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A STUDENTS' HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN INDIA

(1800-1947)

BY

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AND

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Revised Edition

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DEDICATED

To

The Teaching Profession in India
of whom so much is expected, but to whom
so little is offered.

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

LESS than two years ago, we ventured to place before the public our "History of Education in India during the British Period". Our object, then, was to make accessible to all, in the form of a single book and in a connected narrative, information which could only be had in a variety of publications and reports available in scattered places, and to present the history in as impartial a manner as possible. The cordial reception given to that book and the appreciative or critical references made to our effort in different quarters, have led us to the conclusion that, if we could bring out a popular edition of the book which would be within easy reach of the casual readers as well as the students of education, we would be doing some service to the cause we have at heart.

In bringing out this edition, our main purpose has been to reduce the bulk of the book—and incidentally, also the price—so that it will be easily available to the vast majority of our countrymen who have neither the funds to buy, nor the time to go through, the bigger book. Among such readers we include the large number of students of Training Colleges, who, while appreciating the value of the book already published by us, feel that it is a little too voluminous and costly to serve as a Text-Book.

In trying, however, to meet these requirements, we have spared no effort to maintain the informative value of the publication. A good many quotations and details —statistical and otherwise—which have great value in a book of reference, have been omitted and, where necessary, they have given place to a summary so that the continuity of the story is maintained.

An important alteration which readers will notice in the present book is the order in which the subjects have been dealt with. While, in the bigger book, we dealt with different aspects of education, such as University Education, Secondary Education and Primary Education,

separately from 1854 to 1937, experience has led us to the conclusion that students would find it much easier to follow the events if they were given in a chronological order and we have, therefore, arranged the matter in the book so as to deal with events in a strictly chronological order and we hope that this will make the book more useful to them.

While publishing the bigger book, we had deliberately stopped short at the year 1937 as we thought that the events since then were too recent to form the subject-matter of a book of history. Some kind friends have, however, expressed the opinion that the book would have been more useful still if we had brought it up-to-date. We recognise that so much has happened in this country during the years 1937-44 that omission to refer to those events is likely to give the book an appearance of being out-of-date. In the present edition, therefore, we have attempted to deal with the first few years of Provincial Autonomy in the country, the work of the short-lived Congress Ministries in seven Indian Provinces out of eleven, the Wardha Scheme of Basic Education suggested by Mahatma Gandhi, the great impetus received by Primary and Adult Education and, finally, the check on educational enthusiasm so unfortunately imposed on the country by the war and the withdrawal of the Congress from the Government of several Provinces.

No document dealing with recent events in India can be complete which does not take into account the Scheme for Post-war Educational Reconstruction in India, prepared by the Central Advisory Board of Education, and known popularly as the 'Sargent Scheme'. We have, therefore, dealt briefly with the implications of the scheme, its promises and defects and we hope that this will add to the value of the book for all.

Kolhapur,
29th December 1944.

SYED NURULLAH.
J. P. NAIK.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

This Edition is revised and brought up to 1947.

Bombay,
2nd April 1949.

SYED NURULLAH.
J. P. NAIK.

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THE authors and Messrs. Macmillan & Co. acknowledge and thank the authors and publishers of the following publications which have been either quoted from or referred to in the text :—

A History of Missions in India, by J. Richter translated by Sydney N. Moore ; *Some Aspects of Indian Education, Past and Present*, by Sir Philip Hartog ; *Literacy of India in Pre-British Days*, by R. V. Parulekar ; Adam's *Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar* (1835-38), edited by A. N. Basu ; *Selections from the Records of the Madras Government*, No. II, by A. J. Arbuthnot ; *Promotion of Learning in India by Early European Settlers*, by N. N. Law ; *Education in British India Prior to* 1854, by A. P. Howell ; *Reports of the Bombay Education Society*, 1815 *to* 1822 ; *Reports of Bombay Board of Education*, 1840 *to* 1855 ; *Selections from Educational Records*, Vols. I and II ; *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company*, 1832 ; *Return of all Sums Spent on Native Education in India since April*, 1834, *specifying the various forms and other particulars in which such expenditure has been made, printed at the order of the House of Commons*, 1854 ; *A Note on the State of Education in India during* 1865-66, by A. M. Monteath ; *A Note on the State of Education in India for* 1866-67, by A. P. Howell ; *A Note on the State of Education in India for* 1867-68, by A. P. Howell ; *A*

Note on the State of Education in India for 1870-71, by A. P. Howell; *Report of the Indian Education Commission,* 1882, with Appendices; *Review of Education in India,* 1886; *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India,* 1897-1902; *Government Resolution on Educational Policy,* 11th March, 1904; *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India,* 1902-07; *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India,* 1907-12; *Government Resolution on Educational Policy,* 1913; *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India,* 1912-17; *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India,* 1917-22; *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India,* 1922-27; *Review of Growth of Education in British India,* by the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission, 1929; *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India,* 1927-32; *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India,* 1932-37; *Report of the Indian Universities Commission,* 1902; *Report of the Calcutta University Commission,* 1917-19; *Proceedings of the First Conference of Indian Universities,* Simla, 1924; *Proceedings and Publications of the Inter-University Board; History of Elementary Education in India,* by J. M. Sen; *History of the Local Fund Cess,* by J. P. Naik; *Studies in Primary Education,* by J. P. Naik; *Mass Education in India,* by R. V. Parulekar; *Literacy in India,* by R. V. Parulekar; *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission,* 1916-18; *Report of the Committee on Indian Students in England,* 1921-22.

INTRODUCTION

THE history of the evolution of the modern system of education in India may be likened to a great drama.

The *setting* for this play is provided, not only by the social, political, and constitutional history of India, but also by the social, political, and educational developments in contemporary England. Several Indian institutions were planned on similar institutions in England; often the controversies in Indian education arose from contemporary controversies in English education; and more often still, a change in the educational policy of England had its echoes in Indian education, sooner or later. An attempt to understand Indian educational policy apart from this background is like trying to understand an effect without knowing the cause. An effort has, therefore, been made in this book to present this setting as clearly as possible and to correlate it to the various stages of the educational advance of India.

The *conflict* of the drama lies in the struggle between the Old and the New, between the effort—however well-intentioned it might have been—by non-Indians to impose a cheap imitation of the British educational system on India and the desire of the people of the country to create a new system to meet their own peculiar needs and problems. In the early part of the nineteenth century, the indigenous system of education held the field. Soon afterwards missionaries began to spread Western knowledge and to encourage the study of the English language and literature. They were joined by the officials of Government and a few enlightened Indians who were either educated under the new system or valued its advantages, and between the combined

efforts of these three sets of workers, the modern educational system saw the light of day. It thrived quickly for several reasons. To begin with, the British people of the Victorian era complacently believed that their language, literature, and educational methods were the best in the world and that India could do no better than adopt them *in toto*. *Secondly,* the Indians of this period, on their part, were dazzled by their first contact with Western civilization and believed that their country could do no better than imitate the British model; and *thirdly,* the system attained an artificial popularity and importance because the young men and women educated under it were freely employed in Government service. By the end of the nineteenth century, therefore, the old indigenous system of education disappeared almost completely from the field and a new system of education, which aimed at the spread of Western knowledge through the medium of the English language, was firmly established in its place.

But a reaction soon set in. The sudden and great rise of other nations, such as Japan, exercised a profound influence on Indian public opinion, especially after the termination of the Russo-Japanese War, and made people look askance at the slow and unsatisfactory development of Indian education; a new spirit was gaining ground and, unlike the men of the earlier era, the Indians of the twentieth century began to study with reverence the cultural history of their own land; the Great War of 1914-18 revealed to the world that there was something radically wrong with the civilization of the West and made people sceptical about the utility of the wholesale imitation of Western models. The net result was that Indians gave up the attempt to imitate England *in*

toto, and began to consider the creation of a new system of education more suited to their needs. Some of their attempts, such as the Visva-Bharati, or the Jamia-Millia, worked outside the official system, while others, like the Benares or Aligarh Universities, worked within it. A characteristic common to both, however, was the desire to *create* rather than to *imitate.*

An attempt has been made in this book to show the various aspects of this conflict and to trace its history.

The *actors* in this drama may be divided into three groups—the missionaries, the European officers of the Education Department and the Indian people. To the missionaries belongs the honour of being pioneers in the modern educational system of India and even today they are doing some pioneer work in several branches of social service that have not yet attracted Indian workers on a sufficiently large scale. The European officials of the Education Department came upon the scene in 1855 and dominated the whole educational field until very recently. The Indian people themselves were the last to enter the stage. They began, in the early nineteenth century, by collecting funds for the establishment of "modern" educational institutions, and later on, undertook to direct and conduct them. In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, they demanded Indianization of the educational services. But the political outlook soon widened and the demand for the power to control and direct educational policies was next put forward—a demand that was partly fulfilled in 1921 and more completely in 1937. At the present moment, the whole field of educational activity is almost Indianized. The missionary societies are transferring their institutions to Indian Christians; the recruitment to the Indian Edu-

cational Service was stopped a long time ago and all the officials of the Education Department are now Indians; the bulk of the educational institutions is controlled by private enterprise; and an autonomous provincial ministry has the power to lay down the policy of educational advance. The story of this great revolution forms an important part of the history of Indian education as presented in this book.

The drama is divided into six Acts.

The *first* Act of the drama opens about the beginning of the eighteenth century and closes with the Charter Act of 1813. Although the East India Company was established in 1600 A.D., it undertook no educational activities for nearly one hundred years of its existence. Its attention was firstly drawn to educational matters by the Charter Act of 1698 which required it to maintain priests and schools in its garrisons; but even these provisions were meant more for the children of the Company's European servants than for the Indian people. There is no need, however, to be surprised at this unwillingness of the Company to undertake the responsibility of educating Indians. It was mainly a trading concern and a body of merchants cannot be expected to educate the people it trades with.

Circumstances altered considerably by the middle of the eighteenth century. The Company had, by this time, emerged successful from the struggle with its European competitors—the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French —and the grant of the *Diwani* in 1765 made it a ruling power in India. It was only *then* that the Company was called upon to encourage education among its subjects as the earlier Hindu and Muslim rulers had done. But the Court of Directors naturally drew their inspi-

ration from English models rather than from Hindu or Muslim traditions and, as Parliament itself did nothing to educate the English people, the Company also refused to recognise any obligation on its part for the education of Indians.

The conflict of this Act, therefore, centred mainly round two issues. *Firstly,* there was a conflict between the unwillingness of the Directors of the Company to accept responsibility for the education of the Indians and the agitation of their officers in India, mainly on grounds of political exigency, to persuade them to accept it. *Secondly,* there also arose a conflict between the desire of the missionaries to go to India to spread Christianity and the unwillingness of the Court of Directors to admit them to their territories for fear that their proselytizing activities might arouse the opposition of the people. It was only after a prolonged agitation that the Company was compelled, by the Charter Act of 1813, to accept responsibility for the education of Indians, to incur some expenditure for the fulfilment of this object, and to admit missionaries to its dominions for spreading Western 'light and knowledge'. This was the beginning of the State system of education in India under the British rule.

The *second* Act of the drama opens in 1813 and closes with Wood's Education Despatch of 1854. It is mainly a period of controversies and experiments.

The conflict of this Act lies between two schools of thought. One of these, which was represented by Macaulay, believed in the *substitution* of Western culture for the Indian and desired to create a class of persons who would be 'Indians in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect'. This

school consisted mostly of the missionaries whose main aim was that of proselytization, and of the younger servants of the Company who were brought up in the traditions of the Romantic Revival and were consequently impatient to sweep out the Old and to sweep in the New. The other school believed in a *synthesis* of the Eastern and Western cultures. It consisted of the older servants of the Company who were brought up in the traditions of Hastings and Minto and most of the Indians who took an interest in education. Unfortunately, this party was divided within its own fold. One section, which held the field in Bengal, believed that such a synthesis could be brought about by spreading Western science and knowledge through the medium of Indian classical languages, while the other section, which held the field in Bombay, believed that the best method of bringing about a synthesis lay in spreading Western science and knowledge through the spoken languages of the people, enriched by a study of the Indian classical languages.

These fundamental issues were greatly confused in the controversies of this period and 'the confusion became worse confounded by the failure to distinguish English as a medium from English as a subject of instruction'. Violent controversies, therefore, ranged round the following four topics :—

(1) What should be the *object* of the educational policy —to spread Western knowledge or to preserve Eastern learning ?

(2) What should be the *medium of instruction*— English, Sanskrit or Arabic, or the modern Indian languages ?

(3) What should be the *agency* for the spread of education—the mission schools, the institutions

directly controlled by the Company, or the indigenous schools conducted by the Indians themselves ?

(4) What should be the *method* of spreading education—should Government try to educate the masses directly, *or* should it only educate a few Indians and leave it to them to educate the others ?

The Despatch of 1854 set these conflicts at rest for the time being by declaring that the main object of the educational system was to spread Western knowledge and science, although it was desirable to grant some encouragement to Oriental learning at the collegiate stage; that both English and the spoken languages of the people should be used as media of instruction at the secondary stage; that as Government could never have the funds to provide for all the educational needs of the country, the bulk of its educational institutions would have to be organized by private bodies—whether missionary or Indian; and that the efforts of Government should cease to be directed to the education of the few and that the education of the masses should, in future, be regarded as a duty of the State. With the receipt of this important document of educational history, the curtain falls upon the second Act of the drama.

The *third* Act opens in 1854 and closes in 1900. It is a period of rapid *Westernization* of the educational system but of *Indianization* of its agency.

This Act has two conflicts. The major conflict arose between the indigenous system of education on the one hand and the new system created by Wood's Education Despatch on the other. It was at first hoped that such a conflict would not arise and that indigenous schools

would be wisely encouraged and incorporated in the official system of education. But for several reasons, these hopes did not materialize. The officials of those days generally neglected these institutions out of utter contempt; in some instances attempts at improvement were made which, though well-meant, were so ill-advised as to lead rather to destruction than to improvement; in several cases, pressure was brought upon parents to withdraw their children from indigenous schools and to send them to the departmental ones.[1] These errors of commission and omission combined with the patronage that was extended to the new system by the free employment of persons trained in it in Government service led to the almost complete extinction of the indigenous system of education; and by 1900 practically all the institutions of higher education used English as the medium of instruction and aimed at the spread of Western knowledge and science.

The minor conflict of this Act arose between the agencies that undertook the spread of Western education in India. In 1854 this task had been mostly assumed by Europeans who came to India either as missionaries or as servants of the Company. Indians educated in the Western system were neither available in large numbers nor were they considered to be fit to conduct English schools or colleges. Hence, Indian educational efforts were mostly limited to the collection of funds and to the conducting of schools and colleges under European headmasters or principals requisitioned from abroad.

In 1880, however, circumstances were considerably altered and three different agencies for the spread of

[1] *Vide* para. 27 on p. 105 of *Some Aspects of Indian Education, Past and Present*, by Sir Philip Hartog.

education grew up and began to compete for supremacy. The first of these was the agency of the mission schools and colleges; the second was that of the educational institutions organized by the Education Departments, and the third was the small beginning of the private effort of Indians themselves. The Indian Education Commission was called upon to weigh the relative merits of each of these agencies and to decide upon the best mode of spreading education in India. It opined that missionary enterprise could only occupy a subordinate place in Indian education; that departmental institutions were too costly to be multiplied; that it would be in the best interests of a poor country like India to close them or transfer them to private enterprise; and that the efforts of a Government should be mainly directed to the encouragement of private Indian enterprise as the best means of spreading education in India.

These recommendations were generally acted upon by the Provincial Governments, and the twenty years between 1880 and 1900 saw such a great development of private schools and colleges conducted by Indians that, in 1901-02, Indian private enterprise was the most important agency for spreading Western education among the people.

The *fourth* Act opens in 1901 with the conference of the Directors of Public Instruction convened by Lord Curzon at Simla and closes in 1921 with the transfer of education to the control of Indian Ministers.

The twenty years between 1901 and 1921 were a period of intense and ever-increasing political unrest in India. The Bengal Partition Movement, the Morley-Minto Reforms, the World War, the Non-Co-operation Movement and such other events, led to a great political

awakening and discontent, and it is out of these major political conflicts that the educational conflicts of the period saw the light of the day.

Secondly, it has to be noted that, during this period, both Indian and European educationists were greatly dissatisfied with the educational system. One section of thinkers—the officials mostly belonged to this—believed that the quality of education had materially deteriorated since 1880; that schools and colleges under private management had generally been unable to maintain discipline; that educated Indians had been unable to digest an exotic culture; that the ideal of spreading Western knowledge and science had outlived its utility; and that the educational system ought to aim at training men and women of character and be replanned accordingly. This class of educationists attributed most of these defects to the policy of expansion and *laissez faire* to private enterprise which had been pursued since the report of the Indian Education Commission, and recommended that Government should now aim at control and improvement of schools and colleges rather than at increasing their number.

The other school of thinkers—which included most of the enlightened Indians—still believed in the wisdom of the policy recommended by the Indian Education Commission. They were not unwilling to concede that education had deteriorated, but to them quality was not everything. They felt that the spread of Western knowledge was essential for creating a renaissance in Indian national life and advocated a very rapid expansion of higher education on a voluntary basis and the introduction of compulsory elementary education for the masses. This school of thinkers argued that private

enterprise ought to be given full freedom to grow and that a policy of control and improvement would be suicidal to the best interests of the country.

It was the conflict between these two widely different schools of thought that makes up the fourth Act of this great drama. The conflict began first at the University stage. Battles royal were fought over the Indian Universities Commission of 1902, and the Indian Universities Act of 1904, and resulted in an almost complete victory for the protagonists of the theory of control and improvement of quality. The conflict then spread to the secondary stage and again this party obtained a great victory when the revised grant-in-aid codes were framed between 1904 and 1908. Lastly, the conflict reached the primary stage and an intensive struggle arose over Gokhale's bill for introducing compulsory elementary education. The party won for the third time and the bill was thrown out by a large majority. As may be easily anticipated, however, these 'victories' led to considerable embitterment of public feeling and the Indian nationalist opinion began to demand the power to control the educational policy of the country. It was to satisfy this demand that the Department of Education was transferred to the control of Indian Ministers in 1921.

The *fifth* Act of this drama opens in 1921 and closes in 1937 when the Government of India Act of 1935 introduced Provincial Autonomy in eleven provinces of India. It is a period of first experiments under Indian control.

A burst of enthusiasm, the transfer of education to Indian control, and many long-desired changes marked the opening of this Act. The political conflicts of the earlier period ceased to exist; all further recruitment

to the Indian Educational Service was discontinued, power being given to each province to organize its own educational services; and the control and supervision which the Government of India used to exercise over the details of administration came to an end. Consequently the Provincial Governments had much greater freedom to plan programmes of educational expansion and improvements, and the earlier part of this period thus witnessed the undertaking of several new schemes, the sanctioning of increased grants to education, and a rapid increase in the enrolment of scholars.

Unfortunately, however, a number of serious difficulties soon presented themselves and darkened the horizon. The financial arrangements introduced by the Government of India Act, 1919, enriched the Central Government at the cost of Provincial Governments; the special grants to education which were liberally sanctioned by the Government of India in the period 1901 to 1921 were suddenly discontinued; and the situation was made almost desperate by the world economic depression which affected the major portion of this period. Consequently, most of the new schemes undertaken had to be given up and drastic retrenchment had to be made even in the existing expenditure on education.

These financial difficulties gave a great set-back to the enthusiasm with which this Act opened. A still greater set-back, however, was given by the idealogical conflicts that arose in this period. One school of thought advocated that India should concentrate on quality and consolidate one position before another was attacked. The other school advocated a rapid expansion of education and a planned and determined attempt to liquidate mass illiteracy. These conflicts, which, as we have seen

above, had really begun in the earlier period, came to a head with the report of the Hartog Committee in 1929 and were in full swing when the Act came to an end in 1937.

With the introduction of Provincial Autonomy, the *sixth* Act of this great drama begins. Popular ministries who had far larger powers and resources than ever possible under the Government of India Act, 1919, came into power in eleven Provinces of India and the Congress ministries held office in as many as seven of those eleven Provinces. The new ministries launched a big drive for educational reform and the three years between 1937 and 1940 form an extremely crowded hour in educational history. Even during this short period, larger funds for education were made available; schemes for the expansion of primary education, the introduction of compulsion, and the liquidation of adult illiteracy were undertaken; the Wardha Scheme of education was introduced; and a great fillip was given to physical and vocational education. Unfortunately, the good work that was begun in this period was cut short by the outbreak of the war. The Congress ministries resigned office and although the later Governments formed under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935, have tried to maintain the *status quo* in those provinces, the onward march of educational reconstruction received an inevitable check everywhere under the stress of war effort. The period of stalemate, however, was brief, and with victory in sight, plans for Post-war Reconstruction began to be prepared by the Government of India. Prominent among these is the plan for educational development in India prepared by the Central Advisory Board of Education and known popularly as the "Sargent Report". For

some years, the Indian educational stage was dominated by a discussion of the Sargent Report, its merits and demerits, and the evolution of alternatives to it. The war came to an end in 1945 and it was hoped that the execution of the Sargent Plan would soon be taken in hand. But the political situation became cloudy and the implementation of all plans of post-war reconstruction was postponed until after the political problems were solved. These were ultimately settled in 1947 with the partition of India. No effort to implement the Sargent Plan could, therefore, be undertaken between the close of the war in 1945 and the birth of the Indian Union in 1947.

The object of this book is to narrate, in broad outline, the main events of the six Acts of the drama described above which cover a period of one hundred and sixty-six years from the establishment of the Calcutta Madrassah in 1781 to the birth of the Indian Union in 1947. The book does not attempt to trace the history of individual movements such as the Arya Samaj movement among the Hindus, or the Aligarh movement among the Muslims. Nor does it aim at narrating such special aspects of the problem as the spread of education among Muslims, among women, and among the backward communities. But, subject to these limitations, the book attempts to give a full and comprehensive review of each critical stage in educational history, to explain the *raison d'etre* of each important decision and the consequences thereof, and to show how the present educational system has gradually come to be built up.

This review is so designed as to throw into relief the various problems of Indian education that await solution. For instance, questions regarding the incorporation of additional universities, the medium of instruction, the

prevention of the influx into the colleges of unsuitable students, the dominance of examinations, the unsatisfactory development of professional and vocational education, the need for the proper organization of post-graduate teaching, the unsatisfactory condition of university finances in general, the growing unemployment among the highly educated youth of the country, the introduction of compulsory military training, etc., face us in university education. Similarly, problems regarding the introduction of vocational education at the upper secondary stage with a view to diverting most of the pupils into different walks of life, the preparation of special curricula for secondary schools for girls and for the rural areas, the dominance of the Matriculation, the extent and method of departmental and university control over secondary schools, the extent and methods of grants-in-aid, the training of teachers, the improvement of the finances of aided institutions, the improvement in the conditions of service and remuneration of teachers in aided schools including the question of making a suitable provision for their old age, etc., call for attention at the secondary stage. In the same way many problems of primary education also are awaiting an early solution. To mention a few : educational surveys ; the organization of primary schools so as to cover every village of a reasonable size ; the general education, training and remuneration of primary teachers ; the early liquidation of adult illiteracy ; the introduction and enforcement of compulsory education ; the organization of a net-work of reading rooms and libraries ; the prevention or reduction of wastage and stagnation ; the finance of compulsory elementary education ; the adaptability of the curricula, vacations, and school hours to the needs and conditions of

rural Indian life ; and the provision of infant and nursery schools. Moreover, there are several other problems needing attention, such as female education, Muslim education, education of backward communities, education of the defectives and juvenile delinquents, physical education and medical examination and treatment of school children. When it is remembered that even this list is not exhaustive but merely indicative, the variety, difficulty, and complexity of the problems of Indian education will be easily realised.

It is a Herculean task to attempt a satisfactory and early solution of these problems. But there is no reason to lose heart. The achievements of Soviet Russia in recent years do show that even more difficult problems than ours have been solved. We too can solve our problems if we rise to the occasion and work unitedly in the light of four general principles : *Firstly,* let it be noted that these problems of Indian education are interdependent and cannot be treated in an isolated manner. The attempts of educationists, therefore, have to be directed first to the planning of a comprehensive scheme of national education which will enable India to attain and maintain an honourable place in the comity of nations. *Secondly,* it is evident that a far larger financial assistance to education has to come from Government revenues than has been given in the past. Education is the most important of all nation-building activities, and educational expenditure should, therefore, form the largest single item in the budget of every Government. Some of the large additional funds needed for the reorganization of education in India may be found by economies here and there. But most of these, we fear, will have to be raised by additional taxation and the people must wil-

lingly shoulder this burden because taxation for educational purposes is merely another name for a co-operative effort at self-improvement. *Thirdly,* we must have a large "culture army" of competent educationists who can feel the pulse of the nation and, therefore, can confidently plan and execute schemes of educational reconstruction. The clouds that had gathered on the national horizon are gradually being lifted and let us all hope that the National Government will soon be able to put together the requirements of plans, money and men and to launch an intensive and comprehensive plan of educational reconstruction.

ERRATA

Page 6, line 9 :
For "Bombay" read "Bellary".
Page 47, line 13 :
For "BRUKE" read "BURKE".

CHAPTER I

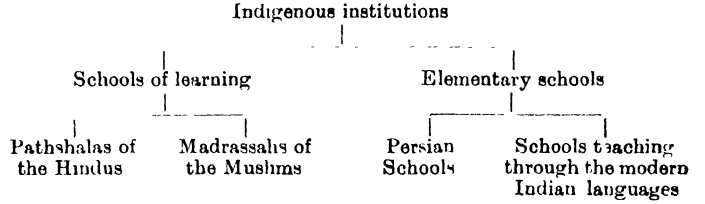
INDIGENOUS EDUCATION IN INDIA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE object of this book is to trace the development of the modern system of education in India which, except for a few isolated educational institutions that will be referred to later, may be said to have begun with the Charter Act of 1813 which provided that "a sum of not less than a lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India". But before turning to the subject proper, it is necessary to study the indigenous system of education as it existed in India at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This study will enable us to ascertain the merits and defects of the system and the potentialities it had for growing into a national system of education by suitable improvements and extension.

2. **Sources of information.** Our knowledge of the indigenous system of education at the beginning of the nineteenth century is obtained from the results of enquiries conducted in Madras by Sir Thomas Munro in 1822, in Bombay by Elphinstone in 1823, and of a very thorough enquiry held by William Adam, a missionary, in 1835-38, in certain districts of Bengal and Bihar. It is obvious that these sources of information cannot be considered adequate for a vast country like India, where conditions vary remarkably from one part to another. Moreover, there is sufficient evidence to believe that the enquiries in Madras and Bombay were most unsatisfactory in so far as accuracy and thorough-

ness are concerned and it will be shown later that they included neither *all* the schools in existence nor *all* the pupils under instruction. Adam's enquiries, on the other hand, were thorough and almost flawless. But they were conducted in a Province which had been subjected to general anarchy for a very long time and where the system of indigenous education, as Adam himself pointed out, was everywhere in a state of decay. The conclusions of Adam, therefore, are not quite applicable to those parts of India which had the good fortune to enjoy a more or less settled government. These defects in the investigation will, therefore, have to be duly allowed for in forming a fair picture of the indigenous system of education as it existed at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

3. **Types of institutions.** The indigenous educational institutions of this period were divided into four main types as under :—



We shall now proceed to describe these institutions in some detail.

4. **Schools of Learning.** Although the Hindus and Muslims had separate schools of learning, several important features were common to both the types of institutions. For instance, both kinds of institutions received pecuniary assistance from rulers, chieftains, and opulent or religious-minded citizens. Both were staffed

by learned teachers, some of whom were authors of repute, but most of whom received very low remuneration. In both, instruction was mostly given gratis and no regular fees, as now understood, were charged. Both were mediaeval in character, used a classical language as the medium of instruction (Sanskrit in one case and Arabic or Persian in the other), and imparted instruction on traditional lines. In both, the teachers were remunerated in one or more of the following ways, viz. grants of land made by rulers, occasional voluntary presents from pupils and members of the public, allowances paid by wealthy citizens, and payment in the form of food, clothes, or other articles. Lastly, both had a few teachers who not only taught gratis but also provided food and lodging to their pupils.

Generally speaking, the schools had no special buildings of their own. Where these existed, they were built either by the teachers themselves, or at the expense of patrons or friends, or by subscriptions from the people. In most cases, however, the schools were held in the local temple or mosque and not infrequently in the house of some local magnate or patron or of the teacher himself.

The students entered the schools at a fairly early age and studied as long as they desired and often for as long as twelve years or more.

It must be noted that the State had nothing to do with the day to day work of these schools. They were conducted by learned men individually who did so more for religious than for pecuniary considerations.

The Hindu schools of learning were conducted almost exclusively by Brahmins and a very large majority of the students attending them was Brahmins. There were no women students nor any persons belonging to the

large number of communities who were denied the right to study the sacred lore. In the Persian and Arabic schools, on the other hand, though the teachers were generally Muslims, a Hindu teacher of Persian was not a rare phenomenon. Moreover, several Hindus attended Persian schools conducted by Muslims because Persian was then the court language. In some of the Bengal districts, Adam even found that the majority of students in Persian schools were Hindus.

5. **The Indigenous Elementary Schools.** The schools of learning of this period correspond to the colleges of modern times. They gave the highest instruction known, which, in those days, meant mostly religious instruction. Their chief object was to produce Moulavis and Pandits, and people were led to support them mainly by religious motives. Although low paid, the teachers of these schools had a very high status in society and even their students were held in great veneration.

The indigenous elementary schools, the main agency for the spread of mass education, was a different and a humbler institution. The instruction given in it was of a practical type and mostly limited to the three R's. It catered, not to the needs of the priestly class, but to the mundane requirements of the petty zamindar, the bania, and the well-to-do farmer. It had no religious veneration attached to it, and consequently, it had no endowments either from the State or from the public. Its teachers were men of ordinary attainments and, very often, they knew no more than the little they taught in their schools. Their remuneration was much lower than that of the teachers in the schools of learning and, except in cases where the teacher was maintained by a rich person, consisted of small collections or occasional presents from parents of children who attended the

school. Occasionally, some of the teachers in these schools followed some other profession or trade for their maintenance and conducted the school only as a side business. Unlike the schools of learning, it is worthy of note that the pupils in these schools included a small percentage of girls and children of many communities although the children of the upper classes formed the large majority.

Some features of the indigenous elementary schools are of great interest. For instance, their equipment was extremely simple. They had no buildings and were held, sometimes in the house of the teacher or the patron of the school, often in a local temple, and not infrequently under a tree. There were no printed books and the slates or pencils used by pupils were such as could be easily made in the locality. The hours of instruction and the days of working were finely adjusted to local requirements. The size of the school was generally small—the number of pupils varying from one to fifteen. There were consequently no classes, no regular period of admission, etc. A pupil joined the school at any time, became a class by himself, followed his own pace of study, and left the school when he had acquired all that he desired to know or the school had to teach. In bigger schools, there was in vogue a system under which the senior pupils were appointed to teach junior ones. It was this system that attracted the attention of Dr. Bell the Presidency Chaplain at Madras, and which he introduced in England as a cheap and efficient method of educating the poor. The system later came to be known as the *Monitorial* or *Madras System* in England. The curriculum of the school was very narrow and consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic (both written and oral) and accounts. The punishments ordinarily dealt out in

the school were severe. There was no fee in the modern sense, but each parent who sent his child to the school generally made some payment to the teacher—either in cash or in kind. The amount of the payment depended upon the capacity of the parent and even the time and mode of payment were left to his convenience.

A general idea of the working of the *Hindu elementary school* of this period can be had from the following extract from a report of the Collector of Bombay: —

"6. The education of the Hindoo youths generally commences when they are five years old; on reaching this age, the master and scholars of the school to which the boy is to be sent, are invited to the house of his parents; the whole are seated in a circle round an image of Gunasee and the child to be initiated is placed exactly opposed to it. The schoolmaster sitting by his side, after having burnt incense and presented offerings, causes the child to repeat a prayer to Gunasee, entreating wisdom. He then guides the child to write with its finger in rice the mystic name of the deity, and is dismissed with a present from the parents according to their ability. The child next morning commences the great work of his education.

7. Some children continue at school only five years; the parents, through poverty or other circumstances, being often obliged to take them away; and consequently in such cases the merest smattering of an education is obtained; where parents can afford it, and take a lively interest in the culture of their children's minds, they not unfrequently continue at school as long as 14 or 15 years.

8. The internal routine of duty for each day will be found, with very few exceptions and little variation, the same in all the schools. The hour generally for opening school is six o'clock, the first child that enters has the name of Saraswatee, or the goddess of learning, written upon the palm of his hand as a sign of honour; and on the hand of the second a cypher is written, to show that he is worthy neither of praise nor censure; the third scholar receives a gentle stripe; the fourth two; and every succeeding scholar that comes an additional one. This custom, as well as the punishment in native schools, seems of a severe kind. The idle scholar is flogged and often suspended

by both hands and a pulley to the roof, or obliged to kneel down and rise incessantly, which is a most painful and fatiguing, but perhaps a healthy mode of punishment.

9. When the whole are assembled, the scholars, according to their number and attainments, are divided into several classes, the lower ones of which are partly under the care of monitors, whilst the higher ones are more immediately under the superintendence of the master, who at the same time has his eye upon the whole school. The number of classes is generally four, and a scholar rises from one to the other according to his capacity and progress. The first business of a child on entering school is to obtain a knowledge of the letters, which he learns by writing them with his finger on the ground in sand, and not by pronouncing the alphabet, as among European nations. When he becomes pretty dexterous in writing with his finger in sand, he has then the privilege of writing either with an iron style on cadjan leaves, or with a reed on paper, and sometimes on the leaves of the Aristolochia Indica, or with a kind of pencil on the Hulligi or Kadala, which answers the purpose of slates. The two latter in these districts are the most common. One of these is a common oblong board about a foot in width and three feet in length; this board when planed smooth has only to be smeared with a little rice and pulverized charcoal, and it is then fit for use. The other is made of cloth, first stiffened with rice water, doubled into folds resembling a book, and it is then covered with a composition of charcoal and several gums. The writing on either of these may be effaced by a wet cloth, the pencil used called Bultapa, a kind of white clay substance, somewhat resembling a crayon, with the exception of being rather harder.

10. Having attained a thorough knowledge of the letters, the scholar next learns to write the compounds, or the manner of embodying the symbols of the vowels in the consonants and the formation of syllables, etc., then the names of men, villages, animals, etc., and lastly arithmetic signs. He then commits to memory an addition table and counts from one to 100; he afterwards writes easy sums in addition and subtraction of money, multiplication and the reduction of money, measure, etc. Here great pains are taken with the scholar in teaching him the fractions of an integer, which descend, not by tens as in our decimal fractions, but by fours, and are carried to a great extent.

In order that these fractions together with the arithmetical tables in addition, multiplication and the three-fold measures of capacity, weight and extent, may be rendered quite familiar to the minds of the scholars, they are made to stand up twice a day in rows, and repeat the whole after one of the monitors.

11. The other parts of native education consist in decyphering various kinds of handwriting in public, and other letters which the schoolmaster collects from different sources, writing common letters, drawing up forms of agreement, reading fables and legendary tables and committing various kinds of poetry to memory, chiefly with a view to attain distinctness and clearness of pronunciation together with readiness and correctness in reading any kind of composition. . . .

16. *The economy with which children are taught to write in the native schools, and the system by which the most advanced scholars are caused to teach the less advanced, and at the same time to confirm their own knowledge, is certainly admirable, and well deserves the imitation it has received in England.* The chief defects in the native schools are the nature of the books and learning taught and the want of competent masters." [1]

The working of the *Muslim elementary schools* was slightly different. It is significant that these schools did not teach Urdu, the spoken language of the children, but concentrated their attention on the teaching of Persian which was the court language. The following excellent description of a Persian elementary school is taken from Adam's Second Report :—

"The Persian schools in Nattore are four in number, containing twenty-three scholars, who enter school at an age varying from four and a half to thirteen years, and leave it at an age varying from twelve to seventeen. The whole time stated to be spent at school varies from four to eight years. The teachers intellectually are of a higher grade than the teachers of Bengali schools, although that grade is not high compared with what is to be desired and is attainable. . . . The total

[1] *Selections from the Records of the Government of Madras*, No. II, Appendix D. (Italics ours.)

remuneration of a teacher varies from four to ten rupees per month, averaging about seven rupees. The principal object of the patrons of these schools is the instruction of their own children; but in one instance a worthy old Musalman, who has no children, contributes a small monthly allowance, without which the teacher would not have sufficient inducement to continue his labour; and in another case besides two children of the family, ten other boys are admitted, on whom instruction, food, and clothing, are gratuitously bestowed. Two of the schools have separate school-houses, which were built by the benevolent patrons who principally support them. The scholars of the other two assemble in out-buildings, belonging to one or other of the families whose children receive instruction.

Although in the Persian schools printed books are unknown, yet manuscript works are in constant use. The general course of instruction has no very marked stages or gradations into which it is divided. Like the Hindus, however, the Musalmans formally initiate their children into the study of letters. When a child, whether a boy or a girl, is four years, four months, and four days old, the friends of the family assemble, and the child is dressed in his best clothes, brought in to the company, and seated on a cushion in the presence of all. The alphabet, the form of letters used for computation, the Introduction to the Koran, some verses of Chapter LV, and the whole of Chapter LXXXVII, are placed before him, and he is taught to pronounce them in succession. If the child is self-willed, and refuses to read, he is made to pronounce the Bismillah, which answers every purpose, and from that day his education is deemed to have commenced. At school he is taught the alphabet, as with ourselves by the eye and ear, the forms of the letters being presented to him in writing, and their names pronounced in his hearing, which he is required to repeat until he is able to connect the names and the forms with each other in his mind. The scholar is afterwards made to read the thirtieth Section of the Koran, the chapters of which are short, and are generally used at the times of prayer and in the burial service. The words are marked with the diacritical points in order that the knowledge of letters, their junction and correct orthography, and their pronunciation from the appropriate organs may be thoroughly acquired; but the sense

is entirely unknown The next book put into his hands is the *Pandnameh* of Sadi, a collection of moral sayings, many of which are above his comprehension, but he is not taught or required to understand any of them The work is solely used for the purpose of instructing him in the art of reading and of forming a correct pronunciation without any regard to the sense of the words pronounced It is generally after this that the scholar is taught to write the letters, to join vowels and consonants, and to form syllables The next book is the *Amadnameh*, exhibiting the forms of conjugating the Persian verbs which are read to the master and by frequent repetition committed to memory The first book which is read for the purpose of being understood is the *Gulistan* of Sadi, containing lessons on life and manners and this is followed or accompanied by the *Bostan* of the same author Two or three sections of each are read, and simultaneously short Persian sentences relating to going and coming, sitting and standing, and the common affairs of life, are read and explained The pupil is afterwards made to write Persian names, then Arabic names, and next Hindi names, especially such as contain letters to the writing or pronunciation of which difficulty is supposed to attach Elegant penmanship is considered a great accomplishment, and those who devote themselves to this art employ from three to six hours every day in the exercise of it, writing first single letters, then double or treble, then couplets, quatrains, &c They first write upon a board with a thick pen, then with a finer pen on pieces of paper pasted together, and last of all, when they have acquired considerable command of the pen, they begin to write upon paper in single fold This is accompanied or followed by the perusal of some of the most popular poetical productions such as Joseph and Zuleikha, founded on a well-known incident in Hebrew history, the loves of Leila and Majnun, the Secundar Nameh, an account of the exploits of Alexander the Great, &c &c The mode of computing by the Abjad, or letters of the alphabet, is also taught, and is of two sorts in the first, the letters of the alphabet in the order of the Abjad being taken to denote units, tens, and hundreds to a thousand, and in the second the letters composing the names of the letters of the alphabet being employed for the same purpose Arithmetic, by means of the Arabic numerals, and instruction at great

length in the different styles of address, and in the forms of correspondence, petitions, &c., &c., complete a course of Persian instruction . . .

In a Persian school, after the years of mere childhood, when the pupils are assumed to be capable of stricter application, the hours of study with intervals extend from six in the morning to nine at night. In the first place in the morning they revise the lessons of the previous day, after which a new lesson is read, committed to memory, and repeated to the master. About mid-day they have leave of absence for an hour when they dine, and on their return to school they are instructed in writing. About three o'clock they have another reading lesson which is also committed to memory, and about an hour before the close of the day they have leave to play. The practice with regard to the forenoon and afternoon lessons in reading, is to join the perusal of a work in prose with that of a work in verse; as the Gulistan with the Bostan and Abulfazl's letters with the Secundar Nameh, the forenoon lesson being taken from one and the afternoon lesson from the other. In the evening they repeat the lessons of that day several times until they have them perfectly at command; and, after making some preparation for the lessons of the next day, they have leave to retire. Thursday every week is devoted to the revision of old lessons; and when that is completed, the pupils seek instruction or amusement according to their own pleasure in the perusal of forms of prayer and stanzas of poetry, and are dismissed on that day at three o'clock without any new lesson. On Friday, the sacred day of Musalmans, there is no schooling. In other districts in respectable or wealthy Musalman families, besides the literary instructor called *Miyan* or *Akhun*, there is also a domestic tutor or *Censor Morum* called *Atalik*, a kind of head-servant whose duty is to train the children of the family to good manners, and to see that they do not neglect any duty assigned to them; but I do not find any trace of this practice in Rajshahi.

Upon the whole the course of Persian instruction, even in its less perfect forms such as are found to exist in this district, has a more comprehensive character and a more liberal tendency than that pursued in the Bengali schools. The systematic use of books although in manuscript, is a great step in

advance, accustoming the minds of the pupils to forms of regular composition, to correct and elegant language, and to trains of consecutive thought, and thus aiding both to stimulate the intellect and to form the taste" [2]

6 **Domestic Instruction** In addition to the indigenous elementary school, there was another important agency for the spread of mass education, viz domestic instruction This prevailed extensively in all parts of India and was used both by the Hindus and by the Muslims The Collector of Kanara reported in 1822 that it was the most important agency of mass education in his district In the City of Madras, the investigations of Munro showed that for every pupil in the ordinary school, there were five under domestic instruction Adam also found the system prevailing extensively in Bengal and Bihar The following passage from his second report gives a clear picture of the system —

"Those who give their children domestic instruction are Zemindars, Talukdars, and persons of some little substance, shop-keepers and traders possessing some enterprise and forecast in their callings, zemindars' agents or factors (gomashtas), and heads of villages (mandals), who know practically the advantage of writing and accounts, and sometimes persons of straitened resources, but respectable character, who have been in better circumstances, and wish to give their children the means of making their way in the world Pundits, too, who intend that their children should pursue the study of Sanskrit begin by instructing them at home in the rudiments of their mother tongue, and Brahmins who have themselves gone through only a partial course of Sanskrit reading, seek to qualify their children by such instruction as they can give for the office and duties of a family priest or spiritual guide

The instruction given in families is still more limited and imperfect than that which is given in schools In some cases I found that it did not extend beyond the writing of the letters of the alphabet, in others the writing of words Pundits and

[2] *Adam's Reports* (Calcutta Edition), pp 148-57

priests, unless when there is some landed property in the family, confine the Bengali instruction they give their children to writing and reading, addition and subtraction, with scarcely any of the applications of numbers to agricultural and commercial affairs. Farmers and traders naturally limit their instructions to what they best know, and what is to them and their children of greatest direct utility, the calculations and measurements peculiar to their immediate occupations. The parents with whom I have conversed on the subject do not attach the same value to the domestic instruction which their children receive which they ascribe to the instruction of a professional schoolmaster, both because in their opinion such instruction would be more regular and systematic, and because the teacher would probably be better qualified.

It thus appears that, in addition to the elementary instruction given in regular schools, there is a sort of traditionary knowledge of written language and accounts preserved in families from father to son and from generation to generation. This domestic elementary instruction is much more in use than scholastic elementary instruction, and yet it is not so highly valued as the latter. The reasons why the less esteemed form of elementary instruction is more common cannot in all cases be accurately ascertained. The inaptitude to combination for purposes of common interest sometimes alleged against the natives might be suggested ; but the truth is that they do often club together, sometimes to establish and support schools and sometimes to defray the expenses of religious celebrations, dances, and plays. In those cases in which scholastic instruction would be preferred by the parents, and I believe such cases to be numerous, poverty is the only reason that can be assigned ; and in other instances, as of the zamindar and the Brahmin Pundit, the pride of rank and station in the one case, and of birth and learning in the other, acting also upon circumscribed means, may prevent the respective parties from looking beyond their own thresholds for the instruction which their children need. Inability to pay for school instruction I believe to be by far the most prevalent reason and this is confirmed by the fact that in at least six villages that I visited, I was told that there had been recently Bengali schools which were discontinued because the masters could not gain a livelihood, or because they found something more profit-

able to do elsewhere. The case of the Dharail school shows the difficulty with which a small income is made up to a schoolmaster by the community of a village. From all I could learn and observe, I am led to infer that in this district elementary instruction is on the decline and has been for some time decaying. The domestic instruction which many give to their children in elementary knowledge would seem to be an indication of the struggle which the ancient habits and the practical sense of the people are making against their present depressed circumstances."[3]

7. **Female Education.** It would appear from the data available that the education of women was extremely neglected if not entirely non-existent. In Bengal, female education was at the lowest ebb. As Adam observes :—

"Of the total female population, 16,792 are between fourteen and five years of age, that is, are of the age at which the mind is capable of receiving in an increasing degree the benefit of instruction in letters. The state of instruction amongst this unfortunate class cannot be said to be low, for with a very few individual exceptions there is no instruction at all. Absolute and hopeless ignorance is in general their lot. The notion of providing the means of instruction for female children never enters into the minds of parents; and girls are equally deprived of that imperfect domestic instruction which is sometimes given to boys. A superstitious feeling is alleged to exist in the majority of Hindu families, principally cherished by the women and not discouraged by the men, that a girl taught to write and read will soon after marriage become a widow, an event which is regarded as nearly the worst misfortune that can befall the sex; and the belief is also generally entertained in native society that intrigue is facilitated by a knowledge of letters on the part of females. Under the influence of these fears there is not only nothing done in a native family to promote female instruction, but an anxiety is often evinced to discourage any inclination to acquire the most elementary knowledge. . . . It may, therefore, be affirmed that the juvenile female population of this

[3] *Adam's Reports* (Calcutta Edition), pp. 158-9.

district, that is, the female population of the teachable age or of the age between fourteen and five years, without any known exception and with so few probable exceptions that they can scarcely be taken into the account, is growing up wholly destitute of the knowledge of reading and writing." [4]

The reports from the other parts of India are, however, more encouraging. Sir Thomas Munro makes the following observations on female education in the province of Madras :—

"To the women of Brahmans and of Hindus in general they (i.e. reading and writing) are unknown, because the knowledge of them is prohibited and regarded as unbecoming the modesty of the sex and fit only for public dancers ; but among the women of Rajbundah and some other tribes of Hindus, who seem to have no prejudice of this kind, they are generally taught. The prohibition against women learning to read is, probably, from various causes, much less attended to in some districts than in others ; and it is possible that in every district a few females may be found in the reading schools. A column has been entered for them in the form proposed to be sent to the collector." [5]

The statistics collected by Munro for the province of Madras revealed that as many as 4,540 female pupils attended elementary schools. But the most interesting information is contained in the following passage from the first administration report of the Punjab :—

"The schools are of three descriptions, namely, those resorted to by Hindoos, Mussulmans and Sikhs, respectively. At the Hindoo schools, writing and the rudiments of arithmetic are generally taught, in the Hindee character ; at the Mussulman schools are read the Koran, in Arabic, and the didactic and poetical works of Sadi, in Persian (the *Gulistan* and *Bostan*) ; at the Sikh school, the Grunth in Goormukhi, or the repository of the faith, taught by Nanuck and Guroo Govind. In the Persian, Arabic and Goormukhi schools, which form

[4] *Adam's Reports* (Calcutta Edition), pp. 187-8.
[5] *Selections from the Records of the Government of Madras*, Vol. II, Appendix A.

the great majority, the studies being chiefly confined to sacred books written in a classical phraseology, unintelligible to both teacher and pupil, do not tend to develop the intellectual faculties of either.

It is remarkable that female education is to be met with in all parts of the Punjab. The girls and the teachers (also females) belong to all of the three great tribes, namely, Hindoo, Mussulman and Sikh. The number is not of course large, but the existence of such an education, almost unknown in other parts of India, is an encouraging circumstance." [6]

In spite of these silver linings, however, it must be admitted that female education was extremely backward in India at this period.

8. **Extent of Mass Education.** The enquiry in Madras was the earliest of the official enquiries. Its results have thus been summarised by Munro himself :

"It appears that the number of schools, and of what are called colleges, in the territories under this Presidency, amount to 12,498, and the population to 12,850,041 ; so that there is one school to every 1,000 of the population ; but as only a very few females are taught in school, we may reckon one school to every 500 of the population.

2. It is remarked by the Board of Revenue, that of a population of 12½ millions there are only 188,000 or 1 in 67 receiving education. This is true of the whole population, but not as regards the male part of it, of which the proportion educated is much greater than is here estimated. . . . *I am, however, inclined to estimate the portion of the male population, who receive school education to be nearer to one-third than one-fourth of the whole.* . . . The proportion educated is very different in different classes ; in some it is nearly the whole ; in others it is hardly one-tenth.

3. *The state of education here exhibited, low as it is compared with that of our own country, is higher than it was in most European countries at no very distant period.* It has, no doubt, been better in earlier times." [7]

[6] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. II, pp. 278-9.
[7] *Selections from the Records of the Government of Madras*, No. II, Appendix E. (Italics ours.)

Munro admitted that his statistics were defective and erred on the side of underestimation. Even after ignoring this aspect and taking the statistics as they are, it can be seen that mass education in Madras in 1822 compared favourably with that among western nations of that time.

Bombay : The statistics collected under the orders of Elphinstone in 1823-5 did not cover the whole of the Province and cannot, therefore, be considered here. The earliest complete statistics appear to be those of 1829 which state that the total number of schools in the Province was 1,705 with 35,143 scholars while the population was stated to be 46,81,735. If these statistics are to be relied upon, it would mean that education in Bombay was only one-third as advanced as in Madras.

But the reliability of these figures is generally challenged. The chief argument is the direct evidence of the officials of those days whose personal impressions were quite different. For instance, Mr. G. L. Prendergast, a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay, wrote as under in 1821 : —

> "I need hardly mention what every member of the Board knows as well as I do, that there is hardly a village, great or small, throughout our territories, in which there is not at least one school, and in larger villages more ; many in every town, and in large cities in every division ; where young natives are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic upon a system so economical, from a handful or two of grain to perhaps a rupee per month to the schoolmaster, according to the ability of parents, and at the same time so simple and effectual, that there is hardly a cultivator or petty dealer who is not competent to keep his own accounts with a degree of accuracy, in my opinion, beyond what we meet with amongst the lower orders in our own country ; whilst the more splendid dealers and bankers keep their books with a degree of ease, concise-

ness, and clearness, I rather think, fully equal to those of any British merchant." [8]

Observations of this type from several other officials of those days have also been found and it is, therefore, argued that the statistics given above were indifferently collected. Again, it is pointed out that these figures do not include the figures of pupils under domestic instruction which certainly prevailed to a great extent in Bombay as in other parts of India.

It is difficult, however, to pronounce any definite opinion on the subject as the direct evidence available is extremely scanty. At present, it is purely 'a question of taste' to choose between the report of 1829 or the views of Mr. Prendergast and others. But the indirect evidence that is available leads one to the conclusion that the report of 1829 cannot be accurate. For instance, it is a well-known fact that the Bombay Education Department deliberately neglected the indigenous schools. Between 1829 and 1882, therefore, the number of indigenous schools in the Province *must* have decreased considerably owing to the unfair competition with the Departmental and Local Fund Cess Schools which were organised in large numbers during these years. And yet, in 1881-2, the Indian Education Commission found 3954 indigenous schools with 78,205 pupils! In the face of this evidence, it is impossible to believe that there were only 1705 schools with 35,143 pupils in 1829. An approach to the problem with an open mind is more likely to show that the Bombay statistics are unreliable underestimates than to prove that they can be taken as the yardstick with which to measure the extent of elementary education in India as a whole.

[8] *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company*, Appendix I, Public, 1832, pp. 301-2.

Bengal: Our authority for information regarding Bengal is William Adam, who conducted an enquiry into indigenous education in certain districts of Bengal and Bihar from 1835 to 1838. He submitted three reports. The first of these is merely a digest of the earliest enquiries on the subject and of no material importance in estimating the extent of indigenous education in the early 19th century.

In his second report, Adam made a thorough and a comprehensive enquiry into the educational conditions in the Thana of Nattore in the district of Rajashahi. The population of the Thana was 1,95,296 of which 1,29,640 were Muslims and 65,656 were Hindus. The number of villages was 485. There were only 27 elementary schools with 262 pupils. Of these 10 were Bengali schools with 167 pupils, 4 were Persian schools with 23 pupils, 11 were Arabic schools (for the teaching of the Koran) with 42 pupils, and 2 were Bengali and Persian schools with 30 pupils. Besides these, there were 1,588 families belonging to 238 villages, which gave instruction to 2,382 children. In other words, the number of children under domestic instruction was nearly nine times the number of pupils in public schools. The average age of admission to a public elementary school was 8 years and the average age of leaving school was 14 years. The average pay of the teachers in elementary schools was Rs. 5-8 per month. In so far as higher education is concerned, Adam did not find any indigenous colleges conducted by Muslims. But there were 38 Sanskrit colleges with 397 students. The average age of admission was 11 years and the average age of completing the course was 27 years. Of the 397 students, 136 belonged to the villages where the colleges were situated and received free education only, while

261 students belonged to other villages and received food, lodging and education, free of charge, from their teachers. As in the rest of Bengal, female education was practically non-existent. But Adam estimated that the total number of instructed adults in Nattore was 6,121 which gives a literacy percentage of 6.1 to the total male population and 3.1 to the population as a whole including females.

In his third report, Adam gives the statistics collected by him for five districts of Bengal and Bihar, which are summarised in the following tables :—

TABLE I—*Schools*

District	Number of Schools								Total
	Bengali	Hindi	Sanskrit	Persian	Formal Arabic	Arabic	English	Girls	
Murshidabad ...	62	5	24	17	...	2	2	1	113
Birbhum ...	407	5	56	71	...	2	2	1	544
Burdwan ...	629+1 (infants)	...	190	93	3	8	3	4	931
South Bihar ...	...	286	27	279	...	12	1	...	605
Tirhut ...	...	80	56	234	...	4	...	...	374
Total ...	1,099	376	353	694	3	28	8	6	2,567

TABLE II—*Scholars*

District	Number of Scholars					Total
	Bengali & Hindi	Sanskrit	Persian & Arabic	English	Girls	
Murshidabad ...	1,080	153	109	26	28	1,396
Birbhum ...	6,383	393	490	73	11	7,350
Burdwan ...	13,190	1,358	971	120	175	15,814
South Bihar ...	3,090	437	1,486	23	...	5,036
Tirhut ...	507	214	598	..	...	1,319
Total ...	24,250	2,555	3,654	242	214	30,915

In six Thanas, Adam conducted detailed enquiries and collected information regarding centres of domestic instruction and literate persons. His results are summarised in the following tables :—

I—*Literacy.*

	City of Murshidabad	Thana Daulat Bazar	Thana Nangla	Thana Culna	Thana Jebanabad	Thana Bhawara	Total of last six columns
1. Adults who have received a learned education and are engaged in the business of teaching ...	33	...	2	38	6	7	86
2. Adults who have received a learned education and who are not engaged in the business of teaching	75	13	12	99	19	27	245
3. Adults who have not received a learned education and who are engaged in the business of teaching with attainments superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing ...	60	25	34	93	53	6	271
4. Adults who have neither received a learned education nor are engaged in the business of teaching but who possess attainment superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing ...	4,767	555	352	2,424	992	425	9,515
5. Adults who can merely read and write ...	1,700	614	593	2,304	761	303	6,275
6. Adults who can decipher or sign their names ...	715	565	620	2,350	1,004	265	5,519
Total ...	7,350	1,772	1,613	7,308	2,835	1,033	21,911

This gives a literacy percentage of 4.4.

II—*Domestic Instruction.*

1	Population 2	No. of children receiving school instruction 3	No. of children receiving domestic instruction 4	Total No. of children receiving domestic and school instruction 5
City of Murshidabad...	1,24,804	959	300	1,259
Thana Daulat Bazar ..	62,037	305	326	631
Thana Nangha ...	46,416	439	285	724
Thana Culna ...	1,16,425	2,243	676	2,919
Thana Jehanabad ...	81,480	366	539	905
Thana Bhawara ...	65,812	60	288	348
Total ...	4,96,974	4,372	2,414	6,786

It would be interesting to compare Adam's statistics for these six Thanas with the educational position in British India in 1921-22 :—

	Adam's figures	Position of British India in 1921-1922 (Burma is excluded)
(*a*) Centres of Instruction, i.e. Schools—public and domestic—as given by Adam and schools—recognised and unrecognised—as given in Departmental Reports	2,210 (1 for 225) persons)	1,82,752 (1 for 1,280 persons)
(*b*) Pupils under instruction	6,786	78,18,725
(*c*) Percentage of pupils under instruction to the total population (This ought to be about 15 per cent)	1.4	3.3
(*d*) Number of Adult literates,* above the age of 15. (Adam's figures are for literates above the age of 14) ...	21.911	1,24,60,170
(*e*) Percentage of adult literates to the total population.	4.4	5.3

* Figures given here are for the whole of British India excluding Ajmere-Merwara, Andamans and Nicobars, British Baluchistan, Coorg and Delhi for which figures are not available.

9. **Hartog-Parulekar Controversy.** The extent to which education was spread among the masses at the beginning of the nineteenth century has been the subject of a celebrated controversy. In one of his speeches in London in 1931, Mahatma Gandhi said that India was less literate now than she was a hundred years ago. Sir Philip Hartog challenged this view and tried to disprove it in his *Some Aspects of Indian Education—Past and Present.* The arguments of Sir Philip Hartog have, however, been ably met by Professor R. V. Parulekar in his pamphlet entitled *Literacy in India in Pre-British Days.* The controversy is still 'hot' and deserves some notice.

There are two points at issue in this controversy. The first centres round the statement of Adam that there were, at the beginning of the 19th century, about a lakh of schools in Bengal, or one school for every 400 of the population, and round the general belief that, at that time, every Indian village had at least one school. Some students of educational history, relying on the statistics of schools collected by Munro, Elphinstone, or Adam himself, contend that there is hardly any basis either for the statement of Adam or for the general belief. For instance, Sir Philip Hartog gives the following statistics for the areas which Adam investigated :—

Area	Population	No. of Schools actually existing	Hypothetical number of schools on the basis of one school per 400 of population
Murshidabad ...	1,86,841	113	467
Birbhum ...	12,67,067	544	3,168
Burdwan ...	11,87,580	931	2,969
South Bihar ...	13,40,610	605	3,352
Tirhut ...	16 97,700	374	4,244

(Taken from p. 83 of *Some Aspects of Indian Education.*)

These statistics show that there were actually 2,567 schools in this area, whereas there ought to have been 14,200 schools on the basis of one school for every 400 of the population. It is, therefore, alleged that Adam's statement is a 'myth' or a 'legend'.

The whole argument chiefly centres round the interpretation of the word 'School'. Sir Philip Hartog, and those who follow his line of thought, interpret this expression in its modern sense, viz., an institution of a more or less permanent nature conducted by a person who teaches a certain number of the children of the locality in return for fees and perquisites from the pupils and/or a remuneration from the community. If the word is used in this sense, it is correct to conclude that the idea of 100,000 'schools' in Bengal is a 'fantastic exaggeration of facts'. But the other side contests this interpretation. It argues that, in those days, the word 'school' was used to mean 'a place where instruction

Area	Population	No. of towns and villages	Number of schools				Total	No. of hypothetical schools on the basis of one school for 400 people
			Elementary schools (includes Persian)	Schools of learning	Other schools	Private schools of domestic instruction		
City of Murshidabad ...	1,24,804	...	59	26	3	216	304	312
Thana								
„ Daulatbazar	62,037	183	25	...	...	254	279	155
„ Nangha ...	46 416	267	34	2	...	207	243	116
„ Culna ...	1,16,425	288	79	38	2	475	594	291
„ Jehanabad	81,480	803	85	7	...	360	452	203
„ Bhawara ..	65,812	402	6	7	...	235	248	164
Total ...	4,96,974	1,943	288	80	5	1,747	2,210	1,241

was given' and included the centres where the system of domestic instruction prevailed. According to this view, a family where a teacher was employed to give education to its children, or where the father taught his own children—with or without other children from the locality—was also a 'school' as understood in those days. If this view is accepted, Adam's statement would seem to be amply justified in the areas which he investigated as the statistics given above will show.

Secondly, the question as to why Adam himself did not point out the falsity of the 'legend' of one lakh schools is also variously answered. The honesty of Adam is not doubted; but one view states that he could not "summarize his statistics clearly", while the other side points out the great powers of observation and analysis that he displays in his reports and asserts that the legend of 100,000 schools has persisted in official and non-official circles for the simple reason that it was *not* a legend. As the late Mr. M. R. Paranjpe observed:—

> "Officials and publicists who belong to this century and who have no personal knowledge of the educational conditions of the country in the middle half of the nineteenth century are unwilling to believe that there ever were schools in villages where the modern Departments of Education find it impossible to maintain them. They cannot conceive of simple instructional centres maintained by the villages jointly or by rich landlords individually, by paying the teachers in kind. But officials and non-officials who lived in the fifties and sixties of the last century have, like Adam, admitted the existence of a school in every village. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there existed a fairly widespread organization for primary education in most parts of India. In Madras Presidency, Sir Thomas Munro found 'a primary school in every village' (Mill—*History of British India*, Vol. I, p. 562, 4th edition). In Bengal, Ward discovered that 'almost all villages possessed schools for teaching reading, writing, and elementary arithmetic' (Ward—*View of the Hindoos*, Vol. I, p. 160).

In Malva, which was for more than half a century suffering from continuous anarchy, Malcolm noticed that 'every village with about a hundred houses had an elementary school at the time of its coming under the British suzerainty' (Malcolm—*Memoirs of Central India and Malva*, Vol. II, p. 158)." [9]

The second point at issue in this controversy refers to percentage of literacy. Adam collected statistics of adult literates in six Thanas and in the city of Murshidabad. He found that there were 21,911 literate adults (above the age of 14) in a total population of 4,96,974. This gives a literacy percentage of 4.4. According to the census of 1921 the percentage of adult (above the age of 15) literates in India to the total population was 5.3. Let us make an allowance for the imperfections in Adam's figure; for the fact that education was decaying in his days; and for the fact that the area, covered by him, had long been under anarchy and was probably more backward in education than other parts of India which had been under more or less settled government. After making this allowance it would be evident that the educational position of India, in respect of adult literacy in 1821, was probably the same as, or better than, that in 1921, and this is precisely the view taken by one side to the controversy.

Sir Philip Hartog refuses to accept this conclusion. Adam classified his adult literates into six classes. The sixth class was described by him as 'adults who can decipher or sign their own names' and numbered 5,519 out of the total number of 21,911 literates. It is argued that these persons who could only read or write their names cannot be considered to be literate according to the definition which has been adopted for the census of 1921, viz.: that a literate person is one who can read

[9] *Progress of Education*, Poona, July 1940, p. 38.

or write a letter. It is, therefore, suggested that the 5,519 adult literates in class six should be excluded and the number of adult literates should only be taken at 16,392, which gives a literacy percentage of 3.2 only. It is, therefore, argued that the statement made by Mahatma Gandhi is incorrect.

It is a matter of opinion whether persons who can read or sign their names should or should not be called literate. According to modern standards they are not; but it would be wrong to impose these modern standards of literacy on the social conditions of early 19th century. At that time, there were no papers, no printed books, no post-offices and hence the requirements of people in matters of literacy were very limited. The question of the proper standard for literacy in any generation should be decided by that very generation. In the particular period in which Adam made his investigation, it would appear that persons who could read or sign their names were regarded as literate, as otherwise, Adam would not have included such people among the literates. We, therefore, cannot agree with those who would judge the 19th century by the standards of the 20th.

Even assuming, for the sake of argument, that the percentage of literacy in India was 3.2 only in 1835-8, it will be seen that literacy has increased by 2.1 per cent only in about ninety years! This can hardly be called *progress* and although it might be possible to challenge the strict veritude of the statement of Mahatma Gandhi, there can be no defence against the extremely slow advance of mass education under the British rule. In our opinion, this was the main issue that Mahatma Gandhi wanted to emphasize.

10. **Conclusion.** Such was the indigenous system of education that prevailed in India in the early 19th

century. Its weaker part was the schools of learning which were a relic of the middle ages and out of perspective with modern requirements. But its main strength lay in the system of elementary schools which, in spite of all their defects, were doing yeoman service to the cause of mass education. It was the example of these schools that led to the adoption of the Monitorial system in England which contributed so materially to that country's educational expansion in the 19th century. It was the work of these schools that made Munro observe that education in India was even better than in many countries of Europe of that time, and made Mr. Prendergast pay such a glowing tribute to the indigenous education in Bombay.

The modern educational system in India should have been built upon the foundations of this indigenous system, and the efforts of our educational administrators should have been directed to the improvement of these institutions and to their incorporation in the modern system of education. But this was never done. On the other hand, some attempts were made to encourage the schools of learning which were admittedly the weaker side of indigenous education, but even these were soon abandoned. The vast network of elementary schools never received the attention it deserved at the hands of Government. Inspite of the exhortations of thinkers like Adam and Elphinstone, the directions of the Despatch of 1854, and the strong recommendations of the Indian Education Commission, indigenous elementary schools were either killed in ill-planned attempts at reform, or destroyed by deliberate competition, or allowed to die by sheer neglect.

The results were disastrous. It is true that attempts were made by the officers of the East India

Company, and later by the Education Departments, to create a new system of education in India. For several reasons, the process was slow, and it could hardly compensate for the loss of the indigenous schools, with the result, that the educational position of India in 1921 was hardly better than that in 1821. In the meantime, the other countries of the East and West whose educational advance was equal, or even inferior to that of India in 1821, made such rapid progress that India soon lost her position of vantage and became one of the most educationally backward countries of the world !

Chapter II

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY ACCEPTS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE EDUCATION OF INDIANS

(1813)

Early Proselytising Activities. The East India Company was established on 31st December 1600 and although its main object was trade with eastern countries, very early in its life, it took some measures which clearly seem intended to help the spread of Christianity. For example, it sent out chaplains to India, primarily to look after the spiritual welfare of its Christian employees and their families and incidentally to spread the Gospel among the Indian people. It even seems to have contemplated the training of *Indian Christians* in missionary work with a view presumably to their employment for obtaining more converts to Christianity. Thus Mr. N. N. Law mentions the case of an Indian youth who was sent to England for missionary training at the Company's cost.[1] Moreover, in 1659, the Court of Directors of the Company explicitly stated that it was their earnest desire by all possible means to spread Christianity among the people of India and allowed missionaries to embark on their ships.[2] Fortunately for the Company, however, better counsels seem to have prevailed and this policy was never extensively adopted at any time and was soon replaced by one of religious neutrality, with the result that the Company could stabilize its rule in India without being called upon to face any serious opposition from the masses. It would,

[1] *Promotion of Learning in India by Early European Settlers* by N. N. Law, p. 7.
[2] *Selections from Educational Records,* Volume I, p. 3.

however, be incorrect to assume, as is sometimes done, that these activities of the Company are the beginning of its educational policy. It would be much more correct to say that the Company undertook no educational activity worth the name in India during the first hundred years of its existence.

2. **Charity Schools.** Early in the eighteenth century, however, we find a definite beginning of the educational activities of the Company. The Charter of 1698 directed the Company to maintain ministers of religion at their factories in India and to take a chaplain in every ship of 500 tons or more. The ministers were required to learn the Portuguese language which was then commonly understood by the inferior servants at the factories, and also "to apply themselves to learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be the servants or slaves of the same Company or of their agents, in the Protestant religion." [3] The Charter also directed the Company to maintain schools, wherever necessary, in all their garrisons and bigger factories. The first part of this direction obviously implies that the Company was expected to spread the Gospel amongst all its employees (including Indians) at least, if not among the people as a whole. But the Company soon realised the political importance of a policy of religious neutrality and, therefore, refrained from carrying this out to its logical conclusion.

The second part of the direction was, however, complied with to a considerable extent. The Company encouraged the establishment of schools at the principal towns within its territories and often gave them liberal grants-in-aid. Thus the St. Mary's Charity School was

[3] *Government of India*, by Sir C. Ilbert, p. 29.

established in Madras in 1715 by Rev. Mr. Stevenson. Two more charity schools were established in the same town in 1717 by the Danish Missionaries—one for Portuguese children and the other for Tamil children. In 1718, Rev. Richard Cobbe established a charity school in Bombay and in 1731, another charity school was established in Calcutta by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. In 1787, two more charity schools were established in Madras—one for boys and the other for girls. These schools were mostly intended for the education of the children of the Company's English soldiers—presumably by Indian mothers—although some of them admitted a few poor and orphan Indian children also; their curriculum was mostly limited to the acquisition of the three R's and the principles of the Christian religion; and the funds for their support were provided by subscriptions and donations from philanthropic and religious persons and by the grants paid by the Company.

Throughout the eighteenth century, therefore, the encouragement of these and similar charity schools was the main educational activity of the East India Company. From a theoretical point of view, it is possible to regard these schools as the beginning of the Company's educational work in India. But it must be remembered that they catered to the needs of a very small section of the public, viz. the children of the *Company's European servants* and that, as yet, the Company had done hardly anything either to acknowledge or to discharge a similar duty to its *Indian subjects.*

3. **The Calcutta Madrassah and the Benares Sanskrit College.** The Company's attempts to educate the Indian people as such, cannot, therefore, be traced either to its early activities in the seventeenth century of a more

or less proselytising nature or to its encouragement of the charity schools during the eighteenth. It would be more appropriate to trace them to the decade 1781-91 in which the Calcutta Madrassah and the Benares Sanskrit College came to be established. In 1781, Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of India, founded the Calcutta Madrassah for the cultivation of Arabic and Persian studies and in 1791, Jonathan Duncan, the Resident at Benares, established a College at that place for the cultivation of Sanskrit learning.[4] The first and foremost object of these institutions was to train Indian assistants to English judges in order to explain the principles of Muslim and Hindu laws. It may be noted here that, prior to 1781, the Judges of the Supreme Court which was established by the Regulating Act of 1773, administered English law only. This led to a considerable disquiet among the Indian people because the principles of English law were, in many instances, contrary to Indian customs. Hence the Amending Act of 1781 provided that " inheritance and succession to lands, rents, and goods, and all matters of contract and dealing between party and party, shall be determined in the case of Mahomedans by the laws and usages of Mahomedans, and in the case of Gentus by the laws and usages of Gentus; and where only one of the parties shall be a Mahomedan or Gentu by the laws and usages of the defendent ".[5] As the English judges were ignorant of these laws and as the Company was apparently not prepared to advocate the appointment of Indian judges, it became necessary to appoint Hindu and Muslim

[4] There is some controversy regarding the date of the establishment of this institution. We have adopted the date given by Fisher in his Memoir.

[5] *Government of India* by Sir C. Ilbert, p. 56.

assistants to English judges, in order to explain the principles of their respective laws. It was expected that the Madrassah and the College would supply the Company with an adequate number of such trained assistants to judges.

Although this object of direct administrative utility was the most important, there were other objects as well in founding these institutions. In the first place, the Company wanted to emulate the example of Indian rulers who were known for their munificent donations to schools and colleges of learning; and secondly, it was anxious to placate the most influential classes of the Indian people. The administrators of the Company knew that unless they preserved the popular traditions of earlier rulers and tried to please the influential classes of Indians by giving them education as a stepping-stone to posts under Government, it would be difficult to consolidate and strengthen the British power in India. They hoped that both these objectives would be fulfilled by establishing these institutions. For instance, the aim of establishing the Calcutta Madrassah was stated to be the desire "to conciliate the Mahomedans of Calcutta . . . to qualify the sons of Mahomedan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the State, and to produce competent officers for Courts of Justice to which students of the Madrassah on the production of certificates of qualification were to be drafted as vacancies occurred".[6] In the same way, Jonathan Duncan wrote, to Lord Cornwallis that the Benares college would be useful "in endearing our government to the native Hindoos ... and proving a nursery of future doctors and expounders (of Hindu

[6] *Education in India* by Howell, p. 1.

Law) to assist European judges." [7] Both these institutions had an indifferent existence for the next two decades or so during which period the main educational activities of the Company were confined to their maintenance and to the assistance of the charity schools that were established in all the three Presidencies.

4. **Early Missionary Activities.** Side by side with these educational activities of the Company, certain educational institutions of an entirely different type were built up by the missionaries. The main difference was that while the objectives of the Company were political and administrative, those of the missionaries were religious and philanthropic. Hence the Company patronised schools of learning for the upper classes of society, while the missionaries organized primary schools giving instruction through the mother-tongue of the people in order to meet the needs of the Indian Christians and English schools for Anglo-Indian children. Their work was not very extensive during the period under review. But it has great value as *the pioneer work* which led to the building up of the modern educational system of India and hence deserves a careful study.

The origin of the missionary connection with India is one of those eternal problems of history which will always be discussed and never agreed upon. Legends are current which, if true, would put the beginning of missionary enterprise as far back as the first century of the Christian era.[8] But academic controversies apart, a study of Indian missions may well begin with the Roman Catholic Missions that came to India in the wake of the political power of the Portuguese. The activities of these early missionaries were mostly confined to proselytization

[7] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, pp. 10-11.
[8] Richter : *A History of Missions in India*, p. 27.

which was carried on with very great vigour in some parts of the western coastal strip of India. In fact, some historians hold the view that the excessive zeal of these Catholic missionaries aroused keen opposition from Indians and contributed materially to the downfall of the Portuguese power in India. Be that as it may, it is an undisputed fact that the educational work of these early missionaries was of very minor importance and contributed little to the building up of the modern system of education in India.

Later, when the Danes established their factories in India, the earliest Protestant missionaries—Ziegenbalg and Plustschau—began their activities at Tranquebar, a Danish station in the Presidency of Madras, in 1706. As the Danes did not obtain a footing in India, most of the Danish missionaries that succeeded these pioneers "substantially identified themselves with the English colonies in South India, halting where they halted and advancing where they advanced".[9] Other missions that came to India later followed the same policy and, as Richter rightly points out, "modern missionary work in India has as its background and setting the Anglo-Indian Empire; it is intimately connected with the beginnings of that empire; and has extended along with it from one end of the country to the other."[10]

Ziegenbalg and his colleagues did considerable missionary and educational work. For example, a printing press in Tamil was established in 1713. An institution for training teachers was opened at Tranquebar in 1716 and, in the following year, two charity schools were opened in Madras—one for Portuguese and the other for Tamil children. Ziegenbalg died in 1719 but his

[9] Richter: *A History of Missions in India*, p. 128.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 128.

work was continued by other competent missionaries amongst whom may be mentioned the name of Schwartz who is looked upon as the pioneer of education in the Madras Presidency. Schwartz came to India in 1750 and laboured in the South until his death in 1798. His most important service to the cause of education in India was the establishment of schools in various important centres, such as Tanjore, Trichinopoli and Madras. The success of these schools inspired John Sullivan, the Resident at Tanjore, to prepare a scheme for the establishment of Government schools teaching through the medium of English. He submitted his proposal to the Court of Directors who approved it wholeheartedly. The following quotation from their despatch, dated 1787, speaks for itself :—

"The utility and importance of establishing a free and direct communication with the natives, having been sensibly experienced during the late war in India, and their acquiring a knowledge of the English language being the most effectual means of accomplishing this desirable object, it is with great pleasure we learn from Mr. John Sulivan our late Resident at Tanjore, that he had, seconded in his laudable undertaking by the zealous exertions of the Reverend Mr. Swartz, prevailed on the Rajah of Tanjore, and the Rajahs of the great and little Marawar to establish schools for teaching English at Tanjore, Ramenedaporam and Shevagunga, the capitals of their respective countries, the two latter assigning Pagodas 300 (three hundred) each, for the support of their two seminaries. These works of peace Mr. Sulivan informs us have been interrupted by the calamities of War, and the funds assigned for their support necessarily diverted to other purposes, but we hope they will revive with the restoration of tranquility.

Highly approving of institutions calculated to establish mutual good faith ; to enlighten the minds of the natives and to impress them with sentiments of esteem and respect for this British nation, by making them acquainted with the leading features of our Government so favourable to the rights and happiness of mankind ; we have determined to evince our

desire of promoting their success, by contributing 250 pagodas per annum towards the support of each of the schools above mentioned, and of any other school which may be opened for the same purpose, and we accordingly direct you to pay such schools, respectively the annual stipend of 250 pagodas, flattering ourselves that our example will excite the Native Princes in alliance with us to similar and more extensive benefactions." [11]

This despatch has some historical importance. Firstly, it shows the sympathy which the Company evinced in these early years for the efforts of the missionaries; secondly, it shows the popularity of the missionary schools teaching English; thirdly, it records one of the earliest—if not the earliest—grant-in-aid sanctioned by the Company for missionary educational institutions.

5. **Change in the attitude of the Company towards the Missionaries.** As shown before, the East India Company favoured proselytization in the earlier period of its existence and consequently the Danish missionaries of the eighteenth centruy could obtain general and financial support from it. But fortunately for the Company, this policy was soon abandoned. Towards the close of the eighteenth century, the Company became an important political power in India. Its officers realised that, if they wished to consolidate their power in India, they should refrain from disturbing the religious sentiments of the people who valued their religion above everything else in life. This was the famous doctrine of *religious neutrality,* and it was soon adopted as the declared official policy of the Company in its relations with the Indian people. It was obvious that encouragement to missionary enterprise was inconsistent with the policy of religious neutrality, and the Company had,

[11] *Selections from Educational Records,* Volume I, pp. 3-4.

therefore, to choose between the one or the other Political considerations led to the adoption of the latter, and as time passed and as the Company's empire began to grow, its policy towards missionaries rapidly changed from encouragement to indifference and from indifference to hostility.

It is difficult to give the exact date when this change came about; but it was already in evidence in 1793. In that year, the charter of the Company came up for renewal in the House of Commons, and Wilberforce proposed to insert a clause in the Company's Charter to the effect that

> " the Court of Directors of the Company shall be empowered and commissioned to nominate and send out from time to time a sufficient number of skilled and suitable persons who shall attain the aforesaid object by serving as schoolmasters, missionaries, or otherwise." [12]

The Court of Directors opposed this violently. They urged that " the Hindus had as good a system of faith and of morals as most people and that it would be madness to attempt their conversion or to give them any more learning or any other description of learning than what they already possessed." [13] As a result of this strong opposition, the proposal of Wilberforce was negatived by Parliament.

Between 1793 and 1813 the East India Company gave no quarter to the missionaries. The grant sanctioned to the schools of Schwartz was withdrawn and, in a short time, the schools themselves disappeared. The Company did not permit missionaries to reside and work in its territories and put all possible obstacles in the way of those who lived outside its territories but tried to work

[12] *A History of Missions in India* by Richter, p. 150.
[13] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, p. 17.

within them. This is how a missionary describes the policy of the Company during this period :—

"Further, the English officials had, almost without exception, abandoned the principles of Christian morality. Even a Governor-General like Warren Hastings and his inconvenient rival, Philip Francis, were not ashamed to live in open adultery. Their sole connection with the Church was that once a year, at Christmas or at Easter, they attended divine service in great state.. . . Over-zealous Orientalists, moreover, sang the praises of the religions of the East, especially of the then newly discovered Indian religions and systems of philosophy, and even if every one did not go so far as to declare them to be better and truer than Christianity, still the general opinion was that they were quite good enough for the Hindus, and better adapted to their necessities than Western forms of religion. Besides all this the Company took up the narrow-minded point of view that it would have no European within its territories who was not engaged in its service or who did not hold its passport: if any such person were allowed, he would probably enter into business relationships behind its back and thus lessen its gains: or he might talk about its methods of colonial government on his return home, and there were many things which there was every reason to keep concealed from European eyes and ears." [14]

6. **Other Missionary Activities upto 1813.** It was against this hostile policy of the Company that the later missionaries had to strive. The earliest among them were the three Protestant missionaries—Carey, Marshman and Ward—who began their work at the Danish settlement of Serampore[15] in 1793. They have become famous in history as *the Serampore Trio* and it must be admitted that they made an excellent combination from the missionary point of view because Carey was a great propagandist, Ward was a printer, and Marshman was a school teacher. But their zeal outran their

[14] Richter: *A History of Missions in India*, p. 132.
[15] This place is about three miles north of Calcutta.

discretion, and in 1808 they caused consternation among Indians by their publications entitled *Addresses to Hindus and Mahomedans.* The Company had to intervene and re-affirm its policy of religious neutrality.[16] The natural consequence was that the Serampore Trio did not obtain any encouragement from the Company during the first two decades of their work.

The position of missionary effort in India in 1812 is thus summed up by Richter :—

> "Taken all in all, it was a day of small things. About 1812, there existed mission stations at Serampore (still in the hands of the Danes) whence Calcutta was worked ; out-stations of the Baptists of Dinajpur, in the indigo district, where Carey had laboured before settling in Serampore ; and at Jessore, in the well-watered delta-district of Eastern Bengal. The London Missionary Society was busy in Dutch Chinsurah and at Vizagapatam. In Madras and the Tamil country no new work had as yet sprung up alongside that of the veteran fathers of the Danish Mission. In the Kanarese country there was only the solitary station of Bellary, and that had been founded in 1812. In Bombay the first missionaries of a non-English Society, the American Board, had after great anxiety just managed to obtain a foothold. The only seed which appeared to be sprouting hopefully was the work of Ringeltaube in Southern Travancore." [17]

The missionaries and their friends, therefore, began an agitation in England intended to show that the anti-missionary policy of the Company was opposed to the teachings of Christ and that its neglect of the education of the Indian people was absolutely unjustifiable. Their agitation obtained considerable support and led ultimately to the educational clauses of the Charter Act of 1813.

7. **Unwillingness of the Company to accept respon-**

[16] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. I, pp. 4-6.
[17] Richter : *A History of Missions in India,* p. 132.

sibility for the education of the Indian people. Although the Company had, by now, established a few educational institutions for the Indian people, it was unwilling to accept responsibility for the education of Indians as such. The reasons are obvious. In those days, education was not regarded as a responsibility of the State even in England ; and very naturally, the East India Company was not prepared to accept it in India. Secondly, the Company was influenced more by financial than by philanthropic motives and resisted all attempts to increase obligations having a tendency to cut down the dividends. Thirdly, the people of India themselves were most apathetic in the matter. Oppressed by the anarchy that followed the decay of the Mughal Empire, their one great need was the establishment of law and order and they hardly had the time or energy to ask for anything else. Under these circumstances, it was not an easy task to make this mercantile body accept responsibility for the education of the Indian people. But thanks to Providence, the silence of the Indian people was more than compensated for by the contemporary developments in English education, by the agitation organised by missionaries and their friends in England and by the spirited despatches sent by the Company's officials in India. Consequently, the Company was obliged, under the terms of the Charter Act of 1813, to accept responsibility for the education of the Indian people and to make some financial provision for it, howsoever small.

8. **Contemporary Developments in English education.** The period of 1790-1820 is one of extraordinary philanthropic and educational activity in England. The Industrial Revolution had begun ; the towns were rapidly growing ; and the miserable lot of workers in the factories evoked great sympathy in religious or philanthopic

people. The principles of socialism, however, were not yet fully developed and it was not realised that the root cause of the sufferings of the workers lay in the capitalistic system of society. It was believed rather that the sufferings of the poor were due to the lack of education and character. Hence the chief ameliorative measures proposed were the following :—

(i) to open up new avenues of employment,
(ii) to encourage thrift, and
(iii) to spread widely the elements of a religious education.

Numerous associations were formed to improve the conditions of the poor people of which it is sufficient to mention four—the Society for bettering the Condition and increasing the Comforts of the Poor (1796) ; the Sunday School Union (1803) ; the Royal Lancastrian Institution (1808) ; and the National Society for promoting the education of the Poor in the Principles of the established Church throughout England and Wales (1811).

Attempts were made to induce Parliament to take up the duty of educating the poor. Thus in 1807, Whitbread proposed a Bill for the establishment of schools supported by local taxation. His proposal was to give a two years' free schooling to all children between 7 and 14 years of age in reading, writing and arithmetic. The Bill passed the House of Commons but was negatived by the House of Lords and remained inoperative.

In 1816, at the instance of Brougham who had become the main supporter of popular education in Parliament after Whitbread's death in 1815, the House of Commons appointed a Select Committee to enquire into the education of poor children in the country. The Committee sat for two years and on receipt of its report, Brougham

introduced, in 1820, a Bill "for better education of the poor in England and Wales". But there was a good deal of opposition to the measure and it had to be eventually withdrawn.

With this background in view, it is easy to understand why the agitation of missionaries was largely supported in England and how the Company was compelled to accept the responsibility for the education of the Indian people. To the Englishmen of this period, the education of the Indian people became identified with the 'education of the poor' in England. Consequently, it was argued that the missionaries should be encouraged to undertake the education of the Indian people just as the church had undertaken the education of the poor in England. Again, it was generally agreed that the Company should make financial provision for the education of the Indian people just as it was proposed that a Parliamentary grant should be sanctioned for education in England. It was this similarity between the two positions that led to and explains the educational provisions of the Charter Act of 1813.

9. **Charles Grant (1746-1823).** Amongst the friends of the missionaries who agitated in England in favour of Indian education, the name of Charles Grant stands out as that of the most zealous champion of the missionary cause. It was mainly due to his efforts that the missionaries secured the necessary privileges to work in India and he has been rightly described as the *father of the modern education system in India.* It is, therefore, necessary to study his work in this connection in some detail.

In 1792, Grant wrote a small pamphlet entitled "*observations on the state of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to*

morals; and the means of improving it." This was published in 1797 and helped to create public opinion in England in favour of allowing freedom to missionaries to work in India.

The first part of the book contains an exaggerated delineation of the 'decadent' condition of the Indian society of this period. The picture makes unpleasant reading and is obviously untrue. The main object of this exaggeration seems to be a desire to evoke the sympathy of the British people and to convince them of the extreme urgency of educating Indians. This part of the book should, therefore, be read with a good deal of caution, but special attention should be paid to the second part which contains Grant's proposals for reform, viz., the establishment of schools teaching English, and adoption of English as a language of Government, the spread of western literature and science among Indians, and their gradual conversion to the Christian faith in order 'to save them from their errors'. To quote Grant's own words:—

> "The true cure of darkness is the introduction of light. The Hindoos err, because they are ignorant; and their errors have never fairly been laid before them. The communication of our light and knowledge to them, would prove the best remedy for their disorders; . . . There are two ways of making this communication: the one is, by the medium of the languages of those countries; the other is by the medium of our own . . . It is perfectly in the power of this country, by degrees, to impart to the Hindoos our language; afterwards through that medium, to make them acquainted with our easy literary compositions, upon a variety of subjects; and let not the idea hastily excite derision, *progressively* with the simple elements of our arts, our philosophy and religion. These acquisitions would silently undermine, and at length subvert, the fabric of error.

It would be extremely easy for Government to establish, at a moderate expense, in various parts of Provinces, places of gratuitous instruction in reading and writing English: multitudes, especially of the young, would flock to them; and the easy books used in teaching, might at the same time convey obvious truths on different subjects. . . . The Hindoos would in time, become teachers of English themselves; and the employment of our language in public business, for which every political reason remains in full force, would, in the course of another generation, make it very general throughout the country. There is nothing wanting to the success of this plan, but the hearty patronage of Government. If they wish it to succeed, it can and must succeed. The introduction of English in the administration of the revenue, in judicial proceedings, and in other business of Government, wherein Persian is now used, and the establishment of free-schools for instruction in this language, would insure its diffusion over the country, for the reason already suggested, that the interest of the natives would induce them to acquire it." [18]

These proposals of Grant were not all accepted, mainly because they were considered much too revolutionary for those times. But it will easily be seen that the later developments in Indian education took place exactly on the lines recommended by Grant. The only hope of his which did *not* materialise was that of converting Indians to Christianity in large numbers. Grant and several other thinkers of this class advocated the cause of Indian education because they felt that it was through education alone that the moral and material condition of the Indian people would improve. But in their minds "education" was inextricably mixed with "religion" and they had a firm conviction that the teaching of Western knowledge would be inevitably accompanied by acceptance of the Christian faith. There was hardly any basis for such an assumption, and the subsequent history of English

[18] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, pp. 81-3.

education in India has definitely falsified it. As the late Mr. M. R. Paranjpe puts it, the pupils in English schools and colleges "lost their faith in Hindu superstitions but were unwilling to accept Christian superstitions as a substitute". But the belief that English education must be followed by conversions to Christianity was extremely common in those days and was held by several thinkers besides Grant and Wilberforce. Irrespective of their motives, India is, and must remain, thankful to all these and other persons who advocated the cause of her education. But discerning critics will always assign a higher place in their estimation to pure philanthropists like Burke, Metcalfe or Macaulay than to religious enthusiasts like Grant or Wilberforce.

Grant's advocacy of the cause of Indian education had, however, one immediate result, viz. the missionaries were able to convince Parliament that they must be permitted to work in the Indian territories of the East India Company. The 13th Resolution on the Charter Act of 1813 which granted the necessary privileges to the missionaries ran as follows :—

> "Resolved, that it is the opinon of this Committee that it is the duty of this country to promote the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and moral improvement. That in furtherance of the above objects sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to, or remaining in India for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs." [19]

This gave a great fillip to missionary activities in India and they increased considerably during the two decades following the Charter Act of 1813.

[19] *A History of Missions in India*, pp. 150-1.

10. **Minto's Minute.** Side by side with this agitation in England, some of the Company's officials in India also supported the cause of Indian education. Prominent among them was Lord Minto who was the Governor-General of India from 1806-13. Minto was personally an admirer of Oriental Literature and felt that its study would be useful to the Western nations themselves. He was, therefore, very anxious that Englishmen should give all possible encouragement to the study and preservation of Indian Culture. In a Minute, dated 6th March 1811, he wrote :—

"It is a common remark that science and literature are in a progressive state of decay among the natives of India. From every inquiry which I have been enabled to make on this interesting subject, that remark appears to me but too well founded. The number of the learned is not only diminished, but the circle of learning, even among those who still devote themselves to it, appears to be considerably contracted. The abstract sciences are abandoned, polite literature neglected, and no branch of learning cultivated but what is connected with the peculiar religious doctrines of the people. The immediate consequence of this state of things is the disuse, and even actual loss, of many valuable books ; and it is to be apprehended that, unless Government interfere with a fostering hand, the revival of letters may shortly become hopeless from a want of books, or of persons capable of explaining them.

The principal cause of the present neglected state of literature in India is to be traced to the want of that encouragement which was formerly afforded to it by princes, chieftains, and opulent individuals under the native governments. Such encouragement must always operate as a strong incentive to study and literary exertions, but especially in India, where the learned professions have little, if any other, support. . . .

It is seriously to be lamented that a nation particularly distinguished for its love and successful cultivation of letters in other parts of the empire should have failed to extend its fostering care to the literature of the Hindoos, and to aid in

opening to the learned in Europe the repositories of that literature." [20]

11. **Charter Act of 1813.** As a result of this combined agitation in England and India, the question of Indian education came up for discussion when the Charter of the Company became due for renewal in 1813. The subject that was discussed most was that of a suitable agency for the spread of Indian education. One party, whose view is typified in that of Charles Grant, believed that the best education for Indians was to teach them English and the principles of the Christian religion and argued that the work should be left entirely to the missionaries. The other view, which was represented by Minto, believed that the best education for Indians was that of their own classics and argued that the Company should give it liberal encouragement. It was further argued by this party that encouragement to missionary enterprise was contrary to the principle of religious neutrality which was absolutely essential for the security of the Company's dominions. In the heated debates that followed, the missionaries scored a victory and, as shown earlier, the Commons adopted a resolution permitting missionaries, among others, "to go to and reside in" India under certain conditions. The anti-missionary party too had their own counter-victory. They succeeded in inserting a section in the Charter to the effect that "a sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge

[20] *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company* (1832), Appendix I, pp. 325-7.

of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India". The supporters of this resolution believed that "by fostering both Oriental and Occidental science . . . a reliable counterpoise, a protecting breakwater against the threatened deluge of missionary enterprise"[21] would be created. They little dreamed that this section of the Act was laying the foundation of a state educational system in India!

The Charter Act of 1813, therefore, forms a turning point in the history of Indian education. With it, the agitation which Grant and Wilberforce carried on for nearly twenty years came to a successful conclusion; the education of the Indian people was definitely included within the duties of the Company; a comparatively large amount was annually secured for educational activities; and missionaries began to land in India in large numbers and establish English schools, thereby laying the foundation of the modern educational system.

[21] Richter: *A History of Missions in India*, p. 152.

Chapter III

A PERIOD OF EXPERIMENTS

(1813-1833)

Schools of Educational Policy. The period of twenty years between the two great charters of the Company, viz. those of 1813 and 1833, was one of experiments in the field of Indian Education. Section 43 of the Charter Act of 1813 had only defined the *objects* of the educational policy, viz. "the revival and improvement of literature", "the encouragement of the learned natives of India", and "the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of sciences among the inhabitants of British territories in India"; but it had given no directions regarding the *methods* to be employed to secure these objects. It was but natural, therefore, that controversies should arise on the subject, and the events of the forty years following the Charter Act of 1813, showed that controversies arose round four main issues, viz., the *objects* of educational policy, the *medium* of instruction, the *agencies* for organising educational institutions, and the *methods* to be adopted to spread education among the people.

Regarding the *objects* of educational policy, the controversies were not serious and referred mainly to the emphasis to be laid on the different objectives of educational effort. One school of thought emphasized the preservation and spread of oriental literatures as the most important object of educational policy; another school emphasized the introduction and spread of western literature and science among the Indian people as of paramount importance; and a third school emphasized the utilitarian objective of training Indians to hold subordinate positions in the Company's service.

Regarding the *agencies* to be utilised for organising educational institutions, opinions differed considerably. Some favoured encouragement of missionary enterprise on the analogy of Parliamentary grants to the voluntary schools in England. Others objected to this proposal on political grounds and on the principle of religious neutrality—because the missionaries aimed at conversions, first and foremost—and recommended the encouragement of indigenous schools conducted by the Indian people themselves. A third point of view condemned the indigenous schools as inefficient and incapable of improvement and recommended the establishment of new schools which should have properly trained teachers and which should work under the direct control of the Company.

On the subject of the *methods* to be adopted to spread education among the people, opinion was divided between two schools of thought. One school believed that education always filters down to the masses from the upper classes. It, therefore, felt that the Company need only educate the upper classes of society and leave it to them to spread education among the masses. This was the famous *downward filtration theory.* The other school felt that the downward filtration theory would not work in India and recommended that the Company should make direct attempts to educate the masses.

The most violent controversies, however, broke out on the subject of *the medium of instruction.* Here the opinion was divided among three schools:

(i) The first school consisted of the older officials of the Company in Bengal who generally believed that the policy of Warren Hastings and Minto was the last word on educational statesmanship. They advocated the encouragement of Sanskrit and Arabic studies and sug-

gested that Western science and knowledge should be spread in India through the medium of these languages.

(ii) The second school consisted of men like Munro and Elphinstone who believed in encouraging education through the medium of the modern Indian languages. They argued that this was the only way in which western knowledge could reach the *mass* of the people.

(iii) The third school consisted of persons who believed in the wisdom of Grant's advice and advocated the spread of western knowledge through the medium of English. This school included the missionaries and the younger civilians in the employment of the Company. Their voice, though insignificant during the earlier period, became of paramount importance at a later date, when Macaulay came to India and assumed their leadership.

It must be noted that all these controversies and schools of thought were found mostly among the European officials of the Company. Indian opinion was, at this time, almost non-existent. In the first place, the number of Indians who could take part in discussions regarding educational policies was extremely small; secondly, the few Indians who had the authority and influence to speak on this subject generally followed one or other of the groups among the European officers and were not as yet able to chalk out any policy of their own; and lastly, Indian opinion wielded no influence with the Company and educational policies were made and unmade according to the rise or fall of the parties among the European servants of the Company alone.

As may be anticipated, the only authority which could silence these controversies was that of the Court of Directors. Had they given a definite ruling on the subject, all the servants of the Company would have been compelled to accept it and the development of education

in India would have been more rapid and harmonious. But prior to 1853, the Directors seemed unwilling to come to a definite decision. In effect, they agreed with each school and differed from all. They relied on the men on the spot and sanctioned all proposals that came up to them. This policy, or the lack of one, has been often ascribed to indifference; but this conclusion does not appear to be fair. We would rather attribute it to a desire on the Directors' part to give a trial to every method before a final decision was arrived at. The Despatch of 1854, however, gave a definite ruling on all these controversies and settled them almost finally.

It is against this background of controversy and experiment that the events of the forty years following the Charter Act of 1813, narrated in this and the next chapter have to be interpreted and understood.

2. **The events of the period, 1813 to 1833**, can be conveniently studied under the following five heads :—

(i) Official attempts in Bengal,
(ii) Official attempts in Bombay,
(iii) Official attempts in Madras,
(iv) Missionary enterprise, and
(v) Indian enterprise.

3. **The Presidency of Bengal** was the first to take up the work of educational reorganisation which was made possible by the liberal attitude of the Court of Directors. In a resolution dated 17th July 1823, the Governor-General-in-Council appointed a "General Committee of Public Instruction" for the Bengal Presidency. The Committee consisted of ten members and included H. T. Prinsep, who became famous later on by his opposition to Macaulay, and H. H. Wilson who was a great Oriental scholar. The grant of one lakh of rupees pro-

vided by the Charter Act of 1813 was also placed at the disposal of the Committee.

The Committee consisted mostly of persons who were great admirers of Sanskrit and Arabic literature and hence the decision of the Committee to follow the view of Lord Minto and encourage Oriental Learning can hardly be regarded with surprise. Between 1823 and 1833, the Committee

(i) reorganised the Calcutta Madrassah and the Benares Sanskrit College ;
(ii) established a Sanskrit College at Calcutta in 1824 ;
(iii) established two more Oriental Colleges at Agra and Delhi ;
(iv) undertook the printing and publication of Sanskrit and Arabic books on a large scale ; and
(v) employed Oriental scholars to translate English books containing useful knowledge into the Oriental classical languages.

But very soon after its establishment the Committee found that its work had roused considerable opposition. The first attack came from a few enlightened Indians led by Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The Raja submitted a memorial to the Governor-General on 11th December 1823 and urged that the proposals for establishing a Sanskrit College at Calcutta should be abandoned and Government should "promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction ; embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, with other useful sciences ; which may be accomplished with the sum proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated in Europe and providing a college furnished with necessary books, instruments and other

apparatus ".[1] This memorial is a good indication of the direction in which the wind was beginning to blow and shows how the desire for English education was spreading among Indians. But no heed was paid to this memorial and the plan for establishing the Sanskrit College at Calcutta was carried out.

A still more formidable attack on the Committee's work came from the Court of Directors themselves. In a despatch, dated 18th February 1824, they wrote :—

> " We apprehend that the plan of the institutions to the improvement of which our attention is now directed was originally and fundamentally erroneous. . . . In professing to establish seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindoo or mere Mahomedan literature, you bound yourselves to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous and a small remainder indeed in which utility was in any way concerned." [2]

This despatch set the Committee thinking. " The Directors urged a bold advance and were backed up, not very zealously, by the Governor-General. The Committee, in close touch with the majority of public opinion and the view of the *pandits*, hesitated to embark on so large a measure of innovation ".[3] It urged that the Hindus and Mahomedans still had " vigorous prejudices " against European learning, that Oriental literature was not to be summarily condemned and that it had a utility of its own, that the use of a classical language as a medium of instruction was unavoidable, that there were neither books nor teachers available just then to impart instruction in European sciences through such a medium, that the Committee was concentrating on the preparation of such books and the training of such

[1] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, p. 101.
[2] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, pp. 91-2.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 81.

teachers, and that, ere long, the Directors' instructions would be fully complied with. The plea was accepted by the Directors and the Committee continued its work of encouraging classical education.

But public opinion was rapidly growing in favour of English education. Several factors contributed to this end. The work of the missionaries had greatly popularised English education. Secondly, Indian leaders like Raja Ram Mohan Roy were also urging their countrymen to study the language and literature of England and through it, to acquire a knowledge of the Western sciences. Thirdly, English was growing in political importance as the language of the rulers and persons desirous of obtaining lucrative posts under Government found that a capacity to speak and write English materially helped them in their object. In fact, the study of English was rapidly becoming the royal road to a black-coated profession with a decent income and an important status in society. It is not to be wondered, therefore, if many Indians of that generation looked forward to English education as a panacea for all their ills.

This growing demand for English could not, therefore, be long neglected by the General Committee of Public Instruction and steps had to be taken to meet it to some extent at least. Thus by 1833, the Committee attached English classes to the College of Agra and the Calcutta Madrassah. At Delhi and Benares, district English schools were established. But these half measures could hardly be expected to satisfy the public need. In 1823, the Committee was perhaps justified in holding on to classical education for fear of offending Indian people. But its persistence in this policy in the face of a public demand to the contrary led to a split in the Committee itself. Some members continued to be in favour of

giving encouragement to Hindu and Mahomedan learning while others pleaded for a spread of Western knowledge through the medium of English. A conflict of ideologies thus ensued and led to the celebrated controversy regarding the medium of instruction which will be dealt with in the next chapter.

4. We shall now turn to the official attempts for the spread of education in the **Presidency of Bombay.** The rule of the Peshwa came to an end in 1818 and the Province of Bombay, as it stands today (except for a small area which was annexed later on), was formed in the same year. The Peshwa used to spend about Rs. 5,00,000 a year in giving Dakshina to the Brahmins. It was now decided that this expenditure should be stopped and that a part of it should be used for the encouragement of Brahmanic learning. The Poona Sanskrit College was, therefore, established in 1821. The objects of Government in establishing the College were similar to those in establishing the Calcutta Madrassah or the Benares Sanskrit College, viz. to encourage Indian learning and to please the Brahmins —an influential class.

The conduct of the Poona Sanskrit College was the main educational activity of the Government till 1823 when the Bombay Native Education Society[4] applied to it for grant-in-aid. It was on this application that Elphinstone wrote his famous Minute on education. This document is of considerable importance as giving an insight into Elphinstone's proposals for the organisation of a state system of education in Bombay. He suggested that Government should adopt the following seven measures :—

[4] See para 7 below for details.

"1st, to *improve* the mode of teaching at the native schools, and to *increase* the number of schools; 2nd, to supply them with school-books; 3rd, to hold out some encouragement to the lower orders of natives to avail themselves of the means of instruction thus afforded them; 4th, to establish schools for teaching the European sciences and improvements in the higher branches of education; 5th, to provide for the preparation and publication of books of moral and physical science in native languages; 6th, to establish schools for the purpose of teaching English to those disposed to pursue it as a classical language, and as a means of acquiring a knowledge of the European discoveries; 7th, to hold forth encouragement to the natives in the pursuit of those last branches of knowledge." [5]

When this Minute was placed before the Governor's Council, Warden, who was a member of the Council at that time, violently opposed the proposals of Elphinstone. He did not agree with the idea that Government should accept any responsibility for the education of the masses. He was one of the earliest officials to enunciate the *downward filtration theory* according to which culture was supposed to spread naturally from the upper classes of society to the lower ones and Government need only educate a few persons in the upper strata in order to educate the people as a whole. He also attached paramount importance to English education and did not like the way in which Elphinstone made it follow upon primary education at a respectable distance. He wrote:

"It is better and safer to commence by giving a good deal of knowledge to a few than a little to many, to be satisfied with laying the foundation of good edifice and not desire to accomplish in a day what must be the work of a century. But the object of giving a good deal of knowledge to a few can only be promoted by a better system of education; and the surest mode of diffusing a better system is by making the study

[5] *Elphinstone's Minute on Education*, para 7.

of the English language the primary, and not merely the secondary object of attention in the education of the natives."[6]

Owing to this difference of opinion between Elphinstone and Warden, the Court of Directors did not accord sanction to many of the proposals of Elphinstone. Upto 1833, therefore, the only educational activities of the Government of Bombay were the conduct of the Poona Sanskrit College and the payment of grant to the Bombay Education Society and the Bombay Native Education Society.

5. **The Presidency of Madras** was the last to come into the field. Reference has already been made to the enquiry made by Munro in 1822 regarding indigenous education. As a result of this enquiry, he found that the condition of education in this Province was at a low ebb on account of the absence of encouragement from Government and the poverty of the people. In his famous Minute, dated 10th March 1826, Munro proposed a grant to the Madras School Book Society for the publication of suitable books, the establishment of two schools (one for Hindus and one for Muslims) in each Collectorate and of one school in each Tahsil (Taluka) of the province. The total cost of his proposals was estimated at Rs. 50,000 *per annum*.

Munro's proposals were sanctioned by the Court of Directors in 1828. But unfortunately Munro himself had departed this world in 1827, and those who followed him had neither the sympathy nor the vision of Munro so that the experiment was tried in a very half-hearted manner. By 1830, only about 70 Tahsildary schools had been established and even before the scheme had begun to work, the Directors wrote on 29th September

[6] *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons*, 1832, Appendix I, (public), p. 384.

1830 that the Government of Madras would do well to concentrate on the spread of English education rather than on an attempt to spread education among the masses. Although this letter did not immediately kill the schools established by Munro—these continued to have an indifferent existence till 1836—it effectually stopped their expansion and the problem of mass education in Madras received a great set-back and continued to be neglected till 1868.

6. **Missionary Enterprise (1813-33).** It was pointed out in the last chapter that the Charter Act of 1813 opened India to Missionary Societies. Consequently, the period of 1813-33 was one of great missionary activity in all parts of the Company's dominions. The missionary societies that were already working in India expanded their activities and new societies came into the field. Among these latter, mention must be made of the General Baptist Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Mission, and the Scotch Missionary Society.

Two features regarding the educational work of the missionaries deserve special notice. Firstly, it must be remembered that education was never the *main* object of the missionaries. They aimed at conversions and were obliged to take up educational work in order to meet the needs of the converted population and, more especially, to train up Indian assistants for their proselytising activities. Secondly, the importance which the early missionaries attached to the study of modern Indian languages deserves special mention. They had to work among the lowest classes of society who could not understand any language except their own. Hence they assiduously studied the Indian languages, prepared dictionaries, wrote books on grammar, and translated

the Bible into them. It is worthy of note that most of the earlier mission schools gave instruction through the mother-tongue of the people and it never occurred to the Indian missionaries to say that "the dialects commonly spoken among the natives . . . are so poor and rude that . . . it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them"—a statement regarding the truth of which the Company's officials were entirely convinced!

7. **Indian Enterprise.** The bulk of Indian private enterprise at this time consisted of the vast system of indigenous schools and colleges. Neither in Bombay nor in Madras was any attempt made to aid or otherwise encourage indigenous education. In Bengal, certain isolated grants to indigenous education seem to have been given by the General Committee of Public Instruction. Thus Fisher records that a claim of Rs. 100 p.m. was sanctioned by the Committee for the tols at Nadia. He also mentions the sanction given by the Committee to the allowance of Re. 1 per day on behalf of a Madrassah in the village of Burbah. Several other instances also are on record.[7] It must be pointed out, however, that some of these payments, if not all, were more in the nature of continuance of grants sanctioned by earlier rulers. But whatever the nature of these grants may have been, such isolated instances cannot constitute *a system of encouragement to indigenous education*; and it is admitted on all hands that, during the period under review, indigenous schools and colleges were utterly neglected in the official schemes for the expansion and improvement of education.

Indian private enterprise for organising educational institutions of the modern type was extremely limited

[7] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, pp. 182-92.

during the period under review. The following institutions, however, are of some historical interest.

(a) *Bengal.* In 1816, a society was formed at Calcutta with the object of educating the sons of Hindoos in the sciences of Europe and particularly the language and literature of England. The association collected a fund of more than a lakh of rupees and established a Vidyalaya in 1817. As far as can be ascertained, this was the first Association of Indians formed for the spread of English education in India. In 1817, a society called the Calcutta School Book Society was formed with the object of publishing suitable books for the moral and intellectual improvement of the people and in 1819, another society called the Calcutta School Society was established in order to promote primary education. All these institutions received grants-in-aid from the Company.

(b) *Madras.* In Madras, non-missionary private effort was practically non-existent. The only institution worthy of mention was the Madras School Society similar to that established in Bengal. It received a grant-in-aid of Rs. 6,000 a year from the Company.

(c) *Bombay.* In 1815, the members of the Church of England who were resident in Bombay formed a Society, called the Bombay Education Society, mainly with the object of educating the children of European soldiers. The schools conducted by this Society admitted Indian children also. In a few years, the number of Indian children increased so greatly that an independent Society, called the Bombay Native Education Society (since 1827), was formed under the presidentship of Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1822.

Soon after its formation, the Bombay Native Education Society appointed a sub-committee to examine the

existing system of education in the Province and to suggest measures for its extension and improvement. On receipt of the Committee's report in 1823, the Society decided to adopt the following measures and to that end to seek financial assistance from Government :—

(i) Preparation of suitable books for use in schools ;
(ii) training of six Indians in each of the four languages of the Province (Gujerati, Marathi, Kannad and Urdu) in the Monitorial system of education and the organisation of Government primary schools under them in the several districts of the Province ; and
(iii) establishment of schools for education in English.

The Society made very good progress between 1824 and 1833, mainly owing to the encouragement of Elphinstone and the liberality with which the Indian residents of Bombay contributed to its funds.

8. **The Charter Act of 1833.** The Charter of the Company came again for renewal in 1833. Before any decision was taken on the question, Parliament instituted a thorough enquiry into the administration of the Company's affairs. The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed for the purpose contains a full and comprehensive review of the educational system of those days and is a document of great importance and interest to a student of the history of Indian Education.

The Charter was eventually renewed in 1833 for another term of 20 years. It did not contain any direct educational clauses but some of its provisions had a great indirect influence on the future course of Indian education. Firstly, it contained a clause to the effect that no Indian should be debarred from holding any post

under the Company by reason of his caste or creed. Secondly, it threw India open to missionaries from all countries. Thirdly, it strengthened the control of the Government of Bengal over that of the two other Presidencies, and thus made it possible for the Governor-General of Bengal to lord his policy and opinions upon the governments of other provinces. Fourthly, it added a Law Member to the Executive Council of the Governor-General of Bengal which had hitherto consisted of three members only. The first Law Member to be appointed was Macaulay who came to India in 1834 and, as we shall see in the next chapter, turned a new page in the history of education in India.

Chapter IV

THE BIRTH OF THE MODERN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

(1833-53)

The Anglicist-Classicist Controversy. As we saw in the last chapter, the General Committee of Public Instruction was divided on the question of its educational policy, particularly in regard to the medium of instruction. These differences, which were present almost from the inception of the Committee in 1823, came to a head by about 1834. Out of the ten members of the Committee, five supported the policy of giving encouragement to Oriental literature and were known as the Oriental party and the rest were in favour of the adoption of English as a medium of instruction and were known as the English party. The Oriental party was led by H. T. Prinsep who was then the Secretary to Government of Bengal in the Education Department, and consisted of the older members of the Company's service. The English party had no definite leader. It consisted mostly of the younger servants of the Company who looked forward to the support of Macaulay who was then the President of the General Committee of Public Instruction and the Law Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. Unfortunately, the two parties were absolutely equal in strength with the result that it was impossible to carry on the work of the Committee. There were "recurring and inconvenient" discussions at meetings, and almost every topic that came up for discussion got mixed up with these fundamental differences. Sometimes no decision could be reached. Very often a decision in favour of

one party would be reached if any members of the opposite side accidentally happened to be absent; and more often than not, the decision would be reversed at another meeting when the former party would happen to be in a minority. Evidently, such a state of affairs could not go on for long and early in 1835, both the parties in the Committee decided to submit their dispute to the Governor-General-in-Council for orders.

2. **The Orientalist view.** The most important argument of the Oriental party centred round the interpretation of the forty-third section of the Charter Act of 1813, which directed that a sum of not less than a lakh of rupees shall be expended every year for "the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India". With regard to the first two objects mentioned in this section, the Oriental party argued as under:—

> "The literature meant to be so revived and encouraged was the literature of the two great classes of population, the Moosulmans and the Hindus. . . . The revival of literature has been promoted by the assistance given to seminaries of education previously existing, and by the establishment of fresh, and likewise through the printing and publishing of classical works hitherto only to be procured in manuscript. To these objects a certain proportion of the funds assigned has been made applicable. The encouragement of learned men, the next thing indicated, has been effected as well through the support afforded them in institutions of education and in the superintendence and preparation of works for publication as by other advantages incident to the system pursued, amongst which not the least effectual is the provision for securing prolonged study by stipends to promising students. All this has been done for the natives and their literature."[1]

[1] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, pp. 135-6.

As regards the third object, i.e. the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences, it was argued that Indians had a prejudice against European knowledge and science and that they would not accept it at all unless it was presented to them through a classical language which they respected and along with the culture of their ancestors to which they were passionately attached. It was, therefore, suggested that the action of the Committee in translating useful books from English into Arabic and Sanskrit was perfectly justified. The Oriental party, therefore, maintained that their actions were entirely within the Charter Act of 1813, and that their policy could not be changed unless the Charter Act was amended by Parliament itself.

Secondly, the Oriental party were extremely keen on preserving the existing institutions of Oriental learning which the English party proposed to abolish. This was the real question at issue. The Oriental party knew the weakness of their case and were prepared to accept a compromise by suggesting that Government should leave it to the option of the student to choose whichever education he liked, whether classical or English. But they would not agree to the idea of closing Oriental institutions. In their view, such a step was entirely opposed to Government policy of conciliating the people and would even border on intolerance. Prinsep was particularly keen about the Calcutta Madrassah. He argued that the Madrassah was an endowment made by Warren Hastings and that its closure would be tantamount to a breach of trust.

The other arguments advanced by the Oriental party do not amount to much. It was argued, for instance, that Indians could never master the English language,

that an imposition of the English language upon the people would provoke their resentment, and so on. These arguments were not likely to convince the Government of that time. Indians were giving increasing evidence of their ability to master the English language, and a Governor-General like Bentinck, who abolished the cruel custom of *Sati*, would not have been daunted by fear of public resentment from carrying out what he thought to be in the interest of the people.

3. **Macaulay's Minute.** Let us now turn to the other side of the shield and see how the case of the English party was argued by Macaulay. He took no part in the controversy at the meetings of the General Committee of Public Instruction because he knew that the matter would again come before him as a member of the Executive Council. So when the papers dealing with the dispute were placed before the Council, he wrote his famous Minute regarding the new educational policy. It is dated 2nd February 1835 and is a document of great historical importance.

The first question that Macaulay took up for discussion in his Minute referred to the interpretation of Section 43 of the Charter Act of 1813. Macaulay argued that the word "literature", occurring in this section could be interpreted to mean English literature, that the epithet of a "learned native of India" could also be applied to a person versed in the philosophy of Locke or the poetry of Milton, and that the object of promoting a knowledge of sciences could only be accomplished by the adoption of English as the medium of instruction. If this interpretation were not accepted, Macaulay was willing to propose an Act rescinding Section 43 of the Charter. Obviously, Macaulay is treading on slippery

ground here. His interpretation is certainly far-fetched, if not actually inaccurate.

Macaulay also differed from the Oriental party regarding the continuance of the institutions of Oriental learning. He held the view that these should be closed as they did not serve any useful purpose. He said :—

> "The admirers of the Oriental system of education have used another argument which, if we admit it to be valid, is decisive against all change. They conceive that the public faith is pledged to the present system and that to alter the appropriation of any of the funds which have hitherto been spent in encouraging the study of Arabic and Sanskrit would be downright spoilation. It is not easy to understand by what process of reasoning they can have arrived at this conclusion. The grants which are made from the public purse for the encouragement of literature differ in no respect from the grants which are made from the same purse for other objects of real or supposed utility. We found a sanitarium on a spot which we suppose to be healthy. Do we thereby pledge ourselves to keep a sanitarium there if the result should not answer our expectations? We commence the erection of a pier. Is it a violation of the public faith to stop the works, if we afterwards see reason to believe that the building will be useless?"

Macaulay then proceeded to examine the problem of the medium of instruction on grounds of expediency or desirability. Obviously, Government could have selected any one of three languages: the mother-tongue of the people, an oriental classical language, or English. It is extremely unfortunate, however, that the claims of the mother-tongue were brushed aside by both the parties. For instance, Macaulay observed :—

> "All parties seem to be agreed on one point, that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are moreover so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. It seems to be admitted on all sides, that

the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can at present be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them."

This condemnation of the spoken languages of the people naturally left the choice of a medium of instruction between Sanskrit and Arabic on the one hand and English on the other. (Macaulay admittedly did not know either Arabic or Sanskrit but he gave it as the considered opinion of "Orientalists" that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia".) On the other hand, Macaulay was (eloquent in the praise of English and its utility in India because of its being the language of the ruling class, the language of commerce throughout the East and because of the familiarity already gained with it by the higher classes of Indians.)

Referring to the question of the alleged prejudices of the Indian people against English education, Macaulay argued that it was the duty of England to teach Indians what was good for their *health*, and not what was palatable to their *taste*. Even assuming that the taste of the people should be consulted, Macaulay argued that Indians had given sufficient evidence of their love for English. In support of this, he pointed out that while the Committee of Public Instruction was finding it hard to dispose of its oriental publications, the English books of the Calcutta School Book Society were selling in thousands and bringing in huge profit. He also drew attention to the fact that while the students of the Madrassah and Sanskrit College had to be paid stipends, the pupils in the English schools were prepared to pay for the instruction received therein.

Regarding the argument that the Sanskrit and Arabic

languages should be studied as the languages of the law and religion of the people, Macaulay pointed out that the best course for Government would be to codify Hindu and Muslim laws in English, and not to incur heavy expenditure on the maintenance of the Oriental institutions.

On these grounds, among others, Macaulay strongly recommended that the object of educational policy in India should be the spread of western learning through the medium of the English language. He also suggested that the existing institutions of Oriental learning should be closed forthwith and that funds thus released should be used for the promotion of English education.

4. **Lord William Bentinck accepts the Minute.** The arguments advanced by Macaulay in support of his view were immediately accepted by Lord William Bentinck who, in his Resolution of 7th March 1835, passed the following orders :—

"The Governor-General of India in Council has attentively considered the two letters from the Secretary to the Committee of Public Instruction, dated the 21st and 22nd January last, and the papers referred to in them.

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

Second. But it is not the intention of His Lordship in Council to abolish any College or school of native learning, while the native population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages which it affords, and His Lordship in Council directs that all the existing professors and students at all the institutions under the superintendence of the Committee shall continue to receive their stipends. But . . . no stipend shall be given to any student that may hereafter enter at any of these institutions; and when any professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the

Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

Third. It has come to the knowledge of the Governor-General-in-Council that a large sum has been expended by the Committee on the printing of Oriental works; His Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

Fourth. His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language." [2]

5. **The importance of this controversy** is very often exaggerated. We feel that the question under dispute was not one of great importance at all and that, as a matter of fact, both the parties were in the wrong. The correct solution of the problem would have been to adopt the *Indian languages* as the media of instruction. It was a mistake to brush them aside summarily as being "rude and poor" and incapable of expressing scientific or literary ideas. If the classical party was wrong in fighting for the retention of Sanskrit or Arabic as a medium of instruction, Macaulay was equally wrong in suggesting the adoption of a foreign language like English as the medium of instruction. In our opinion, a controversy of far greater importance is the one that took place in Bombay where the conflict lay between Indian languages on the one hand and English on the other.

6. **Macaulay's Contribution to Indian Education.** The role of Macaulay himself is variously described. Some regard him as a "torch-bearer in the path of progress"; another section, which attributes the present

[2] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. I, pp. 130-1.

discontent and political unrest in India to the spread of English education, blames Macaulay as the cause of all trouble. Some dislike him for his ignorant and violent condemnation of Indian languages, culture and religion; while others blame him for being responsible for the neglect of modern Indian languages that inevitably followed upon the use of English as the medium of instruction.

A closer examination will, however, show that these opinions are both incorrect and unfair. To call Macaulay a "torch-bearer in the path of progress" gives an exaggerated account of the role that he actually played. It must be remembered that Macaulay did not *create* the desire for English education—that desire was already there and it had its origin in the material advantages which were then inseparably connected with a knowledge of English. He was not even the organiser of the English party, because it was already in existence when he arrived in India. In fact, when Macaulay came to India in 1834, the battle between the old and the new was already in full swing. The people desired English education and being unable to get it from the Company, quenched their thirst in the missionary schools. The younger generation of civilians, led by its zeal for reform, was eager to introduce English education. But the rising tide of both these forces was held in check by the older politicians in service who believed that the policy of Hastings and Minto was good for all time and who, no doubt, were supported by the conservative and reactionary forces among the Indians themselves. It was at this time that Macaulay came upon the scene to burst open the locks of conservatism with the power of his rhetoric, and let in the flood of new ideas. He was only responsible for the quick decision of a contro-

versy that would otherwise have dragged on for years but which, nevertheless, could never have been decided in favour of classical languages.

One need not, however, object to the generosity of Macaulay's admirers which makes them place him much higher in public estimation than he really deserves. But it is certainly to be regretted that he is condemned unfairly for things for which he was really not responsible. Perhaps, the only aspect of Macaulay's Minute which can be justly blamed is its condemnation of Oriental literature and religion. But now that a hundred years have elapsed since those words were written, we cannot do better than ignore this part of his writings. After all, his *motives* were not dishonourable and it is always good to forget and forgive. The other criticisms on Macaulay are, however, unjustifiable. For instance, to blame Macaulay for the neglect of Indian languages is not altogether fair. Macaulay was aware of the importance of the adoption of Indian languages as media of instruction. But he was apparently advised by local persons on both sides of the controversy that this was impossible, and he can hardly be blamed for taking them at their word. In this connection, it is worthy of note that the report for 1836 of the General Committee of Public Instruction, of which Macaulay was the President, emphasizes the importance of the study of modern Indian languages. It says :—

> "We are deeply sensible of the importance of encouraging the cultivation of the vernacular languages. We do not conceive that the order of the 7th March precludes us from doing this, and we have constantly acted on this construction. . . . We conceive the formation of a vernacular literature to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed."[3]

[3] Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, pp. 22-3.

It was no fault of Macaulay if subsequent administrators lost sight of this view to which he was a party. The study of Indian languages was also emphasized in several important State documents following Macaulay's Minute, and yet, the educational administrators continued to neglect it. It would, therefore, be quite unfair to hold Macaulay alone responsible for all the sins of commission and omission of nearly a hundred years of educational administration.

But perhaps the least charitable are those who condemn him as the cause of all the modern political discontent. In the first place, it is a doubtful issue whether the political agitation of today could not have originated in the absence of English education. But even if it is the result of such education, this is a matter of which England might well be proud. This is precisely the view that Macaulay himself had put forward in one of his speeches in the House of Commons.

7. **Auckland's Minute.** It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the controversy came to an end with the resolution of Bentinck's Government quoted above. It lingered on for about five years and was finally closed in a Minute, dated 24th November 1839, by Lord Auckland who was then the Governor-General of India. He found that the controversy had lost much of its heat and that the ground was quite ready for a compromise. Moreover, he shrewdly guessed that the real cause of the controversy was financial, and that each party would allow the other to work undisturbed if adequate funds were made available for both. He, therefore, passed the following orders :—

(*a*) He guaranteed the continuation of the existing institutions of Oriental learning and the payment of adequate grants for entertainment of " the most

eminent professors" and adequate scholarships to students.

(*b*) He encouraged the preparation and publication of useful books of instruction in Oriental languages provided that the expenditure was kept within limits of the funds sanctioned for Oriental education.

(*c*) He also directed that the first duty of the Oriental Colleges was to impart instruction in Oriental learning and that they *may* conduct English classes, if necessary, *after* that duty had been properly discharged.

As may be easily imagined, these orders fully satisfied the Oriental party. The entire additional cost of the above proposals was about Rs. 31,000 per year and Lord Auckland could proudly report that the Court of Directors would "approve of our having closed these controversies at this limited amount of increased expense."

On the other hand, Lord Auckland was also able to satisfy the demands of the Anglicist party. In the first place, he assigned a sum of more than a lakh of rupees for the spread of English education. Secondly, he reviewed the whole question of Indian education in his Minute and gave the following decisions which, it will be noticed, are entirely in support of the Anglicist view :

(*a*) Only partial and imperfect results could be expected from the attempts to teach European science through the medium of Sanskrit or Arabic.

(*b*) The principal aim of educational policy should be to communicate, through the English language, a complete education in European Literature,

Philosophy, and Science to the greatest number of students who may be found ready to accept it.

(c) Attempts of Government should be restricted to the extension of higher education to the upper classes of society who have leisure for study and whose culture would filter down to the masses. This was the famous *downward filtration theory* and its approval by Lord Auckland marked its official acceptance by Government. Henceforward this theory became the official policy in education and continued to dominate Government effort in education for years to come.

On the whole, it may be said that although Lord Auckland saved the Classicists from complete annihilation—'twas all they wanted—he gave a far greater impetus to the spread of English education.

8. **Auckland on Medium of Instruction.** It appears from Auckland's Minute that even in these early days when hardly five years had elapsed since Macaulay wrote of the poverty of modern Indian languages, a suggestion was already being put forward from several quarters that these languages should be used as the media of instruction, at least in the secondary schools. It was pointed out that their limited syllabus could easily be taught through the Indian languages especially if good class books were prepared and arrangements made to train the teachers properly. It was also argued that such a measure would give encouragement to literature in Indian languages, and it was pointed out that Bombay was actually using the Indian languages as media of instruction in most of its schools of this type. But, in spite of these weighty considerations to the contrary, it is to be regretted that Lord Auckland did not accept this wholesome suggestion. English was

already used as the medium of instruction in such Zilla schools as were then in existence, and he did not think that there were sufficient reasons to warrant a change in the existing position. This decision is all the more to be regretted because, owing to the centralization introduced by the Charter Act of 1833, the views of a Governor-General could now influence greatly the other presidencies also.

9. **Adam's Recommendations.** Equally unhappy were the orders of Lord Auckland on the recommendations of Adam regarding the improvement and extension of indigenous elementary schools. Adam had no faith in the *downward filtration theory*, and he was fully convinced that the development of existing indigenous institutions would be the only proper foundation for erecting a new educational system in India. With this end in view, he submitted a plan, known as Adam's Plan, for the consideration of Government. This plan was divided into the following seven stages :—

(*a*) The first step was to select one or more districts in which the plan could be tried as an experiment.

(*b*) The second step was to hold a thorough educational survey of the district or districts selected more or less on the same lines on which Adam had conducted his investigations.

(*c*) The third step was to prepare a set of books in modern Indian languages for the use of teachers and pupils.

(*d*) The fourth step was to appoint an Examiner for each district as the chief executive officer of the plan. His duties would be to survey his area, to meet teachers, to explain the books, to conduct examinations, to grant rewards, and

generally to be responsible for carrying out the plan successfully.

(*e*) The fifth step was to distribute the books to teachers and stimulate them to study them by the holding of examinations and the granting of rewards to those who passed the tests. Adam also recommended the establishment of Normal schools where teachers of indigenous schools could be encouraged to study from one to three months a year for about four years so that their qualifications could be improved without inconveniencing their pupils.

(*f*) The sixth step was to encourage the teachers to impart the newly acquired knowledge to their pupils by holding examinations for them and by granting rewards.

(*g*) The seventh step was to grant endowments of lands to village schools in order to encourage teachers to settle down in villages and to educate the rural children. Adam pointed out several sources from which such gifts of land could be made or secured by Government.

10. **Rejection of Adam's Recommendations.** It is obvious that Adam was fundamentally right, although the details of the plan would have required considerable modifications later on. Had his recommendations been adopted, the history of mass education in India would have been entirely different. But that was not to be. Lord Auckland considered Adam's plan to be utopian and impracticable. He pleaded for time to watch the results of the experiments then in progress in Bombay and Bengal and shelved the plan with the following remarks :—

"I would conclude upon this subject by recording my opinion that when such a scheme as that proposed by Mr. Adam comes to be tried, the arrangements for introducing it should be on a liberal and effective scale, and that it ought not to be undertaken at all, until the Government is satisfied that it has at command a thoroughly zealous and qualified superintendence." [4]

11. **Events in Bengal, 1840-53.** There is very little to narrate regarding development of education in Bengal after Lord Auckland's Minute. The General Committee of Public Instruction was replaced, in 1842, by a Council of Education. In 1844, Government announced its policy of giving every encouragement to educated Indians by employing them in Government service. In 1845, the Council of Education made a proposal for the establishment of a University at Calcutta but the Court of Directors rejected it on the ground that it was premature. By 1854, the Council of Education conducted 151 educational institutions with 13,163 scholars and incurred a total expenditure of Rs. 5,94,428 a year. But the following extract from Wood's Education Despatch regarding education in Bengal in 1853 will clearly show the effects of the policy based on an exaggerated emphasis on English education :

"In Bengal, education through the medium of the English language has arrived at a higher point than in any other part of India. We are glad to receive constant evidence of an increasing demand for such an education, and of the readiness of the natives of different districts to exert themselves for the sake of obtaining it. There are now five Government anglo-vernacular colleges ; and zillah schools have been established in nearly every district. We confidently expect that the introduction of the system of grant-in-aid will very largely increase the number of schools of superior order. . . .

[4] *Adam's Reports*, Calcutta Edition, pp. xlix-l.

"Very little has, however, been hitherto done in Bengal for the education of the mass of the people, especially for their instruction through the medium of the vernacular languages. A few vernacular schools were founded by Government in 1844, of which only 33 now remain, with 1,400 pupils, and upon their transfer, in April, 1852, from the charge of the Board of Revenue to that of the Council of Education, it appeared that 'they were in a languishing state and had not fulfilled the expectations formed on their establishment'."

12. **Other Provinces of India.** In 1853, British India was divided into five units of administration, viz. the Presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Bengal, the Punjab, and the North-Western province, the last of which corresponds to the United Provinces of today. The educational developments in the Presidency of Bengal have already been narrated in detail because they affected the whole of India and are, therefore, of great historical importance. We shall now briefly describe the developments in the other provinces.

13. **Developments in Bombay.** Ever since its inception in 1822, the Bombay Native Education Society was doing useful work and the following short account of the institutions conducted by the Society in 1840 will give an idea of the main features of its educational policy.

(a) *District English Schools.* The Society conducted four English Schools at Bombay, Thana, Panvel and Poona. All these Schools were under the management of European headmasters.

(b) *District Primary Schools.* The Society attached much greater importance to the conduct of primary schools in the mofussil. It may be noted here that in those days, the expression "primary education" meant "the spread of Western Science and knowledge through the mother-tongue" and hence the "primary" schools

of the Society were far different from the primary schools of today. For instance, the syllabus of a primary school included the study of Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, History of England and India, Geography, Astronomy, Natural Philosophy, Algebra, Euclidean Geometry and Trigonometry. The number of classes varied from six to ten. These schools, therefore, may more appropriately be described as Secondary schools teaching through the medium of the mother-tongue rather than as primary schools in the modern sense of the term.

It was on the development of such schools that the Bombay Native Education Society concentrated its attention between 1822 and 1840. The progress was slow because the funds at the disposal of the Society were limited and the teachers for the schools had to be specially trained. But it persisted in its efforts and in 1840 as many as 115 primary schools of this type were conducted by the Society.

The Board of Education. In April 1840, the Government of Bombay decided to constitute one agency for the management of all the institutions for the education of Indians and established a Board of Education consisting of seven members of whom three were to be nominated by the Society. The Bombay Native Education Society was wound up and the last act of its existence was to nominate three Indians as members of the Board of Education. This Board continued to function till 1855 when the first Director of Public Instruction took over charge.

The Board of Education continued the policy of the Native Education Society and the following statistics for 1845 show the contrast between the developments in Bengal and Bombay :—

	Bengal	*Bombay*
1. Population ..	3,70,00,000	1,05,00,000
2. Expenditure on education	Rs. 4,77,593	Rs. 1,68.226
3. Number of pupils reading in Government schools ..	5,570	10,616
4. Number of pupils reading in English schools ..	3,953	761

Neglect of Indigenous Schools. One of the earliest references which the Board had to dispose of was the one from Bengal regarding Adam's plan for the encouragement of indigenous education. The Board called for the statistics of indigenous schools and, after some discussion, decided to make no attempts to aid or improve them. The main difficulty lay in the fact that the Board's ideal in Primary Education—i.e. the spread of Western knowledge and science through the Indian languages—was not likely to be realized through the indigenous schools. In the opinion of the Board, instruction in the three R's was no education at all and it is hardly to be wondered if the Board thought these schools to be extremely inefficient. The Board, therefore, decided to spend no part of its limited resources on the encouragement of indigenous schools.

Controversy regarding Medium of Instruction (1845-49). We have already referred to the controversy in Bombay regarding the medium of instruction. Col. Jervis and the three Indian members of the Board formed one group and held that education must be imparted through the mother-tongue of the children while Sir Erskine Perry, the President of the Board, and two European members formed the other group and held that education should be imparted through English. This controversy is, in our opinion, of even greater importance than the controversy between the Anglicists and Classicists that raged in Bengal.

It is not necessary to go into the details of the case of the Anglicist party led by Sir E. Perry. Its inspiration came evidently from Bengal and it had hardly anything to add to the arguments given in the Minutes of Macaulay or Auckland. But owing to the different situation in Bombay, it emphasized the following three arguments :—

(*a*) That Indians were themselves eager to study English ;

(*b*) That the work of translating books of European knowledge and science into the Indian languages would be extremely costly and difficult ; and

(*c*) That it was politically expedient to encourage Indians to study English. It was agreed on all hands that there must be a channel of communication between the rulers and the ruled. This could be achieved either by forcing English officers to learn Indian languages or by asking Indians to learn the English language. Sir Erskine Perry held the view that it was easier, more convenient and cheaper to teach the English language to Indians than to ask Englishmen, who are notoriously bad at learning languages, to acquire a knowledge of Indian languages.

The other side, represented by Colonel Jervis and the three Indian members of the Board of Education, advanced the following arguments :—

(*a*) Western knowledge could not be conveyed to the mass of the people except through the medium of their mother-tongue.

(*b*) The adoption of English as a medium of instruction would create a gulf between the masses and the intelligentsia.

(c) It was a paramount duty of Government to foster the Indian languages by a careful cultivation of classical languages like Sanskrit and Arabic.

(d) The educational system of India should take its *material* from the English literature and adopt the medium of modern Indian languages *enriched* by constant drawing upon the Indian classical languages.

The controversy grew bitter by 1848 and hence the whole question was submitted to Government for orders. Unfortunately, the decision of Government was so inconclusive that both parties quoted it in their support. As gradual pressure in favour of the use of English as a medium of instruction was, however, brought to bear from Bengal, the growth of education through the mother-tongue was soon throttled. For, in those days of centralization, the sanction of the Government of Bengal was necessary for all new items of expenditure. Consequently, when the Government of Bombay put up proposals for the expansion of primary education, they were generally not sanctioned by the Government of Bengal on the ground of the heaviness of their cost and sometimes the Government of Bengal even advised the Government of Bombay to concentrate on English education because it was less costly to Government. The one definite result of the controversy was, therefore, the adoption of English as the exclusive medium of instruction at the collegiate stage. The attempts of Colonel Jervis and others succeeded in retaining the use of the mother-tongue as a medium of instruction at the secondary stage only—a position which, as we shall see, was accepted even by the Despatch of 1854.

14. **Developments in Madras.** Owing to frequent

changes in Government policy and in the personnel of those entrusted with the management of education, the history of education in Madras between the years 1833 and 1853 makes painful reading. Without going into details, therefore, we shall only give the following brief statement of the main events of this period :—

(i) The indigenous schools were never encouraged in Madras.

(ii) The District and Tahsildaree schools established by Munro were discontinued in 1836 as a result of the orders of the Government of Bengal which recommended the withdrawal of aid from the Collectorate and Tahsildaree schools, the establishment of an English College at Madras, and of provincial English schools at some important places in the interior, if funds permitted.

(iii) A High School then called "the university" was established in Madras in 1841.

(iv) In 1853, a collegiate Department was organised in the Madras "University".

(v) Although the sanctioned allotment for education in Madras was only Rs. 50,000 a year, expenditure to the full amount was never incurred and a balance of over Rs. 3,00,000 had accumulated by 1853.

The following extract from the first report of the Director of Public Instruction in Madras for 1854-55 will give an idea of the extent of the educational activities of the Government of Madras till the end of 1853 :—

> "At the commencement, therefore, of the period comprised in this report with the exception of the sums expended in the Districts of Chingleput, North Arcot, Nellore and Tanjore and in the maintenance of those elementary schools in the hill tracts of Ganjam, to which I have already alluded, and which were not brought under the superintendence of the Board of Education, the operations of the Government in the Education Department were confined to the Collegiate institution

under the designation of an University at Madras, and to the two provincial schools at Rajamundry and Cuddalore. During the past years these operations have been extended by the establishment of three additional provincial schools at the stations of Combaconum, Calicut and Bellary, and of two elementary vernacular schools at, and in the immediate neighbourhood of Cuddalore." [5]

The only relieving factor of the situation was that missionary activities were conducted on a very large scale in Madras and consequently English education was more extensively imparted there than even in Bombay where Government conducted an English School in almost every district in the Province.

15. **Developments in the North-Western Province.** The educational institutions in this province were controlled by the Government of Bengal up to 1843, when they were transferred to the Government of the North-Western Province. Mr. Thomason, the Lieutenant Governor of the Province, prepared a scheme for the improvement and expansion of education through the mother-tongue. This was similar to the plan of Adam, to which we have referred earlier, and is known popularly as the "Thomason Plan". The scheme was estimated to cost Rs. 4,500 per district. The Board of Directors sanctioned its introduction in eight districts out of 31. The work had already been started in accordance with this plan when the Despatch of 1854 was received. The Board of Directors were so greatly pleased with the scheme that they recommended it for the consideration of other Provincial Governments in India.

16. **Developments in the Punjab.** The Province of the Punjab was constituted in 1849. In that year,

[5] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. II, p. 182.

Government established a school of the modern type at Amritsar. It taught English, Hindi, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit and Goorumukhee. It was attended by Hindoos, Muslims and Sikhs. No other educational institution had been established in the Province till 1854.

17. **Relations between Officials and Missionaries.** The growth of missionary enterprise was even more rapid during the two decades following 1833 than during the two that preceded it. While the Charter of 1813 opened India to the missions from the United Kingdom only, the Charter of 1833 opened the country to the traders and missionaries of the world. Consequently missions of other nations also came into the field, prominent among whom were the German and American missionary societies.

One special feature of this period is the establishment, on a very large scale of schools for the teaching of English by missionary societies. The lead in this work was given by Duff in Bengal, Wilson in Bombay, and Anderson in Madras. The objects of the missionaries in starting these schools were two: firstly, they believed that Indians who studied western literature and science would be inevitably converted to Christianity; and secondly, these schools enabled the missionaries to preach the gospel to the upper classes of Indian society to whom they had hardly any other means of approach.

The second feature of this period was the cordial relations that prevailed between officials of the Government and the missionaries. This was due to two causes: *firstly*, the period of 1833-53 was one of great reforms and liberal ideas in the social life of England with the result that many of the Company's officials were themselves inspired by missionary zeal; *secondly*, the fear that interference with religious institutions would be

greatly resented by Hindus and Muslims—it was this fear that had mainly led to the adoption of the policy of religious neutrality in the earlier decades—was not entertained seriously during this period. One test case was made out in the abolition of *Sati*. The opponents of this reform had argued that the attempt would lead to revolts. But nothing of the kind happened and enlightened Hindus came forward to support the reform and thank the Government. Another instance of successful intervention with the religious institutions lay in the management by the Company of rich Hindu temples and Hindu religious fairs—an act that aroused no opposition and brought some profits to the Company to boot. The officials of this period, therefore, were not afraid to associate themselves openly with the missionaries and encourage their efforts. *Thirdly*, the mode of development of mass education in England also lent support to this attitude of the Company's officials. In those days, education was not regarded as the right of the poor people but was looked upon as an object of charity shown to them by religious or philanthropic persons; and Parliament did not provide direct educational facilities to the people but contented itself with the payment of grant-in-aid to the great denominational organisations that conducted all the elementary schools of the country. Consequently, the officials of the Company of this period also believed that education was an object of charity shown by the English nation to India and not a *right* of the people, and that the missionaries would do for India what the denominational schools did for poorer classes in England. The sum total of all these factors was that the relations between the missionaries and the officials of the Company were extremely cordial between 1833 and 1853—a fact that

is in direct contrast to the strained relations that existed between them in the period of 1793 to 1813, or to the lukewarm feelings that prevailed in the two decades between 1813 and 1833. It was in this spirit of comradeship in a common cause that the Despatch of 1854 was written.

Chapter V

WOOD'S DESPATCH (1854)

The Education Despatch of the Court of Directors, dated 19th July 1854, is a document of great historical importance. It is popularly known as Wood's Education Despatch because it was probably written at the instance of Charles Wood who was then the President of the Board of Control. It is a long document of a hundred paragraphs and deals with several questions of great educational importance.

2. **Objects of Educational Policy.** To begin with, the Despatch explains why the Company undertook the organization of education in India and the results that it expected therefrom :—

> "Among many subjects of importance, none can have a stronger claim to our attention than that of education. It is one of our most sacred duties, to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge, and which India may, under Providence, derive from her connexion with England. . . .
>
> We have, moreover, always looked upon the encouragement of education as peculiarly important, because calculated 'not only to produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages, and so to supply you with servants to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust. . . .
>
> Nor, while the character of England is deeply concerned in the success of our efforts for the promotion of education, are her material interests altogether unaffected by the advance of European knowledge in India; this knowledge will teach the natives of India the marvellous results of the employment of labour and capital, rouse them to emulate us in the development of the vast resources of their country, guide them in their efforts, and gradually, but certainly, confer upon them all the advantages which accompany the healthy increase of

wealth and commerce; and, at the same time, secure to us a large and more certain supply of many articles necessary for our manufactures and extensively consumed by all classes of our population, as well as an almost inexhaustible demand for the produce of British labour."

3. **Controversy between the Anglicists and Classicists.** The Despatch then refers to the controversy between the Classicists and Anglicists in Bengal. It is worthy of note that the Despatch does not condemn the view of the Oriental party in a summary fashion as Macaulay did. It appreciates the advantages that spring from a study of the classical languages of India, and admits that "an acquaintance with the works contained in them is valuable for historical and antiquarian purposes, and a knowledge of the languages themselves is required in the study of Hindoo and Mahomedan law, and is also of great importance for the critical cultivation and improvement of the vernacular languages of India." It also mentions "the success of many distinguished Oriental scholars in their praiseworthy endeavours to engraft upon portions of Hindoo philosophy the germs of sounder morals and of more advanced science;" . . . and "the good effect which has thus been produced upon the learned classes of India, who pay hereditary veneration to those ancient languages". Nevertheless, the Despatch agrees with Lord Macaulay and points out that "the system of science and philosophy which forms the learning of the East abounds with grave errors, and Eastern literature is at best very deficient as regards all modern discovery and improvement"; and concludes the discussion with the following declaration:—

"We must emphatically declare that the education which we desire to see extended in India, is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe; in short of European knowledge."

4. **Medium of Instruction.** The question of the medium of instruction is next dealt with. The Despatch first explains how it became necessary in the beginning to use English as a medium of instruction "owing to the want of translations or adaptations of European works in the vernacular languages of India and to the very imperfect shape in which European knowledge is to be found in any works in the learned languages of the East". It admits, however, that one evil result of the measure had been to create a tendency to neglect the study of the "vernacular languages". The Despatch then proceeds to repudiate the suggestion that English was used as a medium of instruction by the Company merely to suppress indigenous education or to discourage the study of Indian languages and directs that English and Indian languages should be cultivated *together* to spread proper education in India.

It will be seen that all the three problems dealt with in the Despatch so far are old controversies, and that the Despatch does nothing more than to sum up the conclusions already reached.

5. **New Schemes.** (i) *The Education Department*: The Despatch then proceeds to explain the new schemes that were to be introduced. The first of these was the creation of a Department of Public Instruction in each of the five provinces into which the territories of the Company were divided at that time, viz. Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the North-Western Province, and the Punjab. This department was to be placed under an important officer to be called the Director of Public Instruction. He was to be assisted by an adequate number of Inspecting Officers and was required to submit to Government an annual report on the progress of education in his province.

(ii) *Universities*: The second scheme related to the establishment of Universities. As we have already seen, the proposal for the establishment of a University at Calcutta made by the Council of Education in 1845 was negatived by the Directors on the ground that it was then premature. But now they felt that the time for the establishment of Universities had arrived, because of the spread of liberal education among Indians and the requirements of an increasing European and Anglo-Indian population. The Despatch, therefore, directs that universities should be established at Calcutta and Bombay and states that the Directors were "ready to sanction the creation of an University at Madras, or in any part of India, where a sufficient number of institutions exist, from which properly qualified candidates for degrees could be supplied". All the Universities were to be modelled on the London University which was then an examining body. Their senates were to consist of a Chancellor, a Vice-Chancellor, and Fellows—all of whom were to be nominated by Government. The functions of the Universities were *mainly* to hold examinations and confer degrees. But it is extremely interesting to note that even at this early date the Despatch advised the institution of professorships in various branches of learning.

(iii) *Establishment of a Network of Graded Schools all over India*: Having described the two new schemes mentioned above, viz. the creation of the Education Department and the establishment of Universities, the Despatch proceeds to explain the network of graded schools which the Directors desired to spread all over the country. At one end of this gradation came the University and the affiliated colleges which gave instruction in various branches of art and science. Below these,

came the high schools which gave instruction either through English or through a modern Indian language, and at the bottom came the indigenous primary schools.

The Despatch admitted that most of the attempts of Government in the past had been directed to the establishment of colleges which absorbed the greater part of the public funds that were then applied to education, and regretted the adoption of the *downward filtration theory* which led "to too exclusive a direction of the efforts of Government towards providing the means of acquiring a very high degree of education for a very small number of natives of India, drawn for the most part, from the higher classes". After stating that these higher classes may now be made to stand on their own legs, the Despatch observes :—

> "Our attention should now be directed to a consideration, if possible, still more important, and one which has been hitherto, we are bound to admit, too much neglected, namely, how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station of life, may be best conveyed to the great mass of the people, who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts, and we desire to see the active measures of Government more especially directed, for the future, to this object, for the attainment of which we are ready to sanction a considerable increase of expenditure."

To achieve this purpose, the Directors recommend a multiplication of High Schools. It is not generally realised that the Despatch visualized High Schools which imparted good general education through the Indian languages, but the following paragraph will make the whole position clear :

> "We include these Anglo-vernacular and vernacular schools in the same class, because we are unwilling to maintain the broad line of separation which at present exists between

schools in which the media for imparting instruction differ The knowledge conveyed is no doubt, at the present time, much higher in the Anglo-vernacular than in the vernacular schools; but the difference will become less marked, and the latter more efficient as the gradual enrichment of the vernacular languages in works of education allows their schemes of study to be enlarged, and as a more numerous class of schoolmasters is raised up, able to impart a superior education."

Below the High and Middle Schools came the indigenous elementary schools which the Directors proposed to encourage by suitable grant-in-aid. In this connection, the Directors drew the attention of the Government of India to the plan for encouraging indigenous schools adopted by Thomason in the North-Western Province and recommended its adoption as largely as possible.

As a connecting link between these various grades of schools, it was proposed to institute scholarships to be given to promising pupils in order to enable them to continue their students at a high school or college.

"Such a system as this" says the *Despatch*, "placed in all its degrees under efficient inspection, beginning with the humblest elementary instruction, and ending with the university test of a liberal education, the best students in each class of schools being encouraged by the aid afforded them towards obtaining superior education as the reward of merit, by means of such a system of scholarships as we shall have to describe, would, we firmly believe, impart life and energy to education in India and lead to a gradual, but steady extension of its benefits to all classes of the people."

The above proposals of the Despatch have three important features—the rejection of the *downward filtration theory*, the adoption of the modern Indian languages as media of instruction at the secondary stage, and the inclusion of indigenous schools as the very

foundation of a national system of education. In all these principles, the Despatch marked a reversion of the retrograde policy laid down by Lord Auckland.

(iv) *Grant-in-aid* : Excellent as this scheme was, it was obvious that, when fully carried out, it would have involved the Company in an enormous expenditure which it would not have been able to bear without additional taxation. Unfortunately, the Directors shirked to face this problem squarely. They made a non-committal remark that they were prepared to sanction "a considerable increase in expenditure" for their new programme and naively believed that a policy of giving grant-in-aid to private effort would solve the difficulties in Indian education as it had solved those of mass education in England. They said :—

> "The consideration of the impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done in order to provide adequate means for the education of the natives of India, and of the ready assistance which may be derived from efforts which have hitherto received but little encouragement from the State, has led us to the natural conclusion that the most effectual method of providing for the wants of India in this respect will be to combine with the agency of the Government the aid which may be derived from the exertions and the liberality of the educated and wealthy natives of India, and of other benevolent persons.
>
> "We have, therefore, resolved to adopt in India the system of grants-in-aid which has been carried out in this country with very great success; and we confidently anticipate by thus drawing support from local resources, in addition to contributions from the State, a far more rapid progress of education than would follow a mere increase of expenditure by Government; when it possesses the additional advantage of fostering a spirit of reliance upon local exertions and combinations for local purposes, which is of itself of no mean importance to the well-being of a nation."

The Despatch then suggests certain general considerations in the light of which each Provincial Government was expected to frame its own rules of grant-in-aid. For instance, aid was to be given to all schools which—

(*a*) impart a good secular education, any religious instruction which they may impart being simply ignored;

(*b*) possess a good local management;

(*c*) agree to submit to inspection by Government officers and to abide by such other conditions as may be prescribed; and

(*d*) levy a fee, however small, from the pupils.

In this connection, the attitude of the Despatch towards religious instruction is also worthy of note as it shows the official sympathy for missionary effort. So far as aided schools were concerned (which in those days meant missionary schools only) the Despatch desired that the Inspecting Officers should take "*no notice whatsoever* . . . of the religious doctrines that may be taught in any school". As regards Government institutions, the Despatch stated:—

> "Considerable misapprehension appears to exist as to our views with respect to religious instruction in the Government institutions. Those institutions were founded for the benefit of the whole population of India; and in order to effect their object it was, and is, indispensable that the education conveyed in them should be exclusively secular. The Bible is, we understand, placed in the libraries of the colleges and schools and the pupils are able freely to consult it. This is as it should be; and, moreover, we have no desire to prevent, or discourage, any explanations which the pupils may, of their own free will, ask from the masters upon the subject of the Christian religion provided that such information be given out of school hours. Such instruction being entirely voluntary on both sides, it is necessary, in order to prevent the slightest suspicion of an intention on our part to make use of the

influence of Government for the purpose of proselytism, that no notice shall be taken of it by the inspectors in their periodical visits."

(v) *Training of Teachers*: The Despatch then proceeds to consider the question of securing properly qualified teachers for schools, and says:—

"We cannot do better than refer you to the plan which has been adopted in Great Britain for this object, and which appears to us to be capable of easy adaptation to India. It mainly consists, as you will perceive on reference to the Minutes of the Committee of Council, copies of which we enclose, in the selection and stipend of pupil-teachers (awarding a small payment to the masters of the schools in which they are employed for the instruction out of school hours); their ultimate removal, if they prove worthy, to normal schools; the issue to them of certificates on the completion of their training in those normal schools; and in securing to them a sufficient salary when they are afterwards employed as schoolmasters. This system should be carried out in India, both in the Government colleges and schools, and, by means of grants-in-aid, in all institutions which are brought under Government inspection. . . .

Our wish is that the profession of schoolmaster may, for the future, afford inducements to the natives of India such as are held out in other branches of the public service."

6. **Education and Employment.** The question of giving encouragement to educated Indians is then taken up. The Despatch states:—

"We cannot do better than refer you to the plan which . . . in India will produce a greater efficiency in all branches of administration by enabling you to obtain the services of intelligent and trustworthy persons in every department of Government; and on the other hand, we believe that the numerous vacancies of different kinds which have constantly to be filled up, may afford a great stimulus to education. . . .

What we desire is that, where the other qualifications of the candidates for appointments under Government are equal, a person who has received a good education, irrespective of

the place or manner in which it may have been acquired, should be preferred to one who has not; and that even in lower situations, a man who can read and write be preferred to one who cannot if he is equally eligible in other respects.

But, however large the number of appointments under Government may be, the views of the natives of India should be directed to the far wider and more important sphere of usefulness and advantage which a liberal education lays open to them; and such practical benefits arising from improved knowledge should be constantly impressed upon them by those who know their feelings and have influence or authority to advise or direct their efforts."

7. **Female Education.** Finally, the Despatch offers a few suggestions regarding some other problems of education. For instance, the Despatch points out the necessity of providing suitable school books in Indian languages; the importance of vocational instruction and to that end, the need of establishing vocational colleges and schools of industry; and the urgency of spreading female education. With regard to the last, the Despatch observes:—

"The importance of female education in India cannot be overrated; and we have observed with pleasure the evidence which is now afforded of an increased desire on the part of many of the natives of India to give a good education to their daughters. By this means a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men. We have already observed that schools for females are included among those to which grants-in-aid may be given; and we cannot refrain from expressing our cordial sympathy with the efforts which are being made in this direction. Our Governor-General-in-Council has declared, in a communication to the Government of Bengal, that the Government ought to give to the native female education in India its frank and cordial support; and in this we heartily concur and we especially approve of the bestowal of marks of honour upon such native gentlemen as Rao Bahadur Magahunbhai Karramchand who donated

Rs. 20,000 to the foundation of two native female schools in Ahmedabad, as by such means our desire for the extension of female education becomes generally known."

8. **Criticism of the Despatch.** Such were the main provisions of this document of great historical importance. Its immediate effects were the creation of an Education Department in each province of British India and the establishment of Universities at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. It gave an impetus to secondary education and to some extent, to primary education also. It introduced the system of grant-in-aid and led to the establishment of training institutions for teachers. The Despatch is the last and the most complete of a series of historical documents which includes Grant's Observations, Section 43 of the Charter Act of 1813, and Minutes of Lord Minto, Lord Moira, Sir Charles Metcalfe, Elphinstone, Sir Thomas Munro, Lord Macaulay and Lord Auckland. It forms a fitting close to the first period in the history of Indian Education in which the framework of the present education system was evolved. It affords us an excellent platform from which we can take a retrospective glance at the past and, as the late Mr. M. R. Paranjpe observed, it enables us "to find out how far we have achieved the educational objectives which the authors of the Despatch had in view, and to note the changes brought about in our educational objectives in the last hundred years, partly by mere lapse of time and partly by the new environment created by the educational progress in the period".[1]

It is a matter for regret that some of the most important recommendations of the Despatch were not carried out for a long time; some were given effect to in a mutilated form; while some were never acted upon.

[1] *Progress of Education*, Poona, July 1941, p. 52.

The encouragement of Indian languages which it promised remained a pious wish for a long time to come and the languages spoken and understood by the masses continued to languish. The desire of the Despatch to evolve a policy of grant-in-aid which would enable Government completely to withdraw from the field of educational activities was more observed in breach than in fulfilment. As the late Mr. M. R. Paranjpe observes :—

> "For over sixty years, however, Government institutions gradually increased in number and private enterprise was often discouraged rather than encouraged. During the first thirty years, i.e. up to 1880, Christian missions were the only private agency in the field and Government did not have the courage to entrust the work of education to Christian missions whose primary aim was to secure converts to Christianity. The incidents of 1857 had demonstrated to Government the risk it ran in creating suspicion in people's mind regarding Government's attitude towards the religions of the people of India, and the Christian missions did not get the full measure of Government support although they continued to be the most favoured non-Government agency in the field of education." [2]

With the spread of education and new ideals of social service, Indian private enterprise began and multiplied. But Government was not prepared to hand over its schools and colleges to Indian management either, because it would not believe, in our opinion quite wrongly, in the capacity of Indians to conduct them efficiently.

The plans of mass education visualised by the Despatch were not realised, nor were High Schools imparting education through the medium of the mother-tongue established even as late as in 1921, when 'education' was transferred to Indian Ministers. It may be pointed

[2] *Progress of Education*, Poona, July 1941, p. 47.

out that it is to these, and other omissions to give full effect to the provisions of the Despatch, that the origin of many of the defects of the present educational system can be traced.

It is also interesting to note how some of the sentiments expressed in the Despatch have grown obsolete. For instance, the Despatch speaks of education "suited to every station in life". This is quite intelligible as an ideal of the early Victorian era when people believed in a "beautiful social order Providentially arranged" in which each person had a definite status according to birth or environment. But the idea jars upon a modern thinker who believes in equality of educational opportunity for all. Similarly, one is pained to find that the Despatch can only think of India to come as the supplier of raw materials for British industries and as the consumer of the finished products of England. This is a position which hardly any self-respecting Indian would accept at the present time either from the economic or educational point of view.

In pointing out these facts, let us not be misunderstood as belittling the work done or contemplated by the framers of the Despatch. We cannot, however, find any justification for the superlative terms in which some modern historians have described the Despatch and even called it "The Magna Charta of Indian Education". In our opinion, such a view betrays a lack of proportion. The Despatch, no doubt, did a lot towards the evolution of a good system of education in India according to the educational needs then prevalent. But these ideals have changed so materially since then that it would help India very little to be now guided by the sentiments of the Despatch. As for calling it a Charter, one cannot

do better than to quote the late Mr. M. R. Paranjpe who observes :—

"But in spite of all these good features it would be incorrect to describe the Educational Despatch of 1854 as an Educational Charter, i.e. an official paper bestowing or guaranteeing certain rights and privileges. The Despatch does not even refer to the ideal of universal literacy although it expects education to spread over a wider field through the grants-in-aid system; it does not recognize the obligation of the State to educate every child below a certain age; it does not declare that poverty shall be no bar to the education of deserving students; and while it may be admitted that employment in Government offices was not the object of English education as visualised in the Despatch, the authors did not aim at education for leadership, education for the industrial regenerations of India, education for the defence of the motherland, in short, education required by the people of a self-governing nation. It was perhaps pardonable that the authors of the Despatch could not visualise the progress of Indian aspirations after a century—but that is admitting indirectly the imperfections of the Despatch. Whatever were its value in 1854, it would be ridiculous to describe the Despatch as an Educational Charter, in the year 1941." [3]

[3] *Progress of Education*, Poona, July 1941, pp. 51-2.

Chapter VI

THE DEPARTMENTS SET TO WORK

(1854-1882)

Soon after the receipt of the Despatch of 1854, every Provincial Government in India organised a department of Public Instruction under a Director. An adequate number of educational inspectors was appointed in order to assist the Director in his work. Large sums of money were made available to the Education Departments for the execution of their schemes, and the organization of the modern system of education in India began in right earnest.

The main achievements of the Education Departments during the first thirty years of their administration were :

(*a*) The establishment of Universities at Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Lahore ;

(*b*) A rapid expansion of collegiate education ;

(*c*) A still larger expansion of secondary education ; and

(*d*) Some expansion of primary education as a result of the creation of local funds.

On the other hand, this period was also marked by salient departures from the principles laid down in the Educational Despatch of 1854. For example, the Universities came to be purely examining bodies although the Despatch had visualised the undertaking of teaching functions by the Indian Universities ; English continued to dominate at the secondary stage as medium of instruction in spite of the fact that the Despatch had emphasised the adoption of Indian languages as media in secondary schools ; the important question of the training of

secondary teachers never received the attention it deserved; and indigenous schools were neglected with disastrous results upon the education of the masses.

In this chapter we shall review the main events of the thirty years between the receipt of the Education Despatch of 1854 and the appointment of the Indian Education Commission in 1882, with special reference both to the achievements as well as to the failures of the educational administration.

2. **Establishment of Universities.** As we have seen in an earlier part of this book, colleges had been in existence in India for several years before the establishment of the universities in 1857. But these early institutions for imparting higher education were quite different from the colleges of today. Many of the colleges grew out of schools teaching English and contained classes "in which the alphabet was taught under the same roof with classes reading Shakespeare, the Calculus, Smith's Wealth of Nations, and the Ramayana".[1] The word 'college' seems then to have been used rather loosely to denote 'an institution where a high type of instruction is given'. Colleges in the modern sense of the word may be said to have started to function only after 1857 when the universities came to be established. Henceforward, they could only admit such students as had passed the entrance examination held by the universities to which they were affiliated and impart instruction according to such courses only as had been prescribed by the universities. In short, colleges now became an integral part of the universities themselves and provided instruction in higher branches of learning on their behalf.

[1] *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, p. 18.

Soon after the receipt of the Despatch of the Court of Directors dated 19th July 1854, the Government of India took up the work of organising universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The preliminary spade work was considerably heavy and naturally took some time; but as early as 1857, the Government of India passed Acts of Incorporation of all the three Universities.—Except for a few changes of a local nature, the three Acts are identical and it is enough to study one of them in order to understand the constitution of the Universities established thereby.

The preamble of the Bombay University Act, for example, defined the object of the University to be the "ascertaining, by means of examination, the persons who have acquired proficiency" in different branches of learning and "rewarding them by Academical Degrees, as evidence of their respective attainments".

The Act then nominated the first Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Fellows, who together constituted the Body corporate of the University of Bombay. The number of Fellows excluding the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor was to be *not less* than twenty-six; Fellows were of two classes: *Ex-officio* Fellows who included the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, the Bishop of Bombay, Members of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay, the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, the Educational Inspector of the Presidency Division, and the Principals of all Government Colleges; the other Fellows were called *Ordinary* Fellows and were *appointed by Government for life*, vacancies in their ranks being only caused by death, resignation, departure from India without the intention of returning thereto, or by cancellation of appointment by Government.

The Senate of the University consisted of the Chancellor (who was always the Governor of Bombay), the Vice-Chancellor (whose appointment was made by the Governor-in-Council for a period of two years at a time) and the Fellows both *ex-officio* and ordinary. The Senate was entrusted with the day to day administration of the University.

3. **Criticism of the University Acts of 1857.** There is little to comment on in these Acts; but it may be helpful for a proper understanding of the subject to call special attention to the following features of the scheme:—

(*a*) There was no upper limit to the number of the Fellows. The inevitable consequence was that the Senates grew unwieldy in the course of time, especially as the Fellows were to be appointed for life and not for a specific period.

(*b*) In the Universities, it is customary to have a small executive body called the Syndicate and to entrust it with the details of the day-to-day administration. But it is significant that the Act makes no mention of the Syndicate and gives all powers to the Senate only. In practice, however, Syndicates came to be established in virtue of the regulations framed by the Senates and they were also entrusted with certain powers. The point to be noted is that the Syndicate received no statutory recognition in the Acts of Incorporation.

(c) The preamble limited the functions of the Universities to the holding of examinations and the granting of degrees only. This was no doubt in keeping with the constitution of the

London University as it was in 1857 but it did not carry out, in full, the intentions of the Despatch of 1854 with regard to the functions of the proposed Universities. It is true that, according to the Despatch, Indian Universities were "not so much to be in themselves places of instruction" as agencies "to test the value of the education obtained elsewhere," but the Despatch had also pointed out that it would be "advisable to institute, in connection with the Universities, professorships for the purpose of the delivery of lectures in various branches of learning, for the acquisition of which, at any rate in an advanced degree, facilities do not now exist in other institutions in India," such as Law, Civil Engineering, the classical as well as modern languages of India, etc. One cannot help feeling here that the framers of the Indian Universities' Acts of 1857 took a very narrow view of the Despatch of 1854.

(*d*) The type of the University organization that was created by the Acts of 1857 is known technically as the "Affiliating University". In this form of organization, the affiliated colleges are the real centres of learning and the University itself is not a unit of teaching but a mere unit of administration whose sole duty is to hold examinations and confer degrees. This form of a University had undoubtedly certain *immediate* advantages in the conditions of India as they were in 1857, but it was harmful to national interests in the long run. It is a matter for regret that the ultimate disadvantages of the system were ignored in view of its immediate advantages and that it was de-

cided to follow the line of least resistance in preference to a programme of intelligent planning in national interest. The decision looks almost tragic if one remembers that the London University itself was remodelled in 1858 and gave up the affiliating type as unsatisfactory! Perhaps, it would have contributed more to the welfare of the nation had the University Acts been passed in 1859 instead of in 1857.

4. **Growth of Collegiate Education between 1857 and 1882.** The development of colleges was fairly rapid during the twenty-five years between the establishment of the universities and the appointment of the Indian Education Commission. This was partly due to the rapid development of secondary education and partly to the liberal encouragement given by Government. At the first matriculation examinations of the universities, only 219 candidates were declared to have passed.[2] But in 1881-2, as many as 7,429 pupils appeared for the matriculation examination from British India only and 2,778 of these were declared to have passed. In those days, a very large number of the candidates who passed the matriculation sought admission to universities, mainly owing to the material advantages that were then attainable by holding of university degrees. Consequently, the number of colleges as well as their attendance increased considerably between 1857 and 1882.

The following table compares the Colleges in 1857 with those in 1882 :—

[2] Calcutta University 162 (in 1857) ; Bombay University 21 (in 1859) ; and Madras University 36 (in 1857).

Province	No. of Colleges in 1857	No. of Colleges in 1882
Bengal ...	15	27
Bombay ...	3	6
North Western Province ...	5	11
Madras ...	4	25
Punjab ...	...	2
Central Provinces ...	...	1
Total ...	27	72

Of the new colleges that sprang up during this period, two deserve special notice. The first is the Canning College, Lucknow, which was established in 1864 by the Talukdars of the Province in gratitude to the good treatment they received from Lord Canning, the then Governor-General of India, after the incidents of 1857. This college was the beginning of the Lucknow University of to-day. The second is the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College which was established at Aligarh in 1875 mainly owing to the efforts of Sir Sayyed Ahmad Khan. This college developed later into the Muslim University, Aligarh.

'An important feature of this period that deserves notice is the entry of Indian private enterprise into the field of the direct management of collegiate institutions. Even in 1881-2, Indians conducted 5 aided colleges—two in the North-Western Province, and three in Madras. The two colleges in the North-Western Province were the Canning College, Lucknow, and the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, which have been just referred to. The three colleges in Madras were the Pachaiyappa's College and the Hindu Colleges at Viza-

gapatam and Tinnevelly. It should be remembered, however, that the principals of these colleges were generally Europeans and that Indians were then considered unfit to become the Principals of first-class colleges.

5. **Establishment of the Punjab University.** In 1882, the Punjab University was established by a special Act of Incorporation. The general framework of this Act was similar to the Acts of 1857; but the Punjab University differed from the older universities in several important matters. These have been mentioned in the following words in the Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1897-1902:—

"(1) It has a Faculty of Oriental Learning, and confers the degrees of Bachelor, Master, and Doctor of Oriental Learning on candidates who have gone through a course of training analogous to that prescribed for the examinations for the degrees in Arts, but through the medium not of English but of Urdu.

(2) It confers oriental literary titles on successful candidates in examinations which it holds in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian.

(3) In conducts proficiency and high proficiency examinations in vernacular languages.

(4) It grants native titles to students of Muhammadan and Hindu law and medicine.

(5) It conducts various school examinations.

(6) It maintains an Oriental College and a Law College, and it may maintain 'such other schools and colleges as the Senate may from time to time direct.'

(7) The Senate advises on educational matters generally."[3]

6. **Secondary Education.** A special feature of the period, 1854-1882, was the repid growth of secondary Education as compared with that of Higher or Primary Education. When the Despatch of 1854 was received, schools teaching English were just under way,

[3] *Progress of Education in India*, 1897-1902, Vol. I, para 153.

and an account of these has already been given earlier. Detailed statistics are not available, but it may be stated that in 1854 the total number of schools teaching English was very small and the pupils studying in them numbered only a few thousand.

The Despatch of 1854, it will be recalled, emphasized the development of secondary education. While admitting that the attempts of Government in the past had been directed, more or less, to the highest education of a few, it stated that, in future, efforts should be made to extend "far more widely the means of acquiring general European knowledge of a less high order, but of such a character as may be practically useful to the people of India in their different spheres of life." With a view to realising this end, the Despatch recommended the establishment, in every district, of "Schools—whose object should be not to train highly a few youths, but to provide more opportunities than now exist for the acquisition of such an improved education as will make those who possess it more useful members of society in every condition of life."

Soon after the receipt of the Despatch of 1854, an era of rapid multiplication of secondary schools set in. The lead in this movement was naturally taken by the newly created Départments of Public Instruction whose task was greatly facilitated by the growing demand for English education and the larger grants placed at their disposal by the Government of India. Between 1854 and 1870, therefore, there was a large increase in the number of secondary schools directly conducted by Government. In the latter year there was a slight change in Government policy. Successive reviews of the progress of education in India, which were undertaken by Government in the period 1865-70, emphasized the need of

extending elementary education among the masses, with the result that the force of Government effort for the spread of secondary education slackened to some extent. But in spite of this slackening, the number of Government secondary schools in 1882 was 1,363 (with 44,605 pupils)[4] as against 169 (with 18,335 pupils) in 1854.

There is, however, no need to regret this slackening of effort on the part of Government. The Despatch of 1854, it will be recalled, laid great stress on the system of grant-in-aid. Every Provincial Government, therefore, framed rules of grant-in-aid and made considerable budget provision for assisting private enterprise. Consequently, private secondary schools were opened and began to multiply at a very rapid rate and, within a few years, more than made up for the slackening in Government effort.

One feature of this period deserves special notice. In the early years following Wood's Despatch, private enterprise was mostly confined to the missionaries. But within a few years, Indians themselves entered the field in such large numbers that by 1882, the schools under Indian management constituted the bulk of private enterprise. The statistics on the next page which refer to the year 1881-2, and are taken from the Report of the Indian Education Commission (General Table No. 5) will be found interesting from this point of view.

It will be seen that, in Bengal, most of the aided English schools were conducted by Indians themselves. In Madras, Indian private enterprise had just got the better of missionary activities which, in that Province, had spread far more widely than in any other. It was well under way in Bombay and was just beginning to develop in the other Provinces. But it is to be noted

[4] *Indian Education Commission*, General Table Ia.

Statement showing the number of private secondary schools in 1881-2

Province	Under Indian Managers		Under other than Indian Managers	
	No. of English Schools	Amount of grants paid	No. of English Schools	Amount of grants paid
		Rs.		Rs.
Madras ...	698	88,284	418	85,289
Bombay ...	13	14,653	40	37,343
Bengal ...	582	1,98,911	23	16,420
N. W. Province & Oudh ...	17	18,643	104	78,571
Punjab ...	2	1,522	118	51,471
Central Provinces ...	4	4,053	9	11,126
Assam ...	25	10,771	45	6,657
Total ...	1,341	3,36,837	757	2,86,877

N.B.—The figures of English schools given here include, in some Provinces, the primary departments of these schools also.

that, even at this early date, the English schools conducted by Indians were nearly twice as many as those conducted by all other non-Government agencies put together.

7. **Defects of Secondary Education.** This expansion of secondary schools was not an unmixed blessing. Even during these early years the system of secondary education developed serious defects such as the absence of vocational courses, the dominance of the study of English and lack of trained teachers. As most of these defects became greatly accentuated in later years the study of their origin will be of some interest.

(a) *Absence of Vocational Courses at the Secondary Stage.*—The Despatch of 1854 had explicitly stated that the instruction in secondary schools should be "practically useful to the people of India in their different

spheres of life", and desired that the new schools which it proposed to establish should "provide more opportunities than now exist for the acquisition of such an improved education as will make those who possess it more useful members of society in every condition of life." This clearly shows that the Despatch contemplated the provision of vocational or pre-vocational instruction at the secondary stage.

But this salutary advice was neglected by later administrators. Even as late as 1882 the Indian Education Commission found that it was only in the Province of Bombay that some provision was made for vocational education by the grant of a few scholarships of Rs. 4 per month to children of agriculturists in order to encourage them to attend model farms connected with High Schools, for instruction in practical agriculture. Barring this solitary exception, the high schools throughout India had been regarded "not only or chiefly as schools for secondary instruction, intended for pupils whose instruction will terminate at that stage, but in a much greater degree—it may almost be said exclusively—as preparatory schools for those who are to become students of the universities." [5]

This unhappy result was due to three causes. In the *first* place, most of the pupils of the secondary schools of those days belonged to the educationally advanced classes of society whose main object was to obtain employment under Government because it secured, at one stroke, a black-coated profession, a status in society, and economic improvement. They flocked to the secondary schools, not with a view to being trained for the "various stations in life"—but with the definite objective of passing the Matriculation which, in those days,

[5] *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, p. 219.

opened the door to service under Government. To the more ambitious of these, the passing of the Matriculation meant an entrance to the University from where they could get into higher and more lucrative posts under Government. Hence, these classes of society came to attach an exaggerated importance to the Matriculation examination and to a proficiency in English. This demand for the Matriculation certificate was bound to be reflected in the work of secondary schools—all the more so because the bulk of secondary schools came, in the course of time, to be managed by the educationally advanced classes themselves. *Secondly,* Government itself had not taken any steps to provide vocational education in its secondary schools. In those days, the schools conducted by Government were considered to be "model" institutions and usually set the standard for private entrepreneurs to follow; and as Government schools made no provision for vocational courses, it was hardly to be wondered if private schools did not do so. *Thirdly,* most of the newer schools that came into existence did not have adequate financial resources at the start, and hence they usually confined their work to the course of liberal education leading to the Matriculation because it required the least equipment and expenditure. One need not, therefore, be surprised if the average secondary school of 1882 meant merely a place for preparing candidates for the Matriculation examination.

(b) *Neglect of the mother-tongue as a medium of instruction.*—The Despatch of 1854 had visualised secondary schools teaching through the mother-tongue, in addition to those that taught through the medium of English. While admitting the inferiority of secondary schools teaching through the mother-tongue, the Des-

patch hoped that the Education Departments would follow a policy which would gradually eliminate the differences and make both the types of institutions equally useful. Had these sentiments been steadily kept in view by later administrators, there would have grown up a system of high schools teaching through the modern Indian languages and, in course of time, even universities teaching through them could have come into existence. But unfortunately, the policy of the Education Department at this time was apparently not favourable to the cultivation of the modern languages of India; and instead of trying to *eliminate* the difference that existed between Anglo-Vernacular and Vernacular schools as the Despatch expected them to do, the Departments introduced reforms that tended to *widen* this difference.

(c) *Lack of Trained Teachers.*—The arrangements for the training of secondary teachers were far from satisfactory during this period. In the whole of India there were only two training institutions for secondary (English) school teachers—one at Madras (established in 1856) and the other at Lahore (established in 1880). The training school at Madras consisted, in 1882, of 8 graduates, 3 who had passed the first year examination in Arts, and 18 matriculates. The College at Lahore admitted 30 students of any qualification higher than that of a first year examination in Arts. There was no practising school and in spite of the difference in attainments of the students, they were all treated as one class and put through the same course. It is, therefore, easy to see that only a very small number of teachers in secondary schools could have been "trained" even in the restricted sense that the above picture of the then training institutions suggests.

8. **Primary Education.** The history of primary education in this period can be conveniently studied under the following three topics :—

(i) Events of the period, 1854-9.
(ii) The Despatch of 1859, and
(iii) Events of the period, 1859-82.

9. **Events of the Period, 1854-9.** Prior to 1854, the educational policy of Government was dominated by financial stringency and the elementary education of the masses could not have thrived so long as this situation did not alter. The Despatch of 1854, however, turned a new page in the history of primary education; for it desired the more active measures of Government to be directed towards conveying " useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life ", to the great mass of the people who were " utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts." Although this did not mean that Government assumed full responsibility for mass education, it marked a step forward and showed that Government had at last become alive to its necessity. Secondly, the Despatch directed that " the indigenous schools should, by wise encouragement, be made capable of imparting correct elementary knowledge to the great mass of the people." In this connection, the Despatch also drew the attention of the Provincial Governments to the scheme introduced by Mr. Thomason in the North-Western Province. It will, therefore, be seen that, although the Despatch of 1854 emphasized the importance of the expansion of primary education, it did not expect the Department to provide *Government* schools in large numbers for the extension of primary education. On the other hand, it expected that the *indigenous* schools would be given grants-in-

aid and *improved* under a system of Government inspection.

The events of the next five years, however, show that the instructions of the Despatch were not followed by the newly created Departments of Public Instruction. The downward filtration theory died hard and in spite of the clear directions of the Despatch of 1854, the attempts of the Departments were directed to the spread of secondary rather than of primary education; the additional funds that came in for education were largely eaten up by the heavy cost of departmental establishments[6] and the spread of English education; and the Education Departments did not take kindly to the indigenous schools which, from their point of view, were extremely inefficient institutions. Consequently, the achievements of this period in elementary education are of no importance.

10. **The Despatch of 1859.** The East India Company ceased to be a political power and the Government of India was taken over by the Crown in 1858. Consequently, it was felt necessary that the Secretary of State for India should review the educational policy of the East India Company particularly in the light of the happenings of 1857, and confirm it with such modifications as were found to be necessary. Accordingly, Lord Stanley, the then Secretary of State for India, wrote a Despatch in 1859 which confirmed all the directions given by the Despatch of 1854 except those that referred to primary education. On this issue, Lord Stanley opined that the system of grant-in-aid had failed to evoke proper response in primary educa-

[6] The Secretary of State for India observed that the authorized cost of the administration of the education departments was £53,890 in 1856-7 while the total expenditure on education in that year was £2,33,890 (para 40 of the *Despatch* of 1859).

tion and that the policy of the Education Departments should be to establish primary schools under their direct control, as a means of spreading education among the masses. These orders are so sudden and so diametrically opposed to the recommendations of the Despatch of 1854 that it is difficult either to justify or explain them in the light of Indian conditions only.

The explanation probably lies in the contemporary educational controversies in England. At that time, elementary education in England was mostly provided by denominational schools supported, to a certain extent, by Parliamentary grants. But opinion was keenly divided regarding the future of elementary education. One section held the view that voluntary effort—which meant mostly the denominational schools—was the best agency for the spread of elementary education, and that Parliament should do no more than give financial assistance to voluntary schools. This section opposed all attempts to introduce a State system of education because of the fear that, in State schools, there would be no freedom to the various sects to teach the principles of their religion. On the other hand, the opposite section held the view that the system of voluntary schools was defective; that the voluntary agencies were hiding fundamental defects under a show of activity; that the voluntary schools had not succeeded in bringing all children into schools; and that universal education could not be realised with the help of a voluntary agency alone. This section recommended the imposition of local taxes for education and the establishment of a system of public schools maintained and controlled by *ad hoc* bodies consisting of the representatives of the people. The controversy between these two sections of public opinion dominated the field of ele-

mentary education in England between the years 1846 and 1870 and was only partially closed by the Education Act of 1870.

It was inevitable that the effects of this controversy should be felt on Indian educational policy also. The contrast between the Despatches of 1854 and 1859 was probably the result of the mere accident that persons with a faith in voluntaryism were in power in 1854 while persons, in power in 1859, belonged to the other side. The orders of both these Despatches were, therefore, a result of controversies in England rather than of the experiences gained in India, or of a careful study of what was best suited to Indian conditions.

11. **Events of the Period 1859-82.** The Despatch of 1859 naturally led to some controversies in India where opinion had not yet crystallized. While some preferred to abide by the recommendations of 1854, others chose to follow the lead given by the Despatch of 1859. The conflict of opinion centred mainly round three points: the attitude to indigenous schools; the levy of local taxes; and the claims of primary education to receive a grant-in-aid from Government Revenues. It is not necessary here to go into the protracted discussions that followed, especially as no common conclusion was arrived at and as each Province was allowed to develop on its own lines. But the following narrative of the main events of the period between the Despatch of 1859 and the appointment of the Indian Education Commission in 1882 will assist materially in understanding the *raison d'etre* of the recommendations of the Commission.

(*a*) *Indigenous Schools.*—The Despatch of 1859 led to a keen dispute regarding the agency to be adopted for the spread of primary education. Some argued that the agency of the indigenous schools should be adopted

in toto but that Government may, if necessary, maintain only a few schools as model institutions. Others argued that elementary education should be spread as widely as possible through schools directly controlled by Government. There were also some who preferred a compromise between these extreme viewpoints. Ultimately, however, each Province was allowed to develop on its own lines.

For example, the Government of Bombay completely ignored the indigenous schools, while that of Bengal had hardly any school of its own. In 1881-2, there were only 73 aided indigenous schools in Bombay as against 3,954 schools conducted by the Department. In Bengal there were only 28 departmental schools as against 17,374 aided indigenous schools. Madras followed a middling policy and had 1,263 departmental schools as against 13,223 aided indigenous schools. The North-Western Province also relied mainly on the Halkabandi schools,[7] and did not make any attempts to incorporate

[7] "A system of Halkabandi or Circle schools had been devised, previously to 1854, for the special purpose of meeting the wants of the agricultural population. Under this system, several villages conveniently situated for the purpose are grouped together, and in a central situation a school is established, which is not to be more than two miles distant from any of the villages forming the circle. For the support of these schools, the consent of the landowners was to be obtained to the appropriation of a small percentage on the amount of the Government revenue, one per cent being the amount paid, of which half was to be contributed by the landowners and half by the Government. The voluntary consent of the landowners was prescribed as an indispensable condition of the establishment of the system in any locality; and at the time of the outbreak in the North-Western Province in 1857, the requisite assent had been given to the scheme in many of the districts, and the sanction of the Home Authorities had been accorded (in 1856) to the proposal of the local Government that in the re-settlement of the land revenue, the new plan should be universally introduced, and one per cent on the Government demand should be set apart in all the districts for the support of this halkabandi system." (*The Despatch* of 1859.)

the indigenous schools. In 1881-2, an enquiry revealed that there were as many as 6,172 unaided indigenous schools in the Province with 61,634 pupils; but the number of aided primary schools in that year was only 243 with 15,019 pupils. Coorg also followed Bombay and supplied primary schools through the direct agency of the Department without making any effort to stimulate private enterprise or to incorporate the indigenous schools in its educational organization. The Punjab followed the model of the North-Western Province. In 1881-2, the number of aided primary schools in the Punjab was only 278 with 14,616 pupils whereas an enquiry showed that there were as many as 13,109 indigenous schools in the Province with 1,35,384 pupils. The Central Provinces followed Bengal and actively encouraged indigenous schools. But there was no strong system of indigenous schools in the Province and hence it had to open a large number of departmental schools. In 1881-2, the Province had 894 departmental schools with 55,745 pupils, and 368 aided schools with 18,786 pupils. Berar followed the same policy as in Bombay and generally relied on departmental schools; but it made greater attempts to encourage indigenous schools. In 1881-2, it had 467 departmental schools with 27,844 pupils, 209 aided schools with 4,212 pupils and 207 unaided schools with 2,672 pupils. Assam was a part of Bengal till 1874 and hence its primary system was also built up on the basis of indigenous schools. In 1881-2, there were in Assam only 7 Government schools with 187 pupils, 1,256 aided schools with 35,643 pupils and 497 unaided schools with 9,733 pupils.

(b) *Finance.*—We now turn to the next point of conflict, viz., the ways and means by which primary education was financed.

The Despatch of 1859 had suggested that local rates should be imposed to meet the cost of mass education. This idea was slightly modified by the Government of India which was of opinion that local rates should be imposed, not only for education, but for all objects of local utility. Accordingly, local rates were generally imposed in all provinces to meet several objects of local expenditure including education. In rural areas, the land revenue supplied a very good basis for the assessment of local rates, and consequently, the local taxes in rural areas took the form of a cess on land revenue, except in Bengal where the existence of the permanent land revenue settlement introduced by Lord Cornwallis presented an obstacle. In town areas, the usual form of a local rate was a tax on houses and this was imposed and collected through municipalities which came to be established in all provinces during this period. The cess on land revenue was generally intended for roads and education, while the municipalities were entrusted with several duties which included even payment for the police force.

The work of imposing local rates for education was carried out in all provinces except Bengal in the decade 1861-71. Reference has already been made to the 1 per cent cess on land revenue collected in the North-Western Province for educational purposes.[5] The Punjab was the next to follow this example. It levied a cess of 1 per cent on land revenue as early as 1856-7, although at that time it was not levied in all places. The levy of the cess was made general in 1864. The Province of Oudh imposed a cess of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on land revenue in 1861 and earmarked 1 per cent out of it for education. The Central Provinces followed the example of

[5] *Vide* p. 124, Footnote 7.

the North-Western Province and levied the cess at 1 per cent in 1862-3. Two years later, the cess was raised to two per cent because the amount of the one per cent cess was not adequate to meet the requirements. Bombay introduced a cess of one anna on every rupee of land revenue ($6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent) in 1863 and generalised its levy by the Bombay Local Funds Act of 1869. One-third of the cess was earmarked for education. A similar local fund cess was imposed in Sind in 1865. But only half of it was given to all local purposes and the other half was retained by Government as an offset against expenditure incurred by it for local purposes such as canal clearances, public buildings, etc. Berar imposed a local fund cess of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and earmarked one-fifth of it for education. Madras passed a Local Funds Act in 1871 and imposed a cess at a rate not exceeding one anna on land revenue but did not prescribe any definite proportion of it to be paid to education. A local cess was introduced in Assam in 1879, but in Bengal no cess on land revenue was imposed even so late as 1882.

The levy of these local fund cesses was very warmly welcomed by the Education Departments. The demand for educational institutions was growing rapidly and the expenditure on education was mounting up. In those days, all additional expenditure had to be sanctioned by the Government of India, and it was, therefore, extremely difficult to obtain additional allotments for education. At this juncture the levy of the local fund cess, therefore, came as a great windfall.

Although the levy of the local fund cess on land revenue was an effective measure in rural areas, the Municipal Acts did not give equally happy results, the main cause of the failure being the absence of any statutory provi-

sion to the effect that a prescribed percentage of the total income of municipalities must be spent upon education. The law *permitted* the municipalities to incur expenditure on education but did not *oblige* them to do so. Consequently, the municipalities did not make as great contributions to education as they ought to have done. On the other hand, most of the new schools that were being established came to be located in *towns* because it was to these places that public awakening was then confined. As the municipalities did not make adequate contributions to education, the money to support these schools mostly came, not from the taxes raised in the area of the towns, but from local cesses raised in villages.

Several intricate problems were connected with the levy and the administration of these local funds for education—both District and Municipal. It will be beyond the scope of this book to go into them in detail, but we may mention the following important questions which were matters of dispute then and were settled only by the Indian Education Commission :—

(i) It was suggested that the local fund cess should not be a part of the Provincial Budget but that it should be constituted into a *fund* which would not lapse at the end of the budgetary year but would be always available for expenditure on primary education ;

(ii) It was suggested that the accounts of the local fund cess in municipal areas should be kept distinct from those of rural areas ;

(iii) It was proposed that the local fund cess should be used mainly for primary education and not for secondary or collegiate education ;

(iv) It was held to be the duty of Government to

give grant-in-aid to the local fund cess because the cess was in the nature of a voluntary contribution from the people rather than a tax imposed by Government.

(c) *Expansion.*—Expansion of primary education depends on two factors—the extent of the funds provided, and the cost of the agency employed. The foregoing survey of events has shown that the educational systems of the several provinces of India varied considerably in both the matters, and consequently expansion of primary education also showed great variations. In Bengal, for instance, the local fund cess had not been imposed: but a large Government grant coupled with the adoption of the agency of indigenous schools helped the Province to achieve considerable expansion. In Bombay, on the other hand, the funds available for education were the largest; but owing to an almost exclusive reliance on the costlier agency of departmental schools, the expansion was not so great as it might otherwise have been. In the Punjab, the agency of departmental schools was adopted although the funds were limited. Consequently, the expansion of primary education was much less than in either of the two provinces mentioned above. The following extract from the report of the Indian Education Commission gives a good picture of the situation. The extreme educational backwardness of India at that time will be realised all the more if it is remembered that the percentages given in the extract are calculated on the 26,43,978 pupils in *all* educational institutions and not on the 20,61,541 pupils in primary schools only:—

"In the area to which our enquiries are confined, containing 859,844 square miles, with 552,379 villages and towns inhabited by 202,604,080 persons, there were only 112,218

schools and 2,643,978 Indian children or adults at school in 1881-82. The proportion of pupils both male and female, to the population of school-going age, calculated in accordance with the principles described in Chapter II,[9] is shown below :—

Province	Percentage of males	Percentage of females
Madras	17.78	1.48
Bombay { British Districts ...	24.96	1.85
Bombay { Native States ...	17.85	0.93
Bengal	20.82	0 80
North-Western Province & Oudh ..	8.25	0.28
Punjab	12.11	0.72
Central Provinces	10.49	0.44
Assam	14.61	0.46
Coorg	22.44	2.86
Hyderabad Assigned Districts ..	17.10	0 22
Total for India ...	16.28	0.84

These figures exclude the attendance in schools for Europeans and Eurasians, and in unattached institutions for professional or technical education, but they include that in all other institutions known to the Department in 1881-82 The most advanced Province of India still fails to reach 75 per cent of its male children of the school-going age and 98 per cent of its female children of that age ; while in one province, with its total population of both sexes exceeding 44 millions, nearly 32 boys in every hundred are growing up in ignorance, and female education has hardly begun to make any progress. The census returns are equally conclusive in showing the magnitude of the work that remains before education in India can be placed upon a national basis. Taking the male population of Ajmer and of the nine provinces with which our Report deals, which exceeds 103 millions, about 94¾ millions are wholly illiterate ; while of the female population, numbering about 99,700,000 no less than 99½ millions are returned as unable to read or write." [10]

[9] At 15 per cent of the population (vide *Report*, p. 28).
[10] *Report*, p. 584.

12. **Relations between the Education Departments and the Missionaries.** The Despatch of 1854 had aroused hopes of a great era of expansion in which Government would eventually withdraw from direct educational enterprise and the missionary schools, supported by liberal grant-in-aid, would cover the whole country. But a sad disillusionment followed within a few years. The events of 1857 led to an agitation in England that missionary activities should not be encouraged and that a policy of strict religious neutrality should be adopted in India. The missionaries, on their part, made great attempts to push forward their claims. But political considerations prevailed and the missionaries lost the battle. The Queen's Proclamation of 1858 adopted a policy of strict neutrality in religious matters and gave an assurance to the people that Government had neither the right nor the desire to impose Christianity upon India.

Between 1858 and 1882, therefore, the policy of the Department was marked by two important features, viz., a rapid multiplication of Government educational institutions and an unsympathetic attitude to mission schools. The former was due to (i) the fear of possible political repercussions of Government encouragement to missionary enterprise, (ii) the absence of private Indian enterprise on a sufficiently large scale, and (iii) the desire of officials of the Department, on grounds of efficiency, to conduct schools and colleges under their direct supervision.

As regards the unsympathetic attitude towards missions, it is interesting to note that the officials of those days,—many of whom were agnostics or lacking in missionary zeal,—made it difficult for the missions to work either within the system or without it. For instance,

here are some of the difficulties which missionaries experienced while working *within* the official system :—

> "We cannot, however, pass over the fact that there were great disadvantages bound up with the new school system. Whereas in the first few years the Government preferred to appoint missionaries as inspectors of schools, yet later on, and especially after the great Mutiny of 1857, it turned its back almost entirely upon them, no doubt out of exaggerated religious neutrality, and chose with predilection Englishmen indifferent to religion or non-Christian Brahmans for these positions. As the yearly grants—the hinge on which the new system turned—depended on the result of the annual visitations and examinations conducted by these gentlemen, it came about that mission schools, for instance, were often in a state of very undesirable dependence on the goodwill or the good temper of officials who were antagonistic to missions. How much caprice and party spirit it was possible to exercise in the conducting of examinations, the inspection of school buildings, and the criticism of the school staff! How much vexation and worry were thereby set in motion! . . . It was also a direct consequence of the uniformity aimed at by Government —a consequence that also worked remarkably for the convenience of the inspectors!—that the text-books recommended by those in authority were introduced practically everywhere ; these text-books were for the most part neutral as to religion even, if not directly antagonistic to Christianity, and their introduction simply meant that the books compiled at great pains by the missionaries were crowded out of existence." [11]

Similarly, the Department often followed a policy of direct competition which made it impossible for the missionaries to work *independently* of the official educational system.

It was these difficulties that made the missionaries start an agitation, both in England and in India, to the effect that the educational administration of India was not carried on in accordance with the Despatch of 1854 which had recommended the closure or transfer of

[11] Richter : *A History of Missions in India*, p. 308.

Government schools, that the officials were competing with missionary enterprise to such an extent that the latter was threatened with extinction, and that the secular educational institutions of Government were 'Godless' and irreligious. Government, therefore, thought it desirable to hold a comprehensive review of educational conditions in India, partly because no such review had been held since 1854 and partly to satisfy the Missionaries. Accordingly, Government, in 1882, appointed the Indian Education Commission with which we shall deal in the next chapter.

Chapter VII

THE HUNTER COMMISSION AND AFTER

(1882-1902)

The Indian Education Commission, known popularly as the Hunter Commission after its president, Sir W W Hunter, was appointed by the Government of India in 1882 In order to assist the Commission in its work, a Provincial Committee was constituted for each Province, which prepared a detailed report on the educational conditions in the Province and submitted it to the Commission The Commission itself toured all over India, studied conditions at first hand, and recorded evidence After a monumental labour of about two years, it submitted its report which, along with the reports of the Provincial Committees, forms an extremely important document in the history of Indian Education

2 **Problems before the Commission** The Government Resolutions appointing the Commission excluded Indian Universities from its purview and gave emphasis to the following problems, viz —

(1) the role of Government institutions in the educational system of India,

(2) the relation of Government to private enterprise in education,

(3) the place of missionary effort in Indian education, and

(4) the relation of the State to the different stages of education and the means by which primary education, regarded as the most important duty of the State, can be extended and improved.

In addition to the problems emphasized by Government, the Commission made some recommendations regarding :—

(5) Collegiate Education ; and

(6) Secondary schools.

It will, therefore, be convenient to study the recommendations of the Commission under the six heads mentioned above though not in the same order.

3. **Recommendations of the Indian Education Commission regarding withdrawal of Government from Direct Educational Enterprise.** On this issue, the Commission had to decide whether Government educational institutions were to go on multiplying as they had done in the last twenty-five years, or whether their expansion was to be curtailed in order that private enterprise might have "room to expand and liberal grant-in-aid to feed upon." For several reasons of great weight, the Commission recommended the latter alternative. In the first place, Government had frankly told the Commission that the funds at its disposal were so limited that if satisfactory progress was to be made at all, "every available private agency must be called into action to relieve and assist the public funds in connection with every branch of public Instruction." A system of grant-in-aid became, therefore, an absolute necessity, "if the educational *means* of the country were to be made co-extensive with educational *wants*". Secondly, the paucity of funds made it necessary to make every pie go the longest way and it was urged that, if Government were to transfer its institutions (which were necessarily costlier) to private bodies, it would effect a considerable saving which might be advantageously used for aiding more educational institutions. For these and other reasons, *the Commission recommended that Govern-*

ment should not only curtail the expansion of its institutions, but should also withdraw from direct enterprise as soon as a suitable agency, public or private, became available to carry on the work.

In so far as primary education was concerned, the Commission recommended the *complete* withdrawal of Government from direct enterprise and the transfer of all primary schools to the control of local self-government bodies such as Municipalities and Local Boards which were then being reorganised. With regard to secondary schools and colleges, the Commission was of opinion that these schools should be transferred to private agencies only and *not* to the local bodies except, perhaps, as a *transitional measure.* In order to guide the Education Departments in the transfer of such institutions to private bodies, the Commission suggested the following principles, amongst others :

(*a*) that, in order to evoke and stimulate local co-operation in the transfer to private management of Government institutions for collegiate or secondary instruction, aid at specially liberal rates be offered for a term of years, wherever necessary, to any local body willing to undertake the management of any such institution under adequate guarantees of permanence and efficiency.

(*b*) that, in the event of any Government school or college being transferred to local management, provision be also made for the legal transfer to the new managers of all educational endowments, buildings and other property belonging to such institutions in the hands of Government.

(*c*) that, in the event of any Government school or college being transferred to local management, the incumbents of offices under Government be secured in the enjoyment of all their existing rights and privileges.

(*d*) that the fact that any school raises more than 60 per cent of its entire expenditure from fees be taken as affording a presumption that the transfer of such school to local management can be safely effected.

4 **Recommendations of the Commission regarding the Development of a System of grant-in-aid** As a corollary to the above recommendations, the Commission laid great emphasis on the *encouragement of private effort* Its recommendations on this subject (these referred to all types of educational institutions) were based on undisputed principles of a successful system of grant-in-aid, viz —

(*a*) the recognition of private institutions as equal to Government institutions in matters of status and privileges,

(*b*) the provision of liberal financial assistance,

(*c*) abstinence from interference with internal management, and

(*d*) appointment of officials who can command the confidence of private managements

Incidentally the Commission made a careful study of the various systems of grant-in-aid to educational institutions that were then in existence, viz, the Salary-Grant system which prevailed in Madras the Fixed-Period system which prevailed in the whole of Northern and Central India, and the system of Payment by Results which prevailed in the Bombay Presidency After discussing the merits and demerits of the different systems, the Commission came to the conclusion that no system would suit the needs of the educational institutions in *all* the provinces of India and that it would therefore, be desirable to leave each province free to adopt such system or such combination of them as would best suit its local conditions With this end in view, it recommended that—

(*a*) with the object of rendering assistance to institutions in the form best suited to the circumstances of each province, and thus calling forth the largest amount

of local co-operation, the grant-in-aid rules be revised by the Local Governments in concert with the managers ; and

(*b*) that in this revision, the rules be so defined as to avoid any ambiguity regarding the amount and duration of the aid to which an institution may be entitled, and the conditions of grants for buildings, apparatus and furniture.

5. **Recommendations of the Commission regarding Missionary Enterprise.** Equally important were the recommendations of the Commission regarding the place of missionary enterprise in Indian education. It must be remembered that the recommendation of the Commission, regarding the transfer of primary schools to Local Boards and Municipalities did not affect the missionaries, firstly because the primary schools conducted by them were few, and secondly because the Commission had proposed adequate safeguards to private primary schools against any capricious administration of the grant-in-aid rules by the Local Bodies. But the withdrawal of Government from direct management of secondary and collegiate education became a subject of great controversy. In this connection, one cannot do better than quote the words of the Commission itself :

> "The question how far the withdrawal of the State from the direct provision of means of higher education would throw such education into the hands of missionary bodies, held the foremost place in all the evidence bearing on the topic of withdrawal. Prominent officers of the Department and many native gentlemen argued strongly against any withdrawal, on the ground that it must practically hand over higher education to missionaries. As a rule the missionary witnesses themselves, while generally advocating the policy of withdrawal, expressed quite the contrary opinion, stating that they neither expected nor desired that any power over education given up by the Department should pass into their hands. In a country

with such varied needs as India, we should deprecate any measure which would throw excessive influence over higher education into the hands of any single agency; and particularly into the hands of an agency which, however benevolent and earnest, cannot on all points be in sympathy with the mass of the community. . . . At the same time we think it well to put on record our unanimous opinion that withdrawal of direct departmental agency should not take place in favour of missionary bodies and that departmental institutions of the higher order should not be transferred to missionary management. . . . In the point of view in which we are at present considering the question, missionary institutions hold an intermediate position between those managed by the Department and those managed by the people for themselves. On the one hand, they are the outcome of private effort, but on the other they are not strictly local; nor will encouragement to them directly foster those habits of self-reliance and combination for purposes of public utility which it is one of the objects of the grant-in-aid system to develop. Missionary institutions may serve the great purpose of showing what private effort can accomplish, and thus of inducing other agencies to come forward. They should be allowed to follow their own independent course under the general supervision of the State; and so long as there are room and need for every variety of agency in the field of education, they should receive all the encouragement and aid that private effort can legitimately claim. But it must not be forgotten that the private effort which it is mainly intended to evoke is that of the people themselves. Natives of India must constitute the most important of all agencies if educational means are ever to be co-extensive with educational wants. Other agencies may hold a prominent place for a time, and may always find some place in a system in which great variety is on every ground desirable. But the higher education of the country will not be on a basis that can be regarded as permanent or safe, nor will it receive the wide extension that is needed, until the larger part of it at all events is provided and managed by the people of the country for themselves." [1]

[1] *Report*, pp. 452-4.

This recommendation is of very great importance because it decided, once for all, that missionary activities can only have a subordinate place in a national system of education in India. It was in this recommendation that the missionaries "caught a tartar" as the late Mr. M. R. Paranjpe put it. The Despatch of 1854 had led the missionaries to believe that they would ultimately provide for all the educational needs of the country. These hopes were shattered by this recommendation of the Indian Education Commission.

Recommendation of the Commission regarding Religious Instruction in Schools and Colleges. The question of religious instruction in schools and colleges was the second subject of controversy between the missionaries and the officials of the Department. On this issue, also, the verdict of the Commission went largely against the missionaries. As may be easily anticipated, the missionaries emphasized the dangers of a purely secular education which destroyed the old faith of the Indian pupils without substituting a new one in its place. They insisted, therefore, on giving compulsory religious education—which meant education in Christian religion only—in all their schools and even advocated that education in Christian religion should be given in all Government educational institutions. The officials of the Educational Department, on the other hand, advocated a policy of strict religious neutrality, the imparting of a purely secular education in Government institutions, and the desirability of making religious instruction *optional* on the part of the guardians of the pupils in *all* aided schools. This view was shared by Indian thinkers also and it was ably put forward by Mr. Telang in his Minute of dissent to the report of the Commission. The question was hotly discussed in the Commission and

finally, as a compromise, the Commission recommended that "*the system of grants-in-aid be based, as hitherto, in accordance with paragraph 53 of the Despatch of 1854, on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the institution assisted : provided that when the only institution of any particular grade existing in any town or village is an institution in which religious instruction forms a part of the ordinary course, it shall be open to parents to withdraw their children from attendance at such instruction without forfeiting any of the benefits of the institution.*" [2]

6. **Recommendations of the Commission regarding Collegiate Education.** The Government Resolution appointing the Commission observed that it would "not be necessary for the Commission to enquire into the general working of the Indian Universities, which are controlled by corporations comprising representatives of all classes interested in collegiate education" and that a fair estimate of the results of their operation could always be formed independently of any special inquiry. The Commission was also precluded from studying professional colleges because that "would expand unduly" the task before it. The Commission could not, therefore, study the problem of collegiate education in a comprehensive manner and hence its recommendations on this subject are not so important as those on secondary or primary education.

The following are the main recommendations of the Commission on the subject of collegiate education :—

(a) that the rate of aid to each college be determined by the strength of the staff, the expenditure on its maintenance, the efficiency of the institution and the wants of the locality ;

[2] *Report*, p. 449.

(b) that provision be made for special grants to aided colleges, whenever necessary, for the supply and renewal of buildings, furniture, libraries and other apparatus of instruction ;

(c) that Indian graduates, especially those who have also graduated in European universities, be more largely employed than they have hitherto been in the colleges maintained by Government ;

(d) that in order to encourage diversity of culture, both on the literary and on the physical side, it is desirable, in all the larger colleges, Government and aided, to make provision for more than one of the alternative courses laid down by the universities ;

(e) that an attempt be made to prepare a moral text-book, based upon the fundamental principles of material religion, such as may be taught in all Government and non-Government colleges ;

(f) that the Principal or one of the Professors in each Government and aided college deliver to each of the college classes in every session a series of lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen ;

(g) that while it is desirable to affirm the principle that fees at the highest rate consistent with the undiminished spread of education should be levied in every college aided by the state, no aided college should be required to levy fees at the same rate as that charged in a neighbouring Government college ;

(h) that no college, Government or aided, be allowed to receive more than a certain proportion of free students ; the proportion to be fixed by the Department, in communication, where necessary, with the managers ;

(i) that the Local Governments be invited to consider the advisability of establishing scholarships for distinguished graduates to enable them to proceed to Europe for the purpose of practically studying some branch of mechanical industry.

The first recommendation marked the discontinuance of the system of payment by results in so far as grants to colleges were concerned. This system of grant-in-aid was applicable to colleges in the Province of Bombay

only and with the acceptance of this recommendation by the Bombay Government the system disappeared from the collegiate stage by about 1886-7. On the other recommendations of the Commission, the following passage from the report of the Calcutta University Commission forms a good commentary :—

> "But they would not discuss this question (i.e., of collegiate education) fully, or make recommendations on it, because this would have been to invade the province of the university. They could not discuss the relation of collegiate courses of study to the practical needs of the students and of the community. They could not discuss the value or appropriateness of these courses of study in themselves. They collected a great mass of statistics about colleges and their work. They spoke with a lukewarm enthusiasm about the effects of the system upon the students. They made certain proposals designed to remedy the defects which they perceived; they urged, for example, that a 'moral text-book' should be compiled, and that the principal or one of the professors in every college should deliver to every class a course of lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen. They commended the benefits of properly organised residential facilities, but made no suggestions for their expansion. But although they fixed their hopes upon the 'system of instruction becoming more thorough and more scientific', they had no measures to recommend whereby it could be made so; for that would have been to trench upon the sphere of the university."[3]

7. **Recommendations of the Commission regarding Secondary Education.** Let us now turn to the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission regarding Secondary Education. Here, it had to deal with two main problems; firstly, the Commission had to recommend ways and means for a rapid expansion of secondary education. Although secondary schools had increased considerably between 1854 and 1882, it was clear that the *rate* of expansion was not fast enough

[3] *Report*, Vol. I, p. 59.

from the point of view of the nation. Secondly, the Commission had to suggest measures for the removal of defects that had crept into the system of secondary education.

On the first issue, the Commission held the view that Government ought to withdraw from the field of direct management of secondary schools and encourage private enterprise as largely as possible. It was of opinion that the relation of the State to primary was different from that to secondary education. It was held to be a duty of the State to provide primary education, recourse being had to statutory compulsion if the people showed unwillingness to be educated. The State should provide primary schools not only in places where the people asked for them, but in all places where they were considered necessary. Secondary education, on the other hand, did not have such a paramount claim upon the State. Government was not under an obligation to provide it directly, although it was bound to encourage all such efforts as the people would make to educate themselves. The Commission, therefore, recommended that secondary education should, as far as possible, be provided on the grant-in-aid basis and Government should withdraw as early as possible, from the direct management of secondary schools.

This fundamental recommendation—entirely in keeping with the Despatch of 1854—raised the following issues :—

(*a*) What was to be the future of secondary schools already conducted by Government ?

(*b*) What was to be done in places where the people were not sufficiently advanced or wealthy to maintain secondary schools on the grant-in-aid basis ?

With regard to the first question, the Commission recommended that the goal of Government effort should be to transfer gradually all Government secondary schools to a suitable non-Government agency, provided that adequate guarantees of permanence and efficiency were forthcoming. With regard to the second question, the Commission held that the above recommendation did not prohibit the "establishment by Government, in exceptional cases, of secondary schools in places where they may be required in the interests of the people, and where the people themselves may not be advanced or wealthy enough to establish such schools for themselves with a grant-in-aid." [1] But the Commission emphasised that the duty of Government was restricted only to the establishment of one efficient high school in each district and that Government should thereafter leave the further expansion of secondary education in that district to the private effort of the people themselves.

Secondly, the Commission emphasised the fact that a rapid expansion of secondary education would be possible only if every encouragement is given to private enterprise. Its recommendations on this subject have already been mentioned in paragraph 4 above and hence it is not necessary to repeat them here. It need only be stated that the recommendations being particularly suitable to secondary schools, the expansion of secondary education in the two decades following the Indian Education Commission was extraordinarily rapid.

We shall now turn to those recommendations of the Commission which were directed towards the removal of the defects in secondary education. In particular, we

[1] *Report*, p. 254.

shall note the observations of the Commission on the following three topics :—

(*a*) the introduction of vocational courses in secondary schools,

(*b*) the training of teachers, and

(*c*) the medium of instruction.

On the first issue the Commission strongly recommended the introduction of *vocational courses* at the upper secondary stage with a view to preparing pupils for various walks of life. The Commission was fully aware that the proposed new courses would not become popular unless some methods of encouraging them were also devised. Various suggestions were put forward before the Commission. Some suggested the recognition of these courses by the university ; others held that the Department could " give efficient help towards the establishment of such schools, by declaring them eligible for grants-in-aid, by instituting examinations to test the progress of pupils and giving certificates to those who pass " ; still others suggested that success in these courses should be regarded as a preferential qualification for employment under Government. The Commission, however, was not prepared to accept any of these suggestions as the real solution of the problem. It was of opinion that a practical or commercial education of a high standard ought to have a real and independent market value, irrespective of any artificial support, and that it should stand or fall according to the view which employers of educated labour throughout the country may take of the capacity of youths trained in these courses. But this idealistic attitude had to be given up for two practical considerations. Firstly, opportunities of service under the employers of educated labour mentioned by the Commission were neither so

extensive nor so paying as those under Government; and secondly, the strong sentiment for Government service created in the intelligentsia during the previous fifty years had to be taken note of. The Commission, therefore, recommended that in the upper classes of high schools there should be two divisions—one leading to the Entrance examination of the Universities, the other, of a more practical character, intended to fit youths for commercial or non-literary pursuits. The examinations that came to be established as a result of this recommendation were known as the School Leaving Certificate Examinations.

Training of Teachers. Although the necessity and importance of training teachers in secondary schools is now accepted on all hands, it may be of interest to our readers to know that the question was still the subject of a controversy in England when the Indian Education Commission was appointed. One section of educationists advocated the practice of French normal schools which aimed "at giving the pupil thorough instruction much more in the subjects which he is intended to teach, and in those allied subjects which will enable him to teach them with greater fullness, insight and power, than in the methods of teaching them and the professional art of the teacher." The other section recommended the adoption of the German practice wherein great emphasis was laid on the study of the principles and practice of teaching.

It was but natural that the echoes of this controversy should be heard in India, and that Indian educationists also should be divided in their opinion on the subject. One section held that there was no need to train secondary teachers. It was argued that "the best way to teach a man to teach arithmetic, is to teach him arith-

metic; and if he knows arithmetic, and you want to additionally qualify him to teach arithmetic, the most efficient way of expenditure of your extra tuition upon him will be to teach him algebra, rather than to talk to him about teaching arithmetic;" that an untrained teacher who has enthusiasm "in his work will in many cases acquire in the course of it, either by natural aptitude or by appropriate reading, an insight into the methods which lead to success in teaching;" that a year or two of service under an experienced headmaster would be more advantageous than study at a normal school; and that such knowledge of the theory and practice of teaching as was imparted in normal schools might be more easily had from books. This last observation was incidentally strengthened by the fact that, at that time, the normal schools for secondary teachers in India generally had no practising schools attached to them. The other section argued that without a grounding in the general principles of teaching, no amount of the knowledge of the subject alone can help a teacher of secondary schools to "engage and keep the attention of a whole class, to correct and check the wandering or listless scholar, to put together in their due order the materials of a lesson, and to select those illustrations which give life to instruction and arouse the interest of the pupil;" that those who argue that "a young man who has sat under good professors for four years must have learned by force of example all that a normal school can teach as to the methods of instruction and class management" seemed to forget "that there is, or ought to be, a wide difference in the methods adopted in a class of school-boys and those pursued with young men at college"; and that normal training was a definite

asset to every teacher although it could not be a substitute for natural aptitude or enthusiasm.

In such an unsettled state of affairs, it is not surprising that the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission were too tame to be really progressive. It recommended—

(i) that an examination in the principles and practice of teaching be instituted, success in which should thereafter be a condition of permanent employment as a teacher in any secondary school, Government or aided ;

(ii) that graduates wishing to attend a course of instruction in a Normal school in the principles and practice of teaching be required to undergo a shorter course of training than others.

Medium of Instruction. Even more unhappy were the observations of the Commission regarding the problem of medium of instruction. It said nothing regarding the use of the mother-tongue as the medium at the high school stage, and evidently favoured the use of English. The only problem that it considered was that of the medium of instruction at the *middle school stage*, and even here, it came to no definite conclusion, but merely stated that this was a question, in the decision of which, much must depend on local circumstances and that the managers of schools should be left with the freest scope to deal with it.

8. **Recommendations of the Commission regarding Primary Education.** The subject of primary education figures prominently in the report of the Indian Education Commission and some of its most important recommendations refer to the spread of elementary education among the people. They can be conveniently divided under the following five heads :—

(*a*) policy;
(*b*) legislation and administration;
(*c*) encouragement of indigenous schools;
(*d*) school administration; and
(*e*) finance.

Policy. Regarding the policy of Government towards primary education, the Commission recommended:—

(*a*) that primary education be regarded as the instruction of the masses through the vernacular in such subjects as will fit them for their position in life, and be not necessarily regarded as a portion of instruction leading up to the university;

(*b*) that while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the State, it is desirable, in the present circumstances of the country, to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension, and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed in a still larger measure than heretofore;

(*c*) that the principle laid down in Lord Hardinge's Resolution dated 11th October, 1844, be reaffirmed, i.e., that in selecting persons to fill the lowest offices under Government preference be always given to candidates who can read and write;

(*d*) that primary education be extended in backward districts, especially in those inhabited mainly by aboriginal races, by the instrumentality of the Department pending the creation of school-boards or by specially liberal grants-in-aid to those who are willing to set up and maintain schools.

Legislation and Administration. Following the method adopted in England where, under the Education Acts of 1870 and 1876, the whole country was divided into a large number of school-districts for each of which a local committee with powers to levy taxes, to provide schools, and to compel attendance of children of a given age, had been established, the Commission recommended that the control of primary education should be made over to District and Municipal Boards. It recommended

that necessary legislation should be passed making the local bodies responsible for adequate provision of primary education and that the powers and duties of Government officers and the local bodies in respect of primary education should be clearly defined.

Encouragement of Indigenous Schools. On the subject of indigenous schools, the Commission was of opinion that these schools deserved encouragement and incorporation in the official system of education. It observed :—

> "Admitting the comparative inferiority of indigenous institutions, we consider that efforts should now be made to encourage them. They have survived a severe competition, and have thus proved that they possess both vitality and popularity. Numerous examples furnished by the history of education in Madras, as well as in Bengal, prove the possibility of adapting the indigenous system to modern requirements, and while the cess schools of Bombay will supply a valuable model, the indigenous schools, if recognised and assisted as we shall presently propose, may be expected to improve their method and fill a useful position in the State system of national education." [5]

The Commission held the view that the District and Municipal Boards consisting of Indians would be more sympathetic to the indigenous schools than the Education Department, and recommended that the work of assisting indigenous schools should be assigned to them. This was a move in the right direction; but it was counter-balanced by the recommendation of the Commission that a system of Payment by Results should be adopted in dealing with indigenous schools. This was not a happy recommendation. A better system would have been that of 'capitation grants'—a system that has always led to quick expansion and is invaluable when

[5] *Report*, p. 68.

the main objective of the policy is a rapid advance to universal education. But the Commission could not see its way to adopt it in India. We have already seen that the Commission recommended that the system of payment by results should be abandoned in so far as *collegiate education* was concerned. We have also seen that the Commission did not advise either the complete acceptance or the complete rejection of the system in so far as grants to *secondary schools* were concerned. But the Commission was definitely of the opinion that the system of payment by results was the best method of assisting *indigenous schools* and recommended its universal adoption. This unhappy decision led to the domination of the system in all the provincial rules of grant-in-aid to primary schools till a new lead was given by Lord Curzon in the early years of this century.

Lastly, the Commission suggested that an attempt should be made to improve the teaching in indigenous schools, gradually and steadily, and with this end in view, made the following recommendations :—

(*a*) that a steady and gradual improvement of indigenous schools be aimed at, with as little immediate interference with their personnel or curriculum as possible ;

(*b*) that special encouragement be afforded to indigenous schoolmasters to undergo training, and to bring their relatives and probable successors under regular training ;

(*c*) that the standards of examination be arranged to suit each province, with the view of preserving all that is valued by the people in the indigenous system, and of encouraging by special grants the gradual introduction of useful subjects of instruction.

School Administration. On the subject of the internal management of primary schools, the Commission recommended that there should be no attempt to achieve uniformity of standards in all the Provinces ; that the

instruction in primary schools should be adapted to the environment and should be simplified wherever possible; that practical subjects, such as Indian methods of arithmetic and accounts should be introduced; that managers should be free to choose the text books for their schools; that the utmost elasticity should be permitted regarding hours of the day and the seasons of the year during which the schools are to remain open; that instruction should be through the mother-tongue of the children and that primary schools should be inspected *in situ*.

Finance. On the most important subject of Finance the Commission made several recommendations which finally closed the controversies of the earlier period. For instance, the Commission recommended that a specific *fund* should be created for primary education; that the accounts of the primary education fund in municipal areas should be separated from those for the rural areas in order to avoid the expenditure in municipal areas of money meant for the villages. It also laid down that the local funds should be utilised *mainly* for primary education and only incidentally—if at all—for secondary and collegiate education. Finally, it observed that it was the duty of Government to assist the local funds by a suitable system of grant-in-aid. But the Commission, unfortunately, refused to make concrete recommendations regarding the extent of such grant-in-aid, and merely observed that the local funds had "a large claim on provincial revenues".

The vagueness of the last recommendation was justified by the Commission on two grounds: *firstly*, it was argued that conditions varied so greatly from province to province that it was impossible to lay down any hard and fast rule. For instance, Government grant

to primary education in Bengal, where no cess had been imposed, must naturally be assessed on different principles from the grant in Bombay where a very large revenue could be obtained by the local cesses. *Secondly*, the Commission thought that it was not called upon to consider the financial aspects of its proposals. It said :—

> "We do not consider that we are called upon to suggest measures for increasing the ways and means of education. We have stated the opinions of witnesses in regard to municipal obligations, and to the treatment of education at the hands of local boards. We have also explained the responsibilities and powers conferred on local governments under the scheme of decentralization as now developed. The tables given in this chapter will show that various funds contribute more liberally in some provinces than in others to the cost of education, and the liberality of one part of India may afford an example to local governments or to local boards elsewhere. We believe that still greater efforts are generally demanded." [6]

Nevertheless, it is possible to understand the general trend of the opinion of the Commission by a careful analysis of Chapters IV and XII of its Report. It may be stated briefly as under :—

(*a*) the main responsibility for the spread of primary education rests upon the local funds and the provincial Government plays only a subordinate role by giving suitable grant-in-aid to local funds ;

(*b*) local funds, even when raised by legislative sanction, are really equivalent to funds raised by the people themselves and are, therefore, entitled to claim a grant-in-aid from Government ;

(*c*) the levy of the local funds does not diminish, but rather increases, the obligation of the State to help those who are least able to help themselves and yet come forward to supply local resources for their education ;

[6] *Report*, pp. 583-4.

(*d*) the ideal to be kept in view by the provincial governments in aiding local funds is that Government grant to local funds should be at the rate of half the local assets or one-third of the total expenditure.

A little calculation will show the utter inadequacy of the above proposals of the Commission. The population of British India was then about 2,000 lakhs. At 15 per cent the number of children of school-going age would be 300 lakhs. At that time the cost per pupil in a departmental school was Rs. 4-6-5 of which Government bore Rs. 0-15-4, Local Funds bore Rs. 2-9-11 and Municipal Funds bore Rs. 0-4-6, while the cost in an aided school was Rs. 3-7-1 of which Government and Local Funds bore Rs. 1-2-0. Even assuming that all children would be educated in aided schools only, the total cost to Government and Local Funds on account of universal education would have been about Rs. 337 lakhs. The total expenditure on primary education in 1882 was Rs. 16.77 lakhs from Provincial Revenues and Rs. 24.88 lakhs from Local Funds. Under the proposals of the Commission, the increase in expenditure on primary education from Government Funds would have been more than 500 per cent—from Rs. 17 lakhs to Rs. 112 lakhs, and that in the expenditure from Local Funds would have been about 800 per cent—from Rs. 25 lakhs to Rs. 224 lakhs. Obviously the question was of immense importance and the ways and means of raising these huge sums—from the standpoint of that period—ought to have received a much closer attention at the hands of the Commission and its recommendations ought to have been far more definite than to say that "still greater efforts are generally demanded" or that "the liberality of one part of India may afford an example to local Governments or Local Boards elsewhere". This

disregard of the financial implications of the problem robs the recommendations of the Commission of a large part of their utility.

9. **Events of the Period 1882-1902.** During the last two decades of the 19th century, there arose a great movement for social, political and economic reform in all parts of India. This movement was the result of the labours of nationally minded Indians, amongst whom may be mentioned the honoured names of Dadabhai Naorojee, Sir Pheroz Shah Mehta, W. C. Bannerjee, Sir Sayyed Ahmad Khan, Lokamanya Tilak, and Gopal Krishna Gokhale. It was inevitable that this movement should create a widespread desire for western education and consequently, the number of Indians seeking admission to schools and colleges of modern type increased very considerably during this period.

This demand could have been met in three ways: *firstly,* Government could have expanded its existing institutions and opened new ones in centres where no institutions existed before. The Education Departments tried to do this, although the Indian Education Commission had recommended the withdrawal of Government from direct educational enterprise. But the funds available for education were limited, and, in spite of the expansion of Government institutions, they could admit only a small number of those seeking admission.

Secondly, this demand could have been met by the expansion of missionary enterprise. But the educational policy of the missionaries underwent a radical change after the report of the Indian Education Commission. Prior to that report, they had hoped to expand their educational activities to such an extent as to cover the whole of the educational field in India. But the recommendations of the Commission, which assigned a

very minor role in Indian education to missionary activities, came as a great disappointment to the missionaries. Moreover, the belief that English education would lead inevitably to conversions to Christianity was by now completely exploded and consequently, the missionaries were no longer keen on the expansion of their educational activities. There was also a section which felt that it was no concern of the Missions to educate non-Christian children. Hence, the only desire of the missionaries was to maintain a few institutions in as high a stage of efficiency as possible. These were intended primarily for Indian Christians although they continued to admit non-Christians also. It is evident that, under such a policy, missionary enterprise could never have met the ever increasing Indian demand for western education.

As a result of the limitations imposed by financial considerations on Government effort on the one hand, and by a change in missionary policy in their educational enterprise on the other, the only agency which could meet the growing demand for education was the private effort of Indians themselves. It must be said to the credit of Indian workers of this period that they rose to the occasion and did meet this need. The downward filtration theory began to work for the first time in this period and Indians, educated in the modern system, devoted themselves to educating their fellow-brethren in large numbers.

In the early days of private Indian enterprise, the efforts of Indians were restricted to the collection of funds and even the colleges under Indian management generally had European principals. It was necessary to do so because, in those days, Indians were not considered fit to become principals of colleges or even

headmasters of high schools. This prejudice, however unfair it may appear today, had some justification in those early years; *firstly,* Indians versed in "European Knowledge and Science"—which was *the* object of the educational system—were not available. *Secondly,* the idea, that English should be taught, or can only be taught properly, by one whose mother-tongue is English was firmly rooted at this time; and, as the teaching of English was the most important part of education, the employment of Europeans, even in schools and colleges under Indian management, became inevitable on grounds of efficiency.

It is hardly necessary to say that Indian private enterprise could not have thrived so long as it was compelled to depend upon European headmasters and principals who were not necessarily inspired by the same ideals as the Indians. *Secondly,* a rapid extension of education and the reduction of its cost to a figure which was within the means of the average Indian were also impossible so long as costly Europeans continued to be entertained. What the situation demanded was a sacrifice on the part of educated Indians of undoubted ability. To such men, a lucrative post under Government was available for the mere asking. But the interests of the nation's education required them "to scorn delights and live laborious days," to turn their back on Government service and vountarily decide to live on a pittance in private institutions. It was a great demand and it is a golden event in the history of Indian education that educated Indians should have risen to the occasion and made the sacrifices demanded. When persons like Mr. (now Sir) R. P. Paranjpe—a senior wrangler of the Cambridge University—began to work as principals of

private colleges, the stamp of inferiority that was attached to Indian private enterprise vanished at once, the spread of education became rapid, and its cost was considerably reduced.

Too much tribute cannot be paid to the workers in the cause of Indian education in the years between 1882 and 1902. It was these nameless sons of Mother India that satisfied as well as created the public demand for more education that grew up at this time and thereby laid the foundation of the modern national life in India.

Let us now briefly review the events of the period between the report of the Indian Education Commission and the resolution issued by Lord Curzon in 1904, which is the next landmark in the history of Indian education.

Indian Universities. During the two decades following the report of the Commission, the Indian Universities continued to work under the Acts of 1857. The only notable event of the period was the establishment of the Allahabad University in 1887. This University also was, like the four older Universities, mainly an examining body, but provision was made in the Act of incorporation enabling the University to undertake teaching functions if it so desired.

Growth of Colleges. The recommendations of the Commission regarding collegiate education itself were not of great importance. But its recommendations on other matters reacted indirectly on the development of collegiate education in two ways :—

(i) *Firstly,* the recommendations led to a great expansion of secondary education. But as there was no provision of varied courses at the upper secondary stage, most of the pupils in secondary schools prepared themselves for the Matriculation examination. Moreover,

a very large percentage of those who passed the Matriculation joined the colleges partly owing to the fact that the more lucrative posts under Government were open only to holders of University degrees, and partly from a lack of alternative openings. Consequently, the number of students seeking admission to colleges increased very largely year after year.

(ii) *Secondly,* the recommendations of the Commission created a background in which Indian private enterprise could thrive. Missionary institutions dominated the private effort in collegiate education in 1882. But the situation began to alter after the report of the Commission. Missionary institutions made only a slight progress; and new institutions managed by Indians came into the field in large numbers. Even in 1901-2, Arts colleges in British India conducted by Indians numbered 42 as against 37 conducted by Missions.

It is hardly a matter of surprise, therefore, if this period witnessed a very rapid increase in the number of colleges of general education. In 1882, the total number of colleges affiliated to Indian universities was only 68 — 49 of the first grade and 19 of the second. In the next decade, 1882-1891, sixty-one new colleges were affiliated, 30 of the first grade and 31 of the second. In the decade 1892-1902, fifty more colleges were affiliated, 10 of the first grade and 40 of the second grade. In 1901-2, therefore, the total number of Arts colleges affiliated to Indian universities was 179 of which 136 were in British India, 32 in Indian States, 9 in Ceylon and 2 in Burma. Of the 136 colleges in British India, 11 were meant primarily for the education of Europeans and 12 for the education of women. The remaining 113 were managed as under :—

23 by Government.
6 by Committees of semi-official character.
5 by Municipalities.
37 by Missions ; and
42 by private bodies of Indians.

Total 113

Secondary Education. The twenty years following the report of the Commission saw a very rapid expansion of secondary education, especially through private schools. The following statistics will be found interesting from this point of view :—

	1881-2	1901-2
1 No of Secondary Schools	3,916	5,124
2 No. of Pupils in Secondary Schools ...	2,14,077	5,90,129

N.B.—Figures of both years exclude Burma but include some Indian States.

It will be seen that the expansion of secondary education was very rapid, and that the number of pupils under instruction was more than doubled in twenty years. The Commission had found that the progress of secondary education had been far more rapid than that of primary education in the period between 1854 and 1882, and had, therefore, recommended that Government should, in future, make strenuous efforts to spread primary education and leave the expansion of secondary education mainly to private enterprise. But as events turned out, secondary education again spread very rapidly between 1882 and 1902 and the cause of primary education continued to be neglected as before.

As recommended by the Commission, Provincial Governments revised their Grant-in-Aid codes to suit the requirements of secondary schools in their respective areas.

All the five Universities in India also introduced School Leaving Certificate Examinations as recommended by the Commission. But they were not popular, except in Bombay, where this examination, and not the Matriculation, qualified for employment under Government. Taking India as a whole, we find that in 1901-2, no less than 23,000 candidates appeared for the Matriculation examination; but the total number of candidates appearing for all the other alternative examinations was only about 2,000 of whom about 1,200 belonged to the Bombay Province (where many candidates took both the examinations). It is quite evident, therefore, that the alternative courses did not become popular and that the Matriculation examination dominated the field of secondary education almost as exclusively in 1902 as it did in 1882.

Some progress was also achieved during this period in the direction of *Training Secondary Teachers*. In 1901-2, there were six training colleges (as against two in 1882) at Saidapet, Rajahmundry, Kurseong, Allahabad, Lahore and Jubbulpore. Every province in India had organised a certificate examination for teachers while the Madras University had instituted the L.T. degree Besides the six colleges mentioned above, there were a number of schools for the training of secondary teachers. By 1902, Bombay was the only major province that had not organised a training institution for secondary teachers.

Unfortunately, there was hardly any achievement on the issue of *adopting the Modern Indian languages as the media of instruction* at the secondary stage. The idea of developing high schools teaching through the medium of the mother-tongue was definitely abandoned during this period and the highest education which a

child could obtain through its mother-tongue, in 1902, was limited to the middle-school stage in *all* the provinces of British India. It has been pointed out earlier that the Commission did not make any definite recommendation which would have decreased the dominance of English or helped the modern Indian languages to come into their own. Consequently, the dominance of English in the secondary course continued to grow; and by 1902, the teaching of English came to be regarded as the *prime object* of the secondary course.[7] The study of the Indian languages was consequently neglected; the study of English was very frequently begun even before the pupil had obtained a good knowledge of his mother-tongue; and English was used as a medium of instruction so early in the secondary course that most of the time of the pupils had to be devoted to overcoming the difficulties created by the medium of instruction and examination rather than in mastering the liberal subjects in the curriculum.

Primary Education. In accordance with the recommendations of the Commission, Local Boards or Councils and Municipal Boards or Committees or Councils were established in all the provinces of India. Primary education was declared to be an obligatory duty of these local bodies although secondary and higher education was not excluded from their activities. It was generally laid down that the first duty of the Local Boards was towards primary education. In some provinces, rules were framed prescribing the minimum percentage of its income which a local body ought to devote to education and directing that no money should be spent on secondary or higher education unless the claims of pri-

[7] *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, paras 305 and 371.

mary education were adequately provided for. Rules were also framed prescribing the powers and duties of local bodies over primary education, and grant-in-aid codes were drawn up. Broadly speaking, therefore, the administrative and legislative measures recommended by the Commission were generally carried out, and subject to rules made in that behalf, the control of primary education was transferred to local bodies. The extent of this transfer of control, it must be remembered, varied from province to province; even in the same province, it was greater in the case of the municipalities where public opinion was more developed than in the case of local boards where public awakening was not appreciable. But the important point to be noticed is that a step, however small, was definitely taken in a direction from which it was next to impossible to retract.

Coming to the recommendations of the Commission regarding indigenous schools, we find that their acceptance was not universal except for the adoption of the system of payment by results. The following statistics tell their own tale :

Province	1881–82		1901–02	
	No. of Departmental and Board Schools	No. of Private Schools Aided	No. of Departmental and Board Schools	No. of Private Schools Aided
Madras ...	1,263	7,414	2,836	11,125
Bombay ...	3,811	196	4,670	1,929
Bengal ...	28	47,374	26	36,046
North-West Frontier ...	...	...	135	17
United Provinces ...	5,561	243	4,598	2,463
Punjab ...	1,549	278	1,802	636
Central Provinces ...	894	368	931	864
Assam ...	7	1,256	1,260	1,482
Berar ...	467	209	640	400
Coorg ...	57	3	70	4

It would appear that Assam had abandoned its old policy and gone in a direction contrary to that recommended by the Commission. Berar, Coorg and the Punjab continued in their old groove. The United Provinces and Bombay showed considerable improvement. But in 1881-82 Bombay had 3,954 indigenous schools with 78,205 pupils and the United Provinces had 6,172 schools with 61,634 pupils. Hence it must be concluded that a majority of the indigenous schools was allowed to die out in these provinces and only a minority was incorporated into the departmental system. Bengal showed a reduction in the number of aided schools and a rise in unaided schools. There were 3,265 unaided schools in 1881-2; but their number in 1901-2 was as high as 11,630. Hence, the policy of Bengal cannot be said to be fully in accord with the recommendations of the Commission, although it did not multiply departmental schools.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the problem of the indigenous schools ceased to exist. In provinces where they were incorporated into the educational system, they became an integral part of the system itself and hence lost their "indigenous" character that was so well described by the Commission. On the other hand, they died of sheer neglect or competition in provinces where they were deliberately treated as the 'untouchables' in the caste system of the Education Department.

Turning to the recommendations of the Commission on the policy regarding primary education and its finance, we find that they were not carried out by the Provincial Governments. There was a rapid expansion of collegiate and secondary education during the twenty years following the report of the Commission.

Most of the additional funds were, therefore, taken up by these two branches of the educational system and primary education had to starve. The expenditure on primary education from Government funds was Rs. 16.77 lakhs in 1881-2 and it rose only to Rs. 16.92 lakhs in 1901-2! The local bodies did a considerable service to the cause of mass education because their contributions to the primary education fund in 1901-2 totalled Rs. 46.1 lakhs as against Rs. 24.9 lakhs in 1881-2. But in the absence of any substantial increase in the contribution from Government, no great expansion of primary education could be achieved and the various branches of the educational system continued to march with an even greater unequal step than ever before.

Chapter VIII

LORD CURZON TAKES THE WHEEL

(1899-1906)

The beginning of the twentieth century witnessed a revolution in the history of Indian education. The placid calm of ordered progress which was being achieved by the Education Departments on the general principles laid down by the Indian Education Commission was suddenly disturbed by an era of controversies, conferences, Commissions, Government Resolutions and introduction of drastic and far-reaching changes backed with all the might and wealth of Government. Bitter controversies arose in almost every branch of Indian education most of which dominated the field for a very long time and came to an end only when the Department of Education was transferred to Indian Ministers in 1921. In fact, some of the controversies continue to occupy the field even today. The causes of these vast and far-reaching disturbances were three : *firstly* India felt the repercussions of the strong movement for educational reform and reconstruction that arose in England in the early years of this century ; *secondly*, this was a boom period in world finances, and the Government of India had, at this time, large surplus budgets wherein it could easily provide the additional funds that were necessary for the reconstruction of education ; *thirdly*, the Governor-General at this time was Lord Curzon, a statesman of masterful and dynamic personality. He was keenly interested in educational problems and determined to carry out effective educational reforms, and his viceroyalty is one of the most important epochs in Indian education.

Lord Curzon came to India in 1899 and one of the earliest subjects that attracted his attention was the prevailing educational conditions in India. In 1901, he convened a conference of the Directors of Public Instruction at Simla and discussed the existing educational situation, its defects and the proposals of reforms with them. This was the first conference of its type and the seeds of all the important reforms that followed were sown therein. The discussions at this conference were never published; but it is possible to infer their general trend from later events. Briefly they may be stated as under :—

(*a*) The recommendations of the Indian Education Commission had outlived their utility. They were designed primarily to secure expansion of education through private effort, and that object had already been secured;

(*b*) The policy of *laissez faire to private enterprise* which was recommended by the Commission and adopted by the Education Departments in later years, had brought in various evils; for instance, most of the institutions conducted by private agencies were inefficient, poorly staffed, and poorly equipped and were more in the nature of "coaching institutions" for examinations than "educational centres" in the proper sense of the word;

(*c*) The only remedy to cure these evils was to replace the policy of *laissez faire* and *expansion* by one of *control* and *improvement*;

(*d*) The recommendations of the Commission that Government should withdraw from direct educational enterprise was suicidal. Fortunately,

it had never been acted upon and time had come when it must be officially abandoned. On the other hand, it was the duty of Government to maintain some institutions as models to private enterprise.

This, in brief, may be said to outline the official viewpoint. The officials believed that the Indian Education Commission had sacrificed *quality* for *quantity*, and claimed that the desire to expand must be now replaced by an intensive effort to improve. This view was accepted by Lord Curzon and it is in this light that his reforms must be studied.

Lord Curzon's desire to improve Indian education was genuine and earnest; his diagnosis of the evils was generally sound; but his *methods* and *proposals of reform* were far from happy. The viceroys before Curzon had carried on their administration just as they pleased subject only to the restriction of the distant and fitful control of Parliament. They did not worry about Indian public opinion for the simple reason that it did not exist. Lord Curzon, too, apparently believed that taking counsel with his own officers was quite enough to enable him to launch his programme of reform. But he did not realise that the times had greatly changed · that an enlightened Indian public opinion had been gradually built up which was keenly interested in educational matters, which claimed to be consulted and heard in all movements for educational reform, and which had developed an ideology and an outlook fundamentally different from those of the officers of the Department. The failure of Lord Curzon to appreciate the expediency and the utility of consulting this public opinion led to mistakes that cannot but be deplored. For instance, missionaries were invited to the Simla

Conference but Indian educationists were excluded from it; when the personnel of the Indian University Commission was announced, Indian enterprise was not represented though foreign missionary enterprise found a place on it. Consequently, a background of distrust and uneasiness was created among Indians and a conflict arose between Indian opinion on the one hand and official opinion on the other.

It is interesting to compare the Indian point of view with the official opinion described above. For instance :—

(*a*) Indians challenged the wisdom of the policy which put quality first and quantity next. They pointed out that this policy might suit England where expansion of education was already complete but that it had no place in India where expansion had not even begun in right earnest;

(*b*) The official desire to control and improve secondary and collegiate education was ascribed to political motives and it was said that it really aimed, not at the improvement of educational standards, but at sabotaging the development of national feeling in the minds of educated Indians;

(*c*) The official attempt to expand primary education was generally appreciated, but it was felt that the *rate* of expansion visualised by the Education Departments was quite out of proportion to the needs of the situation.

It is obvious that the differences of opinion were fundamental and a conflict was inevitable. Had Lord Curzon and his advisers made an attempt to appreciate the Indian point of view and to meet it half-way, the

history of education in India would have taken an entirely different turn. But this was not to happen. Lord Curzon, in pushing forward his favourite plan of reform, greatly alienated Indian public opinion and led Indians to think that real improvement in education was impossible unless Indians obtained the right to control the educational policy. This feeling gathered strength as time passed, until ultimately it resulted in the transfer of the Education Department to Indian Ministers under the Government of India Act, 1919.

There was hardly any branch of educational activity that was not brought under review and reform in this period. The Government Resolution on Educational Policy, dated 11th March 1904, bears witness to the extensive reforms that Lord Curzon contemplated in every field of educational activity. But for considerations of space, we shall refer only to the most important changes introduced in university, secondary, primary, and vocational education.

2. **Indian Universities' Commission.** Lord Curzon began his drive for reform at the University stage, and on 27th January 1902, appointed a commission "to inquire into the condition and prospects of the universities established in British India; to consider and report upon any proposals which have been, or may be, made for improving their constitution and working, and to recommend to the Governor-General-in-Council such measures as may tend to elevate the standard of University teaching, and to promote the advancement of learning". The main recommendations of the Commission are noticed below :—

(*a*) The Commission adopted the model of the London University as modified by the Act of 1898. As the Calcutta University Commission points out—

"In 1902 as in 1857, the policy of London seemed to be the latest word of educational statesmanship. There were four features of the London changes whose influence is directly perceptible in the Indian discussions. The first was the assertion that every university ought to be a teaching university. The second was the principle that no college should be allowed full privileges unless it was thoroughly well staffed and equipped. The third was the principle that teachers must always be intimately associated with the government of the university. The fourth was the contention that the supreme governing body of the university—called, in London as in India, the Senate—ought not to be too large. Thus once again, as so often before, educational controversy in England had its echo in India." [1]

(b) Just as the Commission of 1882 was precluded from reporting on university reform this Commission was precluded from reporting on secondary education. The result was equally unhappy and the Commission could not deal with the problem as a whole.

(c) The fundamental problems before the Commission were two:—

(i) to determine the type of university organization that should be ultimately developed in India; and

(ii) to propose such transitional arrangements as would enable the country to reach this predetermined goal in the shortest possible time.

It is to be regretted, however, that the Commission did not, in its report, discuss these fundamental questions.

"It did not ask whether the affiliating system ought ultimately to be replaced by some other mode of organization, or suggest means whereby a transition to a new system might be gradually made. On the contrary, it assumed the permanent validity of the existing system, in its main features and set itself only to improve and strengthen it." [2]

[1] *Report of the Calcutta University Commission*, Vol. I, p. 65.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

The report of the Commission, therefore, and *the Act of* 1904 which was based upon it, *did not aim at the fundamental reconstruction of the Indian University system.* They only proposed a rehabilitation and strengthening of the then existing system of affiliating universities.

(*d*) It will be recalled that affiliating universities were set up in India in 1857, just one year before affiliation, as the basis of university organization, was abandoned in London. A similar tragedy took place in 1902 also. The report of the Indian Universities Commission, submitted in 1902, does not contain, as pointed out above, any discussion of the fundamental problems of university organization, presumably because they were not being then discussed in England. In the very next year, however, the disruption in the federal Victoria University of Northern England was followed by a great discussion of the principles of university administration and led to the abandoning of the federal type of universities. Perhaps India would have profited more had the Commission sat in 1907 instead of in 1902.

(*e*) The recommendations of the Commission refer mainly to the following five topics :—

(i) The reorganization of university government.

(ii) A much more strict and systematic supervision of the colleges by the University, and the imposition of more exacting conditions of affiliation.

(iii) A much closer attention to the conditions under which students live and work.

(iv) The assumption of teaching functions by the University, within definite limits.

(v) Substantial changes in curricula, and in the methods of examination.

The third and the fifth of these groups of recommendations were necessarily left to be dealt with in detailed regulations to be framed by the reorganised universities. But the first, second and fourth groups of recommendations were embodied later in the Indian Universities Act, 1904, to which we shall now turn.

3. **The Indian Universities' Act, 1904.** This Act proposed seven changes in the constitution of the universities. They are briefly enumerated below :—

(i) The functions of the Universities were enlarged and they were empowered to appoint professors and to undertake research.

(ii) The *second* important change proposed by the Act aimed at making the university senates of a manageable size. The Acts of Incorporation provided that Fellows of Universities were to be appointed by Government for life and did not lay down any upper limit to the number of Senators. During the fifty years that followed, Government did not always exercise this power of appointment in the best interests of the University, with the result that the Senates, became extremely unwieldy. The Indian Universities Act, 1904, proposed, therefore, that the number of Fellows of a University shall *not be less than fifty nor more than hundred and that a Fellow should hold office for five years only instead of for life.*

(iii) The *third* change made by the Act was to introduce the principle of election. The Act provided that 20 fellows should be elected in the Universities of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta and 15 each in the other universities.

(iv) The *fourth* change introduced by the Act was to give a statutory recognition to syndicates and also

to give an adequate representation to university teachers on the syndicates concerned.

(v) The *fifth* change introduced by the Act was to provide stricter conditions for the affiliation of colleges to a university and to provide that all affiliated colleges should be periodically inspected by the Syndicate in order to see that a proper standard of efficiency is being maintained.

(vi) The *sixth* change introduced by the Act was to vest in Government certain powers regarding the regulations to be framed by the Senate. Under the Acts of Incorporation, the sole authority for making regulations was the Senate and Government had only the power to veto inasmuch as all regulations had to obtain the approval of Government. The Indian Universities Act of 1904 provided that, while approving the regulations framed by the Senate, Government may make such additions and alterations as may be necessary and even frame regulations itself should the Senate fail to do so within a specified period.

(vii) *Lastly*, the Act empowered the Governor-General-in-Council to define the territorial limits of the universities. This point was left moot in the Acts of 1857 with the result that certain anomalies crept in later on. For instance, some colleges were affiliated to two universities; some others were situated in the jurisdiction of one university but affiliated to another; and so on. Section 27 of the Act, therefore laid down that "the Governor-General-in-Council may, by general or special order, define the territorial limits within which, and specify the colleges in respect of which, any powers conferred by or under the Act of Incorporation or this Act shall be exercised."

4. **Indian Reactions to the Universities Act, 1904.**

The Indian public opinion violently opposed this Act, not because Indians were opposed to the idea of University reform as such, but because, with the background of distrust and uneasiness which was characteristic of this period, the proposals of Government were wrongly interpreted. It was believed that, under the pretext of reforms, Government was really trying to vest all power in the hands of European educationists, i.e. the European professors in Government and Missionary colleges—with a view to sabotaging the development of Indian private enterprise in the field of higher education. The Indian opposition to the Universities' Act of 1904 centred chiefly round five issues :—

(i) It was felt that the provisions which enabled the University to assume teaching functions would remain a dead letter, as they had remained in the case of Allahabad, because the Act made no provision for financial assistance to Universities.

(ii) *Secondly*, Indian opinion welcomed the principle of election introduced by the Bill, but pointed out that the seats thrown open to election were very few and that the Act failed to provide for election by professors who were just the class of persons who had more immediate interest than any other in the deliberations of the University.

(iii) *Thirdly*, while Indian opinion was not opposed to the idea of restricting the total number of Fellows in a University, a fear was expressed that the small numbers fixed by the Act—evidently inspired by the model of the reconstituted London University—were really intended to create a majority for Europeans in the constitution of Indian Universities.

(iv) *Fourthly*, the stricter provisions for affiliation of colleges were also strongly opposed. This was due to

the fear that they were intended chiefly to embarrass Indian private effort in the field of education—a fear that was all the more strengthened by the idea that the reorganized university bodies would mostly consist of Europeans.

(v) But the greatest opposition of all was directed against those aspects of the Act which gave more powers to Government in the administration of universities. These included the power to nominate most of the Fellows, the power to require approval for affiliation or disaffiliation of colleges, the power to alter, or even to frame regulations, etc. It was argued that under the new Act, the universities became practically a Department of the State.

5. **Achievements of the Indian Universities Act of 1904.** In the heat of bitter controversy about university reform that raged between the years 1902 and 1905, the importance of the Indian Universities Act of 1904 was greatly exaggerated by Government spokesmen who looked upon it as a panacea for all the ills of collegiate education, while Indian public opinion misunderstood the Act and condemned it unequivocally as a retrograde measure. But the Act was neither one nor the other; and at this distance of time, it is possible to view dispassionately its achievements and failures.

The analysis of the Act given in an earlier section will show that it was primarily an administrative measure. Its avowed aim was to make the administration of universities more efficient than it had been hitherto and it must be admitted that it succeeded considerably in this. The Senates of the reorganized universities were more manageable and efficient than earlier ones; and as the nominations made by Government belied the fears of the Indian public it was soon

admitted on all hands that the Act had, on the whole, raised the tone of University administration.

Secondly, the stricter conditions of affiliation and the arrangements for periodical inspection made it difficult for new colleges to spring into existence and even led to the elimination of a number of weak institutions. It is, however, a significant fact that the growth of Indian private enterprise in the field of collegiate education was not affected adversely by the Indian Universities Act of 1904. If anything, the growth of colleges conducted by Indians was far more rapid after 1904 than before it. The fears of the opponents of the Act, therefore, proved to be groundless to a considerable extent. On the other hand, the hopes entertained by the framers of the Act that the strict conditions of affiliation would lead to an improvement in collegiate instruction were largely fulfilled. It is, of course, true that it was not the conditions, by themselves, that led to the improvement. Large increase in fee-receipts owing to the rise in the number of students coupled with the prescription of higher rates of fees, liberal grants-in-aid from Government, and considerable endowments from people were also the factors that materially contributed to this end. All the same, the salutary effect of the Act in initiating, maintaining or accelerating this upward trend in efficiency cannot be overlooked or underestimated.

These were the main achievements of the Act. Its failures, however, were greater still. It did nothing to overhaul the system of university education and to put it on a proper basis; it did not create new universities though these were badly needed; and finally, it gave so much control to Government in the administration of the University that the Calcutta University Commission

described the Indian Universities as "the most completely governmental universities in the world".

6. **Secondary Education.** Lord Curzon's policy in secondary education was similar to that which he adopted towards collegiate education. By 1902, the problem of secondary education presented several features which were also common to that of collegiate education. In both, a large and a rapid expansion had been achieved between 1882 and 1902; private institutions conducted by Indians formed the largest single group in both the fields; and just as there existed a number of colleges which depended mostly on fees and throve rather as "coaching institutions" than as "centres of learning", there were a number of secondary schools whose efficiency was far from satisfactory. It was, therefore, natural that he should adopt the same policy in secondary education as had been previously adopted in the field of collegiate education by the Indian Universities Act of 1904.

The new policy in secondary education had two important aspects—*control* and *improvement*. With regard to the first of these, it may be stated that Government tried to control private enterprise in a number of ways, the most important of which are noticed below:—

(a) *Recognition by the Department.*—It had been the opinion of the Indian Education Commission that the Departments should only prescribe the conditions on which grant-in-aid would be paid to private schools and that managers who did not ask for aid (or did not obtain it) should be left free to develop their schools along their own lines. Between 1882 and 1902, therefore, the Departments laid down fairly comprehensive codes for the guidance of *aided* institutions, but did not

make any serious attempt to regulate *unaided* schools. This view was given up in the early years of this century and it was now argued that Government ought to control *all* private secondary schools, whether aided or unaided. The *Government Resolution of* 1904 explains this policy in the following words:—

> "Whether these schools are managed by public authority or by private persons, and whether they received aid from public funds or not, the Government is bound in the interests of the community to see that the education provided in them is sound. It must, for example, satisfy itself in each case that a secondary school is actually wanted; that its financial stability is assured; that its managing body, where there is one, is properly constituted; that it teaches the proper subjects up to a proper standard; that due provision has been made for the instruction, health, recreation, and discipline of the pupils; that the teachers are suitable as regards character, number, and qualifications; and that the fees to be paid will not involve such competition with any existing school as will be unfair and injurious to the interests of education. Such are the conditions upon which alone schools should be eligible to receive grants-in-aid or to send up pupils to compete for, or receive pupils in enjoyment of Government scholarships; and schools complying with them will be ranked as 'recognised' schools."

(b) *Recognition by the Universities.*—In addition to the recognition granted by the Department, secondary schools had to obtain recognition from a University if they desired to present pupils at the Matriculation examination conducted by that University. This could have been a great weapon of control; but prior to 1904, it had little or no value in practice. The regulations on the subject were generally defective; and even such regulations as existed were often loosely administered; the Universities had no agency for the inspection of schools and consequently had to depend on the information supplied by the schools themselves; and as the

University and the Department worked independently of each other in matters of recognition, a conflict was not infrequent. Under the Indian Universities Act of 1904, regulations were framed by all universities for the recognition of schools. These regulations laid down the conditions which must be fulfilled by a 'recognised' secondary school and closed the backdoor by forbidding admission to the Matriculation of any private candidates except those who had been really educated in private. Similarly, regulations were also framed with a view to minimising the conflict between the Department and the University.

(c) *Privileges of Recognition and Enforcement of Conditions of Recognition.*—As is quite well known, the mere prescription of conditions for recognition will hardly serve any purpose unless the privileges attached to recognition are so important as to make the schools desire it and unless an adequate machinery is created to enforce the conditions of recognition. Recognition by the University entitled a school to send pupils to the Matriculation. Similarly, it was now laid down that recognition from the Department will enable a school to—

(i) receive a grant-in-aid from Government;
(ii) send up pupils for Government examinations or for the entrance examinations of Government Technical schools; and
(iii) receive pupils holding Government scholarships.

In order to encourage schools to seek for recognition by the Department and to enable them to come up to the higher standards that were now prescribed, Government decided to increase the grant-in-aid to private

schools. Government also strengthened the inspecting staff for enforcing the conditions of recognition.

(d) *Prohibition of Transfers from Unrecognised to Recognised Schools.*—A careful analysis of the privileges of recognition will show that schools would value departmental recognition for purposes of grants and university recognition for purposes of the Matriculation. But both these inducements would have had no effect on schools which did not receive, or hope for, a grant-in-aid (and hence did not mind recognition by the Department being refused or withdrawn) or which did not teach up to the Matriculation (and hence did not come under the control of the University). As the number of such schools was fairly large, a method had to be devised for bringing them under control. This was done by prohibiting automatic transfers of pupils from unrecognised to recognised schools. Unrecognised secondary schools could not have hoped to thrive, or even exist for long, in the face of this disability. Under the new system, recognition ceased to be a mere *advantage*; it became a *condition of existence* and enabled the Department to bring almost all the secondary schools under its effective control and supervision.

These efforts on the part of Government to control private secondary schools were criticized by Indian public opinion in much the same way in which the provisions of the Indian Universities Act were opposed. The political aspect of the problem need not be considered in this book. But even from the educational point of view, it would be difficult to justify the new policy in its entirety. It is, of course, true that the old policy of *laissez faire* had outlived its utility, that it had often degenerated into licence, and that a more rigid

control of private enterprise was generally needed. But all the same, many felt strongly that the new policy swung the pendulum far too much to the other side. Control is necessary, and within limits, highly beneficial. But it can be easily exercised in excess and can thus lead to a rigid, mechanical, and uniform system. This development was often pointed out during later years and although, in certain cases, it may have arisen from other causes—such as lack of enterprise or initiative on the part of private entrepreneurs or lack of funds,—it was widely felt that it could be traced largely to the rigid grant-in-aid codes of this period and their administration.

The *second* object of Lord Curzon's policy in secondary education was to improve the quality of instruction. With this end in view, he adopted the following measures :

(*a*) Large grants were sanctioned to Provincial Governments in order to improve the efficiency of Government schools, so that they could serve as models to private enterprise. The additional amount thus made available was utilised in erecting buildings and hostels, improving the salaries of the staff and in purchasing necessary equipment, etc.

(*b*) Large funds were also sanctioned for increasing the grants-in-aid to private schools so as to enable them to come up to the standard of Government institutions.

(*c*) The necessity of training secondary teachers was emphasised and an impetus was given to the starting of new institutions for the purpose.

(*d*) Another, and a more vigorous, attempt was made to modify the curricula of the S. L. C.

Examinations with a view to making them more useful and practical.

(*e*) It was recommended that the mother-tongue of the pupil should be invariably used as the medium of instruction at the middle stage. An attempt should also be made at this stage to give the pupil a better mastery over the English language than had been possible hitherto, so that he could make better progress in the High School stage, where English was the medium of instruction.

(*f*) The inspectorate was greatly strengthened, paid better and made more efficient so as to be able to exercise a rigorous control over secondary schools.

This policy was continued and developed more fully after Curzon. We shall, therefore, examine it in greater detail in the next chapter.

7. **Primary Education.** We have seen that the policy of Lord Curzon in the matter of collegiate and secondary education was vehemently opposed by Indian public opinion. On the other hand, his policy in primary education was very largely welcomed. As shown in Chapter VII, the cause of primary education had suffered most because the funds available were limited. It is to be said to the credit of Lord Curzon that he diagnosed the malady correctly and directed that the Provincial Governments should devote larger amounts to primary education. In his Resolution on Educational Policy dated 11th March, 1904, he observed :—

"18. On a general view of the question the Government of India cannot avoid the conclusion that primary education has hitherto received insufficient attention and an inadequate share of the public funds. They consider that it possesses a

strong claim upon the sympathy both of the Supreme Government and of the local Governments, and should be made a leading charge upon provincial revenues; and that in those provinces where it is in a backward condition, its encouragement should be a primary obligation. The Government of India believe that local Governments are cordially in agreement with them in desiring this extension, and will carry it out to the limits allowed by the financial conditions of each province."

This declaration of policy marked the beginning of a new era in the history of primary education. Larger grants from Government funds now began to be sanctioned for primary education; and this had its natural effect in increasing the expenditure from other sources also. Consequently, there was a considerable increase in the number of pupils attending primary schools. The following statistics compare the enrolment in primary schools for the years 1881-2, 1901-2 and 1911-2:—

——	1881-2	1901-2	1911-2
1. Number of recognised primary schools ...	82,916	93,604	1,18,262
2. Number of scholars in above ...	20,61,541	30,76,671	48,06,736

N.B.—Figures of all years include some Indian States and exclude Burma.

It will be seen that the increase in the enrolment of primary schools in the *ten* years from 1901-2 to 1911-2 was nearly twice the increase in the enrolment during the *twenty* years following the report of the Indian Education Commission.

(b) Another important reform, introduced by Lord Curzon, was the discontinuance of the system of aiding primary schools on the basis of examination results. Consequent upon the recommendation of the Indian Education Commission, the system of payment by results was universally adopted, between 1882 and 1902, as a means (though not the only means) of assessing grants to private schools. In Madras and Bombay, well-managed primary schools were aided on a system of fixed grants; but the number of schools so aided was extremely small as compared with those aided on the system of payment by results. In Bengal, the result grant reigned supreme, while in the United Provinces, the Punjab, the Central Provinces, and Assam, the result grant was only a part of the annual grant to the school, the remainder being either fixed or dependent upon other tests. But under the lead given by Lord Curzon, the system of payment by results was universally abandoned and replaced by more scientific and advanced methods of grant-in-aid.

(c) As in secondary education, Lord Curzon also tried to improve the quality of instruction in primary schools. The main features of his policy in this respect were the following:

(i) He raised the grant-in-aid to be paid to local funds. The Indian Education Commission had proposed that Government should pay grant at the rate of one-third of the total expenditure. Lord Curzon changed this principle and laid down that Government grant should be half of the total expenditure on primary education. This increase in the grant-in-aid was meant partly for expansion of education and partly for improvement of primary schools;

(ii) He gave a great fillip to the training of primary teachers and improved their remuneration;

(iii) He desired that a distinction should be made in the curricula of rural and urban schools in order to bring the instruction in primary schools in conformity with environment;

(iv) He made an attempt to introduce better methods of teaching in primary schools so as to make them more popular and more attractive to children.

8. **Vocational Education.** In the field of vocational education the name of Lord Curzon is connected with the reforms of the Schools of Art, the great impetus given by him to the growth of agricultural education and with the institution of scholarships for technological studies abroad. Ever since 1893, controversies were going on regarding the future of Art schools in India. There was a section of opinion which believed that these schools had failed in their primary object of promoting Indian arts and industries and should, therefore, be closed. There was another section which recommended that they should be continued with certain modifications. This controversy was closed by Lord Curzon who directed that the schools should be continued with certain modifications in their objects, methods and organisation.

Similarly, agricultural education had hardly developed in India before the days of Lord Curzon. There were a few Agricultural Colleges but they had not proved much of a success, either in theory or in practice, because they had neither produced scientific experts nor succeeded in producing practical agriculturists Lord Curzon enunciated a new and bold policy in this respect. It was under him that the Agricultural

Departments came to be organised. He also created a Central Research Institute at Pusa with the object of giving the highest training in agriculture in India itself; *secondly,* he laid down the principle that every important province in India must have its own Agricultural College which should be properly staffed and equipped: *thirdly,* he directed that an attempt should be made to broadcast agricultural education among the people by introducing agriculture as a subject at the Middle and High School stage and by conducting special classes for the training of agriculturists.

The third achievement of Lord Curzon was to institute scholarships for sending Indian students for technological studies abroad. The necessity of technological education had long been felt; but the number of students, likely to be attracted to technological institutions, was so small that it was not considered economic to organise them in India. Lord Curzon, therefore, instituted scholarships to be given to selected students to enable them to pursue technological studies abroad. The courses selected for the purpose were generally such as would be of material use in developing Indian Industries.

9. **Contribution of Lord Curzon to Indian Education.** In his own day, Curzon was extremely unpopular and it was generally believed that he did a great deal of harm to Indian education. But now the controversies that raged over his proposals are no more, and it is possible to take a dispassionate view of his contribution to Indian education.

It is hardly necessary to state that the controversies of his time were mainly political and only partly educational. His personality and outlook on India were such that he could never have been really popular with

the Indians, and very early in his career, he alienated public sympathy by his anti-Indian utterances. His refusal to take Indian leaders into confidence while deciding upon measures of educational reform alienated public sympathies all the more. It was, therefore, inevitable that his work should be violently opposed by contemporary Indians.

But, looking back from the present day, we cannot help feeling that Curzon made a great contribution to Indian education. As later events showed, the expansion of education and the growth of Indian private enterprise were not checked by the reforms he introduced as was greatly apprehended by his critics. On the other hand, the valuable results of his reforms were soon apparent in the increased efficiency of University administration, the improved quality of instruction in secondary schools, in the rapid expansion of primary education, and in the wholesale reform in vocational education. It may be rightly said of Lord Curzon that he touched almost every branch of Indian Education and touched nothing that he did not reform. There are only three names of Governors-General which have been prominently connected with Indian education—Bentinck, Ripon and Curzon. Of the three, Bentinck and Ripon came on the scene when education was hardly begun or had made but little progress and the Indians were none too critical of what was being done by the powers-that-be. But, Lord Curzon was called upon to work in the country when the people were becoming education-conscious and vocal in their criticism of Government and its doings. Working in such adverse circumstances, the success, such as it was, of Lord Curzon in the field of Indian education cannot be

stressed too much. Whatever might have been his mistakes of method, there is no doubt that his contribution to Indian education was one of the greatest and his tenure of office was one of the most important periods in the history of Indian education.

Chapter IX

ON THE EVE OF DIARCHY

(1906-1921)

During the period between the departure of Lord Curzon and the transfer of education to Indian Ministers, there were no material changes in the policy of Government in educational matters. The Provincial Departments of Education continued to work out the broad lines of policy laid down by Lord Curzon, and their achievements can be conveniently studied under three heads, viz., University, Secondary and Primary Education.

2. **University and Collegiate Education.** Prior to 1904, Government did not give any grants-in-aid to any university except the Punjab which received an annual grant of about Rs. 30,000 because it conducted the Oriental and Law Colleges. No grant was also felt to be necessary as the only items of expenditure in a university were a small office establishment and examinations. No money was spent even on the payment of travelling expenses of the Fellows who were expected to attend the meetings at their own cost. The total expenditure of a university, therefore, was easily met from the examination fees and often a surplus was left over.

Circumstances were changed by the Act of 1904 Meetings of the Senate and of the Syndicate were now more frequently held; the inspections of affiliated colleges had to be regularly carried out; additional staff had to be entertained to cope with the heavy routine work created by the Act and the regulations; and above all, something had to be done by way of implementing

the hopes that were created by Section 3 of the Act which enabled a university to undertake teaching functions. All this meant additional expenditure—a circumstance to which attention had already been drawn by the late Mr. Gokhale in his speeches on the Bill. The Government of India announced, therefore, that they would make a grant of Rs. 5,00,000 a year for 5 years, for the improvement of collegiate education and universities. The first grant was sanctioned by Lord Curzon in 1904-5 and although it was originally meant to be paid for 5 years only, it was later made a permanent recurring grant. The same policy was continued during the period under review and the universities were enabled to undertake teaching functions and to equip libraries and laboratories.

(b) *Government Resolution on Educational Policy, dated 21st February* 1913. The attempts at the reform of the system of University education formed, therefore, the most important feature of the first two decades of the twentieth century. In this connection, it is necessary to note that the period 1903-13 is of great importance in the history of British Universities. During this period, the fundamental problems of University organization were brought under review in England and expert opinion came to the conclusion that the federal type of university was not satisfactory because it was difficult to work and not conducive to rapid progress. The federal type of organization was, therefore, *abandoned* by about 1913 and most British Universities were reconstituted (wherever necessary) as unitary, teaching and residential organizations. These developments had their echo in India also and Government had, therefore, to review the question almost within a decade of the passing of the Universities Act of 1904. This was done

in the Government Resolution on Educational Policy, of 1913, which declared that a university would be established for each Province, that teaching activities of universities would be encouraged, and that the colleges located in mofussil towns would be developed into teaching universities in due course. But no action along the lines indicated herein was taken by Government partly because it was believed that an expert enquiry into the question was essential before any definite steps could be taken and partly because of the outbreak of the Great World War.

(c) *The Calcutta University Commission*. In 1917, Government appointed a Commission to report on the reform of the Calcutta University. This is also known as the *Sadler Commission* from its President, Dr. (later Sir) M. E. Sadler, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds. The other members of the Commission were Dr. Gregory, Mr. (now Sir) Phillip Hartog, Professor Ramsay Muir, Sir Asutosh Mookerji, the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, and Dr. (later Sir) Zia-ud-din Ahmad. The Commission was asked to enquire into the condition and prospects of the University of Calcutta and to consider the question of a constructive policy in relation to the problems which it presented. The terms of reference of the Commission also stated that the Commission might, for purposes of comparison, study the organization and working of the universities in India other than that of Calcutta. The Commission did feel the need of such comparative study and visited most other Indian universities also.

The report of the Commission, published in 1919, is a document of inter-provincial importance. Although it deals with the Calcutta University only, the problems that it has studied were more or less common to the

other universities. Hence, the report of the Commission had far-reaching consequences upon the development of university education in India as a whole.

The main recommendations of the Commission have been noticed below :—

(1) We have seen that the Commissions of 1882 and 1902 could not do full justice to the subject of higher education because the first was precluded from reporting on the universities, and the second was precluded from studying the problems of secondary education. The Calcutta University Commission, on the other hand, studied the problems of secondary education as well as those of university teaching because it held the view that improvement of secondary education was an essential foundation for the improvement of university teaching itself. The Commission, therefore. made radical recommendations regarding the reorganization of secondary schools. These may be briefly stated as under :

(i) The dividing line between the university and secondary courses is more properly drawn at the Intermediate examination than at the Matriculation.

(ii) Government should, therefore, create a new type of institution called the "Intermediate College" which would provide for instruction in Arts, Science, Medicine, Engineering, Teaching, etc. These colleges might either be run as independent institutions or might be attached to selected high schools.

(iii) The admission test for universities should be the passing of the Intermediate examination.

(iv) A Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education consisting of the representatives of Government, University, High Schools, and Intermediate Colleges should be established and entrusted with the administration and control of secondary education.

(2) The Commission came to the conclusion that the numbers of colleges and students under the Calcutta University were too great to be dealt with by a single

organization. The Commission, therefore, recommended that—

(i) a unitary teaching university should be established immediately at Dacca ;

(ii) the teaching resources of Calcutta City should be pooled together with a view to the establishment of a teaching university at Calcutta ; and

(iii) the colleges in the mofussil should be so developed as to make it possible to encourage the gradual rise of new university centres by the concentration of resources for higher teaching at a few points.

The first recommendation was carried out in 1920. The second and third recommendations have yet remained a pious hope.

(3) The Commission made the following general recommendations regarding University work :—

(i) The regulations governing the work of the universities should be made less rigid ;

(ii) Honours courses, as distinct from pass courses, should be instituted in the universities in order to make provision for the needs of abler students ;

(iii) The duration of the degree course should be three years after the intermediate stage ;

(iv) Appointments to professorships and readerships should be made by special selection committees, including external experts.

(v) Having regard to the comparatively backward condition of the Muslim community in regard to education, every reasonable means should be taken to encourage Muslim students and to safeguard their interests.

(vi) In view of the necessity for paying greater attention to the health and physical welfare of students, a Director of Physical Training, holding the rank and salary of a professor, should be appointed in each university ; a Board of Students' Welfare, including medical representatives, should be one of the standing boards or committees of each university ; and special efforts should be made to supervise the conditions of students' residence.

(4) On several other questions, the Commission made important recommendations some of which are summarised below :—

(i) *Female Education*.—Purdah schools should be organized for Hindu and Muslim girls whose parents are willing to extend their education to 15 or 16; a Special Board of Women's Education should be established in the Calcutta University and should be empowered to propose special courses of study more particularly suited for women, and to organize co-operative arrangements for teaching in the women's colleges, more particularly for the training of teachers, and in preparation for medical courses.

(ii) *Training of Teachers*.—The output of trained teachers should be substantially increased; Departments of Education should be created in the Universities of Dacca and Calcutta; Education should be included as a subject for the Intermediate and B.A. degree examinations.

(iii) *Technology*.—It is an important and, indeed, a necessary function of a university to include applied science and technology in its courses and to recognize their systematic and practical study by degrees and diplomas.

(iv) *Professional and Vocational Training*.—The Universities must make provision for the efficient training of personnel needed for the industrial development of the country.

(d) *Creation of New Universities*.—After the incorporation of the Allahabad University in 1887, no new university was established in India till 1916, although, during these 30 years, there had occurred a tremendous rise in the number of colleges and of students attending them. The work of the existing Universities had, therefore, increased considerably. The decision of the Government of India to start as many new universities as possible was, therefore, a wise, if a belated, move. It was further strengthened by the desire of the people themselves to have a larger number of universities and to found teaching and residential universities wherever possible. The result of this joint effort was that

the number of universities in India increased from five in 1916 to twelve in 1921-2. The following brief notes are offered here on the new universities so created :—

(i) *MYSORE.*—A university of the affiliating type was established at Mysore in 1916 for the area of the State itself. The incorporation of this university led to a considerable diminution in the work done by the Madras University.

(ii) *PATNA.*—A university was established at Patna in 1917 for the Province of Bihar and Orissa. This University was generally modelled on the older universities but its constitution showed certain deviations from the model of 1904. It is interesting to note these deviations because they show how Government had to yield finally to the demands of Indian public opinion which had been summarily ignored in 1904.

(iii) *BENARES.*—A teaching and residential university was established at Benares by an Act of 1915 and began its operations in 1917. This University is known popularly as the Benares Hindu University, and it owes its existence to the great work of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

(iv) *ALIGARH.*—Similar in objects is the Muslim University at Aligarh which was established in 1920. This University stands in the same relation to the Muslims as the Benares University does to the Hindus. It grew out of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. The University is a living memorial to the great work of the late Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan.

Both these denominational universities are directly under the Government of India. It must also be noted that both the Universities are open to students of all castes and creeds.

(v) *DACCA.*—A unitary, teaching and residential university was established at Dacca in 1920. It was the first University to be modelled on the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission.

(vi) *LUCKNOW.*—A university was established at Lucknow in 1920. Its constitution and organization closely follow the model of the Dacca University.

(vii) *OSMANIA.*—The Osmania University was established at Hyderabad (Deccan) by H. E. H. the Nizam in 1918. It holds a unique place among the universities of India because the medium of instruction in the University is Urdu and not English.

In addition to the incorporation of the seven universities mentioned above, Government also reconstituted the Allahabad University on the Dacca model in 1921, with this important difference that in addition to the teaching and residential university at Allahabad there was an external side comprising a number of colleges situated in the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Central India and Rajputana.

(e) *Teaching Work done by the Universities* (1905-21).—As may be easily anticipated, the large financial resources which the universities came to possess due to Government grants and improvement in the revenue from other sources, not only enabled them to erect buildings and maintain or expand libraries and laboratories, but also to undertake teaching activities. Of the twelve Indian universities that existed in 1921, five were purely teaching universities. The University of Allahabad was a teaching as well as an affiliating university. The remaining six universities were mainly of an affiliating type although they undertook some teaching work also.

This teaching work of the affiliating universities took one or more of the following three forms :—

(*a*) Organization of special series of lectures by eminent men of learning, invited to visit the university from other parts of India or from abroad, or

(*b*) Institution of university chairs in certain subjects, or

(*c*) The establishment of honours schools or post-graduate classes directly conducted by the university.

It is now acknowledged on all hands that the best type of university organization is that of a unitary, teaching, and residential university and that the efforts of Government as well as of the public must be directed to the creation of as many universities of this type as possible. But in a vast and poor country like India, the creation of new residential and teaching universities cannot be very rapid ; and the affiliating type of university will be indispensable for a long time to come. Indeed, there are many who believe that in this land of distances and poverty, the affiliating university can never be dispensed with. Be that as it may, the teaching work that was undertaken by the affiliating Indian universities at this period was certainly a hopeful sign. Although it could not be a substitute for a unitary teaching university, it had an undoubted value in improving the tone of instruction in the affiliated colleges.

3. **Secondary Education.** (*a*) The policy of the Education Departments, during the period under review, was to concentrate on the improvement of secondary schools in preference to an increase in their number. This has been well described in the following words by the *Government Resolution of* 1913 :—

"22. Subject to the necessities of variation in deference to local conditions the policy of the Government of India in regard to secondary English schools is—

(1) to improve the few existing Government schools by—
  (*a*) employing only graduates or trained teachers;
  (*b*) introducing a graded service for teachers of English with a minimum salary of Rs. 40 per month and a maximum salary of Rs. 400 per month;
  (*c*) providing proper hostel accommodation;
  (*d*) introducing a school course complete in itself with a staff sufficient to teach what may be called the modern side with special attention to the development of an historical and a geographical sense,
  (*e*) introducing manual training and improving science teaching.

(2) To increase largely the grant-in-aid, in order that aided institutions may keep pace with the improvements in government schools on the above-mentioned lines, and to encourage the establishment of new aided institutions where necessary.

(3) To multiply and improve training colleges so that trained teachers may be available for public and private institutions.

(4) To found government schools in such localities as may, on a survey of local conditions and with due regard to economy of educational effort and expense, be proved to require them."

This statement of policy consists of four parts: the second and third parts are the continuation of the policy recommended by the Indian Education Commission. The fourth part is merely a reiteration of an exception to the general policy of withdrawal—an exception which had been foreseen and admitted to be necessary by the Commission itself. But the first part marks a clear departure from the policy recommended by the Commission. It was pointed out in Chapter VII that the Commission had recommended the withdrawal of Government from direct management of educational institutions. This recommendation had not been *acted* upon, but it still remained the declared official policy. The

Government Resolution of 1913, however, definitely abandoned this policy and stated that it was the duty of Government to maintain its existing institutions as "models" to private enterprise.

The necessity and utility of this departure from the old policy was often challenged. To begin with, *it was pointed out that this policy came in the way of larger grants to private schools.* In an attempt to make "models" of its institutions, Government had to spend large amounts on the *few* institutions maintained by it, and consequently the more numerous private secondary schools did not obtain that assistance from Government to which they were entitled on the strength of numbers and which was held out to them in para 22 (2) of the Government Resolution quoted above. Moreover, Indian public opinion often questioned the expediency of maintaining "model" institutions. It was said, for instance, that the improvement of private schools was mainly a question of funds and that private schools remained inefficient because they did not have adequate financial resources and *not* because there was not a model institution to which they might look up for inspiration and guidance. It was, therefore, urged that Government should close its institutions and use the funds so saved for giving larger grants to private schools in order to enable them to increase their efficiency.

(b) *Training of Teachers for Secondary Schools.*— The Government Resolution on Educational Policy, 1913, marked a still further advance by stating that "eventually under modern systems of education no teacher should be allowed to teach without a certificate that he has qualified to do so". It also stated that Government wished to multiply and improve training colleges so that trained teachers might be available for public

and private institutions. Consequently, the period 1904-21 marked a great advance in respect of the facilities for the training of secondary teachers. In 1921-2, the number of Training Colleges for secondary (English) teachers rose to 13 as against 6 in 1904, and the percentage of trained teachers increased considerably.

(c) *Medium of Instruction.*—In accordance with the policy adopted by Lord Curzon, the Indian languages were now invariably used as media of instruction at the Middle School stage. The question of abandoning the use of English as a medium at the High School stage was often discussed, but remained undecided.

(d) *Vocational Education.*—The attempts to introduce vocational courses at the secondary stage were continued throughout this period on the same basis as in the past, viz., through the S.L.C. examination. But, as in the past, these attempts did not succeed, although they led to some enrichment of the secondary course, and to some reforms in the method of examination.

4. **Primary Education.** (a) *Gokhale's efforts for compulsion.*—Although the expansion of primary education had been fairly rapid under the new policy adopted by Lord Curzon, it could not satisfy Indian public opinion which demanded the introduction of universal compulsory education. It was pointed out that even in 1911-2, the percentage of literacy in India was only about 6 and that only 23.8 per cent of the boys of school-going age attended school. The percentage of the girls of school-going age at school was as low as 2.7 ! It was also urged that although the rate of increase in the number of pupils in primary schools had become faster, it had not become fast enough ; that the rate of increase was very slow compared with the distance that had to be travelled before primary educa-

tion could be universally diffused; and that even if the number of boys at school continued to increase at the then rate of increase and even if there was no increase in population, several generations would elapse before all the boys of school age got into school. Public opinion, therefore, began to demand the introduction of compulsion which alone could secure universal education within the shortest time. This demand was strengthened by the fact that the Gaekwar of Baroda introduced compulsory education throughout his State, in 1906. The public were not slow to point out that what was done by the Gaekwar for his State, may easily be done by the British Government for its own territories.

The great exponent of this demand was the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale, who, as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, made heroic attempts to persuade Government to accept the ideal of compulsory education.

In March 1910, he moved a resolution on this subject and, a year later, introduced a bill "to make better provision for the extension of elementary education". It was circulated for opinion and came up for discussion in 1912. It was evident, in the course of the debate that Government was not then prepared to accept even a modest bill like this. As the official members were in a clear majority in the Central Legislature of that time, and as a number of non-official members also were opposed to it for some reason or other, the motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee was defeated by 38 votes to 13. Thus closed the first chapter in the history of compulsory education in India, and for all the zeal and ability with which Mr. Gokhale worked

at the cause, his main object was not realised. But his efforts were not entirely in vain; they led to the creation of a Department of Education under the Government of India; they considerably strengthened the movement in favour of mass education; they awakened Government to the duty regarding the education of the masses; and the great activity of Government in the field of primary education in the quinquennium 1912-7, was largely the indirect result of the efforts of Mr. Gokhale.

(b) *Government Resolution of* 1913.—Although Government had turned down Mr. Gokhale's bill, it could not entirely ignore the growing popular demand for the spread of mass education. It had, therefore, to take some steps in the matter and a great occasion for the same was given by the visit of His Majesty King George V to India in 1911-12. At the Coronation of His Majesty, a recurring grant of Rs. 50,00,000 was assigned to popular education. Shortly after this came the Government Resolution of 1913 which refused to admit the principle of compulsion on financial and administrative grounds of decisive weight but declared that it was the desire of Government to achieve the widest possible extension of primary education on a voluntary basis. Subject to these principles, the Resolution made several recommendations for the improvement of primary schools.

This statement of policy hardly needs any comment. It is evident that the struggle between quality and quantity—which had hitherto been confined to collegiate and secondary education—had now entered the field of primary education also. It is true that the Resolution expressed a hope that, although improvement would be the main aim of Government, it would not neglect

expansion and that steps would be taken to double the number of schools and pupils. But, as later events showed, these hopes did not materialise.

(c) *Progress of Primary Education,* 1917-22. The work of Mr. Gokhale was taken up by the late Mr. Vithalbhai Patel. It was mainly due to his exertions that the Bombay Primary Education (District Municipalities) Act of 1918 was passed enabling the municipalities, under certain conditions, to introduce compulsory education within their areas. This Act aroused great interest and the next few years witnessed intense activity in favour of compulsory education. In 1919, four Acts for compulsory education were passed —the Punjab Primary Education Act, the United Provinces Primary Education Act, the Bengal Primary Education Act and the Bihar and Orissa Primary Education Act. In 1920, three more Acts, viz., the City of Bombay Primary Education Act, the Central Provinces Primary Education Act, and the Madras Elementary Education Act, were passed. The working of these and the other Provincial Acts for compulsory education will be examined later in Chapter X. Suffice it to say, that the ideas of Mr. Gokhale bore fruition at this time and that the quinquennium of 1917-22 was one of great activity for the spread of primary education.

5. Transfer of Education to Indian Ministers. In the course of the last two chapters, we have seen how a gulf was created and gradually widened between official opinion on the one hand and Indian opinion on the other. The controversies that arose in 1902 over university reform never really died out. They continued over the attempts to improve secondary education in the period betwen 1904 and 1908, and again over the subject of compulsory elementary education between 1910

and 1912. When the Government of India Act, 1919, was on the anvil, all these controversies were reviewed with great vigour and the question whether the education department should or should not be transferred to Indians was hotly discussed.

The joint report of Mr. Montagu, the then Secretary of State, and Lord Chelmsford, the then Governor-General, formed the basis on which the reforms of 1919 were worked out. This report stated that the "guiding principle should be to include in the transferred list those departments which afford most opportunity for local knowledge and social service, those in which Indians have shown themselves to be keenly interested, those in which mistakes which may occur, though serious, would not be irremediable, and those which stand most in need of development". In pursuance of this principle, it was but natural to expect that education would be classed as a transferred subject. But it is interesting to note that there was considerable opposition to the transfer of the *entire* control of education to Indians and that several difficulties were put forward. The Anglo-Indians and Europeans feared unnecessarily that their interests would not be safe in the hands of Indian ministers and claimed that the subject of "Anglo-Indian and European Education" should be treated as *Central* or *reserved*. The opinions of the Provincial Governments were greatly divided. The Bengal Government desired to reserve collegiate and European education; the United Provinces Government recommended the transfer of the whole subject of education, even though the official committee which advised that Government were divided in their opinion; the Punjab Government reserved its opinion regarding the transfer of higher education; the Government of Bihar and

Orissa strongly opposed the transfer of secondary, technical and collegiate education; the Chief Commissioner of Assam opposed the transfer of collegiate education; the Madras Government opposed the transfer of the education department as a whole, and the Government of India gave the following view:—

> "We consider that there is a compelling case for the transfer of primary education. It is that part of the field which will give the fullest and freest play to responsibility at once; it will be most responsive to patriotic effort; and it will be the nursery for the broad and enlightened electorate on which the future depends. The labour of bringing primary education up to a reasonable standard, the need for almost unlimited development, the difficulties of gradually making it free and then compulsory—these and its many other problems constitute a task which will be enough, and more than enough, to occupy all the energy and ingenuity of ministers for years to come. . . We may say at once that in our minds there is an equally compelling case for retaining secondary and university education in the hands of the official and more experienced half of the Provincial Governments. India stands today in a critical position; and her immediate future, apart from her slower political growth, depends upon the solution of social, economic and industrial problems to which a good system of secondary education is the chief key. If we handed it over at this juncture to untried hands we should be guilty of grave dereliction of duty." [1]

Luckily for this country, however, better counsels prevailed, and the whole of the education department was transferred to Indian ministers subject to the following reservations:—

> 1. The Benares Hindu University and such other new universities as may be declared to be all-India by the Governor-General-in-Council were excluded on the ground that these institutions were of an all-India character and had better be dealt with by the Government of India itself;

[1] *Despatch on the Functions Committee's Report*, paras 103-4.

2. Colleges for Indian chiefs and educational institutions maintained by the Governor-General-in-Council for the benefit of members of His Majesty's Forces or other public servants, or their children were also excluded on the ground that these institutions ought to be under the direct control of the Government of India ; and

3. The education of Anglo-Indians and Europeans was treated as a provincial but a *reserved* subject.

The authority to legislate on the following subjects was reserved for the central legislature, mainly with a view to enabling the Government of India to take suitable action on the report of the Calcutta University Commission :—

1 Questions regarding the establishment, constitution and functions of new universities ;

2. Questions affecting the jurisdiction of any university outside its province ; and

3. Questions regarding the Calcutta University and the re-organization of secondary education in Bengal (for a period of five years only after the introduction of the Reforms).

As will be easily seen, these orders created a queer position by treating education as "partly all-India, partly reserved, partly transferred with limitations, and partly transferred without limitations". They show clearly the difficulty with which a workable compromise was finally arrived at between the various conflicting opinions which have been mentioned above.

Chapter X

INDIANS AT THE HELM

(1921-1937)

The Constitution introduced by the Government of India Act, 1919, is known as "Dyarchy" or the rule of the two. Under this system, the sphere of the activities of a Provincial Government was divided into two parts —the *reserved* departments and the *transferred* departments. The Governor, who was the head of the Provincial Government was to administer the reserved departments with the help of some executive councillors and was to be responsible to the Secretary of State for Indian Affairs (through the Government of India) for the proper management of those Departments; on the other hand, he was expected to administer the transferred departments with the help of ministers who were responsible, not to the Secretary of State, but to a Provincial Legislature which consisted of a large elected majority. It was on account of this division of the provincial executive into two parts that the system got its name of Dyarchy, and it was under this unusual form of a political constitution that Indians first obtained the control of the Education Department. It is beyond the scope of this book to enter into an examination of the merits and demerits of this constitutional machinery; but the following narrative of some of its features will throw light on the difficulties under which the Indian ministers had to work.

2. **Financial Arrangements.** The most important handicap of Indian ministers was financial and hence the financial arrangements that were introduced by the Government of India Act of 1919 deserve a careful study.

Prior to this date, all the revenues of India were divided into three parts—Central, Provincial and Divided. Certain sources of revenue such as Customs, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, were regarded as Central, that is to say, belonging exclusively to the Government of India; certain other sources of revenue such as Forests were treated as exclusively Provincial; and some sources of revenue were treated as "divided", and their total yield was shared in a fixed ratio by the Government of India and the Provincial Government concerned. The Reforms of 1919 proposed to make a clear-cut division of revenues between the Central and Provincial Governments by the abolition of "divided sources"—the most important of which were Land Revenue, Income-tax, Excise, Stamps and Irrigation. For reasons which it is beyond the scope of this book to consider, it was decided to treat all these sources, except income-tax, as Provincial revenue. This led to a serious loss to the Central Government and hence it was proposed that the Provincial Governments should make some yearly contributions to the Central Government until the latter had time to adjust its own budget. The contributions to be thus paid by the Provincial Governments were made a first charge on their revenues and the balance was to be utilised for the Provincial departments—both reserved and transferred.

Keen controversies arose as to how this allocation within the Province was to be made. One view was that the Executive Councillors who were in charge of the reserved departments and the Ministers who were in charge of the transferred departments should sit together under the chairmanship of the Governor and decide upon the allocation of revenues among all the departments of the Province according to the needs of

each. This system came to be known as the "joint-purse" system. The opponents of this view advocated a different plan according to which a clear-cut division of the Provincial revenue was to be made between the two halves of Government and each half was to propose its own methods of additional taxation if the existing resources proved to be insufficient. This scheme came to be known as the "separate-purse" system. Ultimately, the former view prevailed and the system of joint-purse was adopted. As later events showed, this system of financial arrangements did not help the cause of the transferred departments in general and of education in particular. The finances of the Provincial Governments were largely crippled by the contributions payable to the Government of India; in industrial provinces like Bombay where the revenue from income-tax was a lucrative, elastic, and ever-improving source of income, the centralization of the income-tax hit the provincial finances very hard; the portfolio of finance was a reserved subject and was held by an executive councillor. For these and other reasons, the Indian ministers were not able to obtain the funds essential for a large-scale expansion and reorganization of education.

3. **Control over Services.** Another peculiar feature of the diarchical form of administration was the very limited control which the Indian ministers could exercise over the educational services of the country. In 1921, most of the key posts in the Education Department were held by members of the Indian Educational Service and they continued to be so held for most of the period under review. The question of the future rights and privileges of the members of this service was one of the important issues raised at the time of the transfer of

education to Indian control and formed the subject of a heated controversy. Ultimately, the rules that came to be framed on the subject guaranteed certain rights and privileges to the members of All-India Services in the transferred departments. The Ministers thus obtained only a *limited* control over the Indian Educational Service which, as has been pointed out, held all the key-posts in the department at this time.

This position was anomalous and led to a good deal of ill-feeling on both sides. On the one hand, it was alleged that the Indian Educational Service officers did not sympathise with the ideas of reconstruction that were being put forward by non-official Indian opinion; that it was difficult to carry out a policy with which the chief executive officers were not in sympathy; and that the privileges granted to the I.E.S. even amounted to a curtailment of the responsibility of the Indian ministers to their legislatures. On the other hand, the officials complained of frequent variations in policy and of interference with the day-to-day executive work of the administration. It is difficult to make any generalised statements on the subject, as the position must have largely varied from province to province and must have greatly depended upon the "personal equation" between the parties concerned. But it may be definitely stated that the experiment did not succeed well and the necessity of harmony between the ministers and the executive came to be greatly felt.

The question was further considered by the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India which recommended that "for the purposes of local Governments, no further recruitment should be made to the All-India Services which operate in transferred fields. The personnel required for these branches of administra-

tion should, in future, be recruited by local Governments." This recommendation was accepted by Government and the recruitment to the Indian Educational Service has been discontinued since 1924. This action was tantamount to the acceptance of the principle that the Ministers must have full control over the Services. The privileges granted to the existing members of the service were, however, continued on the ground that it would be unfair to them to place their services entirely under the control of the Ministers.

4. **Other Difficulties.** The above discussion will show the main difficulties that were inherent in the constitutional arrangements under which Indians first obtained the control of the education departments. To these must be added certain difficulties created by outside circumstances. For instance, the Indian National Congress, which had then grown to be the largest political party in India, considered the reforms of 1919 to be unsatisfactory, boycotted the Legislative Councils, and organized the Non-Co-operation Movement. Similarly, a Civil Disobedience Movement was organized in 1930-32. These two political movements dominated the national life of the country throughout the period under review; the attention of the public was, therefore, concentrated more on political than on educational problems.

To these political difficulties must be added the financial difficulties created by the world economic depression that began about 1930. One would have thought that the financial difficulties created by a world economic depression should have had little or no effect on *education*. Its importance as a nation-building department and the fact that it had been starved of its due share of public revenues for a long time in the past ought to have shielded it from the axe of retrenchment.

Unfortunately, events showed that the axe fell heavily on nation-building departments and more particularly so on education.

5. **Main Achievements of the Period.** With this background in view, let us now turn to the main achievements of this period.

The following statistics compare the educational results of 1936-7 with those of 1921-2 :—

Type of Institution	No. of Institutions		No. of Scholars	
	1921-2	1936-7	1921-2	1936 7
1. Universities ...	10	15	Figures not available	9,697
2. Arts Colleges ...	165	271	45,418	86,273
3. Professional Colleges	64	75	13,662	20 645
4. Secondary Schools .	7,530	13,056	11,06 803	22,87,872
5. Primary Schools ...	1,55,017	1,92,244	61,09 752	1,02,24,288
6. Special Schools ...	3,344	5,647	1,20,925	2,59,269
Total for recognised Institutions ...	1,66,130	2,11,308	73,96,560	1,28,88,044
7. Unrecognised Institutions ...	16,322	16,647	4,22,165	5,01,530
Grand Total ..	1,82,452	2,27,955	78,18,725	1,33,89,574

N.B.—The figures are for British India only, exclusive of Burma.

The results, it will be seen, are surprisingly good, and even a little unexpected in view of the several difficulties mentioned above. To what causes are these results to be ascribed ? How are we to explain the paradoxical phenomenon that there was an all-round and unprecedented increase in the number of schools and of scholars under instruction in spite of the fact that

the expansion of Government efforts was substantially curtailed on account of financial stringency ?

6. **The Causes of Rapid Expansion.** The explanation of this paradox is to be found in the great political and social awakening that took place in India during this period. The following quotations from a document of this period will give an insight into the causes that led to this remarkable expansion of education :—

> "A burst of enthusiasm swept children into school with unparalleled rapidity ; an almost childlike faith in the value of education was implanted in the minds of people ; parents were prepared to make almost any sacrifice for the education of their children ; the seed of tolerance towards the less fortunate in life was begotten ; ambitious and comprehensive programmes of development were formulated, which were calculated to fulfil the dreams of a literate India ; the Muslim community, long backward in education, pressed forward with eagerness to obliterate past deficiencies ; enlightened women began to storm the citadel of old-time prejudice against the education of Indian girls ; Government, with the full concurrence of Legislative Councils, poured out large sums of money on education, which would have been regarded as beyond the realm of practical politics ten years previously." [1]

This passage, on the whole, shows the causes that led to the remarkable expansion during the period under review. One cannot, however, agree with the author of the quinquennial review in his observation that " Government poured out large sums of money on education which would have been regarded as beyond the realm of practical politics ten years previously ". A study of the relevant statistics of expenditure will show that in actual fact, Government *had* poured out much more money in the earlier period :—

[1] *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1927-32, Vol. I, p. 3.

Source	1901–2	1916–7	1921–2	1931–2	1936–7
		(In lakhs of Rupees)			
Government ...	103	392	902	1,246	1,236
Non-Government :					
(*a*) District Boards ...	59	174	168	280	257
(*b*) Municipalities ...	15	49	79	158	178
(*c*) Fees ...	127	319	380	623	711
(*d*) Other Sources ...	97	195	308	412	424
Total ...	401	1,129	1,837	2,719	2,806

(The figures are for British India only, exclusive of Burma.)

It will be seen that the increase in Government expenditure was 510 lakhs in the quinquennium 1916-7 to 1921-2—much more than that in the decade 1921-2 to 1931-2 to which the review refers. It will also be seen that Government expenditure increased from Rs. 103 lakhs in 1901-2 to Rs. 902 lakhs in 1921-2, i.e., an increase of nearly Rs. 800 lakhs; while it increased by Rs. 334 lakhs only during the quinquennium 1926-7 to 1931-2 On the other hand, the figures for non-Government sources show that during the period 1901-2 to 1921-2, the expenditure rose by 637 lakhs, while the increase in the period 1921-2 to 1936-7 was equally good—viz., Rs. 635 lakhs. In other words, the increase in the expenditure from non-Government sources continued almost unchanged while there was a fall from Rs. 799 lakhs to Rs. 334 lakhs in the increase of expenditure from Government funds. It is obvious from the above that during the period 1921-2 to 1936-7, the Local Boards and the people—who formed the bulk of the non-Government sources—contributed more than 60 per cent of the increase in total expenditure that took place.

In comparing the figures of expenditure for the two periods, one has to remember that the earlier period of 1901-2 to 1921-2 was a boom period in world economics, while the latter period was one of universal economic depression. It is not, therefore, surprising that the earlier period saw Government making substantial contribution to expenditure on education and that during the latter, that contribution dropped materially. What *is* surprising and remarkable is the fact that the *people* were willing to make great sacrifices in the cause of education even during these lean years. These sacrifices of the people were really laudable; they showed that the public enthusiasm for education was genuine and earnest; they also made up, to a certain extent, the deficiencies of Government contributions; and it is to them that we must ascribe the great all-round expansion of education that we find in these years.

7. **The Hartog Committee.** The rapid expansion of education that took place during this period of fifteen years threw into sharp relief some of its existing defects and also created new problems of its own. Consequently the dissatisfaction against the educational system, to which we have referred while dealing with the early decades of this century, increased considerably both in official and non-official circles. For instance, official opinion held that the sudden rise in quantity had led to a great dilution of quality and that the educational system of India was largely ineffective and wasteful. This view was pointedly expressed in the report of the "Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission" (popularly known as the Hartog Committee, after its Chairman, Sir Philip Hartog). This report is one of the most important documents of this period and deserves a careful perusal. The main find-

ings and recommendations of the Committee referred to Primary Education and we shall deal with them in a later section. Its recommendations on other matters are given below :—

"In the sphere of secondary education there has been an advance in some respects, notably the average capacity of the body of teachers, in their improved conditions of service and training, and in the attempt to widen the general activities of school life. But here again there are grave defects of organization. The whole system of secondary education is still dominated by the ideal that every boy who enters a secondary school should prepare himself for the university; and the immense numbers of failures at the Matriculation and in the university examinations indicate a great waste of effort. Such attempts as have been made to provide vocational and industrial training have little contact with the educational system and are, therefore, largely infructuous. Many of the universities and colleges show marked improvement in their methods of teaching and in the amount of original work which they have produced ; and in some of them there is undoubtedly a better training for corporate life than formerly. But the theory that a university exists mainly, if not solely, to pass students through examinations still finds too large acceptance in India ; and we wish that there were more signs that the universities regarded the training of broad-minded, tolerant and self-reliant citizens as one of their primary functions. They have been hampered in their work by being overcrowded with students who are not fitted by capacity for university education and of whom many would be far more likely to succeed in other careers . . . We are of opinion that the divorce of the the Government of India from education has been unfortunate ; and, holding as we do, that education is essentially a national service, we are of opinion that steps should be taken to consider anew the relation of the Central Government with this subject.

We have not suggested, nor do we suggest, that the responsibility of Ministers in the provinces should be reduced. On the contrary, we are of opinion that they have been reduced too much already by a devolution on local bodies which has taken the control of primary education to a large extent out

of their hands, with unfortunate results. The relations between provincial governments and local bodies demand further consideration and adjustment. . . . The Directors of Public Instruction have been loyal and enthusiastic, but they are grappling with immense responsibilities without sufficient support. The headquarters staffs of provinces should be largely increased, so that important schemes of development may be considered with greater care and the ordinary work of education supervised more effectively. An increase in the inspecting staffs should lead to economy and not to extravagance. The reconstitution of the provincial educational services can suffer no further delay." [2]

8. **Non-official Opinion.** Just as official opinion was generally dissatisfied with the system, non-official opinion was also dissatisfied although the grounds of its dissatisfaction as well as its proposals of reform were quite different from those of the officials. For instance, while the official view was that primary education had expanded too rapidly at the cost of quality, the non-officials criticized the *slow rate* of its advance and demanded a definite time-table of expansion with a view to liquidating early the appalling illiteracy of the masses; the official view complained that the average student was weak in English and that the standard of proficiency in that language was being lowered, while the non-official view complained against the domination of English throughout the school and college course, proposed that English should be taught as an optional subject, and even suggested the study of an Indian language, e.g., Hindustani, as a national language in place of English; and so on. We need not enter at this stage into the details either of the criticism of the system or of the proposals for reform. It will suffice our immediate purpose to state the main tendencies which it displayed, viz., the protest against the intellectual domi-

[2] *Report*, pp. 345-7.

nation of the West; the desire to create a new educational system suited to national aspirations rather than to imitate Western models; the attempt to prove that good education is not necessarily costly; and the struggle to show how a good system of education could be developed within the resources of a poor country like India.

It will be seen that the cleavage between the official and non-official opinions was very wide. Had it been possible for the two sides to work together, the gulf might have been bridged. Unfortunately, the political situation in the country at the time was not favourable for such an experiment with the result that the breach between the two sides widened still further during the period under review.

The fundamental conflict during this period, therefore, was that between quality and quantity—between the effort to improve as opposed to the desire to expand. This conflict manifested itself in various forms at the University, Secondary and Primary stages of education. We shall, therefore, now proceed to examine, in some detail, the main events of this period under these three heads.

9. **University and Collegiate Education.** The period of sixteen years between 1921 and 1937 is one of great advance in University education. Its main events were the following:—

(a) *The Inter-University Board.*—The need for the co-ordination of the work of Indian universities was greatly emphasized by the Calcutta University Commission. A similar recommendation was made by the Indian delegates to the Congress of the Universities of the Empire held in 1921. The Lytton Committee on Indian students in England also hoped that the Indian

universities would constitute, at an early date, an Inter-University Board for the purpose of co-ordinating the courses of study in India and in securing uniformity in their recognition abroad. As a result of all these recommendations, the first All-India Conference of Indian Universities was held at Simla in 1924 and an Inter-University Board was established. The Board consists of representatives of all the Indian universities, and has been holding annual meetings at different university centres since 1925.

(b) *Incorporation of new Universities.*—It will be recalled that the Government Resolution on Educational Policy dated 21st February, 1913, laid down the principle that every province should have a university of its own and that teaching universities should be established in as many centres as possible. Expansion on these lines was carried on during the period under review and five new universities came to be incorporated. The Delhi University was established for the centrally administered province of Delhi, and the Nagpur University for the Central Provinces and Berar. The Andhra University was established for the Telugu-speaking areas of the Madras Presidency. The Agra University was incorporated as an affiliating university for the United Provinces, Central India, and Gwalior. And finally, a unitary, teaching and mostly residential university was established at Chidambaram in the Madras Presidency and named after its munificent donor, Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar.

(c) *Changes in the Older Affiliating Universities.*—Many of the older universities in India also underwent important changes during the period under review. The constitution of the University of Madras was considerably modified by the Amending Acts of 1923 and 1929,

that of the Bombay University by the Act of 1928 and, finally, that of the Patna University by the Act of 1932. The object of all these Acts was mainly to improve the administration of the Universities and to enable them "to provide greater facilities for higher education and research". The University of Allahabad became a purely teaching body during the period under review and the Universities of Calcutta and the Punjab undertook extensive teaching work.

(d) *Expansion of University education.*—The number of University Departments and constituent or affiliated colleges increased from 207 in 1921-2 to 446 in 1936-7 and the number of students attending them from 66,258 to 1,26,228. Besides, a number of new faculties were opened and provision was made for the teaching of several new courses.

(e) *Provision for Research.*—An outstanding feature of the period is the considerable provision for research that was made by all the Indian universities. During the period 1854 to 1902, the main task of the Indian universities was "not so much the encouragement of learning as the liberation of the Indian mind from the thraldom of old-world ideas, and the assimilation of all that is highest and best in the life, and thought, and character of the West." In the period 1902-21, the universities turned their attention to teaching and research but their actual achievements were not considerable. During the period 1921-37, research work was organized by Indian universities on a far larger scale than ever before. This was done by (1) maintenance of libraries and research departments, (2) institution of research degrees, (3) provision of scholarships and fellowships for research, and (4) university bulletins or publications. The Indian universi-

ties have thus already taken the field in the fight for the extension of the boundaries of knowledge and there is every reason to hope that they will soon begin to play a part that is worthy of the hoary traditions of this country.[3]

(f) *Development of Inter-Collegiate and Inter-University Activities.*—Another important feature of the period under review was the development of inter-collegiate sports and competitions which soon became a feature of almost all Indian universities. The Inter-University Board also began to arrange inter-university sports and tournaments. These activities have created healthy contacts between university students and teachers in various parts of the country and form an important aspect of the growing national life of India.

(g) *Provision of Military Training.*—This period also witnessed the provision of military training by the organization of University Training Corps. The institution of the corps proved extremely popular and during the period under review there was a considerable demand for its extension and even for the introduction

[3] Besides the incorporated universities, there are, in India, a number of institutions which teach up to the university standard and provide facilities for research. They are:—

1. The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
2. The Bose Research Institute, Calcutta.
3. The Harcourt Butler Technological Institute, Cawnpore.
4. The Imperial Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi.
5. The Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.
6. The Indian School of Mines, Dhanbad.
7. Shrimati Nathibai Damodar Thackersey Indian Women's University, Bombay.
8. The Visva Bharati.
9. The Serampore College.
10. National Universities, such as the Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi, the Gujrat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad and the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith, Poona.

of compulsory military training. It is also worthy of note that some universities have introduced military science as a subject of instruction.

(h) *Residence and Health of Students.*—Lastly the period is also remarkable for the great attention paid to the problem of the residence and health of the students for the improvement of which all the universities took such measures as were necessary and practicable. Provision was very largely made for medical inspection and compulsory physical education was also introduced by several universities. Regulations regarding the provision, control and management of hostels were also framed; and although a good deal of work yet remained to be done, it was a happy sign that the subject began to receive the close attention it deserves.

10. **Secondary Education.** (a) **Expansion.**—During this period, the most noticeable feature of Secondary Education was its expansion as will be seen from the following statistics:—

	1921-2	1936-7
No. of Recognised Secondary Schools ...	7,530	13,056
No. of Scholars in Recognised Secondary Schools	11,06,803	22,87,872

N.B.—Figures for British India only, excluding Burma.

This rapid expansion was due to several causes, the more important of which were the awakening among the masses, the opening of secondary schools in semi-urban or rural areas, and the special efforts made to spread higher education among the less advanced sections of the population. As pointed out earlier the period under review witnessed a great awaken-

ing among the people. This created a desire for the acquisition of higher education; and consequently even those sections of the population which had not hitherto manifested any strong desire for higher education now began to send their children to secondary schools in large numbers.

Secondly, a large number of new secondary schools were opened during this period in mofussil towns and bigger villages by enterprising individuals and associations. The causes that led to the establishment of such schools were several. Very often they were established on account of local patriotism or a desire on the part of parents to give secondary education to their children in their own locality rather than to send them to distant towns at a tender age. Sometimes schools were opened by social workers who wanted to spread higher education in rural and backward areas. Now and then a new school came to be established as a result of unhappy circumstances such as factions in an older school leading to a split among the workers. There were also cases in which the growing unemployment among the educated classes led some to found a school for the simple reason that they could not cultivate any other vocation in life. But instances of the latter types were indeed few, and it may be stated that the vast majority of the new secondary schools of this period belonged to the first two categories described above.

This opening of new secondary schools in the smaller towns, and even in bigger villages, was a veritable boon to the parents in the rural areas. Formerly they had to send their children to the bigger towns and cities if they desired to give them the benefit of secondary education. This was a costly affair; besides, as already pointed out, parents were generally unwilling to send

their children to the bigger towns and cities at a very tender age for fear of exposing them to all the temptations of a city life. When, however, secondary schools came to be opened in rural or semi-urban areas, the villagers took immediate advantage of the opportunity; and this period, therefore, witnessed a great increase in the enrolment of pupils from rural areas.

Lastly, this rise was partly due to the extensive efforts that were made in this period to spread higher education among women and the less advanced classes of the population. These may be grouped under three categories:—

(i) attempts made by Government such as the opening of special institutions, reservation of accommodation in Government institutions, awards of scholarships and free studentships, preferential recruitment in Government services, etc.,

(ii) attempts made by the communities themselves to organize funds for awarding scholarships, maintenance of hostels, etc.; and

(iii) attempts made by philanthropic or social service organizations.

Incidentally, it may be pointed out that most of this expansion was due to private enterprise. For instance, compare the following statistics:—

——	1921–2	1936–7
Institutions for Boys conducted by :		
Government	379	436
Boards	2,273	5,649
Private Bodies—Aided	2,883	4,073
,, ,, —Unaided	1,320	1,573
Total for Boys ..	6,855	11,731

	1921-2	1936-7
Institutions for Girls, conducted by :		
Government	115	207
Boards	70	235
Private Bodies—Aided	468	799
„ „ —Unaided	22	84
Total for Girls ...	675	1,325
Grand Total of all institutions for boys and girls	7,530	13,056

N.B.—Figures for British India, exclusive of Burma.

It will be seen that Government secondary schools increased by only 149, while private schools increased by as many as 1,836 (1,521 aided and 315 unaided). Figures for the number of pupils reading in the secondary schools conducted by the above agencies cannot be given separately; but these would evidently be more or less in a similar proportion to that of the number of institutions.

(b) *Medium of instruction.*—The second important achievement of the period under review was the large scale adoption of the modern Indian languages as media of instruction at the secondary stage. So far as orders on paper are concerned, the mother-tongue could have been exclusively adopted as the medium of instruction at the secondary stage, but "theory conflicted with practice" and for several reasons the use of English as a medium of instruction was not completely abandoned. Some of these reasons are given below :—

(i) The use of English as a medium of instruction at the University stage, coupled with the fact that the secondary course is merely an appendage of the University course and not a self-contained unit as it ought to

have been, still led several managers of schools to adopt English as a medium of instruction.

(ii) Parents as well as pupils desired a proficiency in English because the medium of examination in Government Competitive Examinations still continued to be English and a person with a good command of English generally had a greater chance of success in such examinations and in securing employment under Government.

(iii) In multi-lingual areas where it was not possible, on financial grounds, to give instruction through all languages, English was often adopted as a medium of instruction.

(iv) In the earlier stages of the experiment, such difficulties as the absence of a scientific terminology, lack of suitable text-books and competent teachers, etc., were made much of. Even though these complaints had ceased to be of much practical importance, they were still used as a reason for the continued use of English.

(v) In Hindi-Urdu areas—such as the United Provinces—difficulties of *script* were found to be more important that those of *language*. For instance, there was a departmental order in the United Provinces, that the Indian language used for instruction must be such as can be understood by both Hindi and Urdu speaking pupils. In carrying this out, the difficulties of script arose and black-board work had to be carried out in Devanagari and Urdu, or Roman scripts. The experiment of using a language commonly understood by Hindi and Urdu speaking pupils has, however, its practical advantages and there is a growing belief that it may lead to the development of a "mixed language . . . (which) will make a better language than Sanscritised Hindi or Persianised Urdu", and it is even reported that "a shapely and vigorous language is being evolved from

the non-descript jargon which headmasters complained of at first." [4]

It may thus be stated that by the year 1937, the question of the medium of instruction at the secondary stage had almost ceased to exist as a "problem". It is true that certain difficulties in the way of a complete victory still remained. But it was realised that they were not insurmountable. The most formidable obstacle was the use of English as the medium at the University stage. Hence the attention of educationists now came to be directed to such problems as that of the medium of instruction at the University, the development of a national language for India, and the creation of a uniform scientific terminology.

(c) *Problems of Teachers in Secondary Schools.*— The movement that had begun in the earlier period in favour of training secondary teachers continued with greater force during the period under review. In 1936-37, there were 15 institutions for training teachers for secondary (English) schools with an enrolment of 1,488 which included 147 women. The percentage of trained men teachers in secondary schools was as under :—

Madras	84.7	Bombay	22.8
Bengal	20.7	United Provinces	67.2
Punjab	89.7	Bihar	54.4
Central Provinces	70.2	Assam	39.0
North-West Frontier	80.3	Sind	16.5
Orissa	70.8	Delhi	82.8

The main feature of this period, however, is not the improvement in the training of secondary teachers but the greater attention that now came to be paid to the salaries and conditions of service of teachers in private

[4] *D.P.I.'s Report* (U.P.), 1927-32, p. 42.

schools which had, by this time, expanded and multiplied to a very great extent. The salaries of these teachers were low because the resources of the private secondary schools were far from satisfactory. The conditions of service also left a good deal to be desired and, except in rare instances, there was neither any security of tenure nor any provision for old age. These difficulties of teachers soon attracted notice and it was realised that the efficiency of teaching in secondary schools could not be improved unless the secondary teachers were assured of a fair remuneration and decent conditions of service. The attention of Provincial Governments was mainly devoted, during the period under review, to the institution of Provident Funds for teachers in aided secondary schools, to the provision of larger grants with a view to improving teachers' remuneration and exercising a more rigid control over private schools in order to give security of service to teachers.

(d) *Provision of Vocational Courses.*—The problem of providing vocational education at the secondary stage became even more important and complicated in this period than in the preceding one. This was due to three causes : *Firstly,* the expansion of secondary education led to the enrolment of many a pupil who was not quite 'at home' in the almost exclusively literary education that was offered in the average secondary school and who would have been able to attain a better self-expression through the pursuit of some vocational skill ; *secondly,* the opening of a large number of secondary schools in rural areas created a problem which did not exist before, viz., the adaptation of the secondary school to rural needs and environment ; and *finally,* the large increase in the number of girls' secondary schools created the problem of devising special courses suited to their

requirements. Unfortunately, no satisfactory solution of the problem could be evolved. The Government of India, therefore, requested His Majesty's Government to send some experts to India in order to study the problem and make recommendations. Accordingly, Messrs Wood and Abbot came to India and after a detailed enquiry, submitted an important report on the proper organization of vocational education in India.

11. **Primary Education.** The most important event of the history of Indian education under diarchy is the rapid development of mass education. The slow advance of mass education was one of the weakest links in the modern educational system of India, and Government policy had often been criticised on that account. On the other hand, Indian public opinion had shown a very keen interest in mass education and the liquidation of illiteracy and it was, therefore, generally expected that the Indian Ministers would try their best to grapple with the problem of universal, free, and compulsory, primary education. This, in fact, they did ; and the following brief notes will show how this war against illiteracy was generally planned.

(b) *Primary Education Acts.*—An outstanding feature of the decade 1917-27 was the passing of Compulsory Education Acts in most of the provinces of British India. Some of these Acts, it is true, were passed prior to the transfer of the education department to Indian Ministers. But, as action on most of them began to be taken only during the period under review, more appropriately, their study forms part of the development of education under diarchy.

The following table shows the details regarding the various provincial Acts of compulsory education :—

Year	Province	Name of the Act	Compulsion whether for Boys or Girls	Whether applicable to Rural or Urban areas
1919	Punjab	Primary Education Act	Boys	Both
„	U.P.	„	Both	Municipal
„	Bengal	„	Boys (extended to girls by an amendment in 1932)	„
„	Bihar and Orissa	„	Boys	Both
1920	Bombay	City of Bombay P. E. Act	Both	Applicable to City of Bombay only
„	C.P.	P. E. Act	„	Both
„	Madras	Elementary Education Act	„	„
1923	Bombay	P. E. Act	„	Applicable to the whole of the Province except Bombay City
1926	Assam	„	„	Both
„	U.P.	District Boards P. E. Act	„	To rural areas only
1930	Bengal	Bengal (Rural) P. E. Act	„	„

A detailed study of each individual Act is beyond the scope of this book. But the following comments on their main features will be found interesting :—

(i) These Acts transferred large powers of administration and control over primary education to the local authorities, i.e., to the local self-government institutions which were entrusted with the responsibility of making adequate provision for primary education in their areas.

(ii) All the Acts make it a duty of the local authorities to study the needs of their areas and to prepare schemes for the expansion and development of primary education within their jurisdiction.

(iii) In all the Acts the initiative in the matter of introducing compulsion is left with the local authorities ;

and in some Acts, as in Bombay, power is reserved to Government, in certain circumstances, to take the initiative in introducing and enforcing compulsory education.

(iv) In all provinces the local authorities are given the power to levy an educational cess in order to meet their own share of the cost of providing primary education, whether on a compulsory or on a voluntary basis.

(v) In all provinces Government undertakes to assist the local authorities financially in order to enable them to introduce compulsory education.

(vi) The age of compulsion for elementary education varies from province to province. In provinces with a four years' course, it is generally fixed at 6 to 10 except in the Punjab where the optional age-period of 7 to 11 is also provided ; on the other hand, in provinces with a five years' course, the age of compulsion is generally fixed at 6 to 11.

(vii) The Acts make provision for prosecuting parents for failure to send their children to school, and all Acts, except that of Madras, penalise the employment of children within the age-period of compulsion in areas where compulsory education is enforced.

The above analysis will show that the view taken in most of the provinces was that primary education is a subject of local administration and responsibility. It was in pursuance of this view only that Provincial Governments liberalised the constitution of local self-government institutions, gave them additional powers of taxation, and made them responsible for the introduction and enforcement of compulsory primary education. This devolution of authority in primary education to local self-government institutions is the second forward step in the development of such institutions—the first

having been initiated by Lord Ripon—and forms the most important characteristic of the period under review.

(c) *Achievements of the period* 1922-27.—Soon after their coming into power the Indian Ministers of Education drew up schemes and programmes for the expansion of primary education and the Provincial Governments provided additional funds. Consequently primary education expanded very rapidly between 1922 and 1927. The following statistics tell their own tale :—

TABLE I

General Results

	1921-2	1926-7
1. Number of Primary Schools ...	1,55,017	1,84,829
2. Number of Pupils in Primary Schools	61,09,752	80,17,923
3. Expenditure on Primary Education (direct)	4,94,69,080	6,75,14,802

TABLE II

Areas under Compulsion

Province	Municipalities and Urban Areas	District Boards and rural Areas
Madras ...	21	3
Bombay	6	...
United Provinces	25	..
Punjab	57	1,499
Bihar and Orissa	1	3
Central Provinces	3	66
Delhi	1	...
Total ...	114	1,571

N.B.—The rural areas in the Punjab are the areas served by individual schools.

(d) *The Events of the Period* 1927-37.—The next quinquennium, however, witnessed a slackening of the pace of expansion due mainly to two causes: the first was the economic depression to which we have already referred. This led to the abandonment of most of the schemes of expansion and even necessitated large cuts in existing expenditure. The second cause of the slackening was the recommendation of the Hartog Committee to the effect that Government should adopt a policy of consolidation rather than of expansion,—a recommendation that came generally to dominate the official viewpoint during the decade 1927-37.

It is interesting to note that the Committee decided to give special attention to the problem of primary education, because its condition was far from satisfactory, "due in part to the fact that while much attention has been paid in the past to a consideration of the higher forms of education, the problems of primary education have been comparatively neglected."[5] It is strange that this observation should have been made successively by the Despatch of 1854, the reviews of education held by Government of India between 1866-70, the Indian Education Commission, 1882, the Resolution of Government on Educational Policy dated 11th March, 1904 and then again by the Hartog Committee! This can only mean that in spite of all the discussions and schemes for expanding primary education during the last hundred years or so, the problem had not yet been squarely and fully faced.

After pointing out the various defects in the system of Primary Education which led to considerable wastage and stagnation, the Committee made the following recommendations regarding the reform of the system:—

[5] *Report*, pp. 3-4.

(i) A policy of consolidation should be adopted in preference to one of diffusion.

(ii) The minimum duration of the primary course should be of four years.

(iii) The standard of the general education of primary teachers should be raised; the training course should be sufficiently long; the training institutions for primary teachers should be adequately staffed and made more efficient; refresher courses and conferences of primary teachers must be frequently arranged; and the remuneration and conditions of service of primary teachers should be such as will enable the profession to attract and retain men of good quality.

(iv) The curriculum of primary schools should be liberalised.

(v) School hours and school holidays should be adjusted to seasonal and local requirements.

(vi) Special attention should be given to the lowest class in primary schools and determined efforts should be made to reduce the large amount of stagnation and wastage that prevail therein.

(vii) Rural uplift work should be undertaken and centred in the school.

(viii) The devolution of authority in primary education to local bodies has been excessive. Primary education is a subject of national importance and hence it is the duty of Government to assume necessary powers of control and improve the efficiency of administration.

(ix) The inspecting staff of Government should be considerably strengthened.

(x) No hasty attempts should be made to introduce compulsion but attention should be directed to a careful preparation of the ground.

This report was warmly received in official circles

and came to dominate official thought throughout the period under review. A study of the reports of the provincial Directors of Public Instruction of this period shows a general uniformity of ideas; such defects as the prevalence of wastage and stagnation, extreme devolution of authority to local bodies, inadequacy of the inspecting staff, are found to be frequently emphasized. The official view was still predominantly in favour of the policy of consolidation which had been laid down by the Government Resolution of 1913 Out of deference to the strong public opinion, it had temporarily accepted the policy of expansion which thus held the field in the quinquennium 1922-27. The Report of the Hartog Committee, however, came as a triumph to the official view; for it attempted to show that a policy of expansion had proved ineffective and wasteful and that a policy of consolidation alone was suited to Indian conditions.

A brief survey of the provincial policies of this period will be found very interesting. For instance, there was a protest from many quarters 'against a reckless and impetuous multiplication of primary schools'.[6] The Central Provinces report for 1927-32 finds consolation in the thought that 'inefficient schools have been removed from the struggle . . . several schools with comparatively small enrolment have been closed'.[7] The Bihar and Orissa report for 1927-32 states that in the earlier years of the quinquennium, "many boards and individuals opened schools more rapidly than was prudent"[8] and adds that the effects of retrenchment were *salutary* as it led to the disappearance of unaided

[6] *Progress of Education in India*, 1927-32, p. 4.
[7] Page 42.
[8] Page 51.

institutions. In Bombay, the primary schools increased by a *meagre* 797 in five years (1927-32)—an event on which the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India felt called upon to observe that it was doubtful "whether, with its depleted finances, this province can afford to multiply its primary schools at so *rapid* a pace, especially when *other aspects of education need prior attention.*"[9] In Madras, the number of primary schools decreased from 46,389 in 1927 to 41,141, in 1937 and the Director observed that "the policy of expansion which was in full swing between 1920 and 1930, countenanced the establishment of a large number of inefficient, uneconomic and superfluous schools which proved worse than useless. This policy of expansion has led to the recent reaction in favour of concentration and elimination, which is partly responsible for the reduction in the number of elementary schools."[10] We need not multiply instances. Those given above will show how the report of the Hartog Committee came to dominate the official view-point during this period.

On the other hand, the non-official view, in general, gave a cold and hostile reception to the Hartog Committee's Report. The main points in this criticism may be summarised as under:—

(i) The non-official opinion was generally in favour of expansion, and a very rapid expansion at that. It was pointed out that the rate of expansion of mass literacy in India was extremely slow; that the percentage of literacy had increased from 3.5 in 1881 to only 8.0 in 1931—an increase of less than one per cent in every decade; that the rate of increase of literacy had not kept pace with the growth of population—

[9] *Progress of Education in India*, 1927-32, p. 128 (Italics ours).
[10] *Report* for 1932-37, page 86.

which increased at one per cent every year; that the increase in the number of illiterates was far greater than the increase in the number of literates; that 'education must pour and not trickle'; and that unless a definite programme for the liquidation of illiteracy was drawn up and carried out, the question of mass education in India would never be solved.

(ii) *Secondly*, the non-official view did not accept the opinion of the Committee that *quality* must have prior claim over *quantity*. Whatever the merits of this view in the field of secondary or university education, it was urged that in a country like India with 92 per cent of its population still illiterate, the first objective of Government policy should be to banish illiteracy from the land; and that the quality of education was a matter that should come *after* illiteracy had been liquidated.

(iii) *Thirdly*, the validity of several of the conclusions drawn by the Committee was keenly contested. For instance, it was pointed out that the amount of wastage was greatly exaggerated by the Committee and that the method adopted by it for the evaluation of wastage was statistically defective; that the conclusion of the Committee that a large percentage of the pupils who attain literacy in schools lapse into illiteracy at a later date is logically inaccurate; that the average salary of primary teachers in Bombay was never Rs. 47 per mensem, etc.

These criticisms, which are but a few among those that were actually offered, show how the gulf between official and non-official views had widened during the period under review. In 1937, therefore, India stood almost at the parting of ways. It had to make its choice between these two views and accept either a policy of rapid expansion involving, if necessary, a loss of quality

or one of a deliberate attempt to improve quality necessarily involving a curtailment of a programme of expansion.

The combined effect of the lead given by the Hartog Committee and of the financial stringency caused by the world economic depression was that primary education made comparatively little progress in the period between 1927 and 1937. Compare the following statistics :—

	1921-2	1926-7	1931-2	1936-7
1. No. of recognised Primary Schools ...	1,55,017	1,84,829	1,96,708	1,92,244
2. No. of pupils in above ...	61,09,752	80,17,923	91,62,450	1,02,24,288
3. Total direct expenditure on primary education ...	Rs. 4,94,69,080	Rs. 6,75,14,802	Rs. 7,87,95,236	Rs. 8,13,38,015

It will be seen that the increase of pupils under instruction in the ten years between 1927 and 1937 is only slightly greater than that in the quinquennium 1922-27 ; the increase in the number of schools is only 7,415 while that in the preceding quinquennium was 29,812 ; and the increase in expenditure is only about Rs. 138 lakhs, while that in the earlier quinquennium was about Rs. 181 lakhs. Even towards this small increase, Government contribution was smaller than that from non-Government sources.

Similarly, we find that no serious attempts were made either to introduce compulsion extensively or to enforce it rigidly. The position of areas under compulsion in 1936-37 may be summarised as under :—

Province	Urban Areas	Rural Areas	No of villages in Rural Areas under compulsion
Madras ...	27	7	104
Bombay ...	9	1	143
Bengal ...	1	...	...
United Provinces ...	36	25	1,224
Punjab ...	63	2,981	10,450
Bihar ...	1	1	1
Central Provinces and Berar ...	27	8	508
Sind ...	1	1	613
Orissa ...	1	1	14
Delhi ...	1	9	15
Total ...	167	3,034	13,072

The following special features of the situation may be noted :—

(i) Much greater progress has been made in urban areas than in rural ones. This is due to two causes; *firstly*, the conditions in urban areas are more favourable to the introduction of compulsion; and *secondly*, both Government and the local authorities are tempted to take up schemes in urban areas because the *additional* cost of compulsion in these areas is far less than that of introducing compulsion in rural ones.

(ii) Except in the Punjab, the progress of compulsion in rural areas has been extremely slow. Out of the five lakhs of villages in India, only about 13,072 villages have been brought under compulsion. Out of these, as many as 10,450 were in the Punjab alone. The problem of compulsion is mainly a rural problem and hardly any adequate attempt has yet been made to solve it.

(iii) Compulsion is needed more for girls than for boys; and yet more boys have been brought under compulsion than girls. In some provinces, e.g., the

Punjab, compulsion can be applied only to boys ; in other provinces, even though the law permits the application of compulsion to girls, most of the compulsory schemes were applicable only to boys.

(iv) The rate of extension of compulsion has been very slow. At the rate of progress in this period, it would take India nearly 500 years to introduce universal compulsion. In Bombay, for example, the Primary Education Act of 1923 contemplated the introduction of universal compulsion in ten years. But even in 1937, fourteen years after the passing of the Act, only 3 per cent of the population was brought under compulsion. (The City of Bombay which is not governed by the above Act has been excluded in these calculations.)

(v) Even in the few areas where compulsion has been introduced, its enforcement was far from satisfactory. The enrolment of children was not appreciable, and generally only about 60 to 80 per cent of the total number of the children of school-going age were enrolled. The average attendance was low and hardly better than in schools where no compulsion existed. Wastage in compulsory areas was as bad as in non-compulsory ones. The local authorities were unwilling to prosecute defaulting parents and very few prosecutions were launched under the Compulsory Education Acts. To sum up, it may be said that compulsion was not enforced in a rigid manner and that it existed more or less on paper only.

The official attempts, therefore, were concentrated throughout the period on qualitative improvement. The success achieved in this direction was not, however, remarkable. There was some improvement in the training of teachers—the percentage of trained teachers

rising from 44 in 1927 to 57 in 1937. There were also several changes in the curricula of training institutions mainly with a view to enabling teachers to co-ordinate instruction with rural life and environment. In some provinces, an attempt was also made to recruit 'more suitable' candidates for training institutions.

This is all that can be said by way of achievements. The rest of the record is hardly one of success. Even at the end of the period, official reports still pointed out the very large prevalence of wastage and stagnation; hardly any attempt was made to provide reading rooms and libraries with a view to altering the environment that leads to lapse into illiteracy; the provision of the inspecting staff was even more inadequate at the end of the period, because, "the expansion of education particularly that of girls, had out-distanced the provision of additional inspectors;"[11] the single-teacher schools still dominated the situation, as indeed they threaten to do to the end of time; and the salaries of primary teachers deteriorated in Bombay—where they were the highest—and did not improve in other provinces. All things considered, it may be concluded that the improvement in quality was not appreciable and was by no means an adequate compensation for the loss in quantity.

[11] *Progress of Education in India*, 1932-7, p. 34.

CHAPTER XI

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

The Government of India Act, 1935, is the next milestone in the onward political march of India and it introduced, in 1937, full provincial autonomy under which the Indian ministers of education had far greater powers than they ever had under dyarchy. For instance, there was not that irritating division of resources between the reserved and the transferred departments ; the I.E.S. was almost extinct and the ministers had now obtained full control over most of the educational services : the political and social awakening in the country had made a great leeway with the result that public response to schemes of educational reconstruction was assured ; and the continuous interest in educational matters which Indians had taken since the days of Lord Curzon had created, and made available, a band of enthusiastic Indian educationists who had a grasp of the situation, a vision of the great future of the country, and a clear perception of the methods that would have to be employed if the goal was to be reached in the shortest time. In other words, all the *material* needed for launching a planned drive to introduce a system of national education was ready at hand and the Education Ministers under provincial autonomy could legitimately hope to plan and execute bold schemes of national reconstruction. It was precisely in this spirit that the popular ministries began their work in the eleven provinces of India where legislatures under the Government of India Act of 1935 had been constituted. In seven out of these eleven provinces, it was a Congress ministry that came to power.

2. **The Nature of the Problems.** The assets of the education ministers under provincial autonomy were

thus very encouraging. But the magnitude, the variety, and the complexity of the problems that they were called upon to face were such as would have filled even stouter hearts with dismay. These problems are realised best against a background of historical development and we have already pointed them out in several parts of this book. But for purposes of convenience and an easier understanding of the discussion to follow we propose to summarise them briefly in this section.

(i) *Primary Education* :—

(*a*) Here the most fundamental problem was that of expansion, of the immediate necessity of introducing universal, compulsory, and free primary education. This problem had been discussed ever since the days of Gokhale ; but its financial and administrative implications had never been squarely faced.

(*b*) *Secondly,* there was the equally, important problem of eliminating the tremendous waste occurring in the existing system of primary education. The Hartog Committee pointed out, though in an exaggerated manner, the enormous waste that now occurs on account of the absence of compulsion, which enables the parent to withdraw his children prematurely from schools, ineffective teaching due to the existence of low-paid, unqualified, and untrained or inefficiently trained teachers, and lack of adequate and efficient supervision.

(*c*) *Thirdly,* the problem of the content of primary education was also of immense importance. In the days of indigenous schools, the curriculum was very dry and limited. In the early

days of educational administration, it became too crowded in an attempt to spread western knowledge among the masses. A period of simplification began in 1870 and the move was commended by the Indian Education Commission. A counter-move at enrichment began in the early years of this century under Curzon and continues to this day. But all along, primary education has never stood by itself but has merely been treated as a preparation for secondary school. The attempt to co-ordinate primary education with the immediate environment of the pupils, to create a system of education that would develop the best in the child and fit him for something in life had yet to be done.

(ii) *Secondary Education* :—

The history of secondary education during the last hundred years has shown that the main achievement of the period is *expansion.* Secondary education has ceased to be limited to a few towns and to the boys of the upper classes of society only. It has now spread to rural areas, to girls, and to those sections of the community who, for a long time, had been unable to take advantage of it. The adoption of the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction can hardly be called a gain, because it would be more appropriate to describe it as the rectification, after the sufferings of nearly a century, of a mistake committed in 1835.

The expansion of secondary education seems large and there are some who even regard it as excessive. This latter view would be true if we considered only the population that has school facilities—about 10%.

But if the entire population of India is taken into consideration, if the needs of secondary education are estimated on the basis of universal compulsory primary education, it will be easily seen that India not only has no excess, but would actually require several thousands of additional secondary schools. The problem of secondary education in India is fundamentally, as that of primary education mentioned above, a problem of expansion.

Besides this aspect of expansion, the following problems of secondary education also need consideration :—

(*a*) The large increase in the enrolment of girls at the secondary stage necessitates the planning of special courses suited to their needs and raises questions regarding the advisability of co-education, the organization of special secondary schools for girls, the appointment of women teachers in mixed secondary schools and the training of women teachers ;

(*b*) The opening of schools in rural areas raises the question of the advisability of the preparation of secondary courses in keeping with rural environment ;

(*c*) The rush of pupils to secondary schools and the absence of vocational courses to divert them into various walks of life, increases the drift to the matriculation and to colleges ; and the work of universities is hampered by the inflow of a number of candidates who are not likely to be benefited by a University course ;

(*d*) There is a complaint from some quarters that the inordinate rush of pupils to secondary schools is leading to a lowering of standards ; and it is generally felt that the organization of

secondary education is showing signs of a strain under the great increase in the number of schools and scholars;

(*e*) The problem of educated unemployment has begun to loom large on the horizon, as the outturn of persons who have received a literary education is far in excess of the needs of the black-coated professions;

(*f*) The problem of secondary education has become virtually the problem of aided secondary schools, and questions regarding grants to aided schools and the remuneration and conditions of service of teachers working in them has begun to receive prominent attention;

(*g*) Finally, there has been a large increase in the secondary schools managed on a communal or sectarian basis. Although there are certain advantages in this type of school, especially with regard to the provision of religious instruction, there are some serious drawbacks as such schools often result in unnecessary duplication and extravagance, and are liable to stimulate communal controversies and undermine national solidarity by denying the pupils in such institutions the advantages of intimate association with pupils of other communities.

(iii) *University Education* :—

Even at the university stage, problems are awaiting solution. For instance:—

(*a*) A number of the students who flock to the University are not really fit to benefit by a course of university education. The presence of these students leads to wastage of funds and energy and also to a lowering of

the standards to a certain extent. The problem of selecting proper persons for admission to a university has, therefore, assumed great importance in recent years.

(*b*) When the establishment of additional affiliating or unitary universities was proposed, it was believed that they would relieve the earlier affiliating universities of a part of their work and thereby help in reducing their size. But in spite of the creation of several new universities—both affiliating and unitary—the strain on the earlier affiliating universities still continues undiminished. The following statistics of 1917 and 1937 speak for themselves :—

University	No. of Students	
	1917	1937
1. Calcutta	28,618	35,357
2. Bombay	8,001	17,575
3. Madras	10,216	17,454
4. Punjab	6,558	19,841

It is clear that the creation of new universities has hardly kept pace with the growth of university education, mainly owing to the paucity of funds.

(*c*) The increase of students has taken place in the courses of liberal education rather than in those of professional education. For instance, take the following statistics :—

	1921-2	1936-7
1. No. of colleges of Arts and Science (including Oriental Colleges) ..	207	366
2. No. of colleges of black-coated professions of Teachers, Doctors & Lawyers..	32	55
3. No. of colleges of other professions ...	12	25

	1921–2	1936–7
4. No. of students in Arts & Science Colleges (including Oriental Colleges) ..	54,473	1,04,923
5. No. of students in colleges of black-coated professions ..	10,277	15,846
6. No. of students in colleges of other professions	1,608	5,459

N.B.—The word 'college' as used here includes a University department or class.

(*d*) The sudden increase in the number of students under university instruction has greatly emphasized the problem of unemployment among the educated classes. The goal of most of the university degree-holders still continues to be of service under Government—an avenue that is already crowded and that can never be expected to keep pace with the rapid growth of university education. Alternative careers in trade, industry, and commerce are not available in sufficiently large numbers because Indian trade and industries have not been developed. Consequently, the problem of securing suitable employment for the highly educated youth of the country dominates the whole field of university education.

(*e*) There is a noticeable tendency in most of the universities to undertake ambitious programmes—to try to provide instruction in almost all branches of knowledge, and eventually to scatter the available resources over a wide field. This tendency is to be greatly regretted, especially as it strains the financial resources of the universities. The funds of the universities come usually from three sources—endowments, Government grants, and fees. The revenue from the first source is not considerable at present; the Government grants are

not large and are not likely to be increased in view of the large claims which the expansion of primary education has on the revenues of the state; and although the income from fees comes to a big amount at present, it will necessarily be diminished when the number of universities increased. Hence the problem of proper co-ordination of the work of the universities with a view to minimising duplication and overlapping and securing the best results from available resources became, during the period under review, a question of paramount importance. The Inter-University Board has not been able to deal with this problem; nor can it be expected to do so because its authority is not *above* the universities but emanates *from* them.

(*f*) The problem of the proper demarcation of the university course from that of the secondary schools is also of great importance. The Calcutta University Commission recommended that this should be done at the Intermediate examination. The Central Advisory Board of Education recommended that it should be after what now is the First Year Course at the College. The question is still one on which no conclusion has been reached.

(*g*) The problem of the medium of instruction at the Collegiate stage has also not been squarely faced as yet.

(iv) *Administrative and General* :—

Among the administrative and general problems that face us, the following may be mentioned:

(*a*) The role of the Government of India, which commands the most important sources of revenue, in educational reconstruction is not yet defined. History shows that the Central Government threw the responsibility for edu-

cation on Provincial Governments which, in turn, divested themselves of the onerous responsibility of primary education and threw it on local bodies which have the most slender resources. The problem of co-ordinating the work of Central, Provincial, and Local Self-Governments with due regard to their financial resources is of utmost importance.

(*b*) The inspecting staff of most Educational Departments of Provinces needs reorganisation and strengthening.

(*c*) There is hardly any provision at present for a school medical service which will provide for medical inspection, after treatment, and mid-day meals to the poor and undernourished.

(*d*) The problem of proper physical education of the school-going population has not been tackled on a sufficiently large scale.

(*e*) The problem of establishing employment bureaux and of giving vocational guidance has not been tackled.

(*f*) The vast problem of illiteracy still awaits solution.

(*g*) The few attempts that are now made to provide infant or nursery schools are utterly inadequate in view of the vast work that still remains to be done.

(*h*) The education of the physically handicapped, backward, and abnormal children has hardly received any adequate attention as yet.

(*i*) No attempt has yet been made to organise educational research on an adequate scale.

(j) The organisation of libraries and other means of adult education on a nation-wide scale has yet to be attempted.

The list of the problems given here need not be regarded as exhaustive. But it will show clearly how varied, complex, and difficult the problems of Indian education are. The task becomes all the more strenuous because it has to be accomplished in an environment which has been made unfavourable by:

(a) Physical handicaps such as small scattered population centres, low density population coupled with scantiness of means of communication, the existence of large areas of unhealthy climate, etc.;

(b) Social difficulties such as the barriers created by religious, communal, and linguistic difficulties and such social customs as purdah and child marriages; and

(c) Economic difficulties such as the extreme poverty of the average parent, the scantiness of the resources of the State, and the undeveloped state of commerce, industries and agriculture in the country.

3. **The work of Educational Reconstruction under Provincial Autonomy.** It was to the solution of such problems that the Provincial ministries were called upon to direct their energies. It was hardly possible for them to tackle all of them at once. Hence, they took up schemes which may be broadly divided under three heads:

(a) Exploratory;

(b) Executive; and

(c) Experimental.

Let us discuss these seriatim.

(*a*) *Exploratory work.*—The problem of Indian Education had never been studied in the past from the national point of view. It was, therefore, thought desirable to undertake such a study of some of the important problems of education before proceeding further. The Government of Bombay, for instance, appointed special Committees to enquire into adult education, physical education, training of teachers, and vocational education. The Governments of the United Provinces and Bihar appointed Committees to report on educational reorganisation and reconstruction in those Provinces. The Government of Bengal appointed Committees to report on primary and adult education; and so on. Besides these provincial and topical studies, the Central Advisory Board of Education, which had been revived in 1935, undertook the study of educational problems on an All-India Scale. It set up special committees to report on primary education, adult education, basic education, and so on. In short, it may be stated that in no other period in the history of Indian education of equal length was so much exploratory work done as in the three years between 1937 and 1940.

Secondly, it was not merely the quantity of the exploratory work that deserved notice. The nature of the work turned out was quite different from that of similar work in the earlier periods, because the personnel of the committees appointed during this period was drawn from among enthusiastic Indian educationists and not from "Experts" from across the seas.

(*b*) *Executive work.*—Side by side with the exploratory work mentioned above, the Provincial ministries undertook the immediate execution of certain schemes

which they deemed to be urgent or which had not been adopted by earlier Governments in spite of repeated demands from the people. The adoption of a physical education programme in Bombay is an instance of the first type, and the provision of large funds for the spread of adult literacy in various provinces is an instance of the second.

Broadly speaking, the schemes undertaken by the Provincial Governments included the sanctioning of larger grants to local bodies on account of primary education, the extension of compulsory education, opening of primary schools in areas where schools did not exist, and sanctioning programmes and funds for the spread of literacy among adults. This last activity was specially emphasized by almost all Provincial Governments and it should be stated to the credit of the popular ministers that organised attempts to liquidate mass illiteracy were made for the first time under Provincial Autonomy. The schemes adopted in Bihar and the City of Bombay are of particular interest. During these three years, a vast amount of useful spade work was done in adult literacy —a work that is going to be of immense use when large-scale literacy drives come to be undertaken.

(c) *Experimental work.*—Lastly, the Provincial Governments of this period also undertook certain bold experiments, the most noteworthy among which is that of Basic Education or the Wardha Scheme. As this was initiated by Mahatma Gandhi, it was immediately adopted by all the Congress Ministries and, therefore, a greater publicity and attention came to be paid to it than to any other experiment in this country.

Originally, the Wardha Scheme aimed at providing education at little or no cost to the State. The main idea

of the scheme was to correlate all education to a basic craft, say spinning and weaving of cotton, and to impart all instruction to children through such craft. "Learning by doing" was its motto. Incidentally, it was hoped that the thread spun and the cloth woven by the school children would bring in an income to the school which would pay for a substantial part of the salary of the teacher, if not the whole of it. The scheme, however, evoked strong criticism in certain quarters and a committee was appointed with Dr. Zakir Hussain of the Jamia Millia as Chairman, to go into these criticisms and draft a detailed syllabus for Basic primary schools.

As a result of the report of this Committee, the scheme was modified and the self-sufficiency aspect of Basic Education has since been practically given up. Nor is there any rigid insistence on imparting all instruction through the craft only. It is now permissible to use all experiences of pupils for educational work and to correlate the bulk of the instruction to the basic craft, which need not necessarily be confined to spinning and weaving. On the other hand, a good deal of experimental work has been done and a number of practical difficulties have been cleared.

Even in its modified form, Basic Education appears to be the boldest experiment yet undertaken to reconstruct primary education in India. It avoids the three salient defects of the existing system of primary education, viz., divorce from environment, bookishness, and absence of creative activities. It teaches dignity of manual labour to children. In the principle of "Learning by doing"—which, it may be noted in passing, is not a new principle—it provides a more pleasing and effective means of imparting instruction. All things considered, the experi-

ment of Basic Education must be regarded as a unique and important contribution of the Congress to Indian education.

4. **Some Educational Statistics.** The creditable achievements of the brief period of three years between 1937-8 and 1939-40 can be seen from the following figures :—

		1937-38	1939-40
1.	No. of universities—	15	15
2.	No. of Arts colleges—		
	(*a*) for males	246	266
	(*b*) for females	33	38
3.	No. of professional colleges—		
	(*a*) for males	67	73
	(*b*) for females	7	12 8
			38
4.	No. of High schools—		
	(*a*) for males	3,018	3,246
	(*b*) for females	398	465
5.	No. of English middle schools—		
	(*a*) for males	4,134	4,600
	(*b*) for females	429	537
6.	No. of vernacular middle schools—		
	(*a*) for males	4,750	4,735
	(*b*) for females	576	3631
7.	No. of primary schools—		14414
	(*a*) for males	1,58,602	1,61,810
	(*b*) for females	30,999	27,941
			189751
8.	No. of special schools—		
	(*a*) for males	5,508	10,402
	(*b*) for females	432	685

	1937-38		1939-40	
9. Scholars—	Male	Female	Male	Female
(*a*) in arts colleges	94,339	6,793	1,09 921	9,615
(*b*) in professional colleges ...	21,273	734	24,382	1,086
(*c*) in high schools	9 96 131	1,21,860	11,08,509	1,47 379
(*d*) in English middle schools ...	4,70,500	71,512	5,45,023	92,242
(*e*) in vernacular middle schools ...	6,18,707	1,14,178	6,31,905	1,34,143
(*f*) in primary schools	79,74,703	25,41.650	85,95,642	28,49,730
(*g*) in special schools	2,53,162	20,057	4,18,838	35,979
Total ...	1 04 28,815	28,81,534	1,14,34.120	32 70,174

	Rs.	Rs.
10. Expenditure—		
(*a*) from Government funds ...	11,41,14,000	13,03,80,000
(*b*) from Local funds	2,53,80,000	2,42 94,000
(*c*) from Municipal funds	1,73,29,000	1,76 20,000
(*d*) from Fees	7,07,65,000	7,78,55,000
(*e*) from other sources	4,20,34,000	4,07,27,000
Total ...	26,96,22,000	29,08,76,000

It will be seen that the enrolment in schools increased by about 10 per cent in two years or by about 7½ lakhs of pupils a year and that Government expenditure on education increased by about 1.6 crores. These rates of increase are about the highest known to educational history in India.

5. **Popular Reactions.** The work undertaken by the popular ministries in the different Provinces led to great reactions among the general public. To begin with, it produced considerable educational activity in Indian States and schemes of educational expansion and reorganisation on the general lines mentioned above began to be prepared. *Secondly,* public enthusiasm for and interest in educational matters was greatly stimulated and the number of public bodies doing educational work increased, their resources were strengthened by public donations on the one hand and larger grants-in-aid from Government on the other, and they were enabled either to expand their work or to undertake new activities which had remained unattempted before. *Thirdly,* several keen controversies arose over the question of educational reconstruction: for instance, the Muslims were strongly opposed to Basic Education and the Vidya Mandir scheme. This opposition was partly political; but it also had a positive value and showed that the Muslim community has begun to be more alive to its cultural inheritance and more eager to evolve a system of education to meet its own special requirements. The Muslim reaction to the Congress schemes was the appointment of the Kamal Yar Jung Committee by the All-India Muslim Educational Conference. This committee worked for about two years and made its recommendations to the Conference. These and such other incidents stimulated

public interest in educational matters to a very great extent. It may even be said that education was never so much discussed nor so conspicuous in public thought as during this period.

6. **The War.** The work of educational reconstruction undertaken by the popular ministries was cut short by the war which broke out in 1939. The Congress ministries resigned soon after, and even in the other provinces hardly any bold planning could be done owing to the more pressing needs of war. This situation continued till about 1943 when the war took a definite turn in favour of the United Nations. As victory came within sight, post-war planning began to be considered by the Government of India, and early in 1944 the Central Advisory Board of Education presented the country with their plan of post-war educational reconstruction in India known popularly as the "Sargent Report".

7. **The Sargent Report.** The Scheme of the Central Advisory Board of Education is called the "Sargent Report" because Mr. (now Sir) John Sargent, the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, was mainly responsible for the Memorandum on which it is based. The object of the scheme is to create in India, in a period of *not less than forty years,* the same standard of educational attainments as *already existed then* in England. With this end in view, it provided for :—

(*a*) Pre-Primary education for children between 3 and 6 years of age ;

(*b*) Universal, compulsory, and free Primary or Basic education for all children between the ages of 6 and 14, divided into the Junior Basic (6-11) and Senior Basic (11-14) stages ;

(c) High School education for six years for selected children between the ages of 11 and 17;
(d) A university course of three years beginning after the present Intermediate Examination for selected students;
(e) Technical, commercial, and art education for full-time and part-time students on an adequate scale;
(f) The liquidation of adult illiteracy and the development of a "public libraries" system in about 20 years;
(g) Full provision for the proper training of teachers required for the implementing and continuation of the scheme;
(h) The organisation of compulsory physical education, medical inspection followed by after treatment, and provision of milk and midday meals for undernourished children;
(i) The creation of employment bureaus;
(j) The education of the physically and mentally handicapped children; and
(k) Social and recreational activities on a fairly liberal scale.

"An adequate provision" says the Report, "of *Pre-Primary instruction* in the form of Nursery Schools or classes is an essential adjunct to any national system of education. . . . Nursery Schools and classes should be invariably staffed with women teachers who have received special training for this work. Pre-Primary education should in all cases be free. While it may not be feasible to make attendance compulsory, no efforts should be spared to persuade parents to send their children to school voluntarily, particularly in areas where housing conditions are unsatisfactory and/or mothers are accustomed to go out to work. The main object of education at this stage is to give young children social experience rather than formal instruction."

For *primary education* the Report has adopted the scheme of Basic Education with some modifications. It says :—

"Basic (Primary and Middle) education, as envisaged by the Central Advisory Board, embodies many of the educational ideas contained in the original Wardha Scheme, though it differs from it in certain important particulars. The main principle of "learning through activity" has been endorsed by educationists all over the world. At the lower stages the activity will take many forms, leading gradually up to a basic craft or crafts suited to local conditions. So far as possible the whole of the curriculum will be harmonised with this general conception The three R's by themselves can no longer be regarded as an adequate equipment for efficient citizenship The Board, however, are unable to endorse the view that education at any stage and particularly in the lowest stages can or should be expected to pay for itself through the sale of articles produced by the pupils. The most which can be expected in this respect is that sales should cover the cost of the additional materials and equipment required for practical work. . . . On leaving (the school), the pupil should be prepared to take his place in the community as a worker and as a future citizen. He should also be inspired with the desire to continue his education through such means as a national system of education may place at its disposal. With this end in view the Senior Basic School should afford the widest possible opportunities for those corporate activities including physical training and organised games, which are essential to supplement the instruction given in the class-room."

"The function of the *High School*" says the Report, "is to cater for those children who are well above the average in ability." It will, therefore, only admit pupils selected on the basis of "abilities, aptitudes, and general promise". The selection will take place at the age of 11+ when the Junior Basic course would have been over. The Report estimates that about 20 per cent of the children attending Junior Basic schools will be admitted

to High Schools. Every child entering a High School shall remain under compulsion until the age of 14+. Even after this period, steps are to be taken to see that children are not withdrawn from the school before the completion of the course.

The High Schools will charge adequate fees. But 50 per cent of the pupils will be provided with free studentships or similar concessions and poverty shall not be allowed to be a bar to the education of a deserving child. A pupil who does not happen to be selected shall not ordinarily be allowed to enter a High School. But "the Board would not object to places being provided for such children on the condition that these are in addition to those required for children selected on the ground of ability and that the parents concerned are required to pay the *whole cost of the education provided.* It would appear inequitable to spend *public money* on providing higher education for those who have not shown that they are likely to take full advantage of it".

The aim of High School education is defined by the Report in the following words :—

> "High School education should on no account be considered simply as a preliminary to University education, but as a stage complete in itself. . . . While it will remain a very important function of the High Schools to pass on their most able pupils to Universities or other institutions of equivalent standard, the large majority of High School leavers should receive an education that will fit them for direct entry into occupations and professions . . . though a certain percentage of them may be expected to require further training for a period of one to three years, either full-time or part-time, in order to qualify themselves for posts that require special skill."

"The reorganised High Schools", says the Report, "should be of two main types :—

"(1) The Academic High Schools and (2) the Technical High Schools . . . the Academic High School will impart instruction in the Arts and pure Sciences; while the Technical High School will provide training in the applied sciences and industrial and commercial subjects. In both types the course in the Junior departments covering the present Middle stage will be very much the same and there will be a common core of the 'humanities' throughout. Art and Music should form an integral part of the curriculum in both and all girls should take a course in domestic science. . . . Transfer from one type to the other should be made as easy as possible at any rate up to the end of the Junior courses. . . . In smaller centres which can only be served economically by single High Schools, the individual Schools should be required to offer as wide a choice of courses as possible. In rural areas . . . an agricultural bias should be given to the curriculum . . ."

The medium of instruction in *all* High Schools should be the mother-tongue of the pupils. English should be a compulsory second language.

The list of subjects to be taught in both the types of High School is given. The list is suggestive and it is not intended that every pupil should be taught all the subjects. Subjects common to both the types: (1) The mother-tongue, (2) English, (3) Modern languages, (4) History (Indian and World), (5) Geography (Indian and World), (6) Mathematics, (7) Science, (8) Economics, (9) Agriculture, (10) Art, (11) Music, (12) Physical Training. In the Academic High School Classical Languages and Civics are added to the common list. In the Technical High Schools the Science subjects are to be studied more intensively. Technological subjects, such as wood and metal work, elementary engineering, measured drawing, etc., and commercial subjects, like book-keeping, short-hand, type-writing, accountancy, commercial practice, etc., are also to be added to the

common list. In the case of girls, among other subjects, domestic science should be one.

The Report points out certain defects in the present state of affairs in *Indian Universities*. The gravest of these is their failure to relate their activities sufficiently closely to the practical needs of the Community as a whole. There is no systematic attempt on their part to adjust the output to the capacity of the employment market to absorb it. A great deal too much importance is attached to examinations, and the examinations themselves put a premium on book learning of a narrow kind at the expense of original thinking and real scholarship. In the absence of any proper selection beyond what is provided by an admittedly easy matriculation examination, they have opened their doors to many students whom a more searching test would have debarred from entry. The position is further complicated by the absence of any general and liberal arrangements for assisting students of real ability who are prevented by poverty from seeking admission to Universities. Probably nowhere among the Universities of the world is there so large a proportion of failures in examinations as in Indian Universities.

The Report summarises its recommendations on University education in the following words :—

> "Indian Universities, as they exist to-day, despite many admirable features do not fully satisfy the requirements of a national system of education. In order to raise standards all round, the conditions of admission must be revised with the object of ensuring that all students are capable of taking full advantage of a University course. The proposed reorganization of the High School System will facilitate this. Adequate financial assistance must be provided for poor students. The present Intermediate Course should be abolished.

Ultimately the whole of this course should be covered in the High School, but as an immediate step the first year of the course should be transferred to High School and the second to Universities. The minimum length of a University Course should be three years (in certain subjects longer). The tutorial system should be widely extended and closer personal contacts established between teachers and students. The importance of establishing a high standard in post-graduate studies and particularly in pure and applied research should be emphasised. Steps should be taken to improve the conditions of service, including remuneration of University and College Teachers where those now in operation are not attracting men and women of the requisite calibre. An Indian University Grants Committee should be constituted for the purposes . . . "

Regarding the drafting of High School leavers to the University Courses, the Report presumes that one in fifteen of them will reach the level requisite for entrance to the University. It is also contemplated that in order to enable poor but deserving students to have University education nearly one-third of the students in the Colleges and Universities, will have to be given maintenance grants.

Technical and Vocational Education. The Report divides the workers needed by Indian Art and Industries into four categories :—

(1) Highest Category—chief executives and research workers of the future : These will normally have their preliminary training in a Technical High School and will then pass to the Technological Department of a University or to a full-time Course of the National Diploma type in a Technical Institution. The admissions to these Courses should be the outcome of a very strict process of selection. They will not be many.

(2) The minor executives, foremen, charge hands, etc It is the main aim of the Technical High School to satisfy this need : but the Technical High School pupil will be required to continue his technical education either by taking a National

Diploma or Certificate Course or by attending part-time classes of a fairly advanced description.

(3) The skilled craftsmen: These may be recruited from Technical High School pupils; but as a rule after passing through the Senior Basic School where they will have mastered the rudiments of craft work, they will go to Junior Technical, Trade or Industrial Schools for a further two or three years' full-time Course.

(4) The great mass of semi-skilled and unskilled labour: They will be recruited mostly directly from Senior Basic (Middle) Schools where they will have done some craft work. It is important to afford these persons facilities both for continuing their general education and for improving their skill, so that the best of them may ultimately ascend to the skilled class.

It makes adequate provision for the efficient training of all these types of workers. Over and above this, the Report points out, there is very urgent need in India of what is called the part-time system. Part-time day classes (or the sandwich system) constitute a factor of great importance in any modern scheme for technical education. The students of these classes will be working in factories and other industrial or commercial concerns as paid workers and they will be given due facilities for improving the knowledge and skill required for their daily work. The advantages of this part-time system are many. This type of technical instruction (part-time) is likely to overlap the sphere of Adult Education which will also impart some vocational training. The responsible administrative authorities should see to it that no overlapping takes place.

"The role of *Adult Education*" says the Report, "is to make every possible member of a State an effective and efficient citizen and thus to give reality to the ideal of democracy. . . . In India, so far the general attitude has been to regard adult education as connoting adult literacy. The

reason is obvious, for the problem in this country is vastly different from what it is in Western countries. A child must learn to walk before he can run; an adult must be literate before he can hope to derive any benefit from facilities for education in the wider sense. . . . The main emphasis in this country must, for some time to come, be on literacy, although from the very beginning some provision must be made for adult education proper, so that those made literate may have an inducement as well as an opportunity to pursue their studies".

The Report makes the following observations regarding the organization of a programme of Adult Education:—

The normal age range of adult education should be 10 plus to 40. As far as possible, separate classes should be organised, preferably during the day-time, for boys between ten and sixteen years, as it is undesirable, from many points of view, to mix boys and men in adult classes. It would also be preferable to have separate classes for young girls, but the objection to mix young girls and women is not so serious as in the case of boys and men, and may be easily out-weighed by the factor of resources available and other practical considerations.

In order to make adult instruction interesting and effective, it is necessary to make fullest possible use of visual and mechanical aids such as pictures, illustrations, artistic and other objects, the magic-lantern, the cinema, the gramophone, the radio, etc., dancing, particularly folk dancing, music, both vocal and instrumental and dramas will also be useful.

It is necessary to provide numerous and adequate libraries. Obviously a very large library system will be necessary in a country like India, but with a properly organised scheme of circulating libraries and exchange of books the cost need not be prohibitive.

Although substantial help can be had from voluntary organizations, the problem of adult education as a whole is so far too vast to be within the capacity of unaided voluntary effort. The State must accept the primary responsibility for tackling the problem.

The problem of adult education for women has its own difficulties. The enrolment per class of adults should not exceed 25. The full working of the scheme cannot be started immediately. The first five years must be devoted to planning, to the recruitment and training of teachers and to general setting up of necessary organisation.

Regarding the *recruitment and training of teachers,* the Report assumes that one teacher will be required for every 30 pupils in the Pre-basic and Junior Basic Schools, for every 25 pupils in Senior Basic Schools and for every 20 pupils in High Schools. The minimum qualification for a teacher is prescribed as the completion of the High School Course followed by a training of two years in case of teachers in Pre-Basic and Junior Basic Schools and three years in Senior Basic Schools. The non-graduate teachers in High Schools are expected to undergo a training course of two years and the graduates would receive one year's training.

For the basis of selection of candidates for teachers' posts the following method followed in some parts of England is suggested. "Suitable pupils who wish to become teachers are picked out during the last two years of their High School Course. They are kept under observation by Heads and Inspectors and are given the opportunity of visiting other schools and trying their hand at actual teaching. Doubtful cases are sifted by this means. Such pupils often receive special stipends."

Technical and Commercial teachers as a rule will get their practical experience in industry and their pedagogical training in the Technical Institutions. No special Training Schools or Colleges will be required in their case.

Refresher Courses should be provided at frequent intervals in order to keep trained teachers up-to-date.

The Report is emphatic on the necessity of employing such teachers only as are fully qualified and trained and the time required to work out its proposals is mainly determined by this factor.

In order to attract the proper type of persons to the teaching profession, the Report proposes to revise the scales of pay to be given to all grades of teachers—particularly to the teachers at the primary stage who are paid very low salaries at present. Tentatively, the Report has proposed new and reasonable scales of pay for the consideration of Provincial Governments.

Regarding the *health of school children,* the Report makes the following proposals :—

Routine examination should be held (*a*) on entering into a Basic (Primary) School, i.e., at the 6th year, (*b*) at the 11th year and (c) before leaving in the 14th year. For pupils in High Schools a final examination is desirable at the age of sixteen or seventeen. A medical record should be maintained for each child, which should go with the child from school to school. In between, the teacher should bring to the notice of the school doctor any defects noticed. The teacher should also keep a record of the height and weight of each pupil twice a year and bring abnormalities to the notice of the doctor.

The examination should be conducted by a qualified medical practitioner with some special training. The Inspection should take place in school premises, and if possible, in the presence of the parent. The doctor should always go through the results of his inspection with the head teacher.

Medical inspection is of little value unless it is linked up with treatment of defects discovered. Special School Clinics should be established. Minor defects should be treated at the school itself. Malnutrition should deserve special attention.

Physical training should be compulsory. Every Education Department should have at head-quarters an experienced and well qualified officer to organise the scheme in Schools and Colleges. He should have competent assistants. Arrangements should be made to give proper training to teachers. The cost

of the School medical service including provision of meals and special schools, etc., has been estimated at 10 per cent of the total expenditure on Schools.

Regarding the other items in its programme of reconstruction, the Report makes the following proposals :—

(*a*) *Employment Bureaux* form an essential part of an educational administration. They are especially necessary in India in view of the restricted openings at the moment for progressive employment. Employment Bureaux, if they are to fulfil successfully the function assigned to them, must be staffed by trained experts with practical experience of teaching and of industrial conditions.

The Employment Bureaux should be responsible for leavers from all types of Senior Basic, Junior Technical and High Schools. Universities should preferably have Employment Bureaux or Employment Boards of their own. It would serve a useful purpose if in all larger Schools and Colleges at any rate there were "careers" masters and members of the staff with the specific duty of maintaining close contact with the Employment Bureaux.

(*b*) *The Education of the Handicapped.*—The handicapped may be divided into two major groups, (1) the mentally handicapped, and (2) the physically handicapped. In the former group come the feeble-minded and imbecile children as well as those who are dull and backward. In the latter, come the blind, the deaf, the deaf-mute, cripples, speech-defectives, etc.

The provision for such children should form an essential part of a national system of education and should be administered by the Education Department. What has been done hitherto in India in this respect is done almost entirely by voluntary effort.

Particular care should be taken to train the handicapped, wherever possible, for remunerative employment and to find such employment for them. After-care work is essential.

(*c*) *Recreative and Social Activities* are necessary because "Education in the real sense should be a training in the process

Statement showing financial liability (annual) of the Scheme of National Education when applied to British India

Stages or Departments.	Estimated No of students to be provided for annually.	How the number in column 2 is arrived at, and the extent of the course.	Total annual cost per capita.	Estimated gross annual expenditure.	Estimated income from sources other than public funds.	Estimated net expenditure to be met from public funds.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Pre-Basic or Pre-Primary Education (Nursery Schools and classes.) ..	10,00,000	One in twenty-one of children of age-group 3 to 6.	Rs. (*in lakhs*) 31.8	Rs. (*in lakhs*) 320	Rs. (*in lakhs*)	Rs. (*in lakhs*) 320
2. Jr. Basic (Primary) Education ...	3,59,00,000	Children of age-group 6-11 (5 years' course).	31.8	11,400	.....	11,400
3. Sr. Basic (Middle) Education ...	1,56,00,000	Children of age-group 11-14 (not attending high school); (3 years' course).	55.3	8,600	.....	8,600
4. High School Education	73,00,000	One child in every five from Jr. Basic Schools (6 years' course).	108.7	7,900	2,900	5,000

20,000

5. University Education.	2,40,000	One in fifteen from those who leave the High School; (3 years' *normal* course).	400	960	290	670
6. Technical, Commercial and Art Education full-time (*a*) ...	75,000	Approximately 4% of *boys* who leave High Schools; (3 years' course).	500	375		
,, ,, (*b*) ...	2,00,000	About 4% of *boys* who leave Sr. Basic Schools; (2 years' course).	150	300	975	175	800
Part-time (*c*) ...	.....	.....	... ..	300		
7. Adult Education ...	... ..	.....	.....	300	... ..	300
8. Training of Teachers	.....	.....	.....	620	170	450
9. Recreative and Social Activities ...	.....	.....	.....	100	.....	100
10. Employment Bureaux ..	.....	.....	.....	60	.....	60
11. School Medical Service ...	These are	included at the appropriate	places.			
12. Education of the Handicapped ...						
13. Administration ...						
		Total ..	.....	31,260	3,560	27,700

of social adjustment rather than the mere injection of a special dose of mental, moral or physical instruction".

For children up to the age of eleven or twelve, the most suitable activities are gardening, folk dancing, Swedish drill, acting, clubs, blue-birds, games (indoor and out-door), athletics, excursions and hobbies. In the case of children of 12 and above, the onset of adolescence is the time for organising recreative activities of a corporate type. Such activities are Debating Societies, organised games, inter-school competitions, etc. "Young Farmers' Clubs" may arouse enthusiasm in rural areas.

For the successful organisation and functioning of recreative activities it is imperative to have ample playing fields and playgrounds.

Apart from the needs of boys and girls in Schools and Colleges, special attention should be paid to those in the 14-20 age-group who are no longer attending schools. To serve these, Youth Movements on an All-India basis should be set up. A Youth Movement should aim at co-ordinating and supplementing rather than superseding the work of organisations already dealing with aspects of this problem. The main need of a Youth Movement will be for leaders, both men and women, who will have to be specially trained. The possibility of finding suitable recruits among demobilised officers and N. C. O.'s should be explored The provision of social and recreative facilities for adults should form an important part of any Social Service Scheme.

(*d*) *Administration.*—The Province should remain the main unit for educational administration except in regard to the University and higher technical education, the activities of which should be co-ordinated on an All-India basis.

In the event of the Indian States taking part in educational development on an All-India scale, it may be necessary, in order to form economic educational units, to group the smaller ones or attach them to larger States or contiguous Provinces.

A National system of education will require closer co-operation, financial and otherwise, between the Central and Provincial Governments.

Provincial Governments should be left to make such changes in their administrative arrangements as the carrying out of

the educational developments on the scale contemplated may require. *Experience, however, suggests that they would be well advised to resume all educational powers from local bodies except where they are functioning efficiently.*

In order to enlist local interest in education, School Managing Bodies, School Boards and District Education Committees may be constituted, if and when sufficient people of the right type are available to serve on them. An Education Advisory Board for the whole Province may be desirable.

Steps should be taken to check the present deterioration in the status and calibre of the educational administrative services and to enable it to secure the services of the type of officer who will be capable of carrying a scheme of the kind contemplated into successful operation.

(*e*) The Report proposes to provide educational buildings by raising loans.

(*f*) The Report also emphasizes the importance of providing ample facilities for research. "The need will be apparent," observes the Report, "for ensuring, particularly during a period of rapid expansion not only that teaching methods are kept up-to-date but also that their suitability to Indian requirements is continuously under review".

The statement on pp. 272-3 gives a summary of the financial implications of the scheme of National Education propounded in the Report.

The following points should be noted :—

(1) The estimates are based on pre-war standards both in regard to population and cost of living.

(2) The cost has been worked out as if a start had to be made from the very beginning. The sum now spent on education in British India (Rs. 30 crores, out of which Rs. 17½ crores are from public funds) is to be taken as a reserve towards meeting the cost in part at any rate of providing for the prospective increase in population during the period which must elapse before a national scheme is in full operation.

(3) It is assumed throughout that capital expenditure on school sites and buildings will be met out of loans in

future. Provision has been made for interest and sinking fund charges only.

(4) It is contemplated that the first five years should be devoted to planning, propaganda, and training of teachers. Thereafter the actual carrying out of the Scheme should be divided into seven five-year programmes, *during each of which an area or areas, should be fully dealt with.*

(5) It is necessary to share the proposed expenditure between the Provincial and Central Governments. At present the Government cost of education in a Province is met from the Provincial Revenue itself. This question must be settled before any start is made, "for once a beginning has been made there can be no stop until the end has been reached".

8. **Criticism of the Sargent Report.** Such is the plan for educational reconstruction in India that the Central Advisory Board of Education has proposed. It has been before the educational world for some time and has been discussed and criticised from every point of view.

To begin with, we may mention those features of the Report which are commendable and which have attracted considerable notice and appreciation. This is the first official attempt to prepare a scheme of national education in India and is, therefore, of great historical significance. It emphasizes the extreme importance of the teacher in all plans of educational reconstruction and stresses the necessity of giving adequate salaries to the teachers with a view to attracting a better type of persons and raising the social status of the teaching profession. It has closed many of the controversies which existed in the earlier period. For instance, the controversy between quality and quantity, the question of the desirability or suitability of introducing compulsion in India in her present economic conditions, etc., have been finally put to rest by this Report. Lastly, it has brought educational

problems of the country to the fore-front and made people think.

This is all that can be said in favour of the Report. On the other hand, its shortcomings are so many and so important that it has failed to satisfy many Indian educationists. To begin with, it has placed a very tame ideal before the country. As the Report itself admits, India will reach the educational standard of the England of 1939 in a period of not less than 40 years! In other words, even assuming that the plan has been fully implemented, the India of 1984 will still be nearly 50 years behind England! This ideal is not likely to satisfy any Indian educationist. A plan of educational development in India must be spread over a range of time, not exceeding 15 years.

The main reason for which the Report fixes the period for implementing the plan at forty years is the impossibility of obtaining the necessary number of qualified and trained teachers in a shorter time. The assumption of the Report seems to be that no one shall be appointed as a teacher under the scheme until he has received the prescribed minimum of general and professional education. This is a revolutionary concept which has hardly any justification in the past experiences of this or any other country in the world, not excluding England herself. The minimum qualifications mentioned in the Report may be accepted as ideal, but they should, under no circumstances, be allowed to prevent or postpone the expansion of education. It ought to be possible for India to commence a programme of educational development, just as other countries in the world did theirs, with such men as are immediately available and simultaneously to work out a programme

of improving and training the personnel of the teaching profession. Apart from this, some of those who have failed at the Matriculation and some selected persons from among those who have passed the Senior Basic course may be quite suitable for the teaching work in Pre-Primary or Junior Basic Schools and the scheme may well begin with the appointment of such persons also as teachers. If an arrangement is made for refresher courses and intensive training during the period of service, such men ought to be able to fulfil the responsibilities of teachers for certain standards of Junior Basic schools. If the requisite number of persons is not forthcoming on a voluntary basis, we should not hesitate to conscript educated men and women for the purpose. It is already an accepted principle that men can be conscripted for war. There is no reason why they should not be conscripted in a war against ignorance and illiteracy.

The financial implications of the Report have also come in for a good deal of comment. The cost of working out the scheme would come to about Rs. 313 crores, on the basis of the population of India as it was in 1940. If allowance is made for the growth of population during the time that will be required to implement this scheme, and for the rise in the standard of life and cost of living that has already taken place, it will not be far from truth to say that the total cost of the scheme would reach the figure of about Rs. 900 crores per annum! A poor country like India is not likely to be able to afford all this expenditure on education. Even assuming that large-scale developments in industry and agriculture are introduced and that the standard of income of the people is raised, it is doubtful if India can afford this

huge expenditure. It is, therefore, opined that, on financial grounds, the scheme is too Utopian to be practicable.

It is pointed out that the scheme merely describes the ideal to be reached and does not give a detailed *programme* of development. A mere statement of the ideal to be reached is a comparatively simple matter in educational planning. It would be equally easy for any one to set up a still higher ideal than the one which the scheme has adopted for itself, to work out its financial implications and to place it before the country as a plan for educational reconstruction. Such an attempt is not going to help the nation. What is needed is a *programme* which describes, in detail, the various stages through which the country will have to march before it reaches the goal. This aspect of the problem has been entirely ignored in the Report. The only suggestion that it makes is that, if all the funds required are not available, the scheme may be introduced in one area after another. Needless to say, such a programme is not likely to be accepted by any intelligent section of the people.

It has been pointed out that the only ideal held up by the Report is that of the educational system of England, while, as a matter of fact, England is the one country which cannot serve as a model to India, because the social, political and economic conditions in the two countries are so vastly different. If India must have a model, she should look for it elsewhere in eastern countries like China or Egypt or Turkey or in western agricultural countries like Denmark or Soviet Russia, all of which had problems similar to those of India, and

which have been able to achieve splendid results in a very short time.

To quote but one example, let us see how Russia solved her educational problems. In 1914 the Russian Empire had a population of about 140 million and the school-going population was only 1 million. There were large tracts of the Empire, particularly towards the east, in which there was hardly any provision for education, and literacy was even less than one per cent. There were as many as 200 minority nations speaking over 150 different languages, some of which had hardly any literature and a number were mere dialects without even a script. In spite of these tremendous handicaps the Government of Soviet Russia was able to achieve surprising results. In a period of about 15 years, it could raise the literacy of the people to more than 90 per cent in some parts and to more than 70 per cent in every other part of its vast territories. It had to substitute the Latin script for the original scripts in several languages and to devise new alphabets in the Latin script for more than 40 dialects. It has introduced a compulsory course of primary education of 7 years in every part of its territories. These achievements have transformed the position of the Russian people from one of semi-barbarism to one of the most powerful civilised nations in the world.

Compared with the conditions in Russia in 1914, the conditions in India to-day are very much better, and what Soviet Russia could achieve for her people in a period of about 15 years ought to be possible to be achieved in India in the same, if not in an even shorter, period. The estimate of the Sargent Report, therefore, that a period of not less than 40 years would be required

for working out the plan is not likely to be accepted by those Indians who have the welfare of the country at heart.

It is not necessary to go into a discussion of other shortcomings of the Sargent Report. We have given enough reasons above to enable one to reject the scheme as fundamentally unsatisfactory. One will naturally be led to ask, "What then should India do?" This is a big question to answer, but we shall attempt in the next and concluding Chapter to state briefly certain general principles which, we hope, will enable educationists not only to answer the question raised above but also to work out practicable alternatives to the Sargent Scheme.

Conclusion

In the course of the foregoing pages, we have traced the main events of educational developments in India from 1781 to 1947. This history has shown that India, which only a hundred years ago was even ahead of some European countries of the times, has now come to be regarded as a very backward nation. The European countries which were even less advanced than India have now gone ahead. Besides, a number of countries, including some in Asia, which were no better off than India, have, by forced marches, earned a rank among the advanced countries of the world. The question naturally arises, why has India lagged behind? The answer to this has been already provided in the pages of this book, but for purposes of convenience, we shall state here the two main causes of this backwardness of India:

(*a*) The neglect and consequent disappearance of the indigenous system of education;

(*b*) The extremely slow pace of educational advance which was quite out of proportion either to the growth of population or to the requirements of modern times.

This historical review has also shown that the educational events in India, during the last hundred and sixty years, have been the result of a policy of drift rather than of a planned march; that a comprehensive plan of development was never prepared; that the Sargent Report, which was the first attempt in this direction, suffers from several shortcomings which make it unacceptable; and that the most important task of the hour is to evolve a practicable and comprehensive educational scheme which will command universal acceptance. It is beyond the scope of this book to give the outline of such a plan; but it would not be out of place if a few broad principles on which it must be based are stated here.

A plan of national reconstruction generally consists of seven stages, the *first* of which is a historical review of the past, because such a review gives a better understanding of both the present and the future and makes it possible to avoid the repetition of mistakes. The *second* stage is to hold a critical analysis of the present and to determine the merits and demerits of the existing position. The *third* stage is to fix the ideal to be reached. The *fourth* stage is to work out a programme which would give the starting point, the methods to be employed, the interim milestones where the march may have to be halted for the sake of consolidation, and such other relevant details. The *fifth* stage is to determine and provide the finances necessary for the plan. The *sixth* stage is the provision of the executive machinery of the

plan and includes such questions as the passing of necessary legislation, the selection and training of workers, etc. The *seventh* stage is that of actual public opinion, securing popular co-operation, holding periodical reviews, and so on.

Besides these general principles, which apply to all planning, there are a few more principles which will have to be kept in view in planning educational developments in India. To begin with, Indian education has suffered most in the past because it has always tried to imitate England. India is mainly a land of villages and 87 per cent of her people live in rural areas. England, on the other hand, is predominantly an urban country and more than 80 per cent of her population lives in towns. India is agricultural; England is industrial. India is one of the poorest countries of the world; England is one of the richest. If these social and economic differences are to be duly allowed for, it is evident that the institutions and methods which suit England cannot be applicable to India. It is, therefore, necessary that planners of Indian education should seek inspiration from sources other than England and particularly from those countries where the social and economic background is similar to that of India.

Secondly, the plan must be spread over a short range of time, say 15 years, and should be divided into subplans for each period of 5 years. Long periods like 40 or 50 years have no place in the stress of modern life.

Thirdly, educational planning must be based on war methods, that is to say, on methods which would enable us to realise the goal in the shortest time. Educational planning in India is also a war—war against the ignorance of the masses. It must be planned, fought, and

won like any other war. A plan which leaves essential work to the mercy of voluntary effort is hardly better than a policy of drift and is not likely to achieve valuable results.

Fourthly, educational planning for India must be practicable from the financial point of view so that it can be adopted and begun almost forthwith. In India, the educationist and the financier have never understood each other. The educationist has always held the view that it is not his concern to find the money for his schemes, and that his only duty is to outline the best form of education that India needs and to work out its cost. He has always assumed that the financiers can, and shall, find all the money that he needs. On the other hand, the practical administrator has regarded the educationist as a visionary; and after a desperate attempt to anchor his feet to the ground, has given him up as an impracticable idealist. Consequently, India has always found herself in a vicious circle, viz., she cannot have good education because it costs an amount which is beyond her resources; and she cannot improve her economic condition because she does not have a good system of education. This vicious circle must be broken and a method has to be found which will enable India to get good education within such resources as she can afford. It is not impossible to do this. As a Swiss educationist has observed "God has made us poor; but we shall see that our children do not go without good education".

Fifthly, educational planning for India cannot be done in a vacuum. Education cannot be isolated from social and economic planning. It is, therefore, necessary to plan for the economic and social development of the

country in the first instance. A programme of educational improvement must be taken up as a part of these more fundamental schemes. All the three should be worked side by side, each plan aiding and, in its turn, being aided by, the others. It is only in such circumstances that educational planning will succeed.

The great need of the educational situation of to-day is to evolve an educational plan for India which fulfils all these requirements. The task is admittedly difficult, but not impossible. It is, in fact, a challenge to Indian educationists themselves. Let us hope that the challenge will soon be accepted and that India will be the happier therefor.

APPENDIX A

PROFESSIONAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

The history of Professional and Vocational education in India can be divided into three periods: the first extends from 1822, when the Calcutta Native Medical Institution was established, to the incorporation of Universities in 1857; the second extends from 1857 to 1901, when Lord Curzon convened a conference of the Directors of Public Instruction at Simla; and the third extends from 1901 to 1937, when Provincial Autonomy was introduced.

2. **Vocational Education between 1822 and 1857.** Even in this early period, a few attempts were made to spread vocational education. The primary object of these attempts was to train men for Government service as engineers, overseers, surveyors, doctors, judges, artisans in ordnance factories, etc., and some measure of success was obtained in organizing medical, engineering (civil), and legal education.

The following brief notes on some of the important institutions of vocational education organized during this period will show how vocational education of the modern type began in India in the early nineteenth century.

(*i*) *Medical Education.*—(a) A native Medical institution was established at Calcutta in 1822. Medical classes were also attached to the Calcutta Sanskrit College and the Calcutta Madrassah in 1826. These classes imparted instruction according to Hindu and Muslim systems of Medicine with some combination of European methods. But the new policy of westernisation in education which was introduced by Macaulay's

minute was soon adopted in this field also. Both the medical classes and the Native Medical Association were abolished and a Medical college "in which the various branches of medical science cultivated in Europe should be taught . . . on the most approved European system" was opened in 1835. (b) A medical school was opened in Madras in 1835 and was raised to the status of a college in 1851. (c) In Bombay, the Grant Medical College was opened in 1845.

It is interesting to note that, in these early years, the medical colleges were not popular and did not attract a sufficient number of students. This was mainly due to a prejudice against dissecting a human body which largely prevailed among the upper classes of Hindus, who formed a huge majority of the educated intelligentsia of those days in India.

(*ii*) *Engineering Education.*—(a) An Engineering College was opened at Calcutta in 1856. (b) A survey school for training survey officers required by Government was established at Madras as early as 1793. (c) An Engineering College, named after Mr. Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province was started at Roorki (in the United Provinces) in 1847. (d) In Bombay, an Engineering class was organized by the Bombay Native Education Society, instruction in the class being imparted through the mother-tongue. In 1844, another Engineering class was opened in the Elphinstone Institution. This class failed to attract students in large numbers mainly because the salaries which Government offered to the students trained in the class were not sufficiently attractive. In 1854, an Engineering class and a mechanical school were opened

at Poona for training subordinate officers of the Public Works Department.

(*iii*) *Legal Education.*—(a) The origin of legal education in Bengal can be traced to the Calcutta Madrassah and Benares Sanskrit College, one of whose objects was to train persons in Muslim and Hindu Law. Legal education of the modern type, however, began in 1842, when a Professor of Law was appointed in the Hindu Vidyalaya. This developed into a permanent law class in 1855. (b) In Madras, a Professorship of Law was sanctioned in 1855. (c) In Bombay, a Professorship of Jurisprudence was established on an endowment in honour of Sir E. Perry who was the President of the Bombay Board of Education for a considerable time. In 1856 two other Professorships were sanctioned and a scheme of studies in law was also drawn up.

(*iv*) *Other Institutions.*—(a) An Industrial school for training ordnance artificers was opened in Madras in 1840 by Major Maitland. It was taken over by Government in 1855. (b) Dr. Hunter, the Surgeon of George Town, Madras, opened a School of Arts in 1850 and a School of Industry in 1851. Both these institutions were amalgamated into one and taken over by Government in 1855. (c) In Bombay, Government opened the J. J. School of Arts and Industry in 1856. This was named after its munificent donor—Sir Jamsedjee Jeejeebhoy.

3. **Development of Vocational Education between 1857 and 1901.** During this period, the policy of Government in the matter of fostering the growth of Vocational education remained unchanged. That is to say, Vocational education was still imparted with the main object of training persons for the needs of public

administration. But some improvement over the earlier period was made in three directions. *Firstly,* the pace of expansion became more rapid; *secondly,* there was a larger variety in the courses of instruction; and *thirdly,* a certain amount of private effort was attracted to this field. The following brief notes on the events of this period will illustrate these general remarks:

(*i*) *Medical Education.*—In addition to the three medical colleges mentioned in the previous section, a medical college was started at Lahore in 1860. Besides these, a number of medical schools which gave instruction of a less advanced type were organized in various parts of India. In 1901-2, there were 22 medical schools in India of which 11 were conducted by Government, 1 by a municipality and 10 by private bodies.

During the period under review, the prejudice against medical education broke down considerably and the medical schools and colleges began to attract large numbers of male students. Women students did not, however, take kindly to this course.

(*ii*) *Engineering Education.*—There was considerable expansion of engineering education during this period because students trained in engineering schools had numerous opportunities of employment in the Public Works Departments of Government, under local boards and municipalities which were organized in this period, in railway companies which greatly expanded their work, and in cotton and jute mills, steamer companies, etc., which came to be established at this time.

The engineering class at Poona and the Survey School at Madras were both raised to the status of colleges and a new college was organized at Sibpur in Bengal. The college at Roorki was considerably expanded and 18

surveying and engineering schools were started in different parts of India.

(*iii*) *Legal Education.*—Like engineering education, legal education also expanded considerably during this period. This was mainly due to the establishment of the modern courts of justice which necessitated a large body of persons trained in Law both for the Bench as well as the Bar. Throughout the period under review, therefore, the legal profession was both popular and remunerative.

In 1901-2, the control of legal education was vested jointly in the hands of the Universities, the Education Departments, and the High Courts. The control of schools and colleges of law was in the hands of the Departments ; the Universities prescribed the courses for their examinations ; and the High Courts laid down the conditions on which a person could enter the legal profession. These conditions necessarily included a pass at a University examination, but the High Courts also held their own examinations for admission to the profession.

(*iv*) *Art Education.*—In addition to the two schools of Art described in the earlier section, two schools were organized during the period under review—one at Lahore and the other at Calcutta. The objects of these schools were two-fold : on the one hand, they gave instruction in the fine arts as such, and trained draftsmen and teachers of drawing ; on the other hand, they gave instruction in some industries also. In 1901-2, the total number of students taking instruction in these schools of Art was 1,220—321 in Madras, 423 in Bombay, 228 in Calcutta and 248 in Lahore.

(*v*) *Technical and Industrial Education.*—Technical

education, in the sense of specialised training for trade, commerce, and industry, falls into three grades. At the top stand *technical* institutes which provide instruction and training in principles of science in their application to industrial arts, with a view to the right understanding of the foundations upon which these arts rest, and to promote their effective development. At the bottom stand *craft schools* having for their object the training of artisans to follow their calling with dexterity and intelligence. Intermediate between these two are *technical schools* for the training of foremen and others, whose functions are superior to those of the artisans and who require some training in scientific principles, the working of machinery and the like, but do not receive a complete scientific training. It is under these three heads that the subject of technical and industrial education in India can be conveniently studied.

The two industrial schools that existed in 1857 have already been noticed. During the next twenty years, very little action was taken by Government to promote technical and industrial education in India, and there was hardly any non-Government agency which could provide such education to Indians. The missionaries, who did excellent pioneering work in the field of general education, achieved very little in the field of technical and industrial education. It is true that they organized some institutions which, at this time, were known as 'industrial schools'. But they were really *craft schools* which aimed at teaching some craft such as carpentry or smithy to Indian Christian children in order to enable them to earn a living. The missions organized these schools because Indian Christian children (many of whom were reared in orphanages) were not able to

obtain education in crafts in their own families, or by working as apprentices in other families, as the Hindu or Muslim children did. These schools, therefore, must not be confused with industrial or technical schools proper whose object is to train foremen and other important workers for modern organized industries. Schools of the latter type were not organized either by Government or by the missionaries and obviously Indians could not organize them, as most of the modern industries of the country were in non-Indian hands.

The progress of technical and industrial education was, therefore, very slow during this period. In 1901-2, there were no technological institutions in India. The number of technical and industrial schools was 80 with an enrolment of 4,894. Of these, only 4 were managed by Government, 16 by local bodies, 3 by Indian States and 57 by private agencies—mostly by missions. The vast majority of these were *craft schools* conducted by missionaries or local boards, and only a few were technical schools proper. It will, therefore, be seen that the provision of technical and industrial education in India was extremely limited in 1901-2 and entirely out of proportion to that of liberal education. The one satisfactory feature of the situation was that there was a considerable awakening and agitation on the subject, and the need for a large expansion of technical and industrial education was greatly stressed in all quarters.

We have so far dealt with the expansion of those branches of vocational education which made a humble beginning in the earlier period. We shall now turn to the branches of vocational education that were started in this period, viz., agricultural education, commercial education, veterinary education, and forestry education.

(*vi*) *Agricultural Education.*—Agricultural education is of utmost importance in India because more than two-thirds of the population depends upon agriculture. And yet, attempts to develop agricultural education began late and were organized on a scale that was quite out of proportion to the magnitude of the problem. In 1901-2, there were only 5 institutions in British India (with 219 students) for imparting agricultural education, viz., Agricultural Branches of the Colleges at Poona and Sibpur (noticed above under engineering education), the College of Agriculture at Saidapet (Madras), and the agricultural schools at Cawnpore and Nagpur. Bombay was the only University that gave a degree in Agriculture (L.Ag.). The course extended over three years and admission to the course was open to students who had passed the first year examination in Arts.

(*vii*) *Veterinary Education.*—During this period Government started four institutions of Veterinary education, viz., Veterinary colleges at Bombay, Belgatchia (near Calcutta), and Lahore and a veterinary school at Ajmere. The total number of students in these institutions was 301 in 1901-2.

(*viii*) *Forestry Education.*—Government established a forest department during this period and consequently there arose the need of organizing forestry education. In 1901-2, there were only two schools of Forestry education in India—the Forest School, Dehra Dun (established in 1878), and the Forestry Branch of the College at Poona (noticed above under engineering education). Both these institutions were established and maintained mainly for the training of officers and subordinates of the Forest Department.

(*ix*) *Commercial Education.*—This branch of voca-

tional education continued to be neglected even during this period. In 1901-2, there was no college imparting commercial education. In the whole of India, there were only 15 commercial schools with an enrolment of 1,123.

4. **Development of Vocational Education between 1901 and 1937.** Vocational education continued to develop on the broad lines indicated in the earlier period. The following special features of this period are, however, worthy of notice :—

(*a*) The pace of expansion became far more rapid ;

(*b*) The Universities began to take keen interest in Vocational education and instituted several degree and diploma examinations ;

(*c*) Indian private enterprise was attracted to this field ;

(*d*) A beginning was made in the direction of organising the highest type of vocational education in India itself as against the earlier policy of sending Indian students abroad for higher studies ; and

(*e*) The emphasis on organization of Vocational education with the sole object of training men for Government service was abandoned and attempts were made to develop Vocational education with the main object of assisting Indian industries.

Let us now study the main events of this period.

(1) *Medical Education.*—A number of important events in medical education occurred during the period under review.

(*i*) A Medical Council Act was passed by the Indian Legislature in 1933 and a Medical Council of India was constituted. From the educational point of view, the important duties of the Medical Council are two : to

grant recognition to the medical course of Indian universities, and to secure recognition from foreign medical councils to the degrees granted by Indian universities.

(*ii*) The number of medical colleges in British India rose from 4 with 1,466 students in 1901-2 to 11 with 4,936 students in 1936-7. Of these, 7 were conducted by Government, 1 by the Lucknow University, 1 by the Bombay Corporation and 2 by private bodies. Similarly, the number of medical schools in British India rose from 22 with 2,727 students in 1901-2 to 30 with 6,999 students in 1936-7. The total expenditure on medical education rose from Rs. 722 thousand in 1901-2 to Rs. 43,61 thousand in 1936-7, of which as much as Rs. 27,67 thousand came from Government funds.

Of the new institutions that came to be established during this period, two deserve special notice. The first is the Lady Hardinge Medical College, Delhi, which was opened in 1916. It is the only Medical College in India which is meant exclusively for women. The second is the School of Tropical Medicine at Calcutta which was opened in 1921-2. It affords post-graduate instruction in tropical medicine and is the only institution of its type in India.

(*iii*) An All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health was established at Calcutta by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1932. The objects of the Institute are, (1) to provide post-graduate training in public health and (2) to carry out research with a view to improving preventive measures and elucidating public health problems.

(*iv*) There was a considerable increase in the number of women students undergoing medical education as the following figures will show:

Number of women students in	1901–2	1936–7
Medical Colleges	76	447
Medical Schools	166	936

(*v*) In 1936-7, there were ten universities with Faculties in Medicine as against four in 1901-2.

(2) *Engineering Education.*—Engineering education also expanded considerably during the period under review. The number of engineering colleges in British India rose from 4 with 865 students in 1901-2 to 8 with 2,199 students in 1936-7. Owing to a change of classification introduced in this period, certain institutions that were regarded as 'engineering schools' in 1901-2 were classed as 'technical schools' in 1936-7, and hence it is not possible to compare the engineering schools in 1901-2 with those of 1936-7.

Of the eight engineering colleges, six were conducted by Government. Four of these have been described in the last section. The remaining institutions were the Bihar College of Engineering, Patna, the Maclagan College, Lahore, the Engineering College of Benares Hindu University and N. E. Dinshaw College, Karachi. The first two of these were conducted by Government and the others owed their origin to private Indian enterprise.

(3) *Legal Education.*—The history of legal education during the period can be divided into two sub-periods. During the first sub-period which extends from 1901 to 1927 there was a steady increase in the enrolment of law colleges the number of whose students rose from

2,767 in 1901-2 to 8,608 in 1926-7. But in the meanwhile, the legal profession became overcrowded and lost a good deal of its former popularity and remunerative character. Consequently, there was a steady decline in the number of students attending law colleges which stood at 7,357 in 1931-2 and 6,780 in 1936-7.

In 1937, there were fourteen law colleges and six law departments of universities in British India. Besides these, six colleges affiliated to the Agra University also had law classes attached to them.

(4) *Art Education.*—The Arts schools in India were re-organised with the following objects :—

"Their first object should be to teach such arts or art industries as the pupil intends to pursue when he has left school. . . . The Art Industries taught should be such as are capable of being carried on in the locality, and in which improvements can be effected by instructing pupils or workmen by means of superior appliances, methods or designs. Instruction in these arts or art industries should be directed towards their expansion through the improvement in the skill and the capacity of the pupil or workmen, but it should not be pushed to the point of competing with local industries. . . . The teaching should be in the hands of experts, trained as a rule in Indian colleges, or in Art Schools. The specialization of a limited number of arts and art industries in the several schools should be preferred to the simultaneous teaching of a large number. Free admission and scholarships should, as a general rule, be discouraged, and should gradually be replaced by payment of fees ; but this is compatible with giving necessary assistance to promising pupils, and with the payment of

wages to students as soon as their work becomes of value." [1]

In 1936-7, there were 14 schools of Art in British India with an enrolment of 2,106 pupils. Of these, six schools with 1,544 scholars were maintained by Government. The four schools of Art that existed in 1901-2 were noticed in the last section. The two new institutions opened during the period were the Drawing and Design Classes attached to the R.C. High School, Ahmedabad, and the Government School of Art and Crafts, Lucknow.

(5) *Technical and Industrial Education.*—During this period, Lord Curzon instituted the system of awarding scholarships to Indian students in order to enable them to obtain higher technological education in England and other advanced countries. Similarly, an "Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians" was formed by private enterprise and a number of scholarships for higher technological studies abroad were awarded. Thirdly, an attempt was also made to organise institutions imparting highest technological education in India itself. Some of these institutions have been mentioned in Chapter X.

There was a considerable expansion of technical and craft schools during this period. In 1936-7, they numbered 535 with an enrolment of 30,509. Of these, 140 were conducted by Government, 31 by boards, and 364 by private agencies, of which only 38 were unaided. The total expenditure on these schools came to Rs. 46,68 thousand out of which Rs. 28,24 thousand came from Government funds.

Among the more important technical schools, we may

[1] Government Resolution on Educational Policy, 11th March 1904.

mention the *Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute,* Bombay, which provides courses in mechanical and electrical engineering, textile manufacture, technical and applied chemistry, and sanitary engineering and plumbing; the *R. C. Technical Institute,* Ahmedabad, which provides three years' courses in cotton spinning, cotton weaving and mechanical engineering; the *Jamshedpur Technical Institute,* Tatanagar, which offers several courses for training young men for posts in the Tata Iron and Steel Company; the *Government School of Technology,* Madras, which offers courses in mechanical and electrical engineering and printing; the *Government Textile Institute,* Madras, which gives instruction in courses for various mill apprentices and in certain subjects such as knitting; the *Calcutta Technical School,* which trains apprentices for the various industrial concerns in and around Calcutta; the *Technical Schools* at Kanchrapara, Kharagpur and Pahartali, which train workers for railway workshops; the *Victoria Diamond Jubilee Technical Institute,* Lahore, which offers training in mechanical and electrical engineering; the *Government Technical School,* Lahore, which has departments in electro-mechanics, die-pressing and die-making; and the *Technical Institutes* at Ranchi, Tirhut and Jamalpur, which cater to the needs of industries in Bihar.

(6) *Agricultural Education.*—This branch of education made some progress, particularly under Lord Curzon who organized the Agricultural Departments of Government. The following are the main achievements of this period:

(*i*) An Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research

was organized at Pusa in Bihar in 1908. This has since been transferred to Delhi.

(*ii*) An Imperial Institute of Animal Husbandry and Dairying was organized at Bangalore in 1923.

(*iii*) In 1936-7, the number of agricultural colleges increased to 6 (viz., those at Coimbatore, Poona, Cawnpore, Naini, Lyallpur and Nagpur), and the policy of establishing at least one Agricultural College in each province was laid down.

(*iv*) An attempt was made to introduce the teaching of agriculture at the primary and secondary stages by organising agricultural bias classes.

7. *Veterinary Education.*—The main events of the period in this branch of vocational education can be summed up as follows :—

(*i*) In the quinquennium 1902-7 all veterinary schools were abolished.

(*ii*) In addition to the three veterinary colleges mentioned in the last chapter, two more colleges were opened by Government—the first at Madras in 1905 and the second at Patna in 1930.

(*iii*) An Imperial Veterinary Research Institute was opened at Muktesar in the United Provinces, in the quinquennium 1917-22, for giving post-graduate training in veterinary science.

It may be pointed out that, as in the last period, the main object of veterinary education in India still continued to be for service under Government and all the institutions for veterinary education also continued to be maintained by Government.

8. *Forestry Education.*—As in the case of veterinary education, forestry education also continued to be provided entirely by Government with the object of train-

ing Government officials. In 1936-7, there were three institutions of forestry education in India.

(*i*) The first was the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, whose activities are mainly devoted to research, service of information, and instruction of an advanced type. The work of the institute was divided into six branches dealing with silvi-culture, botany, entomology, economic forestry, utilization, and timber development.

(*ii*) Indian Forest Ranger's College, Dehra Dun, which trained students in a specialized course of two years.

(*iii*) The Forest College, Coimbatore, which gave instruction in a 23-months' course in forestry.

9. *Commercial Education.*—This branch of vocational education made considerable progress during the period. In 1936-7, as many as eight commercial colleges or university departments were working at Bombay, Ahmedabad, Lahore, Calcutta, Dacca, Allahabad, Delhi and Lucknow. The total enrolment of these institutions was 1,366. Secondly, the number of commercial schools increased to 357 with an enrolment of 32,586 pupils. Thirdly, eight universities created Faculties in Commerce.

5. **Development of Vocational Education since 1937.** There are hardly any events to be narrated in this period. Vocational education has continued to develop and expand on the same lines as mentioned above.

One special feature of this period deserves notice. Since 1935 a continuous attempt has been made to overhaul the whole system of vocational education. With this object in view, two experts—Messrs. Wood and Abbott—were invited from England. Their report on

this subject is now available for study. In the meanwhile, the problem was also taken up for consideration by the Central Advisory Board of Education and a subcommittee of the Board reported upon it. All this material has been carefully analysed and incorporated in the Sargent Report which has been summarised in Chapter XI. In other words, we may say that the preliminary spade work of an exploratory character has been done and a scheme of development has been prepared. An implementation of the proposals on an appreciable scale had, however, to be held back on political grounds. Let us hope that it will soon be taken in hand on a universal scale.

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