

1826
India College at
Haileybury

A
VIEW
OF THE
SYSTEM AND MERITS
OF THE
EAST-INDIA COLLEGE
AT HAILEYBURY;
BEING THE
SUBSTANCE OF A SPEECH

DELIVERED IN
THE COURT OF EAST-INDIA PROPRIETORS,
On the 27th February 1824;

WITH ADDITIONS.

By ROBERT GRANT, Esq.

LONDON:

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LEADENHALL STREET.

1826.

MOTION

MADE BY

THE HON. D. KINNAIRD.

“ That application be made to Parliament, in the pre-
“ sent Session, for the Repeal of the 46th Clause of the
“ Act of the 53d Geo. III. cap. 155, by which the Court
“ of Directors is prohibited from sending to India, in the
“ capacity of a Writer, any person who shall not have
“ resided during Four Terms at the Haileybury College.”

P R E F A C E.



THE publication, in a separate form, of the Speech which is contained in substance in the following pages, was long since urged on the author by some personal friends ; but the pressure of other occupations, an aversion to a public appearance without necessity, and an extreme unwillingness to extend a particular discussion beyond the limits of the time and the place to which it properly belonged, prevented his compliance with the solicitation. The general prevalence, however, of an opinion that the proposition which formed the subject of the discussion, and which the Proprietors at that time rejected by a large majority, is now about to be carried into actual effect, overbears all opposing feelings, and induces him respectfully to submit the ensuing work to the Public.

The only important additions to the Speech as pronounced, consist in observations, first on the insufficiency of a
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mere test of qualification as a security for the due education of the Company's civil servants;* secondly, on the proposal to educate the Civil Servants at the English Universities;† and thirdly, on the argument derived from the allegation that the want of Civil Servants in India is greater or more urgent than the College at Haileybury, under the present system, can supply.‡ Each of these topics was distinctly brought before the Proprietors in the course of the debate; and it was the purpose of the author to observe on each when he addressed the Court; but, fearful of adding to the large demands he found himself making on the attention of his audience, he confined himself to a short and partial comment on the first topic, and to a slight mention of the second; and the third he passed wholly without notice. If report may be credited, those subjects have a peculiar relevancy at the present moment. The author has therefore thought it necessary to bestow particular consideration on each, adapting his remarks to the measures rumoured to be in contemplation; and he has interwoven what it occurs to him to offer on them with the text of the discourse—a liberty, by which he conceived he should best consult the convenience of the reader, and to the use of which it did not appear that there could be any objection, where it was avowed.

A short

*Pp. 86-90.

† Pp. 97-105.

‡ Pp. 106-108.

A short note, however, is subjoined to the speech, relating to matters of a date subsequent to the debate, and which could not have been introduced into the report without producing confusion.

In omitting, as immaterial to the general discussion, some observations made on one of the College-Statutes, and also an allusion with which the address closed, the author deems it incumbent on him to state, that he has seen no reason to vary the views which he suggested on the former point, and that he retains in undiminished force the feelings which he expressed on the other.

ROBERT GRANT.

30th December, 1825.

It is not, however, is enjoined to the person who
 the nature of a due adherence to the spirit and which
 could have been introduced into the report without
 in consequence of the general character
 some observations made on one of the College's
 and also on the subject which the address itself, the
 author desires to be put on him to state that he has
 seen no reason to be given which he suggested on
 the former point, and that he remains in full belief
 that the feeling which is expressed on the other

JOHN GIBSON

Houses of the Oireachtas

S P E E C H,

&c. &c.

MR. CHAIRMAN :

I cannot better preface what I have to offer on this subject, than by expressing my gratitude to the Honourable Proprietor by whom it was introduced, for the candour, the good temper, and the good feeling with which he debated it. Concurring as I do in the remark which has been made by several speakers, that discussions like the present tend to produce injurious consequences, I must yet observe, that I should see less reason for deprecating such discussions, if they were always brought forward and conducted in the tone and manner recommended and exemplified by the honourable gentleman to whom I have alluded.

For my own part, I am under no temptation to deviate from the example which has thus been set me. I have on this occasion a sacred duty to perform ; and I should shew a very inadequate sense

of its nature and its obligations, if I attempted to discharge it by an appeal to passion or prejudice. I admit, indeed, that on some parts of the subject there are recollections which disqualify me from the exercise of that severely dispassionate judgment which such a discussion demands ; but those very recollections operate on me as a powerful guard against the use of all irritating topics, unfair reasoning, or exaggerated representations, and will, I trust, effectually restrain me to the limits of plain, simple, and uncoloured statement. By no other course could I satisfy the sentiment which has compelled my present appearance. My only desire is, that the subject should be viewed distinctly and exactly according to what I think its real merits : I wish the Institution which is now in question, not to be favoured, but to be approved ; and so strong is this impression, that not even an unanimous vote in its support would content me, unless I believed the decision to be pronounced with an impartiality which, for myself, I no longer even pretend to feel.

Before I proceed, I will beg to premise that, even if I concurred in the objections which have been urged against the system now established for the education of the civil servants of the East-India Company, I could by no means assent to the present motion.

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The measure which the motion proposes is wholly negative, and would leave us without any security that our civil servants shall be duly educated. It is true that those gentlemen who have supported the motion, have concurrently recommended plans for securing the object of education, and especially that of a test of proficiency, to be applied through the medium of public examination; but not one of those plans is embodied in the proposition itself. Now I conceive that, if we meditate the institution of such a test, or the establishment of any other positive substitute for the present system, we ought distinctly to suggest that idea in any application we may make to the legislature, and not to communicate to them merely the negative half of our plan: nor would it satisfy me to be told in reply, although I believe I should be told this very truly, that, whatever question we may send to Parliament, the only question which Parliament will really take into consideration, will be the general question, by what mode British India may best be supplied with civil functionaries? and that thus, while we are proposing simply the repeal of a particular regulation, we shall in effect set afloat the whole of a vast inquiry.

In arguing the question, however, I have no objection to connect the consideration of it with that of the plans recommended by the supporters

of the motion; but, even so treating it, I think it wholly unnecessary to enter into all, or even most of the topics which have occupied the attention of preceding speakers. A great deal has been said of the injustice of the laws of the College. Now the point to be debated is, whether a certain clause in our Charter-Act, which compels the writers appointed by the Company to serve a certain number of terms in the College at Haileybury, shall be repealed or not; and unless it can be shewn that the particular laws which are thus complained of, either have emanated from the clause the repeal of which is proposed, or are in some way necessarily connected with its continuance, I see not to what purpose they are introduced into the debate. If the regulations of the Institution be thought faulty, let an inquiry into them be set on foot; and if the result justifies the previous suspicion, let the Directors be requested to confer with the Board of Control for the purpose of a thorough revision: this would be the natural course in such a case, and not a proposition for superseding the necessity of resorting to the Institution altogether.

The question then, as stated, seems to me to resolve itself into two very plain divisions:—First, has the present system in any fair or reasonable degree

degree answered the purposes for which it was intended? and, secondly, is there any rational probability, that the same purposes would be better answered by the proposed substitutes? With reference to the first point, if the institution has reasonably fulfilled the purposes for which it was formed, then there is a strong presumption against any change whatever; as to the second, if it can be shewn that the proposed substitutes are not at all likely to fulfil those purposes, then, in addition to the strong presumption against *any* newplan, there will be an irresistible presumption against the *particular* plans recommended.

Between the honourable mover and myself, the former of these questions is not open to much debate; for that gentleman, to a great extent, admitted, and admitted very candidly, the merits of the College. But other speakers having argued that the Institution has completely failed, and one gentleman having even professed to refer to facts in support of that assertion, it really becomes important to examine the justice of such charges. Similar charges have repeatedly been made out of doors; and, among others, I myself have been taunted with some predictions which I am represented to have made seven years ago in favour of the College, and have been asked, in a tone of triumph, what I have now to offer in justification of

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of prophecies which the event has so glaringly disproved?

Now it is a very trite remark, that a great deal of controversy would be saved if disputants would begin by defining their terms. When, therefore, it is said that I prophesied the success of the College, and that it has not succeeded, I beg to ask what meaning is to be attached to the word *success*? The court and the public have been told, in glowing terms, of tumults, and expulsions, and rejections, and the irremediable ruin of young men, in consequence of the deprivation of their Indian appointments. I believe I have felt as deep a sympathy with the relations of the young men thus disappointed as the keenest of the complainants. To some of those cases there have been strong reasons why I should not be indifferent: but am I therefore to admit that my anticipations respecting the Institution have been falsified? In what sense—for I recur to the question—did I predict its *success*? I told you that it would succeed as a place of probation for the youths destined to civil appointments in India,—that it would be most useful as affording a standard of qualification, as furnishing a fit and discriminating test of merit. All this I said, because I firmly believed. But a place of probation in which there should be no failures—a standard of qualification which every candidate,

candidate, however casually selected, should reach—a test which should try nobody—a measure which should fit everybody—this is a sort of chimaera which I was so far from predicting, that the very possibility of its existence never entered my imagination. I knew then, as I know now, that if you chose to establish a system of education, which in its nature should be not only institutional but probationary,—if you appointed tests and trials, and, collecting promiscuously a definite number of individuals, proclaimed that all of them who could not successfully undergo those tests and trials should be rejected,—and if, after this, you were fond enough to believe that there would be *no* rejections, that *all* would pass the muster, that everybody would be found to stand the test and to emerge victorious from the trial, then indeed you were indulging hopes and expectations, utterly inconsistent with the immutable laws of probability, and would have none but yourselves to thank for your disappointment.

The true criterion—the only criterion of success which can be applied on such an occasion, is a very simple one ; and it is immediately suggested by the very nature of the case : what are the purposes which the Institution was intended to answer, and have those purposes in a fair degree been fulfilled ? I say *in a fair degree* ; for in arguing this ques-
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tion it is my wish, and it shall be my endeavour, in conformity with the judicious warning of an Honourable Proprietor* on a former day, to avoid that exaggerated praise which only tends to injure its object. I have never predicated of this establishment—I know not of what human establishment it could be predicated—that it possessed the quality of perfection. In the course of the debate, indeed, it has been said that the advocates of the College held it up as an absolute paragon—as *one entire and perfect chrysolite*. I know not who were the eulogists alluded to. What I have myself said is on record; and if it contains any sentiment so extravagant, let the passage be produced. I believe that those who most warmly defend the College against unjust censure, and proclaim its real excellencies, best know the nature and measure of its real defects. Its faults are not indeed great, and they are in a considerable degree capable of removal, but it must be by a very opposite mode of treatment to that which its adversaries recommend.

The object of the establishment being to qualify the great body of the individuals destined for the civil service of the Company, the test of its efficiency must be sought in the actual qualifications of

* Mr. Twining.

of those whom it has educated. The opinion of Lord Wellesley has repeatedly been quoted in proof of the deficiencies of the great body of the civil servants in India, previously to the institution of the collegiate establishments at Fort-William and Hertford. "It must be admitted" (observes that enlightened statesman) "that the great body of the civil servants in Bengal is not at present sufficiently qualified to discharge the duties of the several arduous stations in the administration of the empire; and that it is particularly deficient in the judicial, fiscal, financial, and political branches of the government. The state of the civil service of Madras and Bombay is still more defective than that of Bengal." In the course of the debate, it has been contended that this delineation is overcharged. Possibly the noble author may here and there have admitted a shade too much into his graphical and masterly portraiture; as, on the other hand, it is very possible that the advocates of the Company, in their zeal to defend the civil servants against the unjust aspersions often cast on them, may occasionally have been betrayed into the contrary extreme of a description tending to flattery. The question, however, let it be observed, is not whether the Company's servants exhibited courage, and constancy, and ability in those national contests, which led to

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the acquisition of our dominions in India. Even Adam Smith has admitted their merit in these respects ; but it has been most conclusively shewn by Lord Wellesley and Mr. Malthus, that a system which produces the martial energies adapted to seasons of danger and daring, is not necessarily productive of those less-shining qualities which are required for the business of ordinary government. The heroism that can *win* empire has no natural affinity with the wisdom and virtue that *improve* and *consolidate* it. Yet, even here, no competent or impartial observer will pretend that the civil service exhibited a mass of defectiveness, even at a much earlier period than the administration of Lord Wellesley, and especially after the memorable reforms introduced by Lord Cornwallis. Many deserving civilians, and some of great and even of singular eminence, have appeared ; and for integrity in the discharge of public duty, the whole body has long been highly distinguished. There can, however, be no doubt that the meritorious servants alluded to, had to struggle against the serious disadvantage of a considerable quantity of incompetency, or at least of imperfect qualification, among their brethren, and particularly among the juniors. Lord Cornwallis occasionally found much difficulty in filling offices adequately ; and both Lord Cornwallis and his successors were sometimes

sometimes compelled to resort to the class of the military service, for the discharge of civil functions. This is not the language of disparagement. The merits of the civil servants in the times to which I refer, and their merits were neither few nor inconsiderable, were their own; their defects were the fruit of their situation and circumstances.

But, whatever may be thought of the former state of the civil administration, there cannot, with respect to the qualifications of the persons now engaged in that administration, be two opinions. I speak in the hearing of numbers who have the means of immediately verifying my statements, when I assert that, in point of public spirit, practical knowledge, general ability, enlightened views, and personal disinterestedness, the service never stood at so high a pitch of excellence as at the present moment. It is not merely improved; it is in a state of progressive improvement. All testimony, public and private, concurs in representations to this effect; nor can those representations be heard without exultation, by any member of a Company which has been the object of so many eloquent invectives, for the alleged oppression or misgovernment of the fair provinces consigned to its guardianship.

Now, a partial fondness for my subject shall not induce me to attribute all these happy effects

to the institution of the East-Indian College. I well know that they may be ascribed to a conspiracy of causes :—to the general energy of the administration both at home and abroad—to the increasing overflow of public opinion from Europe to India—to particular regulations of great wisdom introduced by the Government in India ; and among these I would especially mention the simple, yet important rule, that no civil servant shall employ in his office any of his native creditors—a provision that has greatly diminished, if it has not entirely eradicated, that unlimited facility of credit, which was the great canker of the junior departments of the civil service. I am sensible, also, that circumstances may have contributed to produce the result, the precise operation of which no analysis can trace ; for the great merit of a good system of polity is, that it is in its nature a self-ameliorating system—improvements springing up here and there spontaneously, like those delicate plants which are found to grow wild in a fine climate. Still, among the causes whose agency has concurred in bringing about this state of things, I claim no mean place for the College at Haileybury ; and I will shortly state the grounds on which that claim is founded.

In the first place, it will, on calculation, appear that, of the whole body of civilians now in India,
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about five-sevenths obtained their education at the College; and I ask whether I advance an extravagant position, when I contend that some portion of the admitted amelioration of the entire mass must have been derived from the seminary which has supplied so many of the individuals themselves? Is it too much to assume, that the richness of the stream is in a degree to be attributed to this its principal feeder?

Secondly, there is this remarkable distinction betwixt past and present times: that, in the former periods of the Company's history, the improvement descended from the higher to the lower members of the civil body, while now the reverse takes place, the progress of improvement moving from the junior members upwards. I will not quote documents at any length to establish the fact of the amendment of the junior division of the service, a fact which almost every person in court must have the means of ascertaining for himself. I may appeal, however, generally to that succession of authorities which I am presently about to cite for direct testimonies in favour of the College at Haileybury. At this moment I refer to them, not for the opinion, which may perhaps be objected to, of the influence of that institution in ameliorating the service, but for the fact of such amelioration, about which they could not possibly

possibly be mistaken. When Lord Minto, in 1810, passed high commendations on the deportment of the students derived from Hertford—when General Hewitt, in 1811, and Lord Minto, in September 1812, bore witness to the accelerated progress of the students at Fort William in the study of the Oriental languages—when Captain Roebuck, in November 1812, asserted, as a generally admitted fact, the greatly increased steadiness of conduct among the students at Fort William—when, in December in the same year, the College Council of Fort William remarked the very great and general improvement of those students—when Mr. Edmonstone bestowed a similar eulogy on that body in 1815: granting all these persons to have erred in their manner of accounting for the good effects, the existence of which they attested, at least their attestation as to the fact is unimpeachable. And then I ask, whether, in producing the improvement of the younger civilians, thus proved to have taken place during a given interval of time, the improved system of education for that body, which during the same interval was in force in Europe, must not necessarily have had a considerable share?

To crown these testimonies, I will beg to read a passage from the last address of the Marquess of Hastings, as visitor of the College of Fort William.

liam. It was delivered in August 1822; and it will be observed, that I cite it simply as evidence of the merits of the junior division of the civil service. Referring to the instructions in the Oriental languages attained in the College at Calcutta, Lord Hastings observes, " I will rest the argument
 " upon the rapid succession of young men, who,
 " after a rigid and impartial examination, have
 " been declared competent to the service of the
 " state, by their acquirements in the necessary lan-
 " guages. Not to dry official tasks alone: we have
 " a proud consciousness that our functionaries
 " have the capacity, not merely of discharging
 " adequately their engagements to their employers,
 " but that they possess, also, the means of render-
 " ing incalculable service to the native inhabi-
 " tants, by readily communicating explanation,
 " instruction, or advice. The ability, however,
 " to do this would be of little value, were the dis-
 " position wanting. It has not been wanting.
 " With exultation I have learned from all quar-
 " ters, the kind, the humane, the fostering spirit
 " manifested towards the natives by the young
 " men whom the College has sent forth to public
 " trusts. What a triumph it would be to my
 " heart, could I venture to suppose that my incul-
 " cations had any share in exciting this generous
 " tone!" Willingly do I allow that the incul-
 cations,

cations, and let me add the example, of the eminent person who uttered these enlightened sentiments, had their full share in exciting the excellent spirit which he so cordially celebrates. But, at the same time, I cannot forget that all those examples of early proficiency in public virtue which the eulogy comprises had their chief training in the College at Haileybury; in that college where it is now said that no knowledge is to be acquired but that of vice, and no arts are to be gained but those of idleness, extravagance, and dissipation!

Do these testimonies, proceeding from such sources, and thus publicly recorded, prove nothing? Are they to be contradicted by individual instances of folly or expense among a number of very young men, congregated in the heart of a great and luxurious capital, subjected to no control, and furnished with a ready access to the means of the most profuse expenditure?

Perhaps it may be said that the evidence I have produced is confined to the state of the service in Bengal. With regard, then, to Madras, I might refer to the whole series of the official reports of the College Council at Fort St. George, beginning with the year 1814—documents far too voluminous for citation, but which, to any person even cursorily perusing them, will convey the strongest impressions in favour of the junior civilians at
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that Presidency. I may refer, also, to the authority of the gentleman beside me,* who was for many years a distinguished member of the Revenue Board at Madras, and of whose merit I would say more if I did not speak in his presene. Not having himself been educated at Hertford, his testimony cannot incur the charge of partiality; and he has kindly allowed me to refer to his authority for the fact, that a gradual improvement has of late years taken place in the civil service with which he was connected; that the debts of the young men are little or nothing, and their habits of order and regularity most praiseworthy. For another testimony to the same effect, I am authorized to refer to Mr. Edward Greenway, also a civilian on the Madras Establishment, and a witness well entitled to be heard, as he was long an active member of the Superintending Board of the College at Fort St. George. Similar praise may be given to the junior class of the service at Bombay. In the course of the debate, a letter has been quoted from a gentleman newly arrived at that settlement, who states that the young writers there are in debt. From the description given, I doubt not the author to be also the writer of a letter in my possession, descriptive of the state and habits of the junior servants at

* Mr. Hodgson.

at Bombay. The letter I allude to certainly mentions that many of the commencing writers are in debt, but it represents the circumstance as unavoidable ; and it proceeds to afford such a picture of the general character of the young writers in point of propriety and morality, as, if the letter were read in detail, no Proprietor, whatever may be his sentiments on the present question, could (I am persuaded) contemplate without the liveliest satisfaction. On the whole, then, the improvement among the junior writers in all the Presidencies appears to me conclusively established as a fact, to whatever agency the circumstance is to be imputed.

In the third place, I beg to observe that, having taken some pains to ascertain the situations filled in India by those who had received their education at Haileybury, I have been gratified by finding those situations to be remarkably elevated in reference to the standing of those by whom they are occupied. I do not state it as an universal, but it certainly is a general truth, that proficiency in the service has corresponded with proficiency in the college at home. To prove this proposition in the fullest and most regular manner, would be a task of great length ; and, indeed, it is one requiring a far more intimate knowledge of the relative importance of the stations in the
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Indian service than I can pretend to possess. But mathematicians frequently follow up the detailed demonstration of a theorem with a more concise proof, under the title of an *idem aliter*; and fortunately the assertion I have ventured may, by two or three short steps, be established to the satisfaction of any reasonable mind. For it is a fact, which the slightest comparison of the records of the College at Haileybury with those of the College at Calcutta will make plain, that the most distinguished students at the one are, generally speaking, also the most distinguished students at the other; and then, it is a fact which stands on the clear authority of Lord Hastings, that the most distinguished students at the Calcutta College usually rise to the most distinguished posts in the civil service.—“Look” (he observes in his discourse of August 1818), “at the distinguished (individuals) of the civil service in the present day: is there one of them, I mean where the career commenced after the institution of the College (Fort William), whose character was not, in the first instance, brought to light by distinction acquired here?” The glory thus claimed by Lord Hastings for the College of Fort William, must surely be participated with the College in England. Nor let me appear unjust to the excellent

cellent establishment at Fort William, if I say that the sister institution must participate that glory more than equally; for the studies at Fort William are confined to the oriental languages, and the residence of students of industry and ability there seldom reaches the period of a twelve-month.

I would not be understood to affirm, that the proposition I have just laid down holds universally, for undoubtedly there are striking exceptions. Some attain eminence in India, who have not been eminent at the College in England. In the same manner, if any curious reader will examine the catalogues of the honours conferred at Cambridge for a long series of years, and will then trace into after-life the names which grace those columns, he will, on the one hand, be interested with observing how frequently the promise afforded by juvenile proficiency has been fulfilled in maturer years; but, on the other, he may perhaps be surprised at finding, that not a few persons who stand comparatively low on the list of honours have, notwithstanding, been subsequently eminent. In such cases as these, however, is it to be inferred that the individuals in question derived no benefit from their academic education? Not so; I entirely concur in the opinion of Lord Grenville, that it is salutary

tary even to breathe the atmosphere of a well constituted seminary. Accordingly, I know instances of those who, with great advantage to themselves, have resuscitated (if I may so speak) in India the instruction which they had received at Haileybury, and by which, at the time, they had appeared to profit but little. It has seemed as if lessons had been written on their minds invisibly, which the heat of active life afterwards brought out and made conspicuous.

It is, however, very worthy of observation that, in general, conspicuous merit at the College has been the forerunner of eminence in the Indian service. I have been surprised to hear it urged, in disparagement of the system at Haileybury, that in the course of the fifteen or sixteen years which have elapsed since the first students landed in India, the College has not yet furnished a governor to any of the presidencies. Can there be a stronger proof of the success of the Institution than that this is the utmost that can be urged in proof of its failure? The charge, however, suggests it to me to mention, that the College has already furnished secretaries to government, a department of the service well known to be of the very highest importance and responsibility. Of five or six civil secretaries at Calcutta, *three* (Messrs. Mackenzie, Prinsep, and Stirling) were distinguished

guished prize-men and proficient at Haileybury ; of four secretaries at Madras, and four at Bombay, *two in each place* (Messrs. Clive and Macpherson Macleod at the former, and Messrs. Norris and Simson at the latter) were of the same class ; and a *third* (Mr. Farish) has just been promoted from the same situation at Bombay.

If then, on the whole, it appears that the average improvement of the junior portion of the civil service has corresponded with the average influx from the College at Haileybury, and if it also appears that the brightest ornaments of the junior part of the service have previously been the brightest ornaments of the College at Haileybury, surely it seems to be established, almost with mathematical precision, that the education at Haileybury has been productive of signal benefit to the civil service. To the considerations, however, that I have mentioned, I will now add a fourth, which I think important. I believe it, on the best evidence within my reach, to be an undeniable fact, that the persons who, having gone out from the College, have become eminent in India, very generally admit their deep obligations to the course of education at that establishment. Some may perhaps remember that, seven years ago, when the subject of the College was debated in this place, I read some letters from civilians in India who had passed through

through the College at Hertford with the highest credit, and who testified their grateful recollection of the instruction they had received. It was, I think, answered, that two or three eminent pupils did not prove the general merit of the seminary; but this was, in truth, to mistake my argument. The letters were produced, not to shew that persons of eminence had been sent forth from the College, but to shew that the most eminent persons whom the College had sent forth *owed* their eminence to the education there received. On this subject the evidence of the writers of those letters was not merely admissible, it was clearly the best evidence that could be adduced. Every man of common faculties knows whether he has benefited by his education at a particular seminary or not. It is common to hear it said, "at such a school
" or college I gained great good; at such
" another, I did nothing; at such a third, I im-
" proved much, but it was by private study,
" and not owing to the instructions of the place." I now hold in my hand many more letters of the same kind with those which I formerly produced, and it would highly gratify me to communicate to the Court the cordial and fervent language in which several of the writers express their obligations to the seminary in question, and their sense of its value. I will, however, spare the
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time of the Court ; but I must at the same time state distinctly the nature of the evidence to which I refer. Had it been possible for me to put the question as to the merits of the College universally to those who have left it with a high reputation and proceeded to India, I should not have feared to stake the whole fate of the institution on the general effect of the answers. What I could, however, I have done. Either by means of the letters I have just mentioned, or by direct references to such individuals of the Indian service as were in England, I have ascertained the opinions of *twenty-six* gentlemen who have gone out from the College to India. Their names I hold in my hand and am ready to shew to any person in this Court. One and all distinctly concur in avowing their great obligations to the Institution ; and when it is considered, that the individuals to whom I refer have not been selected, but are all to whom I had access, I must regard their testimony as of no small weight.

In place, however, of referring to private sources of information, I will content myself with a single quotation from a pamphlet published in 1823, and entitled “ A letter to the Chairman, Deputy Chairman, and Court of Directors of the East-India Company, on the subject of their College at Haileybury ; by a Civilian.” As the publication

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is anonymous, I will not name the author, though he has kindly disclosed his name to me; but I understand that ill health compelled him to quit India and the service, and that he has since taken his degree at one of the universities. Probably his name is well known to other gentlemen present; and the work contains internal evidence that the author is fully competent to do justice to the subject. He is not a prejudiced friend to the College; for where censure seemed to him necessary, he has spoken freely. This gentleman, however, writes as follows:—

“ As far as regards the progress of the students,
 “ and their habits of application, it appears, as
 “ well by comparison with other collegiate bodies
 “ as by the reports of the examinations, that there
 “ has been generally great reason to be satisfied.
 “ We must follow these youths to India, however,
 “ if we would learn the full benefit of this valu-
 “ able institution. It is there a subject of univer-
 “ sal remark, how much the writers of the present
 “ day have the advantage of their seniors in point
 “ of general education, and how much better
 “ qualified they are to enter upon the offices to
 “ which they are destined. In religious feeling
 “ and morality there is a decided amelioration;
 “ and gambling, a vice for which the service in
 “ India was formerly noted, is now very little
 E “ practised

“ practised—I might almost say entirely aban-
 “ doned. The Oriental languages are now so
 “ universally known, that not a single civilian
 “ enters upon his duties as a public servant, who
 “ is not able to conduct business in one or two of
 “ the vernacular dialects. In this respect there is
 “ a striking contrast between the elder branches
 “ of the service and their juniors; and the nu-
 “ merous evils which formerly arose from an imper-
 “ fect intercourse (through the medium of corrupt
 “ interpreters) between the officers of govern-
 “ ment and the people, are now entirely removed.
 “ It is true that these languages are studied in
 “ India as well as in England; but it is here that
 “ the chief difficulties are overcome—more espe-
 “ cially if the Sanscrit language be made the object
 “ of study; and the student has in India little
 “ else to perform than the easy task of adding to
 “ his stock of words, and improving his pronun-
 “ ciation. On what account, then, has the East-
 “ India College disappointed public expectation?
 “ and how happens it that an opinion is enter-
 “ tained by many, that it would be a beneficial
 “ measure to abolish it altogether? The reason
 “ appears to be, that the evils, which have been
 “ felt only at home, have been proclaimed, per-
 “ haps exaggerated, by interested individuals, till
 “ they have become the subject of general ani-
 “ madversion,

“ madversion, although, in point of fact, they
 “ have borne no proportion to the existing be-
 “ nefits.”

This excellent passage will close what I have to offer on the more general grounds I have hitherto taken, and will serve as an introduction to the more direct and particular testimonies from India, to which I am about to refer in proof of the beneficial effects of the system at Hertford. They have, on former occasions, been produced, and will mostly be found in the well-known statements of Mr. Malthus. For this reason, I will omit the testimony of General Hewitt in August 1811, as relating merely to proficiency in the Oriental languages, and one or two others of the same kind; but there are some which I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of citing.

Lord Minto, in the discourse pronounced by him, as Visitor of the College of Fort William, on the 15th of September 1810, after noticing particularly eight students from Hertford, who had greatly distinguished themselves in the sister college, proceeds thus:—“ It is with peculiar plea-
 “ sure that I do a further justice to Hertford Col-
 “ lege, by remarking that the official reports and
 “ lectures of our College will shew the students
 “ who have been translated from Hertford to
 “ Fort William, to stand honourably distinguished

“ for regular attendance, for obedience to the
 “ statutes and discipline of the College, for or-
 “ derly and decorous demeanour, for moderation
 “ in expense, and consequently in the amount of
 “ their debt; and, in a word, for those decencies
 “ of conduct which denote men well born, and
 “ characters well trained.” Then, after quoting
 the favourable attestation of two of the Professors
 at Fort William to the progress made at Hertford
 in the study of Persian, he adds, “ It will appear,
 “ from these short remarks, that several important
 “ benefits have already been derived from the
 “ institution at Hertford. The utility of that
 “ establishment has even thus early been made
 “ sensible;—first, by the positive acquirements of
 “ its pupils, which, although inconsiderable, and
 “ merely elementary in Oriental study, have been
 “ felt to contribute materially to the advance-
 “ ment of the same pursuits at Fort William;—
 “ but next, and principally, by a salutary influ-
 “ ence on conduct and character, both moral and
 “ academical.”

In order to impair the value of this eulogium, it
 has been observed, in the course of the present
 debate, that when Lord Minto thus spoke, very
 few young men had arrived in India who had been
 educated at Hertford. The precise force of this
 remark I am not able to perceive; since the stu-
 dents

dents from Hertford, whether they were few or many, were not only in terms the subjects of the panegyric, but were specifically declared by it to be pre-eminent above the rest of the students. The truth however is, as I believe, that the first division of students left Hertford about December 1807, and, consequently, when Lord Minto so favourably characterized them, the students of the first two, if not of the first three years at Hertford College, must already have entered the College of Fort William.

Two years afterwards—that is, on the 16th of November 1812—Captain Roebuck, then the Examiner of the College at Fort William, addressed the College Council in a letter, in which he speaks of it as “an admitted fact, that the students then “ in College, compared with former years, were “ much steadier in every respect ;” —and remarks, that “ this was, perhaps, owing to their previous “ education at Hertford College.”

On the 29th of December 1812, the College Council at Fort William themselves addressed the Governor General in Council in a letter, which is recorded in the “Bengal Consultations” of the 1st of April 1814, and which contains the following passage :—

“ We take the liberty of repeating in this place
 “ the observations made by the Right Honourable
 “ the

“ the Visitor, in his speech pronounced at the
 “ Disputation holden 22d September 1810, that
 “ the improvement (a very great and general one)
 “ which we have thought ourselves warranted in
 “ asserting, has been very conspicuous in the con-
 “ duct of the students who have passed through
 “ the College at Hertford. We trust and believe
 “ that this is no accidental circumstance; but, at
 “ all events, the fact is in our opinion certain,
 “ that, due regard being paid to numbers, no simi-
 “ lar institution can afford a greater proportion of
 “ young men more distinguished by the manners
 “ of gentlemen, and general correctness and pro-
 “ priety of deportment, than the present students
 “ of the College at Fort William.”

At the public disputation in 1815, Mr. Edmon-
 stone, who acted as Visitor in the absence of the
 Governor-General (Lord Moira), and who, having
 since returned to Europe, has, with the very gene-
 ral approbation of the members of this Court, been
 promoted to a place in our governing body, ob-
 served,—“ I have the satisfaction to know that,
 “ at the present time, instances of deviation from
 “ the maxims and rules of prudence and propriety
 “ (for such must always exist in every large asso-
 “ ciation) are exceptions to the general system
 “ of conduct observable among the students of
 “ the College.” He then, with an obvious allu-
 sion

sion to the sister seminary in England, proceeds thus:—" This gratifying improvement may, perhaps, be traced to sources beyond this establishment."

Having hitherto reiterated testimonies which have before been cited, I now beg leave to adduce some which had no existence at the period of our former discussions on the subject of the College;—and here let Lord Hastings be referred to.

In his public discourse to the College of Fort William, on the 30th June 1817, the noble Visitor expresses himself as follows:—

" The interest felt in the concerns of your institution is not confined to the public of this country; it is an object of attention to a large portion of the public of England and of Europe. In tracing the causes of the singular success with which this great and distant empire is governed with so much apparent ease, and preserved in such tranquillity, the attention of every observer must be arrested by those institutions which are destined to form the future legislators and statesmen of India, and which have already contributed so largely to the general improvement in the administration of affairs. The institutions of Hertford and of Fort William will necessarily become objects of the deepest interest. The institution at Hertford has
" but

“ but very lately been subjected to the minutest
 “ scrutiny of the public at home ; and it has
 “ passed the ordeal with an increase of honour
 “ and reputation, which, to those who, from its
 “ effects in this country, see its value, cannot but
 “ be a source of high gratification.”

Is this, however, the single testimony from Lord Hastings? In a subsequent discourse, delivered on the 15th of August 1818, he thus speaks :—

“ It probably has never happened to any other
 “ nation, that individuals belonging to it should
 “ be placed in situations of active pre-eminence,
 “ and extensive superintendence, at so early an
 “ age as is the case with the British gentlemen
 “ sent out for the Honourable Company’s service.
 “ From my own personal opportunities of observa-
 “ tion, I can say that, almost without an excep-
 “ tion, the persons invested with those high trusts,
 “ at what appears so premature a period of life,
 “ prove that ‘ wisdom standeth not in the length
 “ of years.’ Their probity and mildness in the
 “ administration of justice, their patient and im-
 “ partial investigation of complicated disputes,
 “ and their kindly honourable feelings towards
 “ the natives, reflect the greatest credit on that
 “ general system of education at home, which
 “ prepares youth to discharge such important func-
 “ tions

“ tions so competently. This ground-work is,
 “ without doubt, possessed by the students whom
 “ the present examination pronounces unqualified
 “ for the service.”

With regard to Bengal, these citations will surely be held conclusive. But, in order to appreciate the weight and force of these testimonies, it is necessary to observe two things. First, the state of the service, subsequent to the establishment of Haileybury College, must be compared with its state previously to that period. Now, read only the striking picture given in Lord Wellesley's Minute of the position of the young civilians,—
 “ abandoned (as he says) at the age of sixteen or
 “ eighteen, with affluent incomes, to pursue their
 “ own inclinations, without the superintendance
 “ or control of parent, guardian, or master.” Or read the forcible statements of Mr. Tytler, himself a civilian, in his “ Considerations on the present Political State of India ;” remembering that the descriptions given by Mr. Tytler, though penned about 1812, apply to his own experience of a residence in the College of Fort William, which terminated in or before 1808. Independently of individual cases of young writers incurring expences to a degree absolutely enormous, Mr. Tytler states, “ that he is certain he confines himself within bounds,
 F “ when

“ when he gives the *average sum* of 10,000 rupees
 “ to clear off the tradesmen’s bills contracted
 “ during a residence in College.” And the rest
 of his delineation is in exact keeping with this
 single feature. Contrasted with such descriptions,
 the admitted improvement among the junior ser-
 vants will appear in its proper light. But, second-
 ly, it is particularly important to remember, that
 all the testimonies I have produced were *casual*
 and *spontaneous* testimonies; they were not applied
 for, or in any manner elicited; they were not
 answers to inquiries from this country. The emi-
 nent persons from whom they proceeded were not
 called on to say any thing respecting the College
 in England, either favourable or unfavourable.
 They were led to *volunteer* their praise, merely
 from the strong impressions produced by what they
 saw and heard. It is this circumstance that stamps
 on their statements so peculiar a value.

With respect to the other presidencies, if direct
 written testimonies are not produced, yet the most
 satisfactory evidence will be furnished, on referring
 to competent and unprejudiced civilians recently
 returned from those presidencies; and opportu-
 nities of such reference must be within the reach
 of every member of the Court. In relation to
 Madras, in particular, I again refer to the very
 valuable authority of my honourable friend be-
 side

side me* who allows me to say, that having originally felt great doubts as to the probable utility of the College at Haileybury, he became a warm advocate for it from having witnessed its beneficial effects in India. The same gentleman has informed me, that, in consequence of the modifications introduced into the system of Indian administration by Sir Thomas Munro, modifications tending to an union of the judicial and financial departments, important judicial duties have, in many instances, been thrown on the junior civilians employed as sub-collectors of revenue ; and that, for the discharge of these duties, they have, in a surprising degree, been found prepared by the excellent general education which they had received at home. In corroboration of these statements, I must again quote Mr. Greenway, who has kindly allowed me to use his name, not merely for the fact of a general improvement in the junior division of the civil service at Madras, but also for the opinion, that the system of education at Haileybury has constituted one very efficient cause of that improvement.

With regard to the good effects of the Haileybury system in grounding the students in the Oriental languages, I am, as I intimated, very unwilling to occupy the time of the Court. Mr.

F 2 Malthus,

* Mr. Hodgson.

Malthus, in his admirable work, states some very striking facts on this topic. One of his authorities (Lord Minto) distinctly asserts the proved utility of the elementary instruction in the Oriental languages at Haileybury, as tending to abridge the time allotted to the study of those languages in India; and the reports and other public documents of the Colleges of Fort William and Fort St. George, during a series of past years—documents accessible to all—present a mass of evidence decisively establishing the same fact; evidence which it is impossible to exhibit to the Court in all its fulness, and equally impossible to abstract or condense without injustice: I shall be satisfied, therefore, with a general reference to these authorities, except as to one point. I understand that a story has appeared in one of the public papers, stating that a young man, instructed in all the Oriental learning which Haileybury could furnish, found his acquisitions utterly useless on his arrival at Madras;—and this, it seems, is urged as a conclusive argument against all the Oriental instruction of Haileybury. Observe, that this statement is made in February 1824. Now how stand facts? During the few first years of the College, no systematic instruction was afforded in the Sanscrit tongue. That language, however, if not the parent of the three languages vernacular within the

the range of the Madras presidency, is at least so intimately connected with those languages, as to afford the best preparative for an acquisition of them. Prizes, indeed, were long since given for proficiency in Sanscrit; but the adoption of this as a part of the system of the College, did not, as I believe, take place till 1814; when, on the recommendation of the examining Board of the College of Fort St. George, the study of Sanscrit was established at Haileybury, and though not made actually obligatory, was enforced on all the Madras students as a matter of trial, and was also encouraged generally. The effect cannot be better stated than in the words of the Examiners of Madras, writing officially, of date the 20th December 1817, that is, more than six years ago; and their testimony I will cheerfully confront with the anonymous accusation to which I have referred.

“ In consequence of our recommendation, the
 “ study of the Sanscrit is pursued at Haileybury
 “ by those intended for the civil service of this
 “ Presidency; and we cannot conclude this re-
 “ port without noticing particularly the great ad-
 “ vantage which it has afforded to many of the
 “ junior civil servants who have latterly joined
 “ the institution, in the acquirement of the
 “ colloquial languages of the coast.

“ This

“ This language, which influences every tongue
 “ from the confines of China to the western limits
 “ of Persia, and is radically connected with many
 “ of the dialects spoken in Europe, may be con-
 “ sidered as the principal key to those of India ;
 “ for though the dialects of the south are not
 “ radically connected with it, its terms are liberally
 “ intermixed with the vernacular speech of the
 “ Tamil,* Teloogoo, and Canarese nations. The
 “ acquisition of the latter, therefore, it is evident,
 “ must be greatly facilitated by a knowledge of
 “ the former, and it has accordingly been found,
 “ that the progress made by the students at the
 “ College of Fort St. George in the attainment of
 “ them, has been incomparably more rapid and
 “ satisfactory since they have studied the Sanscrit
 “ in England.”

The report proceeds to name five students,
 Messrs Thomas Munro, Wheatly, Robertson,
 Hooper, and Elliot, as distinguished for the ra-
 pidity with which they had gone through the
 course of instruction at the Madras College ; in
 one and all of whom I was gratified to find students
 of high eminence for proficiency at Haileybury.

Were I now to enter into a narrative of par-
 ticular facts, illustrative of the advantages which
 the

* “ Including the Malayalam.”

the young civilians in India have reaped from the lessons inculcated at Haileybury, my address would never end: a single specimen or two must suffice. Mr. Stokes, most honourably distinguished at Hertford, was employed as an assistant collector under the Madras Government, and, in the absence of his superior, was unexpectedly called on to make a report to the Government on a highly interesting subject of administrative economy—I believe on the regulations proper to be adopted in expectation of a famine; and this gentleman, then at a very early period of life, acquitted himself on the subject so ably, that he was immediately summoned to Madras and promoted. Mr. Stephen Babington, one of the early ornaments of the College, and the very first student from that Institution who ever set foot in Bombay, owed his rise, in like manner, to a masterly report made on some topic of general polity; but I have selected this instance from many others, in order to mention the sequel of this gentleman's brief but honourable career. In a humane attempt to extinguish a fire, the fall of a beam cost him his life: such, however, was the impression which his merits had made on the minds of the settlement in general, that a large subscription has been entered into, for the erection of a statue in commemoration of his talents and virtues.

Here,

Here, then, I terminate my view of the benefits of this institution in India; merely pressing it on the reason and justice of the Court to say, whether all these good effects, which have taken place since the establishment of the College, have been produced, not by *means* of this institution, but in *spite* of it? If so, I can only wish that the same anomaly may continue; that the College may still go on, doing good by the rule of contraries; that it may still and long exhibit the phenomenon of a system, demonstrably pernicious in all its presumable tendencies, and unspeakably beneficial in all its actual results.

Having now taken a survey of the effects of this Institution abroad, I will turn my attention to its operations at home; still looking at the system rather in a practical than a theoretical point of view. I will not enter into details, but confine myself to this general proposition—that every person who sends his child to a seminary, intends him to derive from it one or more of these three advantages: the communication of instruction, the acquisition of friendships, and the formation of habits. Let the system of education pursued at Hertford College be briefly viewed in reference to these points; and especially let it be considered in contrast with the proposed plan of a public examination,

mination, and the establishment of a test of qualification.

With regard to the first point, I will not contend that a perfect system of literary instruction is to be found at the College : but, as far as my information tends, I am not acquainted with any establishment in which so much is effected in proportion to the means adopted, the number of students, and the length of stay allowed to each. The course of education is indeed appropriate ; and here I cannot help noticing the question of an Honourable Proprietor, who asked whether more learning and preparation are required in statesmen and diplomatists in India, than are necessary to public functionaries holding parallel situations in this country ? I cannot answer the question better than in the words of the Marquess Wellesley. That eminent person has observed, respecting the civil servants of the Company, “ they are required to discharge the functions of “ magistrates, judges, ambassadors, and governors “ of provinces, in all the complicated and extensive “ relations of those sacred trusts and exalted stations ; and under peculiar circumstances, which “ greatly enhance the solemnity of every public “ obligation, and the difficulty of every public “ charge. Their duties are those of statesmen in “ every other part of the world ; with no other

“ characteristic differences, than the obstacles offer-
 “ ed by an unfavourable climate, a foreign language,
 “ the peculiar usages and laws of India, and the
 “ manners of its inhabitants.” Therefore I have
 the authority of Lord Wellesley for asserting,
 that it is a still more arduous work to qualify a
 statesman or diplomatist for India, than, other
 things being equal, for the worthy discharge of
 those duties, on ordinary occasions, in this coun-
 try. Now add to this the important fact, that the
 young aspirant to civil offices in India must earlier
 complete his education than if he were destined to
 the same vocation in Europe,—that he has both
 more to learn, and less time to learn it in,—and
 you have at once a measure by which you may try
 the fitness of the system at Hertford. It is plain
 that a seminary destined to educate the Indian
 statesman, ought to give him that which he might
 elsewhere acquire for the peculiar duties of his sta-
 tion, and to superadd whatever is peculiar to the
 qualifications requisite for the public service in
 India. I do not know of the existence of any
 seminary which concentrates, in any measure
 equal to Hertford College, the advantages requisite
 for the purposes stated. Law, history, political
 economy, are not taught systematically any where
 but here. The oriental languages are not else-
 where to be had with any certainty. In short,
 both

both my own observation, and the testimony of persons by no means interested in giving false representations, have satisfied me that the system is superior to all others for its purposes. As one example, I will refer to the contents of a letter which, on a former occasion, was, with a laudable candour, produced by the Honourable Member for Aberdeen, and which is to be found in the fourth volume of the *Asiatic Journal*, page 72. It was written by a gentleman who had a son educated at Haileybury, and who thus expresses himself:

“ The young man went to Hertford, he studied
 “ his four terms, and I have not any reason to
 “ regret the advice which I received. On the
 “ contrary, I am perfectly satisfied, that not only
 “ in political economy and oriental science, but
 “ in Greek and Latin, in polite literature of all
 “ kinds, in general taste, in the use of the English
 “ language, and I may add in manners, he re-
 “ ceived a higher measure of cultivation than he
 “ could have received under any other institution
 “ that I ever heard of.

“ As to his morals, I got him back just as I
 “ parted with him, honest and modest, strong in
 “ sound feeling and self-command; and I know
 “ that mine is not a singular case. Another
 “ young man from this place ran the same course,
 “ and with at least equal success—I believe much

“ greater. I heard of many names more distinguished than either, and I have no doubt their conduct was still more creditable.”

Now I refer to this testimony, not only because it is in every view unexceptionable, but because the commendation which it gives of the education at Haileybury accurately corresponds with that which I have heard from numerous individuals fully competent to speak on the subject. In fact, I do not rely on any *single opinion*: I have taken means to collect information from a variety of independent and trustworthy sources. In particular, I have consulted two gentlemen, one of Cambridge, the other of Oxford, who, themselves unconnected with the India College, have had the opportunity of accurately observing and becoming acquainted with its system. One of these for several months watched the progress, through the college of Haileybury, of a very near and dear relation, who had previously distinguished himself at the public schools in a very remarkable manner; yet it was the surprise and admiration of the friend to whom I have just referred, to witness the extraordinary improvement of his young relation under the course of education at Haileybury. As I have no written opinion to produce from this gentleman, I will take the liberty of naming him: it is the Rev. Mr. Venn.

Indeed

Indeed I am bound to declare my impression to be, that so far from being inadequate to the communication of necessary instruction, the system, if open to any doubt at all, may perhaps be questioned as straining to too great a pitch the faculties of the student,—as applying too potent a stimulus to the juvenile mind. The other gentleman to whom I referred resided at the College six months, and afterwards went to Oxford, where he also became distinguished at a very distinguished college. I hold in my hand a letter from this gentleman, fully and ably entering into the whole of the present subject; and to any inquirer, I will willingly both communicate the whole letter, and reveal the name of the writer. At present I will read only that part which concerns the system of instruction at Haileybury:

“ The system of education there pursued, is an
 “ instance of the practice of the most difficult
 “ theory ever proposed to learned men—a general
 “ education. The college is literally an univer-
 “ sity; and not one where the students may choose
 “ their branch of learning, one man studying
 “ mathematics, another classics, another oriental
 “ literature, another law, and another history—but
 “ where any student that distinguishes himself cre-
 “ ditably is bound to attend to each distinct branch.
 “ In all my stay at Oxford, I never saw more in-
 “ tense

“ tense competition for honours than I witnessed
 “ at the East-India College. Whether I consider
 “ the number of hours required for preparing to
 “ attend the various lectures, or the great variety
 “ of subjects to which the attention is directed,
 “ without intermission, without a single day of re-
 “ laxation, for more than four months together in
 “ each term, I must confess, I am not so much
 “ astonished at the great proficiency which the
 “ studious attain in every department, as at the
 “ circumstance of so few turning restive, and re-
 “ fusing to be driven at a rate, to which one should
 “ judge the minds of such young men to be un-
 “ equal.”

Let me next advert to the objections urged
 against the system of examination pursued at Hai-
 leybury, and the proposed substitution of a public
 examination. These objections are, I think, two-
 fold; first, it is complained that the examination is
 not a public one; and secondly, that it is con-
 ducted exclusively by the professors of the college.

As to the first objection, I have always enter-
 tained, and have long since taken opportunities of
 expressing, a sufficiently strong opinion on the
 inexpediency of *vivá voce* examinations, properly so
 called. In the Senate-House of Cambridge (where,
 perhaps, is exemplified the *best* actual system of
 examination in existence), there prevails a mixed
 process,

process, the trial being partly in writing and partly by *vivá voce*. But any one would have an improper idea of the latter mode, who supposed that it was conducted in the usual manner of *vivá voce* examinations. On the contrary, though the examiner propounds his questions *vivá voce*, they are put to the whole of a class at once, and the answers are all given in writing, and read by the examiners afterwards. In my opinion, an examination conducted in writing is unquestionably the best; it is the only method by which you can fairly bring to one common measure, the talents and acquirements of a variety of young men. Suppose, for instance, that a classical examiner presents a book to be construed by a number of young men, in order to determine their relative merits; how is it possible for him to select passages for each student which shall possess an exact equality of difficulty, and therefore furnish an accurate test of comparison amongst the several members of the body? It would be as wise to use a measure of length composed of some highly elastic substance, as to proceed on such a principle. The method of Porson, in some of the classical examinations in which he was employed at Cambridge, was not this, but to set each candidate, separately, to translate the same passage in writing; and no other method will satisfactorily answer the purpose.

This,

This, then, is my first reason for preferring such a mode of examination. My second is, that it is impossible for any examiner, whatever may be his faculties, to carry in his mind the merits of each student out of a long line of persons, so as accurately to classify them by the force of his memory alone. Nor can any use of notes hastily made, as he listens to each probationer, enable him to measure together the relative proficiencies of all. The only satisfactory mode is to have the answers in writing: for then he is possessed of preservable documents, which he may mutually compare at leisure, and with deliberation.

My third reason is, that in many subjects of examination, not only is writing expedient, but nothing can be done without it. In construing a book in a foreign language which presents easy passages, or in the elementary parts of mathematics, or geometry, it will mostly be in the power of the student to give his answers *vivá voce* with facility: but in departments of a more difficult nature, it is often literally impossible for a youth, however highly gifted, to answer with effect except by writing. Nor am I now speaking of the abstruser parts of science. Take the case of a complex problem in quadratic equations; and would it be fair to insist on a *vivá voce* solution? But it is not only in science that this method of

exami-

examination is inapplicable; the same remark holds in the literary department of education. The student cannot possibly, by that rough translation which necessarily characterizes an extempore effort, place it in the power of the examiner to ascertain a most valuable part of his proficiency (and which, by the way, is very material in the education of the civil servants of the Company), namely, the talent of composition in his own language. Still less can he shew that talent in a foreign language, living or dead.

But I beg to state a fourth reason, and one still stronger than any of those already mentioned. I presume to say, that I have myself undergone as many academical examinations as most gentlemen present; and I cannot help thinking that it is most unfair to place a diffident young man, in a situation where he may have to contend with a rival of his own standing, and not, perhaps, superior powers, but who is blest, either naturally or in consequence of having been trained to the task, with a readiness to answer, and an indifference to the terrors of exhibition. A public examination, I feel persuaded (and far better judges have held the same opinion), adds a most unjust impediment to the difficulties which the student, whose education has been obtained at a private school, must, at all events, encounter on such occasions.

I do not mean to dissent from the eulogium that has been pronounced by an Hon. Proprietor,* on the public examinations at the celebrated establishment to which he alluded (the Charter-House school), where the whole public are suffered to be present, and any person is at liberty to puzzle the student as he pleases; on the contrary, I doubt not its justice. It is possible that other examples of a like kind might be quoted; but surely such examples are not conclusive. For let it be recollected, that the students in those cases are upon a level with each other, as to the advantage with which they face the exhibition: they are regularly disciplined to it, and there is nothing unfair in instituting a contest between two gladiators of the same school. It would be quite otherwise to match one of those intellectual prize-fighters with a timid youth, educated perhaps under the wing of his father, and wholly strange to such combats. I am indeed, in fairness, obliged to confess that the Cambridge examinations for the classical medal are, or were, partly conducted in the properly *vivá voce* method: but then, to obviate the inconvenience of presenting different passages to the different students (and which, as I have shown, would afford a fallible criterion at the best), the plan was adopted of calling them

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* Mr. Kinnaird.

successively into a room, in the presence of the examiners, and setting them separately to construe the same passage. Now I would ask, is such a plan capable of being applied to examinations comprising fifty or a hundred candidates at a time? I may perhaps be allowed to mention an instance of pains being taken at Cambridge to avoid a *vivâ voce* examination, even where in a degree it was obligatory. In a contest for an University scholarship on a foundation, where it had been expressly enjoined by the founder (Dr. Battye), that the trial should take place *vivâ voce*, and in the presence of all the candidates, the examiners (as one of them, the Regius Professor of Civil Law, Dr. Jowett, afterwards mentioned to some of the candidates) deliberately resolved not to evade the rule, but to escape its letter, while they obeyed its spirit and intention. In the examination which preceded that one, it had happened that the course of proceeding brought to one student (a gentleman since eminent at the bar) a Greek passage in Thucydides of proverbial difficulty, to be construed, and to his successor one of a very opposite description. The examiners were struck with the injustice of such a trial, and on the next vacancy determined to alter the plan; they accordingly required that the answers should be given in writing, but that

each student should afterwards read his own answer in the presence of the rest; by which means they obviated the inconvenience without violating the directions of the founder. These are actual precedents which appear not unimportant; and, though I know that *vivâ voce* examinations, properly so called, are admitted at Oxford (to which, however, Oxonians of eminence entertain decided objections), and though, in a degree, they are also known at Cambridge, especially in the interior examinations of individual colleges, I must retain the opinion of them which I have expressed. What process of examination is to be adopted in the new classical examinations which the University of Cambridge is just about to institute I have inquired, but have not been able to learn.

I now come to the second objection urged against the examinations of Haileybury College; namely, that they are conducted by the professors. The objection here might have some weight, if the professor had to decide between a body of his own pupils (in whose favour he might naturally be supposed to feel some bias), and the pupils formed in some other school. But this is not the case. The students who undergo the examination are all the pupils of the person who examines them, and there is no reason to apprehend, therefore, that

that he will be drawn aside from his duty by selfish partialities. He must entertain the same feeling towards all, and experience the same pleasure at the success of any. In fact, the circumstance of the trial not being conducted in the way of public exhibition, precludes the only chance of abuse to which an examination by the instructor himself is exposed. There is no inducement to convert the scene into one of theatrical, and possibly of *prepared* display. The examinations cannot be *acted*—cannot be got up by regular rehearsals—a perversion to which the exhibitionary mode of examination is clearly liable, and of which instances are known to have occurred. In saying this, I do not mean the remotest allusion to the distinguished public school which I have recently named.

I will now mention what appear to me the advantages of having the examinations held by the professors themselves. Not satisfied with trusting to my own observation, I have taken occasion to consult experienced persons belonging to the Universities; and have derived from my inquiries the clear opinion, that, when the proficiency of a number of students educated under the same tuition is to be ascertained, the fairest mode of doing this will be, by employing a judge who is acquainted with their reading. If, indeed, the students were perfect,

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or supposed to have finished their course in the branch in which they were tried, there might be no injustice in consigning them to a stranger for examination. It might then be fair (speaking familiarly) to *dodge* them, to catch them out, to examine them at a venture. But when the subject of trial is a proficiency confessedly imperfect, it is very advantageous that the examiner should accurately know the specific ground to which the studies of the pupils have generally been confined; and this is a just advantage, for it is evidently one to which the combatant is entitled.

A *second* reason is, that one object of an examination being to ascertain chiefly how far the student has exercised his *industry* (and in no examination can that inquiry be more necessary, than in those which have reference to the Indian civil service), it is doubly important that the trial should be conducted by those who are acquainted with his previous studies: for the question is, how far he retains and has digested what he has read. In this view, every lecture is partly an examination as to the student's improvement of previous lectures; and what is called the examination is only the completion of the process.

Thirdly, there is a *just* partiality (I will venture to call it so), which ought to be shewn by an examiner towards a certain class of students, and which

which cannot possibly enter into the process if conducted by a stranger. It is the great vice of all examinations, that they afford a bounty to talent, and do not hold out a sufficient encouragement to patient and meritorious industry. Promptitude and brilliancy are the ruling virtues of an examination, though not of actual life. Such must of course be the case wherever the examiner is a stranger. An examiner, on the contrary, who well knows the comparative merits of his candidates, though bound to class them only according to what they actually *produce* (if he does not this, he must be pronounced unworthy of his trust), yet *may*, and *ought* so to shape the exercises he proposes, as fairly to do justice to all. He may, and ought so to preside, that talent may not gain an undue predominance over acquirement; that dormant knowledge may be elicited, as well as quick and showy parts displayed; and in many cases, this cannot possibly be done without a previous intimacy with the reading of the students.

If I am asked, whether it is the habit in other seminaries, that examinations of importance should be conducted by the masters or other teachers themselves, I answer that the habit is at least frequent, though undoubtedly many instances of a contrary practice may be cited. Of the latter class

class are, undoubtedly, the examinations at Eton, quoted by the Hon. Mover, previous to the annual removals to King's College; for in these, the order in which the pupils should be placed is decided by the provost of King's, and two fellows of the same college, acting specially as examiners. But it must be observed, that the same distinguished seminary furnishes examples of the other mode of examination: for the relative places of the students, in promoting them from a lower to an upper form, are ascertained by an examination, in which the master is the examiner and sole arbiter. This examination is the only one to which the Oppidans are subject after admission, and it is always conducted in the same manner up to the fifth form; after which there is no farther examination. In like manner the well-known and severe examinations at Westminster School, by which the relative places of the commoners elected to be King's scholars are determined, is an examination purely by the master. Many other instances of the same kind might be referred to; but I will be content with the precedents supplied by my own university. At Cambridge, the distinction to which I have adverted, between a teacher examining young men, all of whom are his own pupils, and one examining his own pupils against others, is practically a good deal observed. In the large colleges,

leges, there are more than one tutor in each department; and the different tutors are naturally, in some degree, though in a fair and honourable manner, rivals. Hence, in order to prevent all possibility of cavil, it is not advisable, and in fact is not the practice, that the tutors should be the conductors of the college examinations, inasmuch as, in these, the young men instructed by different tutors come into mutual competition. But in the small colleges, where there is but one tutor in any one department, the difficulty does not exist, and there the practice is different. In my own college, the tutors were the only examiners, and by them the prizes were fixed, after examinations of no small severity.

In closing this subject, I will beg to observe, that no person who has had the opportunity of seeing what is done at the Haileybury examinations can doubt their efficacy, both as a stimulus and a criterion. I hold in my hand a pile, I might say a book, consisting of the printed questions put at one of the examinations. It was not selected, but taken casually; any Proprietor is welcome to inspect it, and no man can inspect it without being satisfied that, if any number of the students can, with tolerable correctness, follow the examiners through an extent of learning and knowledge so considerable (and I know that not only is this the

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fact,

fact, but that it is not singular to see papers of extraordinary accuracy and copiousness produced on the most difficult subjects), both the species and the quantity of the college studies must be pronounced worthy of high commendation. I will add another fact in favour of those examinations. They have now been going on for nearly twenty years; they are severe; the competition among the youthful candidates is most eager, and for some years past, even their relative places in the service, as compared with those of their contemporaries, have been fixed by the result of the contest; and yet, while so much prejudice has existed against the college in some quarters—while so much has been said, and publicly and clamorously said, in disparagement of other parts of the system—it is a striking fact, that not a whisper, not an insinuation, has ever been breathed in impeachment of the rigorous fairness and impartiality of the examinations in question.

I will now proceed to the consideration of the second object sought to be attained by sending youths to a place of education—I mean the acquisition of friends and acquaintances. In entering on this topic, I find myself crossed by the objection which has often been urged against the college, on the ground of its prematurely contracting the student's education and society into a particular channel.

nel. It is said that the college tends to form a *caste* of writers. It seems to be supposed that these writers are all of the same profession, and that the instruction they receive, being adapted to form them for their particular calling, is therefore, in its nature, professional and illiberal. Surely this opinion is founded on a very mistaken view of the subject. Whatever, indeed, the system may be, when it is considered that the students ordinarily reside but two years, and that they are collected from every part of the United Kingdom, and from seminaries of the most various descriptions, it can never be supposed that their residence will have the effect of narrowing, or improperly warping their minds or habits. At no other institution does the succession of inmates change so quickly; it is therefore impossible that much of local prejudice should be formed;—the current is too rapid to allow of those accretions which are apt to deform the stagnant marshes of learned establishments. An honourable Proprietor has indeed quoted, as conclusive against the system of the College, a writer in a periodical publication, who disapproves of the Oriental test established at the College, as tending improperly to encourage a particular branch of instruction at the expense of the rest. The censure, however, so cited by the honourable gentleman, is expressly directed, not against an

Oriental test *simply*, but against an *exclusive* Oriental test; and the fact is, that, since that opinion was expressed, the college system has been altered in substantial conformity with it. A regulation has been enacted, by which no student can obtain the certificate necessary to his appointment to the service, unless, besides passing the Oriental test, he obtains the testimony of good proficiency in one department of European literature, or of proficiency in two. Whether this regulation does enough is not the question; but it manifestly tends to place the European branches of study on a level with that institution in Eastern literature, which, though perhaps a necessary ingredient in the collegiate system, certainly cannot be esteemed a paramount part of it. It were idle to imagine that a very moderate infusion of Oriental learning—and moderate it must be at the best—should have the effect of contracting the characters or dwarfing the minds (if I may so speak) of the students—of double-dyeing them, as it were, in Indian ink. And, with respect to the other elements of the system, the fact is, that as the situations granted by the Company, under the name of writerships, embrace (Lord Wellesley being the witness), the utmost variety of professions, and some of these of the most arduous kind—so the course of instruction in use at Haileybury is more
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various and comprehensive than any other institution, be it school or college, exemplifies.

But then it is said, that the education of the Company's civil servants ought to be English. And what can be more characteristically English than the education actually received at the place in question? The young men are taught mathematics according to the methods adopted in the English universities; they are instructed in that classical literature, for the successful cultivation of which England is renowned above all other nations; they are initiated in those departments of science, relating to statistical and administrative economy, in which England has taken a conspicuous lead in modern times; lastly, they are introduced to an acquaintance with the study of our laws, our constitution, and our religion, the England (if I may so speak) of England; that specific part of England which makes her what she is, the glory of the West, and the empress of the East.

Having answered, as I presume to hope, the objection urged against the congregating of the young writers, previously to their actual appointment, at a particular seminary, I will now notice the benefits resulting from such a plan. I am not, indeed, aware that some slight adaptation of the views and thoughts of the students to the scene of their future life, as a preliminary to
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the commencement of their service, can in itself operate any disadvantage. I have heard good and liberal opinions to a contrary effect: and should not feel myself inconsistent in subscribing to those opinions. Occasional anticipations of the high functions they are to exercise in a quarter of the globe, the idea of which suggests so many interesting associations, may rather elevate and ennoble than debase their minds. But, whatever may be thought on this subject, there is a great and undeniable benefit closely connected with the system. In looking over a number of letters from young civilians in India, who had been educated at Haileybury, I have been greatly struck with observing the excellent effects produced by the acquaintances and intimacies which they had contracted at college, and which were cherished after their arrival in the East. Several gentlemen, also of that class, who happen to be in England, have remarked to me, in strong terms, on the benefits to which I allude. Instead of reading from private letters, however, I will refer the Court to some interesting observations on this very subject, contained in the publication of the civilian whom I have already had occasion to cite.

“ Previously to the institution of the East-India
 “ College, it must constantly have happened that
 “ a writer, on setting foot in India, knew not a
 “ single

“ single individual in that vast empire ; and a
 “ situation more desolate in itself, or more calcu-
 “ lated to excite the sympathetic condolence of
 “ those whom he had left, could not well be
 “ conceived. At the present day he becomes
 “ acquainted, in the course of his college educa-
 “ tion, not only with young men of his own
 “ standing, but with those, also, who are either his
 “ seniors or his juniors by a year and a half.
 “ With many who are destined to the same presi-
 “ dency as himself, he becomes intimate ; with the
 “ characters of all, at a period of life when character
 “ is best seen, he is made familiar. Thus India is
 “ to him no longer a land of strangers. He finds
 “ in it a second home ; he again meets the compa-
 “ nions of his youth. Whatever difficulties the
 “ novelty of his situation may at first create, they
 “ are removed by friends whom he finds already
 “ settled in the country ; and, in the course of
 “ his future career, he can visit no part of the
 “ Indian empire where he will not be received
 “ under the hospitable roof of a fellow-collegian.”

This is a picture drawn from the life : *Experto
 credite*. The writer describes his own feelings
 and experience. There is yet more, however, to
 be noticed on this point. The friendships formed
 at Haileybury do not merely give the young civi-
 lian society on his first arrival in India—they give
 him

him important knowledge among the members of the community to which he is introduced ; they afford him the means of selecting his associates ; they fortify him against that danger of forming improper or injurious connexions to which a very young man suddenly planted amidst strangers could not but be more or less exposed. I do not speak from imagination. Very judicious observers have testified to me the good effects which, in this respect, they have known to flow from the previous acquaintanceship of the writers sent from Haileybury. They have also pointed out another class of benefits arising from the same source. The young writers appointed to the different presidencies correspond with each other freely ; they mutually communicate their impressions and opinions on those public subjects, an attention to which is involved in their proper employments ; thus an interchange of mental light, and an intercommunion of good feeling, are established — one of the very advantages which (if I mistake not) were contemplated by Lord Wellesley, in his original idea of the college of Calcutta. Such, then, on the whole, is the result of the companionship that constitutes a part of the Hertford system. Here attachments grow up, which afterwards ripen into solid friendships ; attachments which may not, in a vulgar sense, conduce

conduce to the interest of the parties ; but which contribute to their comfort when separated from their immediate families—and not to their comfort merely, but to their moral well-being ; and which, while thus promoting private happiness and individual virtue, erect, at the same time, on these excellent foundations, an extensive and increasing superstructure of national and political improvement.

I will now draw the attention of the Court to the consideration of the third motive which guides parents in determining the place of education to which they will send their child, namely, the formation of moral habits—understanding that term in its most comprehensive sense. On this important point, I have made many inquiries, and with all the care and anxiety which belong to such a subject, and I will shortly state the result.

As compared with our great public schools, it appears that there is this distinction in the system at Haileybury—that whereas, in the former, the scholars mingle together indiscriminately, there is at Haileybury, as at the Universities, though not perhaps quite in the same degree (for Haileybury stands in some sense between the two), a power of selecting society. The students have separate rooms, and are not acquainted unless

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introduced. Although, therefore, the restrictions on conduct are in some respects less rigid at Haileybury than at a public school, the student is exempt from that promiscuous companionship which is often objected to as one principal mischief attending those schools. At Haileybury, a youth well trained and well advised may select his associates from among the studious and the correct, and in a degree avoid even the acquaintance of the more idle or dissolute.

On the other hand, if compared with our Universities, there can be no doubt that at Haileybury a degree of discipline is enforced far beyond the standard of academic strictness. I could easily establish this proposition by a detailed comparison; but, unwilling to exhaust attention, I will be content with a quotation from the letter of my Oxonian friend, which I have already cited in part—a perfectly competent testimony on the subject:

“ As to the discipline pursued in the East-India
 “ College, it always appeared to me to stand
 “ mid-way between the discipline of our public
 “ schools and that of our colleges. Compared
 “ with that of our public schools, it seemed to
 “ give a little more freedom of action, because
 “ the students found themselves no longer com-
 “ pelled to study, as at school, for fear of the
 “ rod,

“ rod, but invited to mental exertion by the
 “ promise of encouragement and the hope of
 “ reward. The restraints which affected the
 “ spending of their time were, and still are, such
 “ as are not only unknown to our colleges, but
 “ would be considered intolerable if enforced
 “ when the students were two or three years
 “ more advanced in age than those at the East-
 “ India College. What would an under-graduate
 “ member of the strictest college in Oxford feel,
 “ were he compelled, like the members of the
 “ East-India College, to attend chapel every morn-
 “ ing and evening, to dine in hall every day, and
 “ to be within gates every evening soon after
 “ dusk, and to be in his own room alone every
 “ night at eleven o’clock? At Hertford the use
 “ of wine is forbidden: yet at our Universities
 “ the use of it is freely indulged to young men
 “ who come up to college, not two years later in
 “ life than the students of the East-India College.
 “ Riding on horseback, or driving a gig, hunting
 “ and shooting, are sports most rigorously for-
 “ bidden at the East-India College; and if a
 “ young man is unable to take long walks, or to
 “ use athletic exercise, he has no source of recrea-
 “ tion. How different is this from our Univer-
 “ sities! Those persons who call out to take away
 “ the name of college, and call the East-India

“ College a school, would find, on examining the
 “ subject, that the college is already in reality
 “ that sort of school to which they would re-
 “ duce it, as the remedy for every defect. Let
 “ men who have passed through an English Uni-
 “ versity examine the discipline of the East-India
 “ College, and they will be found to confess, that
 “ the disturbances which arise there are such as
 “ might be expected from the enforcing a strict
 “ discipline upon young men, some of whom will
 “ not bear the restraint—whilst others, though
 “ apparently in the college with their consent,
 “ have both a dislike to appointments in a distant
 “ land, and an aversion to the severe studies of
 “ the place.”

But what, generally speaking, is the actual
 conduct, in point of correctness, of the students
 at this institution? I have taken all the means
 within my reach of obtaining an answer to this
 important question. An Hon. Proprietor said,
 that he had heard of gambling being practised
 there. Much as I have inquired into the state
 of the College, I am not, I cannot be, prepared
 to meet charges turning upon particular facts, or
 affecting the conduct of individuals. Unless,
 however, it is meant to be asserted that the vice
 in question (and the same rule applies to any
 other excess or irregularity) prevails, or is en-
 couraged,

couraged, or connived at, or not checked at the College, the reference to it is manifestly inconclusive. Now, on that head, if the practice of gambling be prevalent in the College, how is it to be explained that, according to the respectable testimony of the civilian whom I have already quoted, since the institution of this seminary, gambling, which formerly infected the civil service in India to a considerable extent, has almost entirely disappeared? Particular instances of it may have existed at the College, as every body well knows such instances to have existed at other colleges; other vices and improprieties, in like manner, may exist—but lamentable and censurable as these undoubtedly are, do they necessarily furnish a ground of reproach against this seminary, as compared with other seminaries? Clearly not: unless they prevail in it to a greater extent, or in a more aggravated degree. I have conversed or corresponded with many persons competent to institute a comparison in this matter between the India College and other places of education. Seven or eight of those persons have been students at that college, and also students at the university; others of them have passed through some of the public schools. On the whole, I am satisfied that the India College need not fear a comparison even with most of the public schools, and

and especially with those situated in towns; although, from the difference of the average age of the inmates, such a comparison would be manifestly unjust. But still more securely may it challenge a comparison with the universities. At this institution, indeed, as at all institutions of the kind, differences may be observed in different years. Much depends on the accidental character of the students in any particular year, coming as they do from other seminaries, and at an age past childhood. Here, as at the university, there is sometimes a better, sometimes a worse set; and the testimonies of persons comparing the two, will necessarily vary according to the sets into which they have happened to fall at each place respectively. Making this allowance, however, I have been struck with the remarkable concurrence of the opinions which I have received. Of those whom I have consulted, all, with a single exception, and even that gentleman (whom I know to have fallen in with an indifferent set at Hertford, and with an excellent one in a particular college at Cambridge, gave a mixed opinion), awarded the palm of equality, and the great majority that of decided superiority to the India College. For my own part, and I am myself not totally without the advantage of personal observation, I am clear that at Hertford the irregularities

gularities of all kinds are fewer beyond comparison. Let me not be supposed the advocate of such irregularities, even in their most venial forms; but the test of comparison is the only fair criterion to be applied in such a case, and by that test I am content that the College should be judged.

But it is contended that, whatever the comparative excellence of this establishment, yet, considering that the students are compelled to attend it, care should be taken entirely to exempt it from the dangers which, in a measure at least, are admitted to attach to it. The time of the young men should be filled up with useful or innocent employment; their hours of leisure should be so far superintended, as to preserve them from the influence of the temptations incident to their age; the risks, in short, incurred by them, in a moral point of view, should be diminished to the lowest possible amount. In answer, I can only observe, in exact coincidence with some excellent remarks already offered by my honourable and highly valued friend behind the bar,* that one reason why the young persons appointed writers are compelled to attend the college is precisely that it is essential, with a view to the particular service for which they are destined, that

* Mr. Money.

that they should previously have acquired habits of self-government; and how such habits can be acquired, without incurring a certain degree of the moral risk referred to, I profess myself unable even to conceive. If any person has discovered a solution of the problem, hitherto so torturing to human ingenuity, in what manner we are to reconcile a perpetual system of inspection and superintendence with that freedom of choice which is essential to moral agency—a course of watchful guardianship, by which error shall be rendered almost physically impossible, with the attainment of that self-control and self-discipline, to which the possibility of erring is an essential pre-requisite—an arrangement of time and employment by which all temptation shall be excluded, with that habit of resisting temptation which necessarily supposes a degree of exposure to it,—such a person cannot too soon announce his discovery, and claim the high station to which he will be entitled among the benefactors of his species. The truth is, the thing is impossible: you cannot be sure that your pupil has acquired the power to stand, unless you in some measure accustom him to that latitude of self-disposal, which inevitably involves a liability to fall.

“What then,” it is asked, “will you compel a parent to subject his son to the admitted hazard, what-

“ whatever be its amount, of an initiation into vice
 “ and dissipation? Shall he be necessitated to
 “ send forth his child, at the critical period of the
 “ commencement of manhood, from the safe and
 “ sheltered privacy of the domestic mansion, into
 “ a scene where his opening virtues may receive a
 “ fatal blight from the influence of example?”

My answer is, have you, the anxious inquiring parent, resolved to commit the virtues of that tender child, only two years later, to the perils of a residence in Writers' Buildings at Calcutta? Have you resolved to expose him, uncontrolled by parent or guardian, surrounded by a gay society of nearly his own age, and possessed of an almost unlimited command of money, to all the seductions of one of the most expensive, luxurious, and dissipated capitals in the world? Have you made up your parental mind to this measure? Then I have no difficulty in replying to your question. It would have been an anxious, a perplexing inquiry, to resolve *generally*; well may a parent pause, who is called to consider whether he shall send forth the son in whom his hopes and his fondness are centered, into the neighbourhood and contagion of vicious principles or practice: but the question, as proposed by you, is not difficult at all. You have so narrowed the conditions of the problem, that I undertake it without hesitation. I say that,

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having determined to cast your son into the midst of the dangers with which his rising virtues must necessarily meet during his residence at any of the Indian Presidencies, and still more if at Calcutta, it is your bounden duty first to subject him to the probation of a public education. Having decided that he shall quit the security of his domestic residence for a premature introduction into life, and into the scenes I have alluded to, it is positively incumbent on you to prepare him for the navigation to which he is destined—to graduate his transition—to smooth the passage—which not I, but you compel him to encounter, in exchanging the haven of parental counsel and guardianship, for a wild and strong sea of temptation and opportunity. If you fear to do this—if your feelings or your conscience (and I pronounce not that word sarcastically) prevent you from exposing your offspring to the moral perils of a strictly-disciplined public seminary—if you dread his proving too weak even for that modified trial, then how can you reconcile it to your feelings or your conscience, to insist on his facing, without any previous fortification, the far more formidable dangers of an Indian residence? If you dare not trust him even to the preparatory and probationary process necessary—if you shrink from subjecting him to the limited and guarded risks of the training—then on what principle,

principle, in the name of common consistency, can you venture to plunge him, untrained, unproved, unprepared, amidst the tremendous and accumulated hazards of the actual campaign?

Closely connected with the subject I have been considering, is one which has been a fertile theme of remark and complaint, namely, the number of the expulsions and rustications at the College. These have been thought, if not to be the effect, at least to afford a convincing proof of a system of discipline in some way faulty. Now, in the first place, as to the fact, I conceive it to be a mistake to suppose that the number of these punishments at Hertford greatly exceeds the number of those at other seminaries. Mr. Malthus, writing in 1816, produced well authenticated parallel instances; and I could name a public school of great celebrity, in which, since the time in which the present question was before discussed in this Court—that is, since March 1817, not fewer than *twelve* expulsions have occurred, *nine* of which took place at one and the same time.

(A Proprietor here requested that the school should be named.)

I shall have no difficulty in naming the school in question to any gentleman out of Court, for I speak from what I doubt not to be good information; but I must, for obvious reasons, re-

quest to be excused from mentioning the name publicly. The truth however is, that the expulsions at the India College are much more readily heard of than those which take place at other seminaries. Occurrences of this unpleasant nature, at most institutions, are rather suppressed than blazoned abroad; for to reverse the sentence is impossible, and to complain of it is only to make the infliction more public. Quite otherwise at Haileybury:—every act of severe justice there has been the occasion of loud and clamorous denunciation. I will not now enter into the circumstances that have caused this state of things; they have been clearly explained by Mr. Malthus and others; wherever the blame of them may rest, it is not on the Institution itself; but the true remedy for the evil is obvious, and it has repeatedly been pointed out. Let the College be only supported—let the Indian public once feel that they must live with it *for better and for worse*—and the incessant clamourings which its stern rejection of inadequate pretensions has occasioned—the complaints and misrepresentations calculated to sap its very foundation, will speedily come to a period, and the important benefits which it is so well adapted to produce will flow from it without hindrance.

Without reference to the consideration just suggested, I cannot help observing, that almost
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any comparison of the number of expulsions at the India College with the number at other public seminaries necessarily involves a fallacy, and I will endeavour to explain why.

The great peculiarity of the institution under consideration consists in this, that every student admitted into its walls is possessed of an appointment, amounting to an excellent and most respectable provision for life; in effect, I hesitate not to say, that the value of these appointments constitutes the real difficulty with which the establishment has to contend—the first and last of its difficulties. Partially, indeed, that difficulty has already, as to its practical operation, been smoothed away; I trust it may be yet further reduced; whether it can be entirely obviated is a different question; but at present it undoubtedly exists, and in a sensible degree.

Now let gentlemen glance at the effect of this peculiarity in the constitution of the College, with regard to the specific subject of expulsions. In other places of education, generally speaking, one main object of the parent is that the son should go through the course with at least *some* degree of credit, and this object preponderates over the wish that he should barely get through. If, therefore, the parent receives an intimation from the master, or other teachers of the place, that the youth

youth has no chance of completing his period of studentship creditably, he is usually glad to act on such intimation, and to remove the pupil to some other seminary. Often, indeed, he does not wait for the hint, but spontaneously withdraws a boy whom he perceives to be incorrigible. Suppose him, however, to do otherwise, and the young idler to proceed from bad to worse, then the warning will be given more authoritatively; “Your son (he will be told in a whisper) has been guilty of considerable irregularities, nay, he has even incurred some jeopardy of expulsion: his longer stay cannot benefit himself, and must injure others.” Thus admonished, any parent of ordinary prudence, far from resenting the advice, will feel himself indebted for it, and transport the delinquent elsewhere without delay. But conceive even this communication to be slighted, and the student to commit at length an offence clearly worthy of expulsion, though not of a very flagrant or contumacious character; in this conjuncture once more the friendly option would be afforded—“Remove (it would be said) your son tacitly, while yet there is time, otherwise we must unavoidably proceed to expel him;” and to such an address no parent—not merely none of ordinary prudence, but none not wholly lost to common sense—would venture to be deaf for

for a single moment. At the India College the case is very different; there the value of the studentship is such as to render many, if not most parents, much more anxious that their sons should pass, than that they should pass creditably. They wish them to gain honours; but their chief solicitude is that they should preserve their appointments. On the other hand, the young tyro is often as averse to the nomination as his father is attached to it. What is obviously the consequence? He soon becomes, as perhaps he would have been any where else, idle, irregular, disobedient. He is warned, but warned in vain. At length the professors intimate to the father or guardian that he had better be withdrawn; but the wishes and convenience of the parties are arrayed against the advice, and, in most instances, it is disregarded. Positive offences, and those perhaps of magnitude, ensue; again the parent is urged: he is more than urged—he is reminded of the contingency, if not of the probability of expulsion. But on most parents, possessed as they are with the idea that one son is off their list, even this suggestion is thrown away; one or two terms more, they flatter themselves, and the danger will be over. Another stage of collegiate misconduct is next reached—the penalty of expulsion is actually incurred, and the parent is earnestly requested to withdraw

withdraw his son privately, as the only alternative against his public dismissal. One would think that *now*, at least, the whisper would be omnipotent; and yet painful experience, to which it is not necessary more particularly to allude, proves that there are parents but too ready to reject even this offer, and to dare all the risks of a public expulsion, in hopes of a reversal of the sentence by the visitor.

It is therefore plain that, instead of instituting a comparison between the number of expulsions at Haileybury and that of other seminaries, the only fair process would be, to add together the number of expulsions and of tacit removals at each place, and to compare together these two aggregates. To frame such a comparison with any accuracy would undoubtedly be most difficult. The removals which I have called *tacit* are *ex vi termini* not matters of notoriety, and therefore scarcely admit of being numbered. But the general fact that such removals take place is notorious enough; and I believe that even a superficial inquiry into the subject will convince any person, that the occurrence is very frequent at schools or colleges of any size or strictness. Compare, in any year, the number of young men admitted at either of the Universities with the number of those who keep their terms and take degrees, and the disproportion

tion is very striking. Taking a casual year at Cambridge, I found the number of the degrees scarcely to exceed one-half that of the admissions; and though doubtless some of those who did not graduate had died, and others had perhaps never purposed more than a temporary stay, and a third class had left the university from other causes, yet it cannot be questioned that a good number had either been withdrawn by their friends, or had voluntarily retired, in consequence of the plan *not being found to answer*. In illustration of the distinction between expulsions and private dismissals or removals, I will refer to a fact, which I believe will be verified by any inquirer; namely, that at the endowed schools the greatest number of expulsions take place from among the boys on the foundation; and so also at colleges, the greatest number take place among the *scholars* or *students* (who draw emoluments from the College), and not from among the ordinary pupils or under-graduates. Why is this? Is it because the collegers in the one case, and scholars in the other, are more prone to commit offences than their associates who are not on the foundation? Certainly not; but because, having appointments of some value to lose, they are more apt to wait for a formal expulsion, instead of withdrawing on a private intimation given by the scholastic or collegiate autho-

rities. Difficult as it is to treat the tacit dismissals of which I speak as a matter of computation, I have attempted it. At a college of considerable size and eminence, it appears, on a rough calculation, that in a course of time the under-graduates so dismissed amounted to at least one in seven of those admitted. The calculation is necessarily rough, and I do not mean to propound it as applicable generally, but I believe it would apply to many other colleges. Probably, however, the average of such dismissals throughout the universities would be found smaller, by reason of its embracing the less strict colleges; and indeed I believe that the occurrence is not so frequent at the small as at the large colleges, proportionably to the numbers they contain. I have heard of a computation for a whole university, making the ratio of expulsions and tacit dismissals together, one in twenty, or twenty-five. At Haileybury, the expulsions, including the few tacit removals that have taken place, amount to about one in fourteen or fifteen; which is scarcely half the proportion of those at the distinguished college I have alluded to, and which I firmly believe to be smaller than at almost any other collegiate institution of the same magnitude. Considering, indeed, the great strictness of the system maintained at the India College, on which I have already remarked, and the disadvantages

vantages under which that college has laboured—a subject fully treated by Mr. Malthus in his well-known pamphlet—it must be considered surprising (as my Oxford friend, already cited, has observed) that the dismissals of all kinds, overt and tacit, from the institution have been so few.

A great deal has been said respecting the statutes of the College. I do not entertain the intention, nor can I perceive the relevancy of discussing those statutes; but the severe comments which have been made on them may justify my offering a few words. They have been reprobated as arbitrary and despotical. Well and wisely did the Hon. Mover of the present question say this, as he said many other things, that the proper theory of a seminary for education is, that it should be a despotism, but a despotism conducted in a parental spirit. The idea seems to me unimpeachably correct; but if you are to have a despotism, then clearly one of two courses must be followed: either a wide, general, and undefined power must be lodged in the hands of the conductors of the institution, to be exercised at their discretion, and without question or control, or you must be at the pains of defining and apportioning out on paper the several privileges and authorities with which you mean to invest them, and which, in their compound, are to make up the despotic sway inci-

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dent to their office. Should you, however, pursue this latter course—and it is the course actually adopted with regard to Haileybury—you must not be astonished if that which you write down—that is, if the statutes which you enact—sound harsh and arbitrary. Your regulations were *ex hypothesi* to constitute the functions of a despotic supremacy; and it is absolutely impossible that the features of a despotism, when thus analytically viewed, and separated from those parental feelings and dispositions which in each particular case are intended to correct and qualify them in practice, should not wear a very revolting appearance.

I have now afforded to the Court such a view as I am able of the Institution at Haileybury, and trust it will be felt that a change of the present system should not be hazarded lightly, or without clear reason shewn.

It next and lastly belongs to my plan to consider the particular modification of the present system which is contemplated by the proposition before the Court; or rather by its supporters; for the proposition itself (as I before said) is purely negative. It puts an end to the necessity of an education at the college, and every thing else it sets at large. The gentlemen, however, who recommended the measure, seem, for the most part, to look to the substitution of a test by public examination

mination as the passport of a commencing writer, leaving the candidate to qualify himself for the trial where he pleases.

The objection I feel to this plan may shortly be stated thus: that while the system now in existence provides, as I have shewn, for all the three objects which guide parents in the choice of a public seminary—namely, the attainment of useful knowledge, the formation of moral habits, and the acquisition of desirable friendships—the system proposed to be substituted fails in each of those three points: it will very imperfectly secure the attainment of the requisite knowledge; it cannot possibly secure the due formation of moral habits, and it does not even attempt to secure the cultivation of intimacies among those who are to be companions or contemporaries in the Indian civil service.

On the two latter topics it is unnecessary to enlarge, as the proposition speaks for itself. The whole efficacy, whatever it may be, of the proposed plan, consists in a literary and scientific examination; all moral probation, therefore, is out of the question, and the only intercourse to be enforced among the persons examined would be their being confronted in examination.

Now, with regard to the effect of a public examination, as a test of the requisite proficiency in science and literature, I beg, in the first place, to
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express my cordial concurrence with those speakers who have declared their belief, that the proposed test, under the circumstances that must attend the application of it, would prove wholly inoperative; and whenever that effect takes place, I need not add that all provision for the education of the Company's servants must, under the new plan, be at an end. What hope, in fact, could there be that the standard of qualification should be maintained, considering that the attempt to maintain it would perpetually be counteracted by all the powerful interests and prejudices against which even the College, with all the weight of its institutions, and with all its tardily acknowledged merits, has found it so hard to prevail? I will not trouble the court with tracing the steps by which the process of deterioration is likely to be brought about. This has been done by others; it has been very satisfactorily done on the present occasion by an Hon. Proprietor who spoke early in the debate, and to whose very cogent reasonings on the subject I have not yet heard even an attempt to give a direct answer. The only arguments urged on the other side have been founded on certain supposed precedents, on which I shall take an opportunity of observing presently; and in the meanwhile I repeat, that

* Mr. Poynder; see also *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. III. pp. 577, 578; *Quarterly Review*, No. 33, pp. 129—133.

that we have no security that these tests and examinations, which are to secure every thing under the new system, will not themselves, and in a very short time, degenerate into useless forms.

In the next place, admitting, for argument's sake, your test to retain its efficiency entire and inviolate, I ask what, after all, it will secure?

Let us suppose what alone would afford any probability of the standard of qualification continuing unimpaired,—namely, that the compulsory clause should be repealed only so far as relates to the length of stay at the College of Haileybury. Let us suppose that every youth appointed to a writership should be obliged to enter that College, but that he should also be obliged, or (which would amount to the same thing) should be at liberty, to leave it for India the very instant that he was found able to undergo the present tests. What, after all, is the degree of proficiency that this system would secure? Every person conversant with the College knows—every person conversant with academical education in general will readily believe—that the young men who do most credit to the place pass the limit of the tests very far, and some by a distance scarcely measurable. How indeed can it be otherwise? The object of a test is to ascertain the *minimum* of qualification that will suffice—to exclude only positive and palpable deficiency

deficiency ; and of necessity, therefore, it can furnish no criterion for attainments which exceed that low quantum. Every person conversant with the College farther knows, that to imbue the students fully with a generous ambition for distinction is for the most part a work of time—that the influence of the system seldom *tells* on the feelings and character of the pupil before the second term, seldom, perhaps, adequately before the third. To what, then, must the instances of eminent merit which that seminary has produced be attributed ? Not to the tests, which the best candidates leave far behind them—but to the prizes of honour, and to the time allowed for earning them—to the habit of application which the system forms, and the spirit of liberal rivalry which it cherishes,—to the powerful contagion of surrounding or recorded examples, and the salutary effect of matured habits of confidence between the pupil and his instructors. The effects are indeed admirable ; but once fix the test as the limit both ways—once let it regulate the *maximum* as well as the *minimum* of qualification—and all these effects, all this excellence, all that makes the institution what it is, are at an end. The last are become first. All pre-eminence, nay, all mediocrity of proficiency, is as absolutely shut out as positive unworthiness. The most meritorious part of the youthful community—those
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whose conduct forms not only the ornament, but in some sense also the safeguard of the establishment, are, generally speaking, swept away in rapid succession; while a residuum of vice and idleness and incapacity is left, to linger on in disgrace and discontent, to perpetuate the infection of its own virus, and probably to generate overt mischief and disorder.

This, however, is not precisely the system contemplated by the supporters of the present motion. They would repeal the compulsory clause in toto, and leave nothing obligatory on the young writer except the ordeal of an examination. Such an arrangement differs, undoubtedly, from that which I have just now imagined; but it differs, on the whole, for the worse. A residence at the College might effect something, even though it were uniformly cut short at the point where it promised to effect most; but, by the proposed plan, the test would be all in all. By the very supposition, this test must measure the lowest amount of admissible proficiency; by the very supposition, the candidate immediately on passing the test, may be despatched to the East by his relations: and those, surely, must be perversely misread in human nature who do not believe that, in a vast majority of cases, the relations would eagerly avail themselves of the privilege. Graduate your tests as you will,

institute what prizes you please, still the great prize of an instant embarkation for service, and the low test which commanded that prize, would carry all before them. What, then, is the result, except that, as before, the *minimum* is converted into the *maximum*? Your criterion would be a sort of mental micrometer—ascertaining, not properly *how much* of qualification would be necessary, but *how little* might suffice. To this low level all genius and all acquirement, all hope and all ambition, would be beat down; and we should, in a great degree, have returned to the principles of the old system, by which every boy who could write joined hand and do a sum in the rule of three, was forthwith pronounced worthy to assist in the government of India.

But it does not follow that the test, low and comparatively useless as it might be, would in every case be endured successfully. There are those who finally fail at the College, and this from literary disqualification alone; and at least as great a number, and probably a much greater number, would fail if there were no College. Supposing the test, therefore, to be established and to be enforced, it would at first, I doubt not, attract high applause; but, as soon as the pressure and friction of the machine began to be felt—as soon as young men conceived to be permanently provided

provided for lost their appointments, not a few of those regrets, those objections, and those complaints would again be heard, which we now hear respecting the present system: it would again be found that the Company had meant well, but had acted very unadvisedly; and this Court might, perhaps, be reassembled to consider the expediency of some other and yet unheard-of substitute.

In answer to all this, however, we may again be reminded of the actual precedents which the system and practice of the Company are alleged to furnish in favour of tests and examinations. The practice of Haileybury itself affords, as it is contended, an instance. Besides this, it has been said, that the qualifications of the persons who are appointed assistant-surgeons, or officers in the Company's regular ships, are ascertained by examination alone. And, lastly, the example of the military seminary at Addiscombe is quoted, as furnishing a case in point, and perfectly conclusive. On these supposed precedents I will offer a very few comments.

And first, as to the tests established at Haileybury, it will be seen, from what I have already said, that the argument does not apply: in effect, it begs the whole question; which is as to the efficacy, not of a test enforced by examination, but of a *mere* test enforced by examination.

It is whether an isolated trial of literary proficiency will answer the same purpose as where that trial forms a part of a continued system of instruction and inspection. To say, therefore, that the efficiency of this portion of the system, as cut off and separate from the rest, is proved by its efficiency when applied in connection and cooperation with the rest, is manifestly to take for granted the very thing in dispute.

Secondly, as to the examination of the assistant-surgeons, I do not, at any rate, admit this to be an instance in point: but, in fact, it is a mistake to say that the fitness of the persons appointed to these situations is tried by mere examination. For, first, the surgical knowledge of the candidate is ascertained, not by examination but by the testimonial of the College of Surgeons, which is an absolute *sine qua non*; and it is important to recollect that the College of Surgeons, so far from granting their testimonial on a mere examination, always require a certificate of at least six months' attendance on the surgical practice of a hospital before they will consent to examine at all. Next, as to the medical proficiency of the candidate, it is true that formerly this was trusted to a mere examination; but what was the result? Why, that some few years ago, the Directors, finding, from experience, that this mere test was
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inadequate, made a rule that no candidate should in future be put on his examination until he should have produced proofs of his having gone through a certain course of medical study, namely, the attendance for a certain period on the medical practice of a metropolitan hospital, besides the attendance on a course of medical lectures. This regulation is perfectly agreeable to the practice of the College of Physicians itself in an analogous instance. For that College will not license any person to practise as a physician, unless, in addition to his having compleated his twenty-sixth year and taken his Doctor's degree, he can prove that he resided for two entire years previously to such degree in some University with the object of studying medicine.

The alleged precedent of the officers of the Company's regular ships will, on inquiry, be found exactly as applicable as that of the assistant-surgeons. Is every thing in the instance of those officers committed to the effect of an examination? On the contrary, by compulsory regulations it is exacted, that no person shall be a third mate who shall not have attained the age of twenty-one years, and performed at least two voyages to and from India in the Company's service; that none shall be a second mate who shall not have attained the age of twenty-two, and performed at least

least one such voyage as third mate; that none shall be appointed chief-mate who shall not have attained the age of twenty-three, and performed at least one such voyage as second or third mate; and, lastly, that none shall be a captain who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five, and performed at least one such voyage as chief or second mate. This, then, so far as the difference of the cases allows, is exactly that for which I contend; it is an authority that a mere examination will not suffice—that you must superadd to your test a previous probation: for it is plain that a very rough probation is required from those naval officers; it is insisted that they shall have seen service—that they shall have gone through a course of actual discipline from the winds and waves,—instructors who will not flatter.

These precedents, then, if applicable at all, apply on the contrary side to that for which they were cited; but, to crown all, reference has been made to the example of the Company's Military Seminary. If ever an institution existed entirely and conclusively parallel in the point now under consideration, and indeed in most of the points which have been discussed, with the College of Haileybury, it is the greatly (and I doubt not justly) praised seminary at Addiscombe. There, as at Haileybury, the system is compulsory; for

for by the rules and regulations, no person can be appointed to the artillery or engineer corps of the Company's army, who shall not have remained at Addiscombe during a prescribed period. There, as at Haileybury, you have the test of an examination both on the outset and at the close of the student's stay; and yet, not content with both, you compel him to go through a given course of instruction and inspection, under masters not chosen by himself, but forced on him by the Company. There, as at Haileybury, not only is the student's whole period of stay probationary, but his first six months are probationary in a peculiar sense, for he is attached to a probationary academy, and if not reported to be competent to enter the ulterior or foundation academy, he is returned to his friends, and can never again be admitted to the seminary. Is it, then, possible to bring forward the example of this institution, as an authority in opposition to the existing system for the education of the civil servants? Is it not a direct authority the other way?

In short,—I must retain my opinion—that a mere test would afford a most imperfect, and at the same time a most precarious criterion, even of that which alone it pretended to secure—literary and scientific proficiency. The single case where tests are efficient is where the prizes, instead

instead of being distributed only among a definite and limited number of persons, and of being actually given in the first instance, subject only to the condition of their being forfeited if the due measure of qualification is not attained, are held out to be contended for by all the world, or at least by a much greater number than there are prizes. Something like this principle has been recommended by Mr. Malthus for adoption in the appointment of writers; and the proposal has been reprobated by the venerable Director* who preceded me. As to myself, I refer to the plan purely for the purposes of illustration. I certainly am not prepared to recommend it; but I am fully prepared to say that, if you will have nothing but a test,—by this way, and this alone, can you render that test operative. If you have a mere test, leaving the method of appointment as it is, all the selfish feelings and prejudices of that class of persons who constitute the recipients of Indian patronage will be continually armed against the maintenance of the test in its purity. Owing the appointments conferred on their sons or other relatives, in the first instance, to interest alone,—having already received those appointments,—and sensible that the trials and examinations to be undergone may endanger the possession, but cannot confirm it,

Mr. Bebb.

it, they will always be instinctively leagued against the continuance of a severe criterion of qualification. But, if your prizes were thrown open to an unlimited number of competitors, whatever the *wishes* of the combatants might be, their obvious interest would operate to produce a very different result. Feeling that they had no access to a most valuable acquisition, except through the medium of hard conflict, they would be led to qualify themselves with the utmost care; and, from the quantity of talent on the field, the actual amount of qualification would always be considerable, and might be expected to be in many instances extraordinary. Thus the value of the prizes—that very circumstance which would tend to depress the standard in the one case,—would tend to elevate it in the other. Let me not for a moment be understood to imply that you are reduced to an election between these two methods of procedure. You have a third system—not open to your choice, for you have chosen it already—a system which has already been proved to be excellent by its fruits—a system, which requires only to be as firmly and wisely cherished as it was liberally adopted.

Before I quit this division of my subject, I ought, perhaps, to observe on the plan of substituting for the education at Haileybury an education at one

oft he English universities. This plan has been strongly recommended in the course of the debate; but no details have been given, and I am at a loss to understand under what particular provisions it is meant that we should adopt it. Is it intended that our writerships are to be attached to the universities, in the manner of exhibitions or fellowships, and to be freely bestowed on those whom the proper academical authorities shall pronounce the most deserving? Or is it rather meant, that the nominations shall take place, as now, by the Directors, but that the young writer, instead of being sent to Haileybury, shall be compelled to pass a certain number of terms at Cambridge or Oxford, and to acquire certain honours or distinctions as the condition of his being allowed to proceed to India?

If the former course is to be pursued, some observations which I have already offered will apply. If the question had originally been proposed, in what manner the Company might best be supplied with civil servants, I do not think that a true friend to India could possibly have objected to any *effectual* plan by which the *élite* of the great seminaries of this country should be destined to that vocation. At present, however, such a plan, involving, as it does, the sacrifice of the patronage allotted, or rather left, to the Company, by their Charter-

Charter-Act,* can only be established by consent of parties. Even *with* that consent, I cannot forget that an excellent system is already in operation; and, at all events, before I acquiesce in its supersession, I must have the most ample security that the new erection to be planted on its ruins, will really and *bonâ fide* be carried into effect. I must have the most ample security, that the valuable patronage relinquished by the Company, shall not find its way into other hands. The adoption, however, of such a plan, in all its integrity, appears to me so utterly beyond the limits of probability, that I should regard any further discussion of its merits as an absolute waste of time. I rather conceive, indeed, that the advocates for academical education are far from contemplating so complete a revolution in the disposal of Indian appointments, and that they look no further than to the substitution of the universities, or of one of them at pleasure, for Haileybury, all other things remaining entirely or as nearly as possible the same.

But have those honourable Proprietors really considered the consequences which their project involves?

First, instead of going out to India, as they now do, at the age of eighteen or nineteen, the young
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* See 53 Geo. III., c. 155, s. 81.

writers would go three years later. The academical course, even only to the taking of the first degree, requires a residence of nearly three years and a half, besides the necessity of being admitted many months previous to such residence; the age at which that residence commences is usually towards eighteen; and, as the course includes no instruction either in law, political economy, or Oriental learning, the student who wished to supply the defect, would probably find it necessary to remain in England some few months after he had graduated. That a very accomplished candidate for public life might thus be formed, I cheerfully admit; but, on the other hand, if you wish your writers to look forward to a return to England (and if our connection with India is to remain on its present footing, this is absolutely necessary), it cannot be denied that twenty-two is a late period for the commencement of their actual service. However, I do not myself venture a definitive opinion whether the change in this respect would be for the better or the worse; all I observe is, that such a change would in fact be the result of the proposed plan, and that in that view it ought to be distinctly contemplated and considered.

Secondly, think of the *expensiveness* of the plan you recommend. I should indeed be ashamed to except to it on this ground, if it promised to secure,
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better than the existing system, the good education of the civil servants ; but, being perfectly satisfied of the contrary, I conceive that I may fairly state its far greater expensiveness as an auxiliary head of objection.

According to careful computations, I find the whole expense of each student at Haileybury to his friends to average at about £160 per annum, during the two years of his stay, exclusive of what he may cost during the twelve weeks of vacation in each year. What the average expense would be if the universities were substituted for Haileybury, I cannot state ; but, surely, no man of any experience on the subject, will hesitate to place it at a much higher amount. The feeling of the young writers that they are already in the high road to a fortune, will always be apt to lead them into expensive habits of living. This feeling operates even at Haileybury, notwithstanding the strictness of the regulations there for the purpose of checking profuseness ; for, speaking frankly, those regulations seem to me rather too strict than too lenient. At Oxford, or Cambridge, surrounded as the young men would be by examples of careless and even extravagant expenditure, and by temptations to follow those examples, it may safely be conjectured that the cost of the college residence to the parents in each year would be

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doubled—to say nothing of the expense of vacations of twenty weeks instead of twelve—of a residence at college of upwards of three years instead of two,—and of a continuance in England up to the age of twenty-one instead of eighteen.

There are, however, greater objections than these. I would say then, thirdly, that an education at the universities will not, in the majority of instances, afford an equal probability of proper qualification with an education at Haileybury. In so saying, I surely cannot be understood to speak slightly of those noble seats of learning, for both of which I feel the greatest respect, and for one the sincerest attachment. But at the universities, the opportunities of idleness, and even of vice, are stronger and more numerous than at Haileybury; the discipline and superintendance are decidedly less rigid: young men also of family and opulence repair thither with little or no purpose of study; and, on the whole, while an academic residence furnishes powerful incentives to honourable exertion, it also places before the young mind too many seductions of a very potent kind to the misemployment of time and talents. Even among those who regularly take the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and who, perhaps, do not constitute much more than half the number admitted, the examples of studious reading are not so usual

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as among the students, taken together, at Haileybury. At the latter institution, a considerable portion read fairly, and fully half may be said to read hard. He must be a bold man who would say that for the universities. I am possessed of estimates of the number of real and effective readers at both the universities; but I suppress them as being both invidious and unfair. I regard them as unfair by reason of the very circumstance I have already mentioned, namely, that many of the young academics are non-readers by profession. Let it, however, be recollected, that the influence of these triflers extends very widely, and that their example infects numbers who have not the same right to be idle. Again, I do not mean to deny,—on the contrary, I have already distinctly admitted,—that much good is received at those celebrated seminaries by many who are not hard students. Still less do I forget the numerous instances of intense industry and brilliant acquirement which both of them produce from year to year, or the inestimable services which each has rendered to the cause of liberal learning and useful science. I only remark that, out of the limited number of writers annually appointed by the Company, it is highly important that as large a proportion as possible should be exercised to habits of application, and that the actual proportion
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under the present system, is clearly larger than could reasonably be expected under that which it is proposed to substitute.

Fourthly, it is clearly necessary to the plan that the conclusive appointment of the young writer should be made to depend on his acquiring some honour or distinction at the university to which he is sent. The mere attainment of a degree, speaking at least of Cambridge, is too easy a task to afford an adequate test; and though the standard at Oxford is said to be higher, I cannot conceive that the difference is very material. Even a low honour may be had at Cambridge, unless matters are much altered there, with four or five months of steady reading. Recollect, however, that not only do more than half of those who are examined for the first degree fall short of honours, but that in every year there are some who gain their degree with great difficulty, or even miss it altogether. Recollect, also, the rustications and expulsions, overt and tacit, which, as I have before explained, are not uncommon at the University. And, on the whole, can any thing be plainer than that, if an academical education is meant really and *bonâ fide* to replace that of Haileybury, the very same results will follow which are set forth as the specific reasons for an innovation of system? It were perfectly fallacious to suppose otherwise. Some of
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the probationers will be misled by evil company, and will prove idle; others will be disobedient; hints of removal will be given; hints of removal will not be taken; open dismissals will follow—grief, disappointment, complaint, recrimination, desire of change—in a word, the whole series of effects which we now witness will revolve in regular order: the very discussions in this court, discussions so much deprecated, so undoubtedly inconvenient, will break out afresh—and propositions like the present will be made, propositions for addressing Parliament to repeal that very clause, whatever it may be, which Parliament shall, in consequence of the present application, have adopted.

Here, in my view, is the decisive, the irrefutable objection to the present motion. The honourable mover disclaimed all purpose or idea of destroying or superseding the College. I doubt not, I perfectly confide in the sincerity of the disclaimer; and yet I believe that such would be the result, though not the *intended* result of the measure proposed. But, supposing me to be mistaken in this belief, at least the Institution will be placed in a situation of great hazard; and then, what will be the total effect of that which we are called to do, except that a system of approved merit—a system admitted to be working well, a system shewn

to have produced highly beneficial consequences, will be destroyed, will at least be abandoned to the keeping of chance, with the view of avoiding evils, which, after all, cannot be avoided, and of securing advantages which are utterly unattainable?

I have omitted to notice one argument which has been used on the present occasion, although unconnected with the general scope of the discussion. It has been said that there is a larger demand for civil servants in India than the College has the means of supplying. The building contains but a given number of students, and that number must reside two years; while the exigencies of the service are at once great and pressing. On this head I do not myself possess any information; but, presuming the fact to be as stated, I cannot for a moment feel perplexed as to the proper inference.

With respect, first, to the present and immediate demand, is it meant that we are to supply it by setting up writerships as premiums to be contended for by all persons indiscriminately, who can undergo an examination in the requisite branches of study? If not, then the argument amounts exactly to this—not that Haileybury will not train young writers properly, but that young writers ought to be sent out untrained. The necessity of the case must, it seems, suspend the operation of our principles, and, *pro hac vice*, at least, must restore those times when

when no other qualification for an Indian appointment was thought of than the power of obtaining it. Now, granting all this to be the case, I ask why the pressure of a temporary emergency is to occasion the permanent alteration of our system? Surely the course of prudence is to meet the particular crisis (resorting to Parliament if necessary), by a particular law, and to prevent the recurrence of that crisis by provisions of a more general nature; and the worst effect of a present necessity to send out ill-qualified writers would be if we at once destroyed the means of qualifying our writers in future.

Then, as to the prospect, if such a prospect there be, of a permanently augmented demand for civil servants, I have already suggested the answer to the argument. If the fittest means for instructing your civil servants be those which you have now adopted, but those means are not on a sufficient scale to provide for the exigencies of the case, the practical conclusion is too obvious to require specifying. There are Proprietors who dislike the College, and who think we have too much of it already; but for those who approve of that Institution, it would be a singular reason for virtually superseding it, that it is only too small to answer its purpose. In one word, whatever is done in order to meet a temporary difficulty,

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should

should be considered as an exception, and should take place without involving permanent change; and, if on a more general and prospective view, we find the principle and operation of the establishment good, but its size appears too limited for the demands that may be expected, let us rather increase it in point of dimensions, than adopt measures which may materially impair its utility, or even shake it to the foundation.

“But is there then to be no end of these expulsions?” On that point I will speak cautiously. If by the question it is meant to be asked, whether this Institution can be so altered as to exclude the penalty of expulsion, or even the hazard of its being enforced in many instances? I certainly can make but one answer. I will not hold out, I will not indulge, fallacious hopes. If any words formerly uttered by me can fairly be understood as warranting such hopes, I beg leave to retract them. I will not deceive myself, nor will I delude the Proprietors—well knowing that any system of probation, whatever its nature—that even a mere literary probation, like the proposed test, must necessarily suppose instances of failure; that it must involve the *contingency* of failure in each case, and the moral certainty of failure in some. I will not for a moment pretend to give a pledge which I know would be visionary.

How

How would it be possible for me to promise an immunity from the contingency in question, when I feel, not only that probation is inevitably subject to that contingency, but that its whole efficacy depends on its being so subject? If, however, I am only desired to state my belief whether the number of expulsions is likely to diminish, though even on this point I will not speak decisively, I will say, that if the institution is adequately cherished, and is thereby made strong in opinion, a twofold result will probably follow:—

First, young men will not be compelled to resort to it who are palpably unfit for the trial. Before the establishment of the College, parents who could command appointments to the civil service were always under the strongest temptation to select for such appointments the least manageable of their sons, those least likely to push their fortunes in other lines. It was not in human nature to resist this temptation. The tormenting boy, therefore, received his nomination, and was at once swept out of the way. I mean not to speak the language of blame; I am stating that which it is consistent with the principles that ordinarily govern mankind to expect; and I may confirm the remark by reading a passage from a letter written by the late lamented Bishop of Calcutta, Dr. Middleton:—“To revert,” says the Bishop,

Bishop, “ to Hertford, if the institution should
 “ be dissolved, I know not what is to supply its
 “ place: nothing but the languages required in
 “ the service of the Company are, or can well be,
 “ thought of at Calcutta; and as to leaving the
 “ parents, who obtain writerships, to educate
 “ their sons as they please, as the very appoint-
 “ ment is the young man’s fortune ready-made,
 “ it is not to be hoped from human nature
 “ that there will be a very general solicitude to
 “ form their minds and manners; many will con-
 “ sider it as a very needless expense, and will
 “ bestow their money and care upon sons destined
 “ to the liberal professions, and who must find
 “ their way in the world.”

This is the language of a man of sense and observation. When, however, it is distinctly understood by parents that the appointment of an incompetent young man, or, it may be added, of a young man otherwise of good parts and dispositions, but who personally dislikes the vocation thus assigned to him, involves the risk of the loss of the very prize in view, they will be more cautious; they will select more fitly, and with greater regard to the wishes and feelings of the person selected. This will be the first good effect; the next will be that they will listen more readily to the suggestions of the College authorities as to
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the expediency of removing an untoward or incapable subject; and often by a timely resort to this measure, they may be enabled to arrange the renewal of the lost appointment to a more promising member of the same family. Then, as to any of the young men, who after all may dislike the College, the more confirmed the institution becomes in the general opinion, and the less hope there appears, even to the wildest of them in his wildest moments, that a contumacious defiance of authority will escape unpunished, the greater will be their disposition to subdue their aversion, and to acquiesce in a system which cannot be overthrown.

The question may, however, be put, "Is it not hard that a very young man, for an act of momentary indiscretion, should be deprived of an appointment which amounts to a provision for life? My answer must be by some other questions. Does not the appointment of which you speak carry with it a *trust* as well as a provision? Rate as highly as you will the value of that provision, can it be more than commensurate with the importance of that trust? For the due execution of that trust, is it not fitting that the young writer should be prepared by undergoing a course of probation? Is it possible, in the nature of your service, that such probation should effectually be had,

except

except in this country, and previously to the actual and definitive nomination? Is it possible, in the nature of things, that such probation can be had any where, without incurring some risk that the candidate shall be found wanting? Early in life I was greatly struck with an essay, by a popular writer, *against inconsistency in our expectations*. The argument of the essayist is, that if men deliberately devote themselves to the attainment of a particular object, they must not afterwards repine when they feel the sacrifices which their pursuit has cost them; it was their own choice; they made their election, and they ought not to long like children for incompatible advantages. This is the very argument I presume to use in the present instance. We loved not the possession of a cheap and inglorious patronage; we chose to burden the noble appointments confided to the Company with the charges and the hazards of providing a qualification for the persons nominated; then, when those charges are to be paid, when those hazards take actual effect, let us not start as if some strange thing had befallen us: no, we made our election, we bade for a great and good object; and having achieved our purpose, let us pay the price.

Is it, after all, a price too costly that we pay? Observe the singular nature of our rule in the East. Over the immense area and swarming population
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of British India, we pour forth, from year to year, a body of British functionaries. From one boundary of a vast empire to the other, the Executive Power, throughout all its departments, is in the hands of foreigners, forced on the people, without the consent of the subject being in any one instance asked or known. I say not this in the way of blame; the government, like the acquisition itself, is one of the sword, and at present no change can be contemplated. Such is the fact, however; the will of the governed has in this case no influence, not even an imperfect one, in the choice of their rulers. But, if so, are we not under the strongest obligations to supply, by our own spontaneous acts, those qualifications in the functionaries we employ, which cannot be enforced by any regular reaction of the inclinations of the people? There is one consideration which appears to me at this time peculiarly to enhance the force of these obligations. It is not merely, as was observed by my Hon. and Learned Friend on the floor* who argued the whole of this question with so much force and justice, that the incompetency of a public functionary may produce peculiar mischief in India: but, besides this, all credible testimony conspires in assuring us, that a rapid increase of intelligence is now observable among our Indian subjects.

* Mr. Impey.

jects. At such a crisis, ought we not, with all our energy, to employ the best, the most effective, the only legitimate means of maintaining our dominion? Ought we not to use every exertion for the improvement of the moral and intellectual character of our executive servants?—always recollecting that our mental ascendancy—that the supremacy of character—is the real secret of our strength—the real talisman of our power,—and that the moment when that mental ascendancy ceases to exist, that moment our political ascendancy, which is dependant on it, *will*, and *ought* to go also.

Thus are we situated relatively to the people of India; how, meanwhile, stands our account with the people of England? It would have been possible, it would even have been natural, for the British Legislature, instead of conferring on the Company the exclusive, or nearly exclusive disposal of the nominations to the civil service, to have thrown wide the gates of that service to all the youth, and enterprize, and ambition, and capacity of the nation at large. Were the entrance opened at this moment, who can doubt that an ardent competition would take place among the most intelligent classes of the community, for admission to the discharge of the administrative functions of British India? But the governing state,
while

while considerably qualifying our commercial monopoly, has left untouched our monopoly of patronage; it is still vested in the Company, as represented by their Directors—a great and noble boon undoubtedly: but does it not, therefore, become doubly and a thousand fold incumbent on us to justify that generous grant—to prove ourselves worthy of that sacred trust? Every consideration urges on us the importance even of superfluous exertion for this purpose; that when the period, now in no very distant prospect, shall arrive—the period at which we shall apply for the renovation of our privileges—we may meet the Legislature with confidence, and may give a good, and bold, and triumphant account of the great and mighty stewardship which we have exercised.

With respect to the cases of privations suffered by individuals, I regret them with those who regret them the most deeply; they are always cases of great delicacy—often cases of very considerable hardship; they call for the sincerest sympathy. But, let us recollect, that these losses and evils, in fact, constitute a part of the tax which, in a collective sense, we pay for the exalted position that we occupy; and that it is the very nature of such taxes to bear hard on individual members of the community on which they are imposed. Heavy

with the vast benefits which they purchase. They even vanish in the comparison. They must be numbered among the many losses, and privations, and difficulties, which, for a long series of years, this high and imperial Company has voluntarily incurred—and so long as it pursues such a course, so long shall I say of it, *esto perpetua!*—which it has incurred, I say, as the conditions of achieving greatness to itself, and reflecting glory on its country, and conferring the most important blessings on mankind—losses, by which it has gained wealth and dominion—privations, which Providence has been pleased to reward with signal prosperity—sacrifices, on which success, like the fire of Heaven, has descended.

I am very sorry to have detained the Court so long, and am most grateful for their attention. The sum of the whole is, that in its effect, though not in its intention, the proposed measure, if it would not pull down, would at least greatly endanger an established system of indisputable excellence, for the sake of trying an experiment of the most doubtful issue. The question is not, what expedient shall be adopted for the proper education of the civil functionaries of British India? but whether regulations already adopted for that purpose—regulations in full force and efficiency, and which can be demonstrated to have accomplished their object
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in no common degree—shall be permitted to continue their beneficial operation, or shall undergo a change of a most essential, and, as the warmest advocates of those regulations, believe, a most hazardous nature.

NOTE.—Since this debate took place, two gentlemen educated at the College have attained the office of Secretary or Deputy Secretary to Government in India, besides those named in pages 21, 22. These are Mr. J. Stokes at Fort St. George, and Mr. Greenhill at Bombay. The accounts also of the steadiness and good conduct of the junior civilians (see pages 11, 16, &c.) continue to be highly gratifying. The proportion assigned in page 13 for the civilians in India who have been educated at College, has since of course increased. Probably *six-sevenths* would now be rather below than above the mark.

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