostel, which had now no fewer than 133 boarders. A Superintendent in the Provincial Educational Service was appointed in 1910 in the person of Maulvi Muhammad Musa. On the other hand, as there were now eleven classes instead of eight, the problem of accommodation became more desperate than ever; but fortunately the number of pupils fell again to 95. Eventually the junior classes were removed to the Madrasah hostel, while the senior classes stayed in the College building, where three rooms and an enclosed verandah had to contain six classes, the office, library and staff room. "The hall is dark and the verandah, though closed, is exposed to both rain and to the sun." In 1912 the Principal gave up two of his own rooms to the College and two of the College rooms were set free for the Madrasah; but as the junior classes were promptly brought back from the hostel, the position was not substantially improved. The Madrasah, however, got four more rooms when the School left the building, but these rooms were all on the ground floor and generally unsatisfactory. But the institution grew in other respects. The numbers gradually increased, especially in the higher classes. A few years later, the Hooghly Madrasah became a high madrasah of the reformed type and in 1922 it was separated administratively from the control of the Principal of the College.

We have traced now the history of the College and of its auxiliary schools during the hundred years of their existence. It has been a history of hopes and anxieties, of achievements and disappointments, of difficulties some solved and some still waiting for a solution. But it has been also a history of singularly uninterrupted continuity and steady usefulness. Hooghly College can now play no dominating part in the educational system of Bengal. Its numbers and its resources will never be large. It cannot develop into a great University centre. But, on the other hand, it has very distinctive advantages of its own. It is sufficiently near Calcutta to share in some of the intellectual activity of the metropolis, but sufficiently far away to escape the fever

and the heat. It draws its students from the immediate neighbourhood and has a local and family connection such as few colleges in Bengal enjoy—son has followed father within its walls, in many cases to the third and fourth generation. Its numbers are not too large to make a real corporate spirit and intimacy of contact impossible. And here, more than in any other college in Bengal, Hindus and Moslems have shared a common inheritance. That the College still suffers from many disabilities I have made plain. But the good-will awakened by the centenary has enabled us already to remove some of them—and the loyalty and love of its students, old and new, is after all the greatest achievement and the most precious asset of a college. It is not walls or ships, but men that make a city—so Nicias told the Athenians; and it is not rooms or equipment but teachers and pupils that make a college. Times change, but the spirit of man ever aspires to fellowship, wisdom and truth.

APPENDIX A.

The Trust Deed of Mahomed Mohsin.

Deed of appropriation of Hajee Mohummud Mohsin, dated 9th Bysakh 1213 B.E., corresponding with 20th April 1806 A.D.

I, Hajee Mohummud Mohsin, son of Hajee Fyzoollah, son of Agha Fuzoollah, inhabitant of the port of Hooghly, in full possession of all my senses and faculties, with my own free will and accord, do make the following correct and legal declaration. That the zumindaree of pergunnah Qismut Sydpore, etc., appendant to zillah Jessore, and pergunnah Sobhnal, also appendant to the zillah aforesaid, and one house situated in Hooghly (known and distinguished as Imambarah) and Imambazar, and haut (market), also situated in Hooghly, and all the goods and chattels appertaining to the Imambarah aforesaid, agreeably to a separate list; the whole of which have devolved on me by inheritance, and the proprietary possession of which I have enjoyed up to the present time. As I have neither children, nor grandchildren, nor other relatives, who would become my legal heirs and as it is my earnest wish and desire to keep up and continue the usages and charitable expenditures (Murasum-o-Musaruf-i-husneh) of the nature of fateha, and tuheeat, etc., of the Huzerat (on whom be blessings and rewards), which have been the established customs of this family, I therefore hereby give, purely for the sake of God, the whole of the above property, with all its rights, immunities, and privileges, whole and entire, little or much, in it with it, or from it, and whatever (by way of appendage) might arise from it, or relate or belong to it, as a permanent appropriation for the following expenditure; and I have hereby appointed Rujub Uli Khan, son of Shekh Mohummud Sadiq, and Shakur Uli Khan, son of Ahmud Khan, who have been tried and approved by me, as possessing understanding, knowledge, religion, and probity, mootawullees (or trustees) of the said wuqf or appropriation, which I have intrusted to the above two individuals, that aiding and assisting each other they may consult, advise, and agree together in all matters connected with the joint management of the business of the said appropriation, in the manner following. The aforenamed mootawullees, after paying the revenues of the Government, shall divide the remaining produce of the muhals aforenamed into nine shares, of which three shares, first of all, they shall disburse in the observance of the fateha of Huzrut Syud-i-Kayunat (head of the creation) the last of the prophets, and of the sinless Imams (on all of

whom be the blessings and peace of God); and in the expenditures appertaining to the Ushra of Mohurrum-ool-huram (10 days of the sacred Mohurrum), and all other blessed days (of feasts and festivals); and in the repairs of the Imambarah and cemetery. Two shares, the mootawullees, in equal proportion, shall appropriate to themselves for their own expenses; and four shares shall be disbursed in the payment of the servants of the establishment, and of those whose names are inserted in a separate list signed and sealed by me. In regard to the daily expenses, monthly stipends of the stipendiaries, respectable men, peadas and other persons, who, at the present moment, stand appointed, the mootawullees aforenamed, after me have full power to retain, abolish or discharge as it may appear to them most fit and expedient. I have committed the mootawulleeship to the charge of the two above-named individuals as a common (aum) towleeut. In the event of a mootawullee finding himself unable to conduct the business of the endowment, he may appoint any one whom he may think most fit and most deserving, as mootawullee to act in his stead. Consequently this writing is executed as a deed, this 9th day of Bysakh in the year of Hijree 1221, corresponding with the Bengali year 1213, that whenever it be required, it may prove a legal deed.

APPENDIX B.

Macaulay's Plan for the Organisation of the College.

The first scheme proposed for the organisation of the Hooghly College.—I now wish to state what appear to me to be the best arrangements for rendering the Hooghly fund as extensively useful as it can be made, compatibly with the direction of Government and with the intentions of the founder.

The Mahomedan Department must of course be kept up in a liberal manner. Whatever encouragements, whatever facilities we give in this institution to the study of English, we are bound also to give to the study of Arabic. If we act otherwise we shall be guilty of a gross violation of the founder's will; we shall give just cause of discontent to the Mahomedan population; and we shall discourage wealthy natives of all persuasions from making similar dispositions of their property.

I am not competent to frame a plan for the Mahomedan Department of the College. I have therefore begged Mr. Shakespear to furnish a sketch of what he thinks desirable.

In the English College there ought, I think, to be two professors: a professor of English literature and a professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. The professor of English literature ought to be a person competent to direct the studies of young men who are able to read our language with facility, to advise them as to the choice of books, to correct their crude opinions, to accustom them to write English in a manly and unaffected style. The professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy ought to be, if possible, a person of extensive acquirements. At all events he ought to know accurately whatever he knows.

Under these two professors, there must be masters capable of teaching the elements of English, the common rules of Arithmetic, and a little Geography.

One of the two professors ought to be Principal of the College with a general power to superintend the discipline of the whole institution —Oriental as well as English. He would of course be subject to our control, and, if it should be thought advisable, we might appoint some of the English functionaries at Hooghly to visit the College as our deputies. I doubt, however, whether it would be expedient to delegate

our power over an establishment situated so near to Calcutta; and at all events, I would give no authority over this College or over any of our Colleges to a Collector or a Judge merely because he is a Collector or a Judge. Such an officer may be incompetent; he may be indifferent; he may be adverse. When we repose such a confidence, we ought to repose it in the man, not in the office.

I think that each of the Professors should receive 500 Rs. per mensem, and that they should also be lodged in the College. One master with 200 rupees and three under-masters with 100 Rs. each, would suffice for the English Department.

It is hardly necessary to say that I would open this school to pupils of every nation and religion without distinction.

Dr. Wise is strongly of opinion that we ought to establish stipends, or, as he calls them, bursaries. I regret that I cannot agree with him on this point. I must own, however, that at Hooghly the stipendiary system is not so objectionable as it would be at Patna, at Dacca, or at any other place where there is a school supported by our general fund. We have for the education of the people of this vast empire a fixed sum, which is very small compared with what the object requires. If we pay students at one place, we must refuse to pay masters at some other place. The funds of the Hooghly College are not part of our general resources. We cannot with propriety lay them out in setting up schools in Assam or the Dooab. After paying professors and masters in the most liberal manner, a large sum will still remain at our disposal. If therefore it should appear that any advantage is likely to follow from establishing stipends, there is no counterbalancing consideration of economy to be set off against that advantage.

I am strongly opposed to the stipendiary system, not merely in the form in which it has existed in the Sanskrit College and the Madrasah, where indeed it wore its most offensive shape, but even in the modified form in which some of our body wish to see it introduced into our new schools. At the same time I should not at all object to giving several annual pecuniary prizes of such amount that they would enable the successful student who might gain them to subsist comfortably during the next year. If he continued to exert himself, he would probably again obtain the prize. If he became idle, others would wrest it from him at the next annual examination. This course would, as it appears to me, produce all the good and scarcely any of the harm which is the effect of the stipendiary system. It would excite the students to vigorous exertion. It would not tempt them to lie down in idleness

after success. The best students would remain longest at the college and would be most thoroughly imbued with Western literature and science.

I propose that we should annually give two prizes of 300 Rupees each, the one to the student who should distinguish himself most in English literature, the other to the best mathematician. I would give three inferior prizes of 200 Rupees in the Literary Department, and as many in the Mathematical and Scientific Department.

The expense of the English College on this plan would be as follows:—

	Rs.
Professor of English Literature	6,000 a year
Professor of Mathematics, etc.	6,000 ,,
Master and Under Masters	6,000 ,,
Prizes	1,800 ,,
	19,800 a year

Something must be allowed for books, stationery, etc. But the whole charge of this part of the establishment may be brought, I conceive, within 22,000 Rupees per annum. If we allow an equal sum for the Mahomedan College, the whole amount expended on the institution will be 44,000 Rupees per annum. And 10,000 Rupees per annum will be still at our disposal.

If what I now propose should be approved by the committee, I shall be prepared to suggest a mode of employing the surplus.

I omitted to say that it seems to me quite unnecessary to defer our operations till the College is built. I am assured that excellent accommodation may easily be procured at Hooghly, and I hope that our masters may be appointed and our schools opened in a very few months.

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