

EDUCATION IN MODERN INDIA

A BRIEF REVIEW

BY

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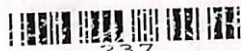
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TO
SIR SARVAPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN

PHILOSOPHER, HUMANIST AND TEACHER

PREFACE

This long essay does not presume to be anything more than what its title implies. It is not a history of education in modern India ; within the short compass of this book it would have been absurd to think of compressing that history. It is only a review, a brief survey (some may think it to be too brief) of the main trends of education in India in recent times. It has no pretension to scholarship or to a scholarly treatment of the subject matter, nor does it claim to be a piece of original research work. The book is primarily intended for the general reader who wants to understand the general course of evolution of the present system of education in this country in order that he may take a more intelligent interest in our educational problems and their solution. Education has of late, come to the forefront and the question of educational reform is engaging the attention of the people seriously. Volumes have been and may be written on this vast and complicated problem and its many aspects. But a general reader needs something handy to give him a bird's-eye view of the situation so that he may understand the problems of education in their proper perspective. If the book succeeds in providing him with that view the labours of the author will have been amply repaid.

The author has drawn freely upon educational reports and works of others, and he begs to acknowledge his debt to all these sources. He would also like to express his thanks to Sj. Priyaranjan Sen and Sj. Sarat Chandra Dutta of Calcutta University for going over portions of the manuscript and for helping in many other ways. He is also grateful to his publishers, Messrs. Orient Book Co., for seeing the book through the press under the present difficult circumstances.

The book has been in the press for quite a long time with some obvious defects and disadvantages. The author offers his apologies for all these and he hopes to remove them in the next edition if and when it is called for.

Calcutta University
1st October, 1945

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A. N. Basu

Preface to the second edition.

Within a few months from the date of its publication the demand for a second edition came. I am grateful for the cordial reception that has been accorded to the book by the reviewers and the general public. I hope the present edition will also receive a similar reception.

The book was sent to press in June 1946. Within the short time that I then had I could not undertake any large scale revision of the text; but then began the disturbances which upset and paralysed the civic life of Calcutta for months and during which no progress could be made with regard to the printing of the book. Taking advantage of this fact I have done some revision, added a new section on vocational education and an epilogue and rewritten some portions of the original text. I have also added in the appendix some statistical tables, a selected bibliography and an index. With these changes I hope, the book will meet with the approval of our readers.

Before concluding I would like to record my thanks to my friend, Shri Mohit Kumar Banerjee, who helped me in seeing the book through the press and in various other ways.

Calcutta University
6th. April, 1947

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A. N. Basu

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EDUCATION IN MODERN INDIA :

A Review

INTRODUCTION

Modern India was born out of an impact of the country with the West and western institutions, among which schools and colleges played an important part. The new type of education imparted through these schools and colleges caused a general intellectual fermentation, ushered in an era of unprecedented social and political upheavals, and profoundly influenced the beliefs, ideals, habits and manners of millions of men. Thus the story of the progress and reform of education is undoubtedly more than an integral part of the history of modern India.

In the post-war reconstruction of the economic, social and political life of this country, again, education is going to play a leading role. Hence it is necessary that educational problems should be thoroughly discussed and plans prepared to adapt our educational system to the needs of a new social order. It is important that we correctly appraise our manifold problems in their true significance and proper perspective, and plan accordingly. As a necessary preliminary to such a study we shall begin by briefly relating the story of the origin and development of the modern system of education in India.

[1]

THE BACKGROUND

The present system originated in the early years of the nineteenth century. In the background there was a widespread and fairly well-organised system of indigenous education, which had continued intact down to the eighteenth century and the remnants of which can be seen even to-day in centres of traditional learning and obscure nooks of the country. It was, in fact, a well-developed national system consisting of both higher and elementary institutions. These institutions had been in existence from time immemorial and they had been woven into the texture of the social and cultural life of the people. They were the inheritors and custodians of the intellectual and cultural traditions of the people, and in their own way they tried to fulfil their social obligations.

The institutions for higher education were the Tols and Madrassahs which were responsible for the education of the intellectual *elite* of the country, the Brahmin Pandits and Moslem Moulvis. Such Tols and Madrassahs could be found in all important centres of cultural life. In the north Nabadwip, Mithila and Benares, to name only a few, were famous for their Tols to which came pupils from all parts of India. There were similar institutions in the south, some of them associated with temples and monasteries. Madrassahs, though not as numerous as Tols, were situated in important seats of political power and in Moslem religious centres. There were well-known Madrassahs in Delhi, Agra, Patna, Murshidabad, Bijapur, Jaunpur and other cities. One

important feature about the Madrassahs may be noted here. Persian was then the official language. So many Hindu young men joined the Madrassahs and studied Persian and Arabic. In these Tols and Madrassahs a traditional classical curriculum was taught through the medium of the classical languages of the people—through Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. The curriculum was based on the culture of the people and was closely (perhaps too closely) related to their religion*; but on the whole the standard of work done in these seminaries of higher learning was of a very high order. There were in these institutions men who had obtained considerable eminence in such special studies as grammar, logic, law, rhetoric and metaphysics, and their scholarship would compare favourably with that of the best classical scholars of all times. The following tribute from a western observer may be of interest to our readers; speaking of the Pandits in the Tols of Bengal in the thirties of the last century he says :

“The humbleness and simplicity of their characters, their dwellings, and their apparel, forcibly contrast with the extent of their acquirements and the refinement of their feelings. I saw men not only unpretending, but plain and simple in their manners, and seldom, if ever, offensively coarse, yet reminding me of the very humblest class of English and Scottish peasantry; living constantly half naked, and realising in this respect the descriptions of savage life; inhabiting huts which, if we connect

*It must, however, be pointed out that though religion occupied a large place in the curriculum it was by no means the only subject of study. In the curriculum there was provision for the study of secular subjects like Astronomy, Medicine and others.

moral consequences with physical causes, might be supposed to have the effect of stunting the growth of their minds, or in which only the most contracted minds might be supposed to have room to dwell; and yet several of these men are adepts in the subtleties of the profoundest grammar of what is probably the most philosophical language in existence; not only practically skilled in the niceties of its usage, but also in the principles of its structure; familiar with all the varieties and applications of their national laws and literature; and indulging in the abstrusest and most interesting disquisitions in logical and ethical philosophy. They are in general shrewd, discriminating, and mild in their demeanour. The modesty in their character does not consist in abjectness to a supposed or official superior but is equally shown to each other. I have observed some of the worthiest speak with unaffected humility of their own pretensions to learning, with admiration of the learning of a stranger and countryman who was present, with high respect of the learning of a townsman who happened to be absent, and with just praise of the learning of another townsman after he had retired although in his presence they were silent respecting his attainments.”*

At the same time it must be admitted that the field of intellectual activities of these scholars was restricted and narrow, and as time went by it tended to become more and more so. For example, in mathematical and physical sciences their knowledge was very poor and in these branches progress

* W. Adam—*Reports on the State of Education in Bengal etc.*, pp. 169-70, Calcutta Edition.

had ceased for centuries. Absence of a progressive outlook characterised their activities in other directions as well. If one examines the intellectual output of the 17th and 18th centuries in India, one will be struck by the paucity of original works even in subjects in which the Indian mind had always excelled; but he will be equally surprised at the large number of commentaries that were written in this period, on the works of old masters.

The elementary system was intended for the masses. It was a widespread system consisting of numerous primary schools scattered all over the countryside. Practically every village had its primary school, its Pathshala. In Bengal alone, it is said, there were about the year 1835 a hundred thousand such Pathshalas.*

A few details about these Pathshalas may not be out of place.† In almost every village there was a Pathshala and a Guru Mahashaya. Big villages had even more than one Pathshala. But every Pathshala could not boast of a decent habitation. Some of them did have their own thatched houses built either by the co-operative effort of the villagers

* The statement is contained in the report of William Adam, of a survey he conducted about the time, on the state of education in the lower provinces of Bengal and Behar. The figure is for Bengal and Behar combined. An attempt has lately been made by Sir Philip Hartog to show that the statement was not accurate and that the number of Pathshalas was much less than the figure given. His interpretation of Adam's figures has been challenged by critics including the present writer. See specially R. V. Parulekar, *Literacy in India*.

† The description of a Pathshala given here relates to those in existence in Bengal. In other parts of the country also there were similar institutions and they closely resembled those in Bengal, and the education given in them was very much alike. For a description of the Madras system the reader may refer to the *Selections from Educational Records*, Part I, Ed. by H. Sharp, pp. 65-68.

or by the enterprise of their Gurus. Very often, however, the village school was housed under the hospitable roof of a well-to-do villager's drawing room i.e. Baitakkhana or in the hall of worship i.e. Chandimandap. Where even this accommodation was not available, the village school assembled under the shade of a spreading mango or pipal tree where sat the Guru Mahashaya, cane in hand, to dispense intellectual food to the eager and growing minds of the children of the village.

The fare that was served was, however, neither very rich nor savoury. It consisted of the 3 R's and nothing more. There was no provision for subjects like history and geography and nature-study, or for activities like handwork, and physical drill. It is to be noted here that while the curriculum in the higher seminaries of learning was largely influenced by religion, the elementary schools were singularly free from any direct religious teaching. In fact, no one in those days demanded religious teaching of the village schools. The real reason for that was that there was no need for it. Not that the parents were less religious than they are today, but because they had unconsciously realised that the school was not the place for religious instruction; for, by living in a social environment where religion was a predominating influence, children imbibed the religious ideas and ideals of their parents naturally and without any effort. So there was no cry for religious instruction as we have today. And when we remember that all castes and creeds were represented among the pupils, and the Guru did not necessarily and always belong to a caste which would entitle him to teach religion to his pupils, we can

see why it was not possible to impart religious instruction in the Pathshalas of those days. In passing we may note that though the largest number of pupils in these Pathshalas came from the so-called middle classes, there were, contrary to our expectations, pupils from the so-called lower classes as well, classes including, in some cases, even the Muchis, Chandals, Sunris, which were generally regarded as untouchables in this part of the country.

Apropos the meagreness of instruction provided in the Pathshalas we might keep in mind the fact that, as printing had not yet been introduced, printed text-books were unknown in them. To read and write, to compose a letter or execute a document according to set forms, to keep Zamindari or commercial accounts—these seemed to have been the sole objectives of instruction. That such instruction was effectively imparted has already been mentioned. In fact through centuries of practice the village Guru Mahashaya had perfected a technique of instruction, parts of which can be well compared with the modern technique based on scientific psychology and sociology.

Incidentally we may mention that the pupil-teacher and the monitorial system of instruction had been in use in the village Pathshalas from time immemorial, and it was discovered and imported to England in the last decade of the eighteenth century by a missionary. We all know how the introduction of the monitorial system profoundly influenced the growth of elementary education in Great Britain. In this connection the following, written in 1822, will be read with interest: "The economy with which children are taught to write in the native

schools and the system by which the more 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.”*

One characteristic of the village Pathshala may be noted in passing. It was a single-teacher institution; the Guru was its founder and proprietor. He was the sole monarch of his Pathshala; he had absolute freedom in its management. The organisation of its activities had to suit his pleasure and convenience. If he had some work to do, the Pathshala would remain closed and the children would get a holiday. There were no fixed hours; the work would begin when the Guru Mahashaya in his pleasure would care to come. But usually the schools worked in two shifts, in the morning and the afternoon with a break during midday. During the rainy season the schools remained closed on most days, but there were no vacations as we have today.

For children school life was drab and dreary. There was nothing to relieve its monotony; pictures, models and all the modern paraphernalia, which have been devised to bring freedom and joy to the life of the young learners today, were conspicuous by their absence. In spite of some good points the technique of instruction was harsh, and as in the case of ‘dame schools’ or ‘parish schools’ in England children dreaded coming to the Pathshalas where they were coaxed and cajoled to go on pain of punishment.

* Report from the Collector of Bellary, *Selections from the Educational Records*, Part I, p. 23.

In the Calcutta Review for 1844 an article was published giving the following details of punishment inflicted in the Pathshalas in those days. Obviously the picture that we get here is exaggerated. Not all Gurus were like this, nor did they inflict all the different forms of punishment described here. But the description throws an interesting sidelight on the educational practices of those days and as such is of importance to us. Incidentally we may mention that in respect of punishment the schools in contemporary England were no better. There is ample evidence in English literature and elsewhere to bear testimony to this fact.

“A boy is made to bend forward with his face toward the ground; a heavy brick is then placed on his back, and another on his neck; and should he let either of them fall within the prescribed period of half an hour or so, he is punished with the cane.

“A boy is condemned to stand for half an hour on one foot; and, should he shake or quiver or let down the uplifted leg before the time, he is severely punished.

“A boy is made to sit on the floor in an exceedingly constrained position, with one leg turned up behind his neck.

“He is made to sit with his feet resting on two bricks, and his head bent down between both legs, with his hands twisted round each leg so as painfully to catch the ears.

“A boy is made to hang for a few minutes, with his head downwards from the branch of a neighbouring tree.

“His hands and feet are bound with cords; to

these members so bound a rope is fastened, and the boy is then hoisted up by means of a pulley attached to the beams or rafters of the school.

"Nettles, dipped in water, are applied to the body, which becomes irritated and swollen ; the pain is excruciating and often lasts a whole day ; but however great the itching and the pain, the sufferer is not allowed to rub or touch the skin for relief, under the dread of a flagellation in addition.

"The boy is put up in a sack along with some nettles, or a cat, or some other noisome creature, and then rolled along the ground.

"The fingers of both hands are inserted across each other with a stick between and two sticks without, and are drawn close together and tied.

"A boy is made to measure so many cubits on the ground, by marking it along with the tip of his nose.

"Four boys are made to seize another, two holding the arms and two the feet ; they then alternately swing him and throw him violently to the ground.

"Two boys are made to seize another by the ears ; and with these organs well outstretched, he is made to run along for the amusement of the bystanders.

"A boy is constrained to pull his own ears ; and, if he fails to extend them sufficiently, he is visited with a sorer chastisement.

"Two boys, when both have given offence, are made to knock their heads several times against each other.

"The boy who first comes to school in the morning receives one stroke of the cane on the palm of the hand, the next receives two strokes,

and so each in succession, as he arrives, receives a number of strokes equal to the number of boys that preceded him,—the first being the privileged administrator of them all."

The writer then gives a description of the tricks played on the Guru Mahashaya : "In preparing his hookah, it is a common trick for the boys to mix tobacco with chillies and other pungent ingredients ; so that when he smokes, he is made to cough violently, while the whole school is convulsed with laughter ; or, beneath the mat on which he sits, may be strewn thorns and sharp prickles, which soon display their effects in the contortions of the crest-fallen and discomfited master ; or, at night, he is way-laid by his pupils, who, from their concealed position in a tree, or thicket, or behind a wall, pelt him well with pebbles, bricks, or stones ;—or, once more, they rehearse doggerel songs, in which they implore the gods, and more particularly Kali, to remove him by death—vowing, in the event of the prayer being heard, to present offerings of sugar and cocoanuts."

Then follows a description of the plans for escaping from school. "The boys have cunning plans for escaping from school : To throw boiled rice on domestic vessels ceremonially defiles them ; hence, when a boy is bent on a day's release from school, he peremptorily disobeys his admonishing mother, saying, 'No, if you insist on my going, I shall throw about the boiled rice', a threat which usually gains him the victory. If a person of a different caste, or unbathed, or with shoes on his feet, touch the boiled rice or pot of another it is polluted ; hence, when a boy effects his escape

from school, he often hastens to some kitchen, touches the boiled rice, or the pots in which it has been boiled, and thus becomes himself polluted; and until he bathes, no one can touch or seize him without being polluted too. A temporary impunity is thus secured. At other times the boy finds his way to filthy and unclean places, where he remains for hours or a whole day, defying the master and his emissaries to touch him—knowing full well that they cannot do so without partaking of his own contracted pollution. So determined are boys to evade the torturous system of discipline that, in making good their escape, they often wade or swim through tanks, or along the current of running drains, with a large earthen pot over their heads, so that the suspicion of passers-by, or of those in pursuit, is not even excited, seeing that nought appears on the surface but a floating pot;—or they run off and climb into the loftiest neighbouring tree, where they laugh to scorn the efforts of their assailants to dislodge them. In the recent case of one personally known to our informant, the runaway actually remained for three days on the top of a cocoanut tree, vigorously hurling the cocoanuts, as missiles, at the heads of all who attempted to ascend for the purpose of securing him."

But defective as the indigenous system was in some respects it was in tune with the life of the people. In its own way it was trying to serve the intellectual needs of the people. The village Pathshalas were in fact no better nor much worse than similar institutions in the West. Adam to whom we have already referred (*vide* p. 4) said about them, "My recollections of the village

schools of Scotland do not enable me to pronounce that the instruction given in them has a more direct bearing upon the daily interests of life than that which I find given or professed to be given in the humbler village schools of Bengal."

But widely prevalent as the indigenous system was, it was fast going into decay owing to various economic and political forces, chief among which were the growing poverty of the people and the withdrawal of patronage which followed the change of government. It is interesting to note that an English officer, the Collector of Bellary (*vide* p. 8), in the twenties of the last century ascribed this decay "to the competition of foreign goods, the movement of troops and the substitution of European for native rule which, despite a less vigorous enforcement of the revenue, had impoverished the country."

Perhaps these forces were also responsible for the conservative character of the indigenous intellectual and scholastic activities. In reaction to external forces which it could not control the indigenous system became more and more conservative and rigid, and it lacked the progressiveness which is the sign of a growing system. Meanwhile times were fast changing; but the old system could neither keep pace with the changes nor adapt itself to the new circumstances. It was at this stage that a new system of education was introduced in this country, and it had far-reaching effect on our national life. It was a significant event in the history of the world; for it brought about a meeting of the old and the traditional with the new and the revolutionary in the cultural life of humanity.

[2]

THE BEGINNINGS OF A NEW SYSTEM

The beginnings of the present system of education in India can be traced to the efforts of the Christian missionaries who came to this country in the wake of European traders. With the advent of the Portuguese in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Roman Catholic missionaries of different denominations appeared in the field. They settled down in the different Portuguese trade settlements mostly on the western coast of India and through their efforts there grew up in these settlements a new system of education. It consisted of theological seminaries for the training of missionaries and parochial schools both for Portuguese and Eurasian children as well as the children of the Indian converts to Christianity. One of the earliest Roman Catholic missionaries was Xavier, a friend and collaborator of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit Order. The Jesuits have been well-known for their educational activities and as teachers; in India too they did good work in the field of education and St. Xavier's name is still associated with some educational institutions in this country which are being managed by the members of the Society of Jesus.

With the decline of the Portuguese power their system of education also decayed and disappeared. But then other sects of missionaries appeared in the field in the train of traders from other European countries. Among these some mention should be made of the Danish missionaries. Early in the 18th century some of them came to the Danish settle-

ment at Tranquebar, near Madras and began to study Tamil and other local languages with a view to undertaking teaching activities. Soon they printed translations of the Bible in Tamil and opened schools for the children of their converts. The schools at no time contained a large number of children; but they deserve mention because of the fact that they were the first schools where English (which had supplanted Portuguese with the rise of the East India Company as the dominant foreign power in the South) was taught to the people of this country.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century the schools opened by the Danish missionaries passed under the control of the Church Missionary Society and other English missionary organisations.

With the extension of English influence in North-Eastern India British missionaries came and began to settle in Bengal in the vicinity of Calcutta and other English trade settlements. The first to come (not chronologically but in order of importance, and leaving aside sporadic and individual efforts) were the Baptist missionaries, Carey and his colleagues. They came in the closing decade of the 18th century. By that time the attitude of the East India Company towards missionary activities had changed. Throughout the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth centuries the Company had encouraged missionaries to come and work in this country. They were offered free passages on the Company's ships and other amenities. And many missionaries came to India either directly in the service of the Company as chaplains to their garrisons or independently but under their patron-

age. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, however, the Company's attitude towards missionaries underwent a complete change ; they no longer regarded with favour the proselytising activities of the missionaries.

After the Battle of Plassey in 1757, the Company became the virtual masters of Bengal. In 1765 they further tightened their stranglehold over the country by assuming the Dewani. As a result the economic life of the country came entirely under their control. Gradually the Company extended their sphere of influence and soon came to assume ruling powers by dispossessing the nominal rulers of the country. But the British power, to be firmly established, needed further consolidation. At this stage no proposal excited more alarm than one involving any real or supposed interference with the social, cultural and religious institutions of the country. In fact the Company's servants seem to have felt a constant dread of losing all the fruits of their victory as suddenly as they were acquired. They spared no pains to placate the feelings of the people and to show respect to their religious customs and to offer patronage to their cultural institutions. These were the days when, we may remember, offerings were sent to the Goddess Kali at Kalighat, Calcutta, on behalf of the Company by its official representatives. In fact, these were the considerations which led some officers of the Company to open institutions for the cultivation of the classical languages of the people. When in 1781, Warren Hastings opened the Calcutta Madrassah he was not prompted by any altruistic motive nor even regard for Arabic and Persian

literatures. His object was to win over an influential section of the Mohammedans by offering their sons some lucrative jobs as interpreters of the Mohammedan Law to the British judges. Justice was then being dispensed according to the laws of the land, of which the young British civilians were generally ignorant. Ten years later when Jonathan Duncan founded the Benares Sanskrit College, he did so to do for the Hindus what the Madrassah had done for the Mohammedans, i.e., to supply qualified Hindu assistants to British judges.

It was thus that the Company ultimately came to accept "orientalism," i.e. promotion of oriental classical learning, as its educational policy. But, as we have already mentioned, the East India Company originally did not have any educational policy or programme of its own. For, it did not consider it wise or even necessary to try to interfere in the education of the people of this country. Did not one of the most intelligent officers in the Company's service, then Resident at a Native Court, deem it to be "madness" to attempt the conversion of the natives of this country, or to give them any more learning or any other description of learning than what they then possessed ? Did he not observe that "the Hindus had as good a system of faith and morals as most people" ?

So it was why, when in 1793 an attempt was made by missionaries and their supporters, who were eager to bring the Gospel to the "pagans and heathens" of this country and who had always looked upon India as a happy hunting ground for their missionary ventures, to compel the East India Company to encourage the importation of "mis-

sionaries and schoolmasters" from England, the attempt was opposed tooth and nail by the Directors of the Company. Incidentally, in support of the missionary position one Mr. Charles Grant, who had lived in this country for a number of years and had amassed a fortune and had later retired and ultimately joined the Board of Directors and become a member of Parliament, had written a book entitled *Observations on the State of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain particularly with respect to their morals and on the means of improving it*. In this book he decried in unmeasured language the social and religious practices of the people of India and urged the Company to take active steps to 'elevate the morals' of the Indian people by giving them their own superior religion and culture. Briefly his plan was to teach English to the people of this country. However, in spite of the powerful advocacy of the missionary group, the attempt failed because of the opposition of the Board of Directors. The attempt was again made in 1813 when the charter of the East India Company was being renewed by Parliament. The protagonists of the missionary group wanted to insert a clause into the charter which would compel the Company to take some interest in the education of the people and to spend money for that purpose; but the Board of Directors were vehemently opposed to the proposal; in their opinion any such measure would be in the highest degree dangerous: some one remarked, "we had lost our colonies in America by importing our education there, we need not do so in India too." Others thought that such a step was not necessary. India, they said, did not require any

education from England. Sir Thomas Munroe actually observed, "If civilisation were to become an article of trade between the two countries, England would be the gainer by the import cargo."

But things had moved since 1793. In 1813 the position of the Company had changed and changed greatly. Their powers had been more or less consolidated and their suzerainty established. There was no other power in the land which could effectively challenge or jeopardise the position the Company was then occupying in the political life of the country. And so they could now safely try their hand at the policy of cultural imperialism and indulge in the effort to import a new religion and a new culture from the West.

And thus it was that in 1813, in spite of the opposition of the Board of Directors, Parliament inserted a clause in the charter of the Company to the effect that, after defraying all civil and military expenses, "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 of the science among the inhabitants of the British territories in India". So, the magnificent sum of a lakh of rupees was to be spent annually for the education of the vast population of this vast sub-continent!

Even then the objective was not clearly defined. Was the money to be spent entirely for encouraging the learned natives? No, a part of it was to be spent also for the introduction and promotion of

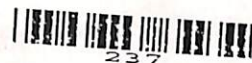
the science ; but which science, Indian or European ? No clear indication was given in this matter. Moreover, we know the Directors were averse to the whole proposal, so it is not to be wondered that in spite of this pious provision nothing much happened till 1823. In that year a General Committee of Public Instruction was appointed and it was only then that an attempt was made to give effect to the "education clause". Before that the annual grant was mostly spent in printing and publishing some oriental classical texts and giving some monetary help to a number of institutions among which there were a few missionary schools.

The pioneering activities of the missionaries had, in the meantime, spread far and wide. Wherever they went, they took with them the printing press ; they learnt the languages of the people, printed and published the Bible and other Christian tracts in these languages, criticised and vilified the religious and social systems of the land and extolled and preached their own ; and they succeeded in attracting some people with the lure of both temporal and non-temporal gains, made some converts and gave shelter and education to them and their children, and so their work went on. Sometimes conversion would precede education, at others education would come before conversion. To the missionaries education has always been an "*evangelico praeparatio*", a preparation for evangelisation, and their schools have been fruitful media for preaching Christianity.

The following pen-picture of the missionary schools in those early days by an English writer is interesting :—

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"If now we seek to obtain a clear idea of the character of these missionary schools, we shall be struck in the first place with their extreme inadequacy and precariousness. Until he came at the beginning of the present century (i.e., the 19th century) to be regarded by the Company as a dangerous character the missionary was simply a despised interloper. He was perpetually in need of money. The Brahmans regarded him as not only an impure, but also an ignorant foreigner, an accusation which was not seldom true. The children whom he enticed into his schools were for the most part either Eurasians, orphans, or outcasts. He felt bound to give religious instruction ; and the report of a conversion temporarily emptied his schools. His teaching was entirely gratuitous ; and his pupils felt that if they endured his Christianity his generous labours were amply repaid. They glibly repeated his prayers and catechisms ; and went home to enjoy and share in the scoffs with which their parents refuted the new teaching. Distressed at the degradation of women, he turned his attention to female education ; but such of his female pupils as he did not purchase from their parents were of a character as doubtful as their origin, and many a pious missionary's wife has been appalled by the most distressing discoveries concerning her proteges. If we add to these difficulties the necessity, in the midst of multifarious occupations, of writing text-books in a foreign language but half understood, of training teachers and keeping a close watch on them when trained, we shall not be surprised to find that knowledge imparted was extremely elementary. Yet an

attempt was generally made to teach English to at least one or two boys. Where the work was more concentrated more was possible. The Baptist Mission at Serampore under Carey, Ward, Brunden, Grant and Marshman, all men of distinction, was able to provide a number of schools of higher grade, where elementary works on grammar, arithmetic, astronomy, geography, general history, and 'treatises on the Creator and on the nature of the Soul' were used."*

However, whatever might have been the character of the early missionoary schools in general, there is no doubt that they introduced a new system in this country. The schools these missionaries started were different from those in existence in the country in several respects. Firstly, they imparted religious instruction according to the tenets of Christianity. Secondly, they introduced a new type of organisation hitherto unknown in this country. They taught a wider curriculum including subjects like grammar, history and geography. Besides, they were the first to write and print school text-books. They also introduced regular school hours; their schools were closed on Sundays. Then again, many of the schools had more than one teacher on their staff; They also introduced a clear-cut class system. Thus the early years of the nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of a new system of education in this country, a system which was different from the old and indigenious system in many respects.

Another point about the missionary activities in

* F. W. Thomas—*The History and Prospects of British Education in India* (1891) pp. 19-20.

the field of education may be noted in passing. Though the mssionaries later came to found colleges and schools of a higher type, their main emphasis, specially in the iearly years had always been on elementary education of the masses through the medium of the languages of the people. They taught English, but their main approach was through the vernaculars. In 1816 when Marshman, a colleague of Carey, wrote his "Hints on Native Education", he clearly outlined the above policy, and since then missionary activities have followed along those lines.

If the missionaries were busy setting up a new system of education there were others too who were not slow to follow their example. There were men like David Hare, Ram Mohan Roy and Radhakanta Dev who also felt the need for a new type of education. David Hare was a lover of humanity and out of his love for the people of this country which he adopted as his own, he dedicated his life and fortune to the education of their children. He believed that the introduction of the new type of education, English education, would lead to the improvement of the condition of the people. He was not inspired by any desire to preach Christianity or to use education for that purpose. He was essentially a rationalist in the matter of religion and had no connection with the missionaries. Ram Mohan Roy, too, was inspired by a similar, though slightly different, ideal. Like Hare he also felt that the introduction of English education in this country would lead to a renaissance. But he was a nationalist and he dreamt of a new and regenerated Indian nation, and he wanted to take advantage

of India's contact with England, not only for the moral and material improvement of the people of this country but also for their political uplift. He also preached a new religion which was essentially revivalistic and nationalistic in outlook. This religion was characteristically enough tinged with rationalism, a marked trait in the life of the Raja. Himself a great oriental scholar, he denounced the Government's policy of encouraging oriental learning, though he himself had used his own oriental scholarship to preach a new faith among the people. While Ram Mohan Roy was the leader of the unorthodox group, Radhakanta Dev represented the orthodox school. He, too, championed the cause of English education, though he did not share many of the views of Ram Mohan specially about religion. He too, like Ram Mohan, believed that English education would help in improving the condition of the people of India. David Hare, Ram Mohan Roy, Radhakanta Dev and others were responsible for founding in 1817 the Hindu College, the first institution of its type in the East, for the education of the children of the upper and middle classes of the Indian society, in European sciences and English literature. This event heralded a new era in the social and cultural history of India, and it was the precursor of an educational revolution which had far-reaching effects on the life of the Indian people. Soon the missionaries also opened their colleges. The Serampore College was found in 1818 and the Bishop's College in 1820.

In their advocacy of the introduction of English education in this country Ram Mohan and David Hare received support from another quarter. A

section of the middle class people living in Calcutta and its vicinity had very early (in fact much earlier than Ram Mohan and David Hare) come to realise the economic advantages of a knowledge of English.* They had seen that even a smattering of knowledge of that tongue ensured a job in the many English firms and business houses which were being founded in those days for the economic exploitation of India. One thing, however, should be noticed about this group of supporters of English education. They did not care very much about the content of the education given through the medium of English. All they cared for was a knowledge of the language, a knowledge which would make them efficient interpreters between the English traders on the one hand and the native producers and consumers on the other. In fact many schools were opened in those early days where the only education imparted consisted in making the pupils cram a limited vocabulary of English words and in teaching them strings of words

* It is interesting to read in this connection the following extract from a letter of Sir Philip Francis to Lord North dated as early as the 24th February, 1775 :

"The English language must alone be used in all accounts with the Government. As conquerors we have right to impose any condition on the people which may be essentially necessary to the preservation of the conquerors. But it is unnecessary for us to impose it by authority. The people are sensible of the great advantage of learning English and are universally desirous of possessing it. It is highly to the interest of the Government in every sense that this desire should be encouraged and assisted."

This extract is important because, firstly, it shows unmistakably the existence of a class of Indians desirous of English education long before the appearance of the missionaries and men like David Hare and Ram Mohan Roy; secondly, it proves that the idea of introducing English and the real reasons for doing it had occurred very early in the mind of shrewd administrators like Sir Philip Francis. Apparently, however, Warren Hastings was of a different mind.

and their equivalents in the vernacular. These venture schools were well patronised by the aspiring middle class gentlemen, the well-known Baboos of Anglo-Indian literature. Besides these schools there came into existence at a later date schools of a better type, such as those founded by David Hare, Ram Mohan Roy and others. There English was taught along with other subjects and a more complete type of education was sought to be imparted than that available either in the venture schools referred to above or in the old type Pathshalas. In this connection we may mention the establishment in 1817 of the Calcutta School Book Society and of the Calcutta School Society in 1818. The object of the first Society was to provide the schools with a new type of printed text-books, and the Society rendered very valuable service in the cause of new education. A similar society was founded in Bombay within a few years (in 1820) and it, too, did useful work on this line. The Calcutta School Society and the Bombay Native School Society (found in 1822) had for their objective the opening of schools of an improved type for Indian children and they were responsible for founding and conducting a large number of such schools.

So there were now three groups of people who were eager for a new type of education, that is English education: there were the missionaries, there were men like Ram Mohan Roy, David Hare and Radhakanta Dev, and there were also the middle class people in Calcutta and the suburbs. Each group was prompted by its own motive and had its own reason for demanding a new type of education.

The Company meanwhile was pursuing a policy of vacillation; they could not make up their mind. They were not quite confident of their position, whether their power had been sufficiently consolidated to enable them to interfere with social institutions of the land without any danger to the State. This attitude of the Company explains their comparative inaction between 1813 and 1823 to which we have already referred. In 1823 the General Committee of Public Instruction was set up and it was asked to give shape to the educational policy of the Government and to act accordingly. In the early stage the Committee happened to consist of members the majority of whom were not only admirers of the ancient classical languages and literatures of Hindusthan, but who were also, as a result of their long experience with the people of this country, cautious in their approach to the problem. H. H. Wilson was the Secretary of the Committee and he was well-known for his oriental scholarship.

From its earliest constitution the Committee was guided by two principles which became traditional and had the most important effect upon the progress of education. The first was an endeavour to win the confidence of the educated and influential classes, by encouraging the learning and literature that they respected, and by strictly avoiding any suspicion of proselytism. The second principle was that, as the funds at the disposal of the Committee were quite inadequate, it would be best to apply the funds to the higher education of the upper classes as distinguished from the general elementary education of the masses.

In pursuance of the above policy and for reasons which I have stated the Government began to set up institutions for the teaching of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, in important centres of Indian cultural life. The Poona Sanskrit College was founded in 1821, and in 1824 it was proposed to open a Sanskrit College in Calcutta. The proposal was vehemently opposed by Ram Mohan Roy who addressed a letter, which has now become famous, to Lord Amherst, the then Governor-General of India. In fact this letter may be said to have started the well-known anglicist-orientalist controversy which raged for nearly twelve years in the General Committee of Public Instruction and outside, and agitated the minds of the leaders of public opinion violently, till it was finally set at rest by the decision of Lord Bentinck's Government in 1835. The parties to the controversy were on one side the orientalists, men who were in favour of educating the upper classes of the Indian people through the medium of their classical languages, and on the other the anglicists, who thought that English should be used instead of the oriental languages for this purpose. At the outset in the General Committee of Public Instruction the orientalists out-numbered the anglicists; but with the progress of time the latter gained in strength so much so that by the early thirties there was practically an impasse in the Committee where no work could be transacted because of the equal strength of the opposing parties. It was at this juncture that Macaulay appeared in the field. Bentinck was then the Governor-General of India.

By the time Bentinck came back to this country

as the Governor-General the position of the Company had changed greatly. The British dominion had spread far and wide and their power was now well consolidated. The ruling classes were no longer nervous from a sense of insecurity. And now that the political and economic life of the country was under their complete control they could safely indulge in experiments with the social institutions of the people. They had already been successful in creating a new class of Indian people whose economic interests bound them inexorably with the British. The Government could count on their support in any new venture they might undertake, provided it was not too much of a revolutionary character. Moreover, the influence of the Hindu College was beginning to make itself felt. A class of Indian youth had made their appearance who, as a result of the education they had received, became pioneers of social reforms of all kinds, from introducing drinking to encouraging the public stage. Further, with the extension of their dominions the Government now began to feel the need of a band of youngmen who would help them in running the administration cheaply. England was too far away and to import English clerks was an expensive business. It was far too cheaper to train and appoint Indians to the sub-ordinate posts in the civil government of India and to get the work done under supervision. So a virtue was made of a necessity, and a new theory of educational advancement was pronounced. This was the famous 'filtration theory'. Education was to filter down drop by drop from the upper stratum of society to the lower, from the classes to the masses. It was an attractive theory and it found an

able exponent in the person of the Hon'ble T. B. Macaulay, who, on his arrival in India, was invited by Bentinck to preside over the General Committee of Public Instruction. This gave Macaulay the occasion for writing his famous minutes in favour of the anglicist position in the anglicist-orientalist controversy which, as we have already noted, was agitating the General Committee as well as the minds of the leaders of public opinion for several years past.

Macaulay had come to India with preconceived notions about the people of this country and their culture. He was a typical product of the age in England, full of a sense of superiority and a self-complacent yet well-meaning idealism which was merely another form of cultural imperialism. He knew the worth of the culture of the Indian people. "I am quite ready to take the oriental learning at the valuation of the orientalist themselves. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European literature was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia." And he knew too what he wanted to do. He would import European institutions to this country and establish on the soil of India "the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws".* And as a first step to that, we must, he said, "at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, in

* From Macaulay's speech on the Charter Act of 1833 in the House of Commons quoted in Dadabhai Naoroji's *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*, p. 93.

opinions, in morals and in intellect".* And who would deny that the policy which Macaulay adumbrated in his minutes, and which Bentinck adopted as the official educational policy of the Government of India† and which was followed by successive Governor-Generals in the following years, succeeded only too well? And who would deny that it did create a class of Indians who were strangers in their own country, who moved and lived in an India of their own, an India wholly different from the Indian India where lived and toiled millions of their countrymen?

It is interesting to note that in the anglicist-orientalist controversy the case for the vernaculars went by default. Almost every one seems to have tacitly assumed that the vernaculars could not be used for the education of the people of this country.

* From Macaulay's minutes.

Be it said to Macaulay's credit that he was not only fully conscious of the possible results of this step, but he also welcomed such results. Even before he had come to India speaking in the House of Commons in connection with the Charter Act of 1833 he had observed, "It may be that public mind of India may expand under our system until it has outgrown that system, that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it." *ibid*

The above extract is interesting for another reason. It shows clearly that long before he wrote his minutes Macaulay had made up his mind as to what kind of knowledge he would advocate for the people of this country. So when he was penning his famous minutes he was only using his legal acumen, forensic skill and his masterly style to support and justify a step which in his mind he had already decided to take.

† Lord William Bentinck's proclamation of 1835 stated that the great object of the British Government would thenceforth be the promotion of European literature and science through the medium of English and that 'all Government funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone.'

Macaulay said, "we have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother tongue." It is not clear how Macaulay came to this conclusion. If the languages of India even at that date and at that stage of their evolution could be used for translating the Bible, the most difficult book in the English language, it is difficult to imagine why they could not be used for conveying even the most abstract scientific and philosophical ideas in English to the Indian mind. And when we remember that science was still in its infancy there was not much of science to be translated in the Indian languages.

By ignoring the claims of the languages of the people the British administrators unwittingly perpetrated a grave injustice. They helped in further dividing this much-divided country, in creating yet another caste in this caste-ridden land of ours. They introduced yet another learned language, English; and so they helped in perpetuating the tyranny of a new learned class by keeping all the new knowledge locked up in a language but half understood even by those who studied it. English education thus divided India, spiritually and intellectually, into twain, into the English-knowing class of men and the non-English-knowing mass of people. Even among those who learnt that language in most cases mere words were studied and not thoughts and ideas; and so all the moral effects of knowledge applied to everyday life were lost.

Not that no warning note was sounded even in those early years of English education. The missionaries were pioneers in the field of primary education and they have always been its champions. No

doubt here and there they had established some institutions imparting higher education, but, for their own reasons, they have always stood for mass education; and they criticised strongly the policy which advocated exclusive emphasis on the education of the upper and middle classes through the medium of English. The missionary attitude has been rather picturesquely stated in the following extract which, though dated later, represented the views of the missionaries in the period under review:

"We think that our Educational Councils and Boards might take a valuable hint on this point from their brethren in the Abkari Department. A few years ago there was just as little desire amongst the people of India for strong drink as there is for education. But by a judicious system of establishing grog shops and making it the interest of the Abkari officials to promote their success, the Government have succeeded not only in creating a desire for liquor in the most unpromising districts, but even in deriving from the desire so created no inconsiderable amount of revenue. This is a simple fact. Now no one can doubt that the mere establishment of a few Gin-places in Calcutta and Madras and Bombay, however richly they might have been endowed, would have gone scarcely a single step towards the diffusion of the taste in question throughout the land. We offer this hint with considerable confidence that wise men may turn it to good account"*

Among the British administrators also Elphinstone, Munro and a few others emphasised the

* See "Education in the Early pages of the Calcutta Review" by A. N. Basu, Calcutta Review, May 1944.

importance of the village school-masters and the indigenous institutions imparting elementary education to the masses through their own languages. This was before the time of Macaulay ; but even when Macaulay was formulating the new policy there were men like Adam and Hodgson who criticised the 'filtration theory' and advocated the use of the vernaculars for the education of the Indian people. By 1838 Adam, who had been appointed by Bentinck to conduct a survey of the state of education in Bengal, had published his three reports and recommended measures for effecting extensive improvements. Like Moira, Elphinstone and Munro and against the policy which was gradually crystallising through the advocacy of Macaulay, Trevelyan and Auckland, he was firmly convinced that the only effective means of spreading education in India was to promote and improve the existing indigenous institutions. His scheme was simple and inexpensive. Encouragement was to be given to the village teachers by means of increased salaries, rewards, and other measures, to improve their technique of instruction ; better types of text-books were to be supplied to them conveying new ideas and ideals ; and inspectors and supervisors were to be appointed to check the work of these village school-masters and to disseminate new ideas among them. And Adam showed that the expenses involved in implementing the above scheme in any particular district would not exceed the salary that was being paid to the District Officer. And yet the scheme was considered by Auckland and others to be expensive and premature, and Adam's reports were allowed to be forgotten in the archives of the Government of India !

Some years later an attempt was made by Thomason to give effect to Adam's scheme in the newly created North West Provinces of Agra and Oudh and his efforts met with marked success. But in spite of those efforts and the success they achieved the official educational policy remained the same. It was in effect to encourage the education of the upper and middle classes through the medium of English. The indigenous institutions were consequently neglected and with them the education of the masses was also completely neglected. The forces which were responsible for the adoption of Macaulay's policy had, by this time, gathered so much momentum that any counter-movement, however much it might succeed for the time being, was destined to fail ultimately and as history proved, it did fail.

One thing should be noted here. Many of the existing defects of the present system of education can be traced to the early neglect of the indigenous system. When the Government ignored the network of the old indigenous institutions spread all over the countryside, it placed at once the first and foremost barrier in the path of educational progress. That barrier has not been removed to this day. It is true that later on attempts were made from time to time to incorporate the remnants of the old system into the new one ; but by that time the old system had already become very much worn out and had lost much of its vitality. And as time passed the task of revitalising these Pathshalas (which never died out completely and which continued to exist in a moribund condition) and incorporating them into the new system became more and more difficult.

As a result the very instruments which might have helped greatly in spreading mass education now stand in the way as its greatest impediment. The reorganisation and revitalisation of the old Pathshalas still remains one of our biggest educational problems.

[3]

WOOD'S DESPATCH AND THE EXPANSION OF
HIGHER EDUCATION

English education started on its career of rapid expansion after Bentinck's policy had been inaugurated in 1835. Government schools were established in district headquarters (these came to be known as Zilla schools) and from 1835 to 1854 the Government spent all its funds under the education budget for these institutions wherein English was the main item of instruction and where other subjects were taught through the medium of English. There young Indian children began to learn the A B C almost along with the alphabet of their own mother tongue. And there was a great demand for this kind of education. People were not only eager to learn the "language of good appointments" but they were prepared to pay for it. This demand for the new type of education induced others to open schools side by side with the Government Zilla schools. Thus began to spread what in this country we today call secondary and higher education.

As the movement proceeded apace, Lord Hardinge declared in 1844 that in the selection of candidates for public employment preference would always be given to those who had received their

education in the new type of institutions. This naturally gave an extra impetus to English education. But one effect of this declaration was that thenceforth English education came to be equated in terms of rupees, annas and pies. People began to learn English not primarily for the sake of acquiring knowledge and culture, but for economic gains, for getting jobs. English became a passport to service and that was its chief, if not the only attraction.

The charter of the East India Company was renewed every twenty years, in 1793, 1813, 1833 and again in 1853 ; and every such occasion was marked by some important development in the field of Indian education. In 1793 Grant made his abortive attempt to introduce an education clause in the charter. In 1813, the clause was inserted and the annual grant of a lakh of rupees was sanctioned. In 1833 this grant was statutorily increased to ten lakhs. When the next occasion came for the renewal of the charter a Parliamentary Committee sat to examine the educational progress in India. This committee heard a large number of witnesses including Trevelyan, Marshman (son of older Marshman), Cameron, Wilson, Duff and others, names well-known in the history of education of this country. On the basis of the evidence the educational policy was reformulated and it was embodied in the shape of a despatch which was sent by the President of the Board of Control to the Government of India in 1854. This despatch, which came to be known as Wood's Despatch after Sir Charles Wood, the then President of the Board, is said to be the corner-stone of Indian education.

It is said to have laid the foundation of our present system of education.

The following abstract of the despatch of 1854 has the authority of official documents, being taken from the Report of the Indian Education Commission of 1882.

"The Despatch of 1854 commends to the special attention of the Government of India the improvement and far wider extension of education, both English and vernacular, and prescribes as the means for the attainment of these objects: (1) the constitution of a separate department for the administration of education; (2) the institution of universities at the presidency towns; (3) the establishment of institutions for training teachers for all classes of schools; (4) the maintenance of the existing Government colleges and high schools; (5) the establishment of new middle schools, indigenous or other, for elementary education; and (7) the introduction of a system of grants-in-aid. The attention of Government is specially directed to the importance of placing the means of acquiring useful and practical knowledge within reach of the great mass of the people. The English language is to be the medium of instruction in the higher branches and the vernacular in the lower. English is to be taught wherever there is a demand for it, but is not to be substituted for the vernacular languages of the country: the system of grants-in-aid is to be based on the principle of perfect religious neutrality. Aid is to be given (so far as the requirements of each particular district as compared with other districts and funds at the disposal of the Government may

render it possible) to all schools imparting a good secular education, provided they are under adequate local management and are subject to Government inspection and provided that fees, however small, are charged in them. Grants are to be for specific objects, and their amounts and continuance are to depend on the periodical reports of Government Inspectors. No Government colleges or schools are to be founded where a sufficient number of institutions exist capable, with the aid of Government, of meeting the local demand for education; but new schools and colleges are to be established and temporarily maintained where there is little or no prospect of adequate local support being made to meet local requirements. The discontinuance of any general system of education entirely provided by Government is anticipated with a gradual advance of the system of grants-in-aid; but the progress of education is not to be checked in the slightest degree by the abandonment of a single school to probable decay. A comprehensive system of scholarships is to be instituted so as to connect lower schools with higher, and higher schools with colleges. Female education is to receive the frank and cordial support of Government. The principal officials in every district are required to aid in the extension of education; And in making appointments to posts in the service of Government, a person who has received a good education is to be preferred to one who has not. Even in lower situations a man who can read and write is, if equally eligible in other respects, to be preferred to one who cannot."

It would appear from the above that the Despatch was in the nature of an instrument of

instruction from the Home Government to the Government of India. It was a statesmanlike document wisely worded and wide in outlook and the suggestions contained therein were quite sound. It did lay out a plan for a comprehensive system of education for this country. Had the plan been fully followed and the suggestions carried out in their entirety, foundation would have been laid then of what might have, in time, developed into a national system of education for India. But unfortunately for us, as we shall presently see, this was not done. As a result the lop-sided development of education which had marked the earlier period continued without any corrective or check in the period which followed the publication of the Despatch.

As the direct result of the Despatch a separate Department of Public Instruction was created in every province under a Director who was a member of the Indian Civil Service. In order that this new department might not suffer in prestige the Despatch had given specific directions on this point. Bengal's first Director of Public Instruction was Gordon Young of the Indian Civil Service.

The big task before the newly created Department of Public Instruction was to build up a co-ordinated system of education. Hitherto the structure of state education in India had presented somewhat the picture of a body without a head or tail, or better still, an edifice without a foundation or finish. The D. P. I's were now called upon to furnish it with a head and to provide a tail to it; the head was to come in the shape of universities for which provision had been made in the Despatch and the tail was to be in the shape of a well-organi-

sed system of elementary instruction which would serve as the foundation for the entire super-structure. The credit of planning a coherent system of state education thus must go to the Despatch. In fact that was its chief contribution.

The Despatch had also provided an instrument for this purpose in the shape of grants-in-aid. Partly inspired by the prevailing political ideals of liberalism and partly impelled by virtue of necessity arising out of a chronic lack of funds for education, the Despatch had enunciated a new principle, namely that of grants-in aid. The large extension of education that it visualised would not be possible if the whole of it was to be conducted by Government. So the responsibility was to be shared and education was to be a co-operative venture between the State and the people, in which the major share of responsibility and expenses was to be borne by the people. The State would step in only in cases of necessity. In fact the framers of the Despatch hoped that a time might come "when any general system of education entirely provided by Government might be discontinued." This clearly implied a disavowal of the principle of state responsibility in education, and it had a tremendous influence on the subsequent course of education in this country.

The principle of sharing responsibility was to be followed at every stage and the grant-in-aid system was to be applied for encouraging all types of education. This was the policy of the Despatch. However, during the next period, *i. e.*, the years between 1854 and 1882 (when the Indian Education Commission was appointed) this policy was not strictly followed specially in the matter of high

school and collegiate education. During this period instead of cutting down the expenses for secondary and higher education and leaving them to the care of the people and spending more money on primary education as specifically suggested in the Despatch, the Government of India did the reverse, *i.e.*, they spent less on primary education and more on secondary and higher education. The result was that in spite of the wise policy of the Despatch of concentrating on primary education and patronising the indigenous Pathshalas for its spread, and in spite of heroic efforts of men like Iswarchandra Vidyasagar (who attempted to revitalise and re-organise the Pathshala system of education by founding a number of model schools), elementary education did not make much headway, while high school and collegiate education progressed very rapidly. The reasons are not far to seek. The demand for English-knowing Indians, whether for Government jobs or for private employment, was progressively on the increase. Consequently the demand for English education too was increasing greatly. Naturally Government felt impelled to cater for it. The upper and middle classes of people were as eager for it as before; not only that, as such education was looked upon as a sound investment, they were prepared to pay for it and to undergo any amount of sacrifice for the purpose. While there was thus a great demand for secondary and higher education, for primary education there was very little of it. Primary education brought little economic advantage. Small traders and petty village officials who needed it had their ranks full and their needs satisfied by the village Pathshalas.

The masses did not and could not realise the cultural value of such education. Naturally there was very little demand for it from the people. And so the grant-in-aid system could not do anything for the spread of primary education. Thus the uneven and unbalanced development of education, which was a marked feature of the previous period, continued in this period too.

The great achievement of the Despatch was the establishment of universities. The need was being felt for some years past for directing secondary and higher education in the country and for stamping their products with the seal of a centralised authority. There was already a considerable body of students reading in schools and colleges. The question now arose of testing their work and grading them. It was necessary to select from among them those who could be given employment under Government. So standards had to be fixed and examinations organised. But who were to conduct these examinations? Would it be the Council of Education? The missionaries questioned the competence of that body in this matter and protested against entrusting the examinations to the Council. So the necessity was felt for an agency or an institution which would be distinct from the Government and yet which would enjoy the confidence of all. It was in this connection that the proposal for a university was first made in 1845. It was then suggested that there should be a "Central University at Calcutta" for this purpose. But the proposal did not find favour with the Board of Directors and they rejected it. Now however, it was decided to establish universities with the same object not only at Calcutta but also

at Bombay and, if necessary, at Madras. These universities were to be modelled after the recently founded London University and their main function was to be, as it was of London, to hold examinations and to confer degrees on the results of such examinations.

There was a mention in the Despatch about arrangements for direct teaching in the university. It was suggested that there should be university chairs in classical and modern Indian languages and other such subjects in which it would not be possible to arrange for instruction of a high standard in the affiliated colleges. But the main emphasis was on the examination aspect. Teaching was to be a secondary function of these universities. So when in 1857 universities were established in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, their main business was to hold examinations and to confer degrees on successful candidates.

Calcutta University held its first Entrance Examination in 1857 and B. A. in 1858*. Among the thirteen candidates in the latter examination only two were successful, Bankimchandra Chatterji, the father of modern Bengali literature, and another. Both of them immediately obtained appointment as Deputy Collectors. It may be noted in passing that in the early years there was no Intermediate examination between the Entrance and the B. A. examinations. The F. A. or First Arts examination was introduced some years later.

Regarding the standards of examinations and degrees conferred it may be assumed that they were

* Bombay and Madras held their Entrance Examinations two years later.

fairly high. According to the testimony of an English observer the degrees conferred by the Indian universities denoted much the same standard of attainments as did those conferred by the University of London.*

It has been mentioned that the first two graduates of Calcutta University were rewarded with lucrative posts under the Government. In fact in those days any one who did well in the university examinations was sure to get a good Government job. Even for those who did not do so well, some or other lucrative appointment was invariably waiting, either in the Government or elsewhere. For, in those days jobs were plentiful and qualified men were few. University degrees thus came to serve as sure passports to service and an unhappy association was fortuitously established between the two. Thus it was that higher education in our country came to be valued not so much for its own sake as for the sake of economic advantages, and all education came to be judged and evaluated in terms of those advantages.

The medium of higher education was English. The medium of examination too was English. In the original regulations there was provision for examination in the modern Indian languages; but very soon they were left out of the list of examination subjects. It was after long, long years that the modern Indian languages again found a place among the subjects for university examinations. It is one of the strange ironies of fate that in India the languages of the people had, till recently, no place in her accredited

* F. W. Thomas. *The History and Prospects of British Education in India*, 1891, p. 71.

temples of learning. In spite of the salutary suggestions made in the Despatch Indian universities did very little for the sake of the Indian languages. It almost appeared as if neglect of the mother tongue was an inevitable feature of our university education.

It has been mentioned how English and examinations came to occupy the dominant place in the new system. We have also indicated how the emphasis on English and the consequent neglect of the mother tongue led to a cleavage in the intellectual and cultural life of the people. We shall now point out yet another effect of the undue emphasis on English.

English became the medium of instruction ; so students had to learn History, Geography, Mathematics and all other subjects in English. This had the effect of placing an additional obstacle in the path of the students. The original difficulty of mastering the subject-matter was doubled when it had to be learnt through the medium of a foreign tongue. And how many of our young pupils could, in eight or ten years of school life, learn sufficient English to use it as a medium for learning different subjects ? And yet examinations (conducted in the same language) had to be passed before one could hope to attain any measure of success in life. So short-cuts were devised. Unintelligent memory-work and cramming became the order of the day, and 'notes' flooded the educational bazaar and the intellectual market. Lord Curzon spoke derisively of the wonderful memory of Indian students and their habit of unintelligent cramming. One may justly wonder if the blame lies with the poor Indian students or somewhere else !

[4]

THE FIRST INDIAN EDUCATION COMMISSION

The year 1857 witnessed the transfer of the powers of government from the East India Company to the Crown. A Secretary of State for India took the place of the President of the Board of Control, and Lord Stanley was the first occupant of that office. In 1859 he issued a despatch on education in which he reviewed the action that had been taken on Wood's Despatch and expressed his entire satisfaction with the progress made and reaffirmed the principles laid down in the earlier despatch with a single exception.

That progress had indeed been rapid and it continued to be so during the next twenty-five years.

In 1857, the year of the founding of the universities, there were in India in all 22 Arts colleges. In the twenty-five years which intervened between 1857 and 1882 the total number of colleges increased to 59. In 1854-5 there were altogether 107 schools imparting secondary education*. Of these 73 belonged to Bengal, 47 of them being Government Zilla Schools. By 1881-2 the number of secondary schools in the country had risen to more than three thousand ! Almost everyone was therefore highly satisfied with the progress of higher education in the country.

What about primary education, the education of the masses ? How did it progress and expand ?

* The figures given under secondary education include high schools and middle schools.

We have already seen that in the period between 1835 and 1854 the Government had done nothing in that direction. Wood's Despatch had drawn the attention of the Government of India to the importance of primary education and had suggested that attempts should be made to use and improve the indigenous system for "imparting correct elementary knowledge to the great mass of the people". The Despatch had also indicated how Government officials might go about enlisting local support and then using the grant-in-aid system to encourage local effort. Lord Stanley, however, was opposed to this idea of Government officials going about and trying to obtain local support for the establishment of vernacular schools under the grant-in-aid system*. He thought this might "create a prejudice against education (!)," "render the Government itself unpopular" and even compromise its dignity. So he suggested that the means of elementary education should be provided by the direct instrumentality of the State according to some one of the plans already in operation for the improvement of indigenous schools or by any modification of those plans. Further, if necessary primary education could be financed by imposing a special rate on the land.

Between 1854 and 1882 many attempts were made to improve the indigenous schools but without much result. In Bengal the Circle School system was introduced for this purpose. It was later replaced by the Normal School system. Then came the Payment-by-result system

*This was the exception referred to in the first paragraph of this section; see p. 47.

tem; all these were intended to improve the indigenous village schools and to transform them into efficient instruments of popular education.

To finance the cost of elementary education local cesses were also imposed in several provinces. They were first instituted by Thomason in the North-Western Provinces.* Bombay had its education cess in 1864 and Madras in 1871. Unfortunately in Bengal no cess was imposed. Here there was a controversy between the Provincial Government and the Government of India as to whether, in view of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal, a new cess on land could be imposed. The controversy which went on for a number of years was at last decided against the Government of Bengal in 1871; but by that time other factors were in operation as a result of which no cess was levied in this province. But the Bengal Government undertook to do all they could for the sake of primary education.

In spite of all this primary education did not make much headway while secondary and higher education made very rapid progress. This was a disquieting sociological phenomenon which called for enquiry, and in 1882 Lord Ripon appointed the first Indian Education Commission to enquire into this problem.

The move for appointing the Commission came, really speaking, from another quarter. The missionaries had always been against a state system of education as they were against the principle of religious neutrality in education. By

* This was some years before Stanley's Despatch was published.

reiterating the principle of neutrality in the Despatch the authorities had thwarted the aspirations of the missionaries; but by adopting the principle of grant-in-aid they had raised high hopes in the missionary quarters. The missionaries were practically the only organised private body active in the field of education; if state aid were to come to them in spite of their denominational teaching and if the Government were really going to withdraw gradually from the field of higher education, as they had promised to do in the Despatch, they would thereby be in effect indirectly helping the missionaries who might justly aspire one day, sooner or later, to monopolise over the field of higher education in India. But when years went by and yet the Government did not withdraw leaving the extension of secondary and higher education to the care of private bodies, the missionaries became apprehensive of the intentions of the Government. They questioned and criticised the policy that was being pursued. In their opinion it was in direct contravention of the policy laid down in the Despatch. They alleged that far from cutting down their expenses on secondary and higher education and releasing the funds for the extension of primary education, the Government were concentrating on high schools and colleges thereby discouraging private initiative and effort, and consequently the course of primary education was suffering from neglect. For these reasons it had become necessary to enquire into the working of the existing educational policy of the Government of India; and

the missionaries demanded that a commission might be set up to do that. This missionary agitation was the direct cause of the appointment of the Indian Education Commission.

Sir William Hunter was appointed the chairman of the Commission which contained representatives of missionaries and Indian public opinion. Among its Indian members were Anand Mohan Bose, Justice K. T. Telang, Bhudeb Mukherji and Syed Mahmud, the son of Sir Syed Ahmed. Dr. Miller of Madras was the exponent of the missionary point of view on the Commission.

The actual terms of reference of the Commission were "to enquire particularly into the manner in which effect had been given to the principles of the Despatch of 1854 and to suggest such measures as it might think desirable with a view to the further carrying out of the policy therein laid down." The Commission was desired specially to bear in mind the great importance which the Government attached to the subject of primary education and to recommend measures for its extension and improvement.

The Commission toured over the country, heard witnesses, received memorials and concluded its labours and submitted a voluminous report of more than 600 folio pages besides several almost equally voluminous provincial reports.

But the net result achieved by the Commission was not commensurate with the volume of its reports. It practically reiterated the principles which had already been accepted years ago in the Despatch. It only elaborated some of the points and added some emphasis here and there.

For example, it declared that "elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension and improvement was that part of the education system to which the strenuous efforts of the state should be directed to a still larger measure than heretofore."

Perhaps the only important achievement of the Education Commission was entrusting primary education to the care of the newly created local self-governing bodies, the District and Local Boards. The municipalities had already been in existence, but the District and Local Boards were the creation of the liberal regime of Lord Ripon. They were fashioned after the County Councils of England; and as in England the charge of elementary education was given over to the local authorities on their creation, similarly in India too when the Local Self-Government Act was passed and the District and Local Boards were brought into existence, they were charged with the duties of looking after primary education in their respective areas. Regarding the financing of primary education the Commission said, "that primary education be declared to be that part of the whole system of Public Instruction which possesses an almost exclusive claim on local funds set apart for education and a large claim on provincial revenues."

With regard to secondary education Commission reiterated the principle of the grant-in-aid system and stated that the Departments of Public Instruction should thenceforward aim at the gradual transfer to local management of Government secondary schools. To encourage local effort and initiative less stringent rules for grant-in-aid were suggested.

It was further suggested that private institutions need not be required to charge fees as high as those of a neighbouring Government institution.

In connection with the spread of primary education the Commission mentioned the reform of the Pathshalas, which according to them, if properly managed and utilised, would solve the problem of primary education to a great extent. But what the Commission could not realise was that under the prevailing conditions the experiment was destined to fail. The financial resources of the Boards which were to look after primary education were going to be extremely slender and to expect them to do justice to their charge was, under the circumstances, to expect the impossible. But the Commission failed to see this. If the Government had not thus tried to evade their responsibilities and if they had boldly taken up primary education in their own hands, then there would have been a fair chance of achieving some good results; but that was not to be. The Government adopted an altogether different course. They shifted their responsibilities to the newly formed Boards and left them to experiment with such a vital subject as the education of the people! It has been suggested with some justification that the Indian Education Commission instead of making primary education a direct responsibility of the State provided the Government with an opportunity to shirk their responsibilities in the matter. Primary education was to grow under the care of the Boards, and secondary education was to be fostered by the grant-in-aid system. So the

Government had very little direct responsibility and very little to do.

This policy culminated in the declaration a few years later (in 1888) by the Government of Lord Dufferin that the Government's duty in the matter of education was that of pioneers, and now that the Government had shown the way and had thus done their duty, they should retire leaving the field to private efforts.

Thus national education came to be recognised not as an obligation of the Government but as something which was to live and thrive on Government "doles."

Many critics have held that the inevitable result of such a system was the growth of a large number of inefficient institutions, financially insecure and inadequately equipped and staffed, and the consequent lowering of the standards. It is difficult not to agree with them.

There was an inherent defect in the educational system from its inception. It was wholly academic in outlook and it made no provision for practical pursuits. So while it succeeded in producing literary-minded intellectuals, it failed to turn out practically-minded workers better suited for the battle of life. In order to remedy this defect the Commission suggested the bifurcation of the Entrance course and the creation of the 'B' course with a practical bias. It was hoped that this new course would fit in youths for commercial or other non-literary pursuits.

The B course never became very popular because of its frankly vocational character. Compared to the Entrance course its prestige was low. While the

Entrance course and subsequent university education opened up wide possibilities of success in various fields of life, the B course was acceptable only to those who wanted to train themselves as surveyors and overseers and nothing higher than these. This was not at all an attractive proposition; and parents could hardly be blamed if they showed unwillingness to take advantage of this bifurcation.

Thus the efforts of the Commission to find a satisfactory solution of the problem did not succeed to any appreciable extent. The general system could not be given a practical turn and it continued to be as bookish and academical as ever. The B course also did not succeed. The problem of vocational education thus remained unsolved. And the Commission did not discuss the subject of technical education. Of course in a sense English education itself was, for us, a type of vocational education; for, to learn English was to qualify for a job. In point of fact and strictly speaking, it was too narrowly vocational; for, the avenues of employment it opened up were narrow and circumscribed. Too often they led only to clerkship in some office.

Some provision no doubt had been made for professional education. One or two Medical Colleges had been opened, an Engineering College had been in existence for some years, courses in Law were available for training lawyers. But these were all meant for the upper classes and they offered extremely limited scope of employment. Even in the case of Medicine, Engineering and Law the courses were valued mostly for the sake of obtaining jobs. Many of the

graduates even in professional subjects first thought of seeking a safe berth somewhere and only when they failed to do so they set up in independent practice. This was specially true with regard to Engineering and Medicine.

So to secure a job became the chief aim of higher education in almost every branch of knowledge. There was, at that time, not much scope for Indians for independent trade or profession. Indian trade and commerce were practically in the hands of foreigners. The industries also were mostly ruined and no new ones had taken their place. No one was interested in setting up new industries and so in technical and industrial education. We were told that industrialisation was not for us, ours had been an agricultural country from time immemorial and it should remain so. It should continue to produce raw materials for others and to exchange them for finished goods made in other countries. So while the West went on cultivating the sciences and applying them to the problems of life, while new machines were being invented there and new industries were set up, we in India ran about either in search of government service or to become Banians and clerks in the European commercial "houses" to help in the economic and commercial exploitation of our country.

Another thing had attracted the attention of the Commission. The new system had been vehemently criticised in various quarters for having eschewed religion out of it. It had been called a "godless system" not only by the Christian missionaries but by men belonging to other religious

denominations as well. Could not something be done to remedy this glaring defect? The Government stood by the principle of religious neutrality and naturally they could not sanction the teaching of religion in state schools. In the meantime, however, by agreeing to pay grants-in-aid to denominational schools they had indirectly got over the difficulty to some extent. But that was not enough, critics wanted something more positive. So the Commission suggested the preparation and use of a moral text-book with an agreed syllabus approved by all religious denominations. Fortunately the Government of India which accepted almost all the recommendations of the Commission, refused to accept this suggestion and so our children were saved from being served in their schools with regimented doses of morality from a text-book as a substitute for religious education,

Towards the close of the century the attention of the country was drawn to the problems of technical education. There had been persistent criticism of this defect in the Indian educational system. A cry had been raised for industrial and technological education. This was, as we shall presently see, a sign of the growing political consciousness among the educated people of this country. In 1886 the Government of India published a memorandum on the subject in which they frankly admitted that very little had been done in this direction. So they suggested that Drawing and rudiments of Natural Sciences might be introduced in the school curriculum as a first step to any organised system of technical education. They were however, of opinion that as in India industries

had not developed to any great extent there was no room for special technical schools. Thus they avoided the question rather than face it in all its implications.

The introduction of Drawing and Natural Sciences did not succeed in making our education more practical nor did it prepare the ground or create any desire for specialised technical education. The only result was the further overcrowding of an already overcrowded syllabus by the addition of two more subjects.

[5]

CURZON AND INDIAN EDUCATION

Between 1884 and the close of the century there was no other significant development in the state-managed system of education in India; but important events were taking place elsewhere. A thoughtful section of the people of the country had already become extremely critical of the new system and their criticisms were voiced through the press and from the platform. Some of them began to talk of 'national education.' They demanded a system in which the medium of instruction would be the mother tongue of the people, which would give Indian culture its rightful place in the curriculum and courses of studies and which would also make ample provision for technical and vocational education to prepare and equip the country for industrialisation. These criticisms materialised in the shape of some institutions of a new type which came to be established after 1890.

Early in the nineties the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College was founded in Lahore by the members of the Arya Samaj to impart what was called by its promoters, 'national education'. After some years Swami Shraddhanand founded the Gurukul at Hardwar to revive the ancient Aryan traditions in education. About this time too Mrs. Besant founded the Central Hindu College at Benares. Some years later Rabindranath Tagore founded the Brahmacharyasharma at Santiniketan in Bengal. The main emphasis in all these ventures was on the revival of Indian traditions in education. These institutions tried to impart an education closely related to Indian culture and life. At the same time their aim was to effect a new synthesis between the past and the present. Their another distinctive feature was the emphasis they laid on the mother tongue both as a subject of study and as the medium of instruction. It would be apparent that all these efforts were tinged with and inspired by the spirit of Indian nationalism which was gradually manifesting itself all over the country and specially in Bengal in the closing decades of the last century.

The year 1885 witnessed the foundation of the Indian National Congress, an event of first-rate importance in the history of India. It was the first overt indication of considerable importance of a new political consciousness among the people. Among its leaders were men who had received higher education in the colleges and universities of this country. Through their efforts India was gradually becoming nationally minded and politically conscious.

At this juncture came Lord Curzon as the Viceroy of India. By temperament he was a benevolent autocrat and by training a diehard imperialist with implicit faith in a strong rule. He was also the archpriest of centralisation and efficiency. Soon after his arrival, with characteristic zeal and vigour, he took up the question of education in his hands and called a secret conference of the Provincial Directors of Public Instruction at Simla. There the Viceroy discussed the problems of Indian education in all its aspects and stages from the primary to university, and there he laid down his new educational policy. The corner-stone of this new policy was the complete abandonment of the old policy of *laissez faire* and the extension of state-control over the whole field of education. Far from abrogating their powers and responsibilities in the matter of education the Government should guide the course of education at every step. They should maintain state institutions to serve as models for others and they should give better and stronger guidance to all private enterprise in the field. So there could be no question of de-provincialisation of government institutions, nor could the initiative in education be left to private persons. Education must be centrally controlled and guided, and the Government must be prepared to spend more money on education to remedy the major defects of the system. It may be noted here that though Curzon advocated state control of education he was not prepared to admit the full responsibility of the state in this matter.

One of the first results of the Simla Conference was the appointment of the Indian Universities

Commission in 1902. Before however giving further details about the Commission we may note here the reactions of the Indian people to the Simla Conference. It has been mentioned that from beginning to end the Conference had been kept a secret affair. Indian representatives were not invited to join it nor were the people of this country taken into His Lordship's confidence when he was laying down his policy for their better education. Naturally the Indian people began to look askance at this move and they became suspicious of the intentions of the new Viceroy. They thought that his proposal to increase the amount of state control was really meant to restrict education and thereby to nip in the bud the rising national spirit among the educated people which was spreading to the younger generations through the educational institutions; these institutions were serving as hospitable nurseries for that spirit of nationalism. This suspicion of the people received some apparent confirmation when the report of the Indian Universities Commission was published.

Lord Curzon had appointed the Universities Commission for the express purpose of reforming the universities. Such reform had, in fact, become overdue, and many people had felt the need for it. There were now five universities in India. Besides the three original foundations two more had come into existence, Allahabad and the Punjab; and experience had clearly shown that all was not well with their workings. So the idea of a Universities Commission to study the question of university education in all its bearings and to suggest necessary reforms, was not at all premature; and it would have

been warmly welcomed by all had not Lord Curzon committed an initial blunder. When the appointment of the Commission was announced it did not contain any Indian representative. The names of Dr. Gooroodas Banerjee and Syed Hasan Bilgrami were added as a result of after-thought. But the mischief had already been done. Indians felt that like the Simla Conference the Commission was practically going to be a closed affair and so there could be very little doubt about its findings. They would surely be in line with the Viceroy's new educational policy which had already roused a good deal of suspicion.

The Universities Commission made many recommendations for the better administration of the universities and for improving the quality of instruction and raising its standard. Some of these recommendations unfortunately were liable to double interpretation. They might be interpreted as being intended to restrict the scope of higher education. For example, under the revised regulations, of the one hundred members of the reformed Senates (the governing bodies of the universities) eighty per cent were to be nominated by the Government. There was wide-spread suspicion that this measure was intended to restrict the academic freedom of the universities and to make them subservient to the bureaucracy. Gooroodas Banerjee recorded a separate note of dissent on this and other points; but in the Commission he was in the minority of one and his counsels went unheeded. There was a great agitation and strong opposition in the country to some of the measures recommended by the Commission, but they were of no avail. The government

of Lord Curzon framed a bill on the recommendations of the Commission and it was passed as the Indian Universities Act of 1904.

The Universities Act did no doubt introduce some welcome measures of reform long overdue, but on the whole its psychological effect on the people was negative. They could not but look upon the measure with suspicion.

Lord Curzon published his educational policy in 1904 in the form of a Government resolution. It is a remarkable document. It contains a penetrating analysis of the defects of the existing system of education in India. Though uttered more than forty years ago from now this analysis would bear repetition. "The shortcomings of the present system", says the resolution, "in point of quantity are well known". "Four out of five villages are without a school. Three boys out of four grow up without education and only one girl in forty attends any kind of school". "In point of quality the main charges brought against the system are : (1) that the higher education is pursued with too exclusive a view to entering Government service; that its scope is thus unduly narrowed and that those who fail to obtain employment under Government are ill-fitted for other pursuits; (2) that excessive prominence is given to examinations; (3) that the courses of study are too purely literary in character; (4) that the schools and colleges train the intelligence of the students too little and their memory too much, so that mechanical repetition takes the place of sound learning, and (5) that in the pursuit of English education the cultivation of the

vernaculars is neglected".* With regard to another point, i. e., technical education the Resolution frankly admitted that it had been mainly directed to the higher forms of instruction required to train men for Government service.

It would appear from the above that Lord Curzon's analysis of the major defects of the educational system was more and less correct ; but unfortunately though the diagnosis was correct the remedy suggested was neither appropriate nor opportune. Lord Curzon was right in many of the things he said ; but it was the way in which he wanted to reform that raised grave suspicions in the mind of the educated Indians. They thought that this reform move camouflaged some deep political motive. Unfortunately another administrative measure of Lord Curzon lent outward support to this suspicion. This was the partition of Bengal in the teeth of the united opposition of the people of that province. The partition was interpreted as being a measure to disrupt the political life of the Bengali people who provided leaders for all radical movements in India, political and cultural. The direct result of the partition was a country-wide political agitation which burst forth as the "Swadeshi Movement". It shook the whole of India from one end to the other.

One of the main features of this national movement was the advocacy of boycott of foreign

* It is interesting to recall in this connection Lord Curzon's remarks regarding the effect of Macaulay's policy on the growth of primary education in India. He said, "Ever since the cold breath of Macaulay's rhetoric passed over the field of Indian languages and Indian text-books, the elementary education of the people in their own tongue has shrivelled and pined".

goods and use of home-made i.e., Swadeshi goods. A natural corollary to this was a demand for the growth of Indian industries. Thus in the Swadeshi Movement the ideal of nationalism preached was a combination of political and economic idealism. This economic idealism also expressed itself, as we shall presently see, in an increased demand for technical and industrial education. Without such education it would not be possible to build new industries in this country.

It was during the Swadeshi Movement that the student community was first drawn into politics. Naturally this was not viewed with favour by the Government. An official circular was issued by a Secretary to the Government of Bengal strictly prohibiting the students from joining any political meeting and threatening them with dire punishment for any violation of the order. This provocative circular supplied the flame to the fuse and a tremendous uprising among the students in Bengal was the result.

For some time past a strongly critical attitude almost of opposition against the prevailing educational system, was steadily developing in the minds of the leaders of the country. The official circular became the immediate cause for the mobilisation of this spirit of opposition in the shape of a movement for national education. Rabindranath Tagore, Rashbehari Ghose, Aurobinda Ghose and others led that movement. Among them there was also Sir Gooroodass Banerjee, a veteran educationist, an ex-Vice-Chancellor and an ex-Judge of a High Court, who could hardly be accused of having radical political views. His presence would indicate

how strong and wide-spread the opposition was against the existing system and how the reaction was not merely political in nature. The movement for national education materialised in the foundation of the National Council of Education. Lakhs of rupees were subscribed in a very short time. A comprehensive scheme for a system of national education was drawn up, beginning from the infant classes right up to the highest stage. A National College was established in Calcutta and Aurobinda Ghose came as its first Principal. A Technical Institute was opened to impart technical education. National schools were established all over the province and students flocked to them in hundreds.

This was the first organised movement for national education in this country. Previous to this some institutions had grown up outside the pale of the state-directed system of education and away from all Government influence, the aim of which was to impart education on national lines. We have already mentioned about the Gurukul and the Santiniketan Brahmacharyashrama, where emphasis was laid on the mothertongue as the medium of *instruction*, and where the cultural heritage of *the nation* was sought to be given a prominent *place in the curriculum* of studies. These two *characteristics* also marked the new movement for *national education* which further stressed the importance of technical education.

For various reasons the movement for national education did not endure for long. Its connection with the political Swadeshi Movement was one of them. As the political movement slackened, the movement for national education too began to lose

in strength and energy. The original fervour was gone. The National College closed down, the national schools gradually died away and their students drifted back to the public institutions. The only thing that remained was the Bengal Technical Institute which in course of time developed into the magnificent Jadabpur College of Engineering and Technology. The survival of the Technical Institute proved the demand for technical education in this country. In fact after it a number of similar institutions came into existence one after another in different parts of the country.

Before closing this section some mention should be made about the Minto-Morley Constitutional Reforms which were introduced during the time of Lord Minto, who succeeded Lord Curzon as the Viceroy of India. This measure had a marked influence on the subsequent course of education in this country. The Minto-Morley reforms introduced for the first time the communal principle in the constitutional life of India and thus gave official support to the spirit of communalism which had made its appearance sometimes previously in the Indian body politic. It is doubtful whether communalism would have endured had it not received this official support from high quarters. With such support the spirit of communalism began to spread everywhere. In the field of education it showed itself in the form of a demand for separate institutions for Muslims and for reservation of seats for them in public institutions. Instead of ignoring this fissiparous tendency the Government bolstered it up; and thus the virus of communalism was introduced into our educational system.

GOKHALE'S BILL AND THE EDUCATIONAL
POLICY OF 1913

It was during the days of the Swadeshi Movement that an extensive agitation was launched for spreading education among the masses. The new political consciousness strongly focussed the attention of the people on the needs of mass education. The unhappy fact came to their notice that even after one hundred and fifty years of British rule the state of education had reached a level where only about six per cent of the people were literate. This brought forth a torrent of criticism from all quarters against the existing system of education. Such criticisms found expression in a constructive manner in the attempts of the late Gopal Krishna Gokhale to force the Government of the country to accept the principle of compulsory and free primary education.

In 1910 Mr. Gokhale moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council asking that "a beginning be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory." Next year he introduced a small private bill. The demands made *therein were modest enough*. The Act was to be in *the nature of a permissive legislation*. What the bill *asked in substance was* that a local body might, with *the previous sanction of the Provincial Government*, make primary education compulsory in its area provided that thirty-three per cent of boys and girls in that area were already under instruction (showing thereby that there was sufficient demand for primary education). Even then compulsion would be only for boys between the ages of six and ten, and girls were not to be included at all. And the expenses

were to be shared by the local bodies and the Provincial Governments in the ratio of one to two.

It would appear from the above that the demands of Mr. Gokhale were extremely modest.* But the Government were not prepared to concede even these modest demands. Sir Harcourt Butler as the official spokesman said that there could be no question of compulsory primary education as the country was not prepared for it and there was no demand for it. When Gokhale cited the case of Baroda where primary education had been both compulsory and free for some years past, Sir Harcourt summarily brushed aside his arguments by saying that that State was not governed on a democratic basis. When Gokhale quoted instances of western countries in support of his arguments Sir Harcourt was not prepared to accept their analogy too. In sheer disappointment Gokhale said that Sir Harcourt would ignore the instances of Indian States on the plea of autocracy, he would not also accept instances from democratic western countries, when such instances were put forward. He perhaps wanted an instance completely analogous to India, but where could be found a parallel to the peculiar system of government obtaining in this country? What examples could he then cite which could convince the Government?

With all his arguments Gokhale could not break through the Government opposition. All the Government members as well as some non-official

* Even the Government spokesman, Sir Harcourt Butler, while opposing the bill admitted that. He said, "It is itself a modest and unassuming measure. It is full of safeguards—so full of safeguards that it seems to many likely to remain a dead letter."

members voted against the bill and it was thrown out, 38 members voting against and 13 voting for it. The reasons given for official opposition were plausible enough, but they would hardly carry weight. It was said that there was no demand for it, that the Local Governments were not in its favour and a strong (!) minority of educated Indians was against it and finally, there was still room for the extension of primary education on a voluntary basis. Who could controvert arguments of this nature !

So Gokhale failed ; but he failed gloriously. In spite of what the Government might argue he and his supporters had made it perfectly clear that nothing but compulsion would meet the needs of the situation. Moreover, he had succeeded in focussing public opinion on this much needed reform and enlisting the support of all sections of the people excepting a handful who cast their lot with the Government. Among his supporters were Brahmins, Sudras, Hindus, Muslims, the rich and the poor. All the political parties including the Indian National Congress supported him and a strong tide of public agitation in support of the proposed measure swept the country from one end to the other.

Just when the bill was being discussed and the Government were opposing it, the King-Emperor George V in course of his visit to this country was expressing his desire to see the light of learning spread to every home*. In the Delhi Durbar an additional grant of fifty lakhs of rupees from the

* In reply to the address of welcome presented by the University of Calcutta on the 6th January, 1912.

Imperial exchequer was announced. The amount was to be spent mainly for spreading primary education. Under these circumstances it became imperative for the Government to give some explanation for their opposition to Gokhale's Bill and incidentally, to define clearly their educational policy. This was done in the Resolution on the Indian Educational Policy published early in 1913.

With reference to primary education the Resolution declared that in spite of their opposition to Mr. Gokhale's Bill the Government wanted further and wider extension of primary education among the people and so they had decided to increase considerably the grant for primary education which would appropriate the major portion of the grant of fifty lakhs of rupees announced at the time of the Durbar.

With regard to secondary and higher, specially university education the Resolution struck a new note.

Hitherto secondary education, specially high school education, had been closely linked with the university system. The universities gave recognition to high schools, laid down the curriculum of studies, prescribed the textbooks and conducted the examinations. These powers were conferred on them by the Indian Universities Act of 1904. At the time when Lord Curzon was delegating these powers to the universities there was no conflict in sight between the universities and the Departments of Public Instruction, nor was there any prospect of such conflict in the near future. Hence no objection was taken to the delegation of these powers to the universities.

In the meantime certain events had happened. The Swadeshi Movement had come attracting many a school student into the arena of politics. The Government, therefore, felt it necessary to exercise a stricter control over high schools which, in their opinion, had become hot-beds of revolutionary thought among the youths of the country. A large amount of control vested in the Indian universities. Some of these had, by this time, come to be controlled to a large extent by educated Indians who began to show independence of judgment and action. Soon a conflict arose between these universities and the Local Governments represented by the Departments of Public Instruction. It is even said that in connection with the question of withdrawal of recognition of a particular school, the students of which were supposed to have taken part in political meetings, a hot controversy arose between the Lieutenant-Governor of the province and the university; and when the university refused to accept the dictation of the Lieutenant-Governor because the grounds for disaffiliation put forward by him were of an extra-academic nature, the latter became so enraged that he resigned his post and left the country in a huff. Such a situation could hardly be tolerated under a bureaucratic system. The Departments thus came to be suspicious of the universities and charged them with abusing the privileges of granting recognition to schools. They alleged that in many cases by granting recognition to inefficient and incompetent schools the universities were indirectly encouraging bad education and hampering the cause of good education. Further, because of their pre-occupation with high school education which, pro-

perly speaking, was and should be beyond their scope and jurisdiction, the universities often failed to do full justice to their own more legitimate obligations and to devote more time and energy for the improvement of higher education in the country. So the Resolution suggested that there should be a division of labour not only for facilitating the work of the universities but also in the interests of secondary education itself. The universities should therefore be relieved of the responsibility of granting recognition to schools and the powers of recognition should be exercised only by the Local Governments.

In connection with the reform of university education the Resolution suggested improvement of the existing affiliating and examining type of universities and creation of a new type of university, namely teaching and residential university.

Broadly speaking there are three types of universities. Firstly, there are residential universities like the ancient Nalanda or Vikramasila or the modern Cambridge or Oxford, where students live and prosecute their studies, where the everyday social life of the students is well organised and regulated as in the ancient Gurukuls. There the students constantly come into close intellectual and spiritual contact with their professors engaged in the pursuit of knowledge; and it is this contact, this living intellectual and spiritual environment which becomes a powerful and educative influence in shaping the life of the students. This was the ancient ideal of higher education in India. Secondly, there is another type of universities represented by the Scottish and most of the continental

universities, where the students are not in residence, where they live in their homes or in lodgings and where they come to the university only for certain specified hours in the day for study and work. There no attempt is made by the university outside its campus to influence directly the life of its students. In such universities the contact between the students and their teachers is not so close as in residential universities but their teaching arrangements are more or less of a similar nature.

When Calcutta and other Indian universities were first established they did not belong to either of the above two categories. Not only was there *no residential arrangement* for students but there *was also no direct teaching* given in the universities. *They contented themselves* by only prescribing *the courses of studies* and holding examinations and granting degrees and diplomas on the result of such examinations. As far as teaching was concerned it was done in the colleges affiliated to the universities. In a sense these universities were not even seats of learning or centres of educational activities, they were merely administrative bodies with only administrative functions.

Until very recently Calcutta and other Indian universities belonged to this third type of university organisation, which may be called the affiliating-examining type. The university reform of 1904 was intended to transform these universities into teaching universities but it failed in its objective.

The Resolution of 1913 proposed a thorough reform of the existing university system. It pointed out how as a result of experience in London itself (we may remember that London had served as the

model for the Indian universities) a new type of university organisation had replaced the old one and how London was fast developing from an examining and affiliating university into a teaching university. Similarly, the Resolution said, Indian universities should be reformed and re-organized.

It was in this connection that official patronage to provincialism and communalism in the field of education became evident. In support of the policy of encouraging universities it was stated that the Government would give adequate financial help to the Muslim University of Aligarh and the Hindu University of Benares. Both of these were going to belong to the first type of university organisation advocated in the Resolution. Dacca University was also mentioned in this connection. There was a section in the educated Muslim community of East Bengal who had been putting forth the claim for a separate university for the Muslims. By declaring their decision to found a university at Dacca the Government now practically came to support that claim. With regard to providing each province with a separate university the Government declared that they had in contemplation the establishment of universities at Rangoon,* Patna and Nagpur.

The Resolution contained many other suggestions including a number of platitudes, on all aspects of education; but its main contribution was the formulation of a new policy with regard to high school and university education.

Soon after the declaration of the educational

* Burma was then a part of the Indian Empire.

policy of 1913 a proposal was broached for appointing another Education Commission.

It has been often found that proposals for educational reform in England have been followed shortly by similar proposals by the Government of India for the reform of education in this country. In 1910 a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Haldane was appointed for the reform of London University. In 1914 a proposal was made for an Education Commission under the same Lord Haldane for reforming the Indian Universities ; but Lord Haldane declined to come. In the meantime the Great War began in Europe, and India was dragged into it. As a result all ideas of educational reform had to be temporarily abandoned.

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UNIVERSITY REFORM BEGINS

The war situation in Europe had improved by 1917. So it was found opportune to direct attention once more to educational reforms in the country ; and the Government of India appointed the Calcutta University Commission. Dr. Michael Sadler, the well known English educationist, became its chairman and after his name the Commission came to be known popularly as the Sadler Commission. The most prominent among the Indian members of the Commission was Sir Asutosh Mookherjee, whose opinions, it is said, influenced the recommendations of the Commission to a great extent.

Though the ostensible and declared object of the Commission was the reform of Calcutta University, yet we should not be far from the truth if we take it that its real aim was a thorough and complete assessment of the entire university system in the country. Calcutta merely served as an example. It was the oldest and biggest university of its type. In fact the Commission, though primarily concerned with Calcutta University, took a comprehensive view of its tasks and its recommendations were of a nature which made them applicable to other Indian universities as well.

Before we proceed further to discuss in details the findings of the Calcutta University Commission it is necessary to mention one or two events that had happened in the meantime in connection with higher education in India. The first such event was the foundation of the Hindu University.

The Hindu University was founded in Benares in 1916 through the efforts of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. In several respects it was different from the other existing universities. It was a residential university ;* secondly, it made provision for direct teaching in the university in different faculties from the intermediate right up to the highest, *i. e.*, the M. A. stage ; thirdly, though there was no bar here to admission of students of other communities it was mainly intended for Hindu students. Here then is an example of the spirit of separatism and communalism which had lately made its appearance in the field of higher education. There was yet another feature of the Hindu University. It

* The University admits some day scholars also.

is the first university for the foundation of which the initiative came from the people and not the Government. By appealing to their sentiments Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya succeeded in rousing great enthusiasm and securing liberal endowments from all sections of the Hindus, princes, rich men and the poor alike. He proved that it was not difficult to found a university through private efforts provided the Government did not oppose,

It was about this time that proposals were made to establish universities in the Indian States. Up till then all the Indian universities were situated only in British India to which were affiliated the colleges situated in the States. Since 1913 however, the spirit of provincialism and regionalism had made *its appearance* in various forms, and, as we have *already seen, it received* support from the Government. *This spirit* affected the Indian States *as well.* The separatist consciousness of the Indian States was just another form of provincialism, and it was this consciousness which led to the movement for founding universities in the Indian States. Mysore University was founded in 1917 and the Osmania University at Hyderabad, Deccan in 1918. The latter university introduced a novel feature by making Urdu the medium of instruction. In the Osmania University even the highest examinations are held in Urdu. One should not however imagine that the measure adopted in the Osmania University has satisfied our long standing demand for making the mother tongue the medium of instruction, Urdu is not spoken even by five per cent of the population of the Nizam's dominion the majority of whom speak Kanarese and other South Indian languages.

To them Urdu presents almost the same difficulties as English does. But the use of Urdu in the Osmania University has proved beyond any shade of doubt that an Indian language can easily be used as the medium of instruction up to the highest stage and that with success.

The second event that we had referred to was the establishment of the Post-Graduate departments in the University of Calcutta. No doubt as a result of the policy of 1904 and also of 1913 some amount of post-graduate teaching had been arranged under the direct auspices of the universities, but it was neither adequate nor properly organised and co-ordinated. The major part of the work was done in the colleges, the universities contenting themselves with appointing a chair or two in one or two special subjects. In 1917 under the inspiring guidance of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee post-graduate teaching in Calcutta University was centralised directly in the university and two departments of post-graduate teaching, in arts and sciences, were created. Thenceforth arrangements for teaching for the Master's degree, both in arts and sciences, were made directly in the university. Only the Presidency College in Calcutta and no other was allowed to retain the M. A. and M. Sc. classes.

Fortunately about this time two distinguished alumni of the university, the late Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rashbehari Ghose, came forward with the offer of donations of fifteen and twenty-one lakhs respectively to their *alma mater* for scientific and higher researches. These princely donations made it possible for the authorities of Calcutta University to establish the University Colleges and Laboratories

of Sciences and concentrate post-graduate studies in scientific subjects there.

In the newly created post-graduate departments there was provision not only for courses of instruction leading to the Master's degree, but also for researches in various fields of knowledge. The departments soon attained pre-eminence and created a band of workers whose researches received recognition all over the learned world. A high Government official had once in the early years of the century, said that Indians were incapable of doing research work. Within a few years the Post-Graduate Departments of Calcutta University gave a fitting reply to the charge and proved how unworthy the accusation was. Thus, for the first time an Indian university became not only a truly teaching university in the real sense of the term, but it also became an effective instrument for the advancement of learning which is certainly one of the objects for which a university stands.

It will appear from the above that the germs of university reform were sown even before the Calcutta University Commission had begun their labour.

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THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION

The report of the Calcutta University Commission was published in 1919. Never before was published such an important and elaborate report on Indian education. The report discussed almost every aspect of education excepting that relating to the primary stage. Primary education was not

discussed because it had no direct connection with higher education; but secondary education, because of its close connection with higher education, received full consideration. In fact the Commission dealt comprehensively with all possible aspects of secondary, collegiate and university education and made recommendations thereon.

It may be interesting to note here some of the observations of the Commission on the system of secondary education existing in Bengal.

The Commission praised the spirit of sacrifice and the eager desire for knowledge on the part of the student community in Bengal. They noted how many students could not obtain secondary education on account of their poverty and admitted that there was still great need for the expansion of that type of education. "One of the greatest needs of India was more education, widely spread throughout the community." But they also noticed that while there had been a remarkable expansion of secondary education, its quality had not improved. The shortcomings of the great majority of secondary schools constituted, in their opinion, the gravest defects of the educational system. At the root of all this was "the dearth of teachers". The prospects afforded by the teaching profession are insufficiently attractive and so the best among the young men and women shun that profession. Teaching is thus left to those who are inadequately trained, and in their hands the quality of education gradually deteriorates.

In view of its many defects the Sadler Commission were of opinion that nothing short of wholesale reorganisation of secondary education was

called for and that in the interests of national welfare such reorganisation could not brook any further delay.

The crux of the problem was the inadequate financial provision for secondary education. "Most of the educational institutions have insufficient funds at their command." So what was wanted was more money. "Government will have to pay a larger portion of a substantially larger expenditure, if the evils we have described are to be amended and the reforms we have advocated are to be carried through." "If the system of secondary education in Bengal is to be made thoroughly efficient, an annual expenditure, over and above fees, of not less than 150 lakhs will have to be undertaken in future." Unless that was done no real reform could be effected.

The Commission were of opinion that no radical reform of the university system would be possible, unless the system of secondary education, upon which the university work depended, was thoroughly overhauled and reorganised. Besides qualitative improvement on the lines suggested by the Commission there should be provision for diversified courses at this stage and the university should not be the only and inevitable goal of high school education.

The main principle of educational reform advocated by the Commission at the higher stage was the separation of the Intermediate classes from the university and the creation of a three-year first degree course. In the opinion of the Commission students came to the college too young and with too weak a preparatory grounding in general education ; moreover the work done in the Intermediate classes was,

in many respects, similar to that done in the two top classes of high schools. Therefore, the organisation, discipline and modes of instruction in these classes should be similar ; and admission to the university should take place after the Intermediate and not the Matriculation stage as at present. But instead of adding the Intermediate classes to the high schools, the Commission recommended the creation of a new type of institutions to be known as Intermediate Colleges. In the Intermediate Colleges the classes should be small, so that the lecture-method unsuited to students at this stage of development could be replaced by a more intimate and personal type of instruction. There should also be ample provision for tutorial classes and seminars for the same reasons. Moreover, at this stage diversified courses should be offered so framed as to afford preparation not only for the ordinary degree course but also for courses for the medical, engineering and teaching professions and for careers in agriculture, commerce and industry.

It is interesting to note here that the very same type of colleges which under the name of second grade colleges, was condemned by the Indian Education Commission of 1882 and the Indian Universities Commission of 1902, was made the basis of educational reform in the new order proposed by the Sadler Commission. It only gave them a new designation and a status which they had not previously enjoyed.

In the matter of control the Commission said that the universities must be relieved of the obligation of controlling both the Intermediate Colleges and the high schools. These should be placed under

a Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education to be specially constituted for this purpose. The Commission suggested in details the functions and the constitution of that Board. The Board should be "autonomous and free from official influence and interference" while working under the general supervision of the Local Government. But care must be taken to see that it does not become a mere adjunct of the Department of Public Instruction. Unless the Board enjoys full public confidence, it will not be able to work effectively and satisfactorily. The majority of the members of the Board should be non-official and the Board should contain adequate number of representatives of both the public and the universities in order to safeguard the interests of both. There should also be representatives of the Hindu and Muslim communities as well as of agriculture, commerce and industry.

The Commission thus made provision for communal representation on an academic body for the first time. While this is true, a perusal of the report would make it clear that the Commission did not place as much emphasis on communal representation as was placed later by others. For example, the Commission did not say that the entire basis of representation was to be communal. What it said was that out of sixteen or seventeen members who would constitute the Board there would be at least three Hindus and three Muslims. Obviously the Commission did not intend that the constitution of the Board was to be decided solely on communal considerations. But the responsibility for first suggesting the introduction of representation on communal basis on academic bodies must go to the Sadler Commission. The avowed

purpose behind the suggestion was safeguarding the interests of the minority communities, the basic assumption being that the majority community cannot be trusted with the educational interests of other communities. This introduction of communal principle in the field of education was fraught with grave consequences in later years.

With regard to the position of the Board *vis a vis* the Government, the Commission said that while the Government would exercise a certain amount of general control over the activities of the Board, its autonomous character should be maintained; and special care should be taken to see that schools are not denied that freedom which is the very life breath of sound education.

The Commission gave many other suggestions for the re-organisation of high school and intermediate education, about courses of studies, the medium of instruction, the system of examinations, extra-curricular activities, discipline of students, their residential arrangements etc. Regarding the medium of instruction, while recognising the importance of the natural medium of thought, i. e., the mother tongue, they could not go beyond recommending that it should be the medium only in the high school stage and that too not in all subjects. English was to remain as the medium in the Intermediate Colleges and the University.

So far about the reform of secondary and intermediate education. We now come to university education. The Commission were of opinion that the main defects of the university system would be removed if the secondary system (including the intermediate stage) was reformed on the lines

suggested by them. Then the first degree course would be extended by another year. This reform (together with the raising of the age of admission to the university) will change the character and quality of under-graduate instruction to a great extent. Among other advantages it will enable a closer and more prolonged contact, uninterrupted by examinations, between the students and their teachers. The universities will thus be automatically converted into real centres of education instead of being, as at present, mere administrative bodies for granting recognition, holding examinations and awarding degrees and diplomas. The Commission spoke thus of the older Indian universities. "They were not corporations of scholars but corporations of administrators; they had nothing to do directly with training of men but only with the examination of candidates; they were not concerned with learning, except in so far as learning can be tested by examinations".

The Commission laid great emphasis on teaching universities. They recommended that the project for a unitary and residential teaching university at Dacca should be immediately carried into effect. They laid down the details of the new type of university organisation. In academic matters the university was to be freed from excessive official control as exercised at present; the regulations should be made less rigid and the teachers who had up till now, practically no hand in the university government, should be given more powers and prominence in dealing with academic matters. In the place of the old form of university government through the Senate and the Syndicate the Commission suggested the creation of the Court, the

Executive Council and the Academic Council. They also recommended the appointment of a salaried and full-time Vice-Chancellor.

A perusal of the report of the Sadler Commission reveals how the Commission wanted that the Indian system should be moulded in the pattern of the English system of secondary, collegiate and university education. In fact their recommendations closely followed those of the Haldane Commission on London University reform made only a few years back. In India too we were to have "university colleges", "constituent and incorporated colleges", "Academic Councils" etc. In India too halls of residence were to be set up and students were to be induced to become, as far as possible, residential members of the university. Thus the new organisation of university education in this country was to be a close replica of the organisation suggested for English universities.

About the relationship of the university with the colleges the Commission suggested that there should be greater co-operation between the two, and that the colleges should be classed under the following three types: incorporated, constituent and affiliated. The first two types were to be a part and parcel of the university whose affiliating functions should be regarded as subsidiary and of a more or less temporary character. The affiliated institutions situated outside the university area were either to develop through a process of improvement into "University Colleges" i. e., potential university centres, or to become "Intermediate Colleges" and thus go out of the university.

The Commission made many other recommenda-

tions with regard to different aspects of education : on women's education, oriental studies, training of teachers, organisation of teachers on a professional basis, on professional and vocational education, legal, medical, engineering, agricultural and technological education. There was hardly any aspect of the problem which was not touched upon and thoroughly studied and on which no recommendation was made. In fact the monumental and voluminous reports of the Commission contain the most comprehensive and authoritative study of the Indian education system from the secondary stage to the university. It is therefore quite natural that they have greatly influenced the subsequent course of secondary and higher education in the country.

By the time the Calcutta University Commission had submitted their report the war was drawing to an end. With the close of the war began a period of reaction, a period of inflated enthusiasm. In the field of university education this enthusiasm led to the establishment of new universities. In the eight years that followed as many as eight new universities were founded. They were Aligarh Muslim University (1920) and the Universities of Rangoon (1920), Lucknow (1920), Dacca (1921), Delhi (1922), Nagpur (1923), Andhra (1926) and Agra (1926). Another new university was in the process of formation at Chidambaram in South India and in 1929 it came into full fledged existence as Annamalai University. Since then two other universities have been added to the number ; they are Travancore University founded in 1937 and Utkal University founded in 1944. This practically

completes the list of existing Indian universities.* All of them were not modelled according to the new scheme recommended by the Sadler Commission. Some of them followed the older type of organisation, while a few adopted the newer type. Some, like the Universities of Aligarh and Dacca, are of the unitary residential type, while others still continue to be of the affiliating type. Today in all there are 18 universities in India with a total enrolment of 176 thousand students of whom 16 thousand are women. It is interesting to note that a little over a half (to be exact 99 thousand) of these students are in the Intermediate classes. The number of students reading in the degree classes is about 82 thousand and in the post-graduate classes about 7600. The number of research students is 540 and that of students reading for professional degrees is 28 thousand, a large majority of whom are studying Law and Medicine.†

As a result of the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission, Boards of Secondary and Intermediate Education were set up in several provinces. Of these the U. P. Board has perhaps been the best organised. With the foundation of Dacca University a Board was established at Dacca. But because of an acute difference of opinion between Calcutta University and the Government of Bengal on the constitution of the Board, no Board could be set up in Bengal

* Several other universities are also in the process of making : Poona (Maharashtra), Saugor (C. P.), Rajputana (Jaipur), Gujarat (Ahmedabad) and Sind (Karachi).

† These figures have been taken from the Report of the Central Advisory Board of Education on *Post-war Educational Development in India*, Appendix, Table D.

for the institutions under the jurisdiction of Calcutta University. In the field of high school education over the whole of Bengal minus Dacca it is Calcutta University which still grants recognition to schools, prescribes their courses of study and holds the final examination. Whether as a result of this the cause of secondary education in this province has suffered or not it is difficult to say; for, nobody can maintain without hesitation or with any emphasis that secondary education has definitely improved in areas under the Boards. On the reverse, if we are to judge by the opinion of Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed, himself a member of the Sadler Commission and of the U. P. Board, the change has been in the negative direction.

Before closing this section we would like to draw the attention of our readers to one aspect of the recommendations of the Sadler Commission on university education. The Commission laid, we may remember, great emphasis on unitary residential universities. It has been estimated that a university of this type would involve a capital expenditure of fifty lakhs of rupees. In a poor country like India where is that money to come from? It would be possible only if the Government would provide the necessary finances, otherwise not. Moreover, very few parents in India have the means to provide the expenses of education in a residential university for their children. So one may well question, why is it necessary for us to indulge in the luxury of having universities of that type? No doubt they have certain obvious and admitted advantages; but would not their advantages be outweighed by our financial dis-advantages?

We may here note that most of the Scottish and the continental universities are not residential. Neither London nor Berlin is residential; yet the quality of education imparted in either of them is in no way inferior to that imparted in the residential universities of Cambridge or Oxford. If there they can do without residential universities, certainly in a poor country like ours we too should be able to do without them. The fact is that in India we require universities of several types; some of them would be residential and some not; in some post-graduate studies would be centralised along with under-graduate work, while in others there would be decentralisation of activities in constituent colleges enjoying equal status. There would even be a few universities whose main function would consist in holding examinations. Under their general control and direction there would be colleges (with or without residential arrangements) with proper library and laboratory facilities and adequate tutorial arrangements where students would come into close contact with their teachers in properly organised and well regulated educational environment and where such contact would transform the character of education and make it real and inspiring. The very vastness of India demands that there should necessarily be a large number of colleges scattered all over the country, each and every one of which cannot possibly be turned into a residential university. So there will have to be affiliating universities which will regulate and give coherence to the vast collegiate system spread over the countryside. The first requisite, therefore, of educational reform at this stage is not so much to create new univer-

sities as to strengthen and improve the colleges, to provide them with adequate libraries and laboratories and other educational amenities and to man them with well-qualified, well-paid and a sufficient number of teachers capable of doing full justice to the work entrusted to them. This requires money. Because that money has not been forthcoming, the condition of collegiate and university education is what it is today. The greatest problem, therefore, in the field of higher education, is to find this money.*

[9]

THE PROBLEMS OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

With the end of the war came the Montague-Chelmsford Constitutional Reform. This reform introduced the principle of diarchical form of government in India. Thenceforth each province was to be governed jointly by Executive Councillors nominated by the Governor and a Council of Ministers appointed by him from among the members of the provincial legislatures; and they would work under the direction of the Governor vested with large plenary powers. There was a consequent division in the administrative portfolios. Some subjects became "transferred"; these were dealt with by the ministers. Some others were "reserved" under the Governor and his Executive Councillors. Education of Indian children (not of Anglo-Indians and Europeans) became a "transferred"

* For a more detailed discussion of the problems of university education in India see the author's *University Education in India, Past and Present*.

subject, but finance remained a "reserved" subject. Under the reformed constitution the ministers enjoyed certain powers specially in the matter of legislation; but the purse strings were held by the Executive Councillors and the Governor.

The introduction of the Montague-Chelmsford Constitutional Reform sharply divided public opinion in the country. A large section of the people was opposed to it, while another section welcomed it and agreed to work it out. The latter joined the newly created legislatures and accepted ministry.

The war clouds had, by this time, completely dispersed and after years of strife and difficulties the country had once more returned to peace conditions. The economic strain had also relaxed to some extent. Naturally there was a reaction. Idealism and enthusiasm ran very high. People began to talk about democracy and democratic rights and privileges. Free and compulsory universal primary education is the first requirement in a state which professes to be governed according to democratic principles; and so when the newly created legislatures began to function and Indian ministers came into some powers, introduction of compulsory primary education became the first item on their political programme. Bills for introducing compulsory primary education were presented before every provincial legislature and soon they were passed and placed on the statute books of the country. Thus did the newly elected popular legislatures reply to the defeat of Gokhale.

Between 1919 and 1930 almost every province of India passed Acts on primary education. In Bengal the first such Act was passed in 1919 which made provision for urban areas. Next year an attempt

was made to include the rural areas under the newly created Union Boards by amending the Act; but it took several years to pass an Act expressly for effective extension of primary education to the countryside. The Bengal Primary Education (Rural) Act was not passed till 1930. The Madras Primary Education Act was placed on the statute book in 1920 and the Bombay Act in 1923. As in Bengal so also in some of the above cases, such as in U. P. and Bombay, the Act for municipal areas was first passed and then followed the Act for the rural areas. Bihar and the Punjab had their Primary Education Act in 1919, C. P. in 1920 and U. P. and Assam in 1926.

The provisions in the Primary Education Acts in the different provinces are more or less similar. The Acts transferred large powers of administration and control over primary education to the local authorities, these authorities are either the District or Municipal Boards (with their school committees or boards) or as in some provinces, statutory *ad hoc* bodies like the District Education Council in Madras or the District School Board in Bengal. Under the provisions of the Acts it is a duty of the local authorities to study the needs of their areas in the matter of primary education and to prepare schemes for its expansion and development. The initiative in the matter of compulsion rests with them. Subject to the previous sanction of the Provincial Government a local authority may, *at its option*, introduce compulsory primary education within its jurisdiction. Local authorities are given the power to levy an education cess in order to meet the cost of primary education. There is also provision

for grants from the provincial exchequer to supplement the resources of the local authorities. The age for compulsion is generally from 6 to 10. In most of the provinces it is contemplated that this education will be free, but in some it is thoughtfully laid down that it "shall not ordinarily be free"! In some Acts there is provision for compulsion only for boys*.

It will be seen that the introduction of compulsion is still left to the discretion and initiative of the local bodies. In the Acts there is nowhere any provision for a central directive authority which can force the hands of unwilling local authorities. Secondly, the imposition of the education cess is also left to the option of the local authorities. One who knows anything about these Boards can easily imagine what may have been the result of such option. No elective body specially of the type of these District and Municipal Boards would care to introduce a new cess and face unpopularity and risk defeat in the next election. And in the absence of fresh sources of revenue and in their existing financial resources it is no wonder that the Primary Education Acts have remained up till now more or less a dead letter. The fate of compulsion under such circumstances was sealed; and a universal system of compulsory primary education still remains an unfulfilled dream of educationists and politicians. In 1940-41, that is almost twenty years after the passing of the first Primary Edu-

* In Bengal the rate of the education cess is five pice per rupee, and the annual grant from the Provincial Government is Rs. 23.5 lakhs. The period for compulsion under the provisions of the Bengal Acts is from 6 to 10 with a four-year primary course. One or two provinces provide also for a five-year primary course.

cation Act and after more than a decade since the last of the Primary Education Acts was passed, we have, in the whole of British India, no more than 194 urban areas and 3297 rural areas where some sort of compulsion has been introduced. These three thousand and odd rural areas comprise in all about fifteen thousand villages; and In India there are seven lakhs of such villages!

Primary education in India in the past depended too much on voluntary efforts. Today in spite of the Primary Education Acts the situation has not altered to any real extent. Even today it is too much dependent on voluntary efforts. In 1936-37 out of a total of 197, 227 primary schools, only 2,666 were Government schools and 72,363 Board schools. The rest, i.e., 122, 198 were private schools.*

The financial condition of these primary schools is too well known to need any detailed mention. In 1936-37 the total amount spent on education of all types in British India was a little over 28 crores; of this Rs. 8.4 crores were for primary education. This means that on an average the *per capita* expenditure on primary education in this country is about 3 rupees, i. e., five annas a year. It is only natural that with such poor financial support the provision for primary education in India is so utterly inadequate and its quality so hopelessly wretched.

It is interesting to note in this connection that of the total of Rs. 8.4 crores spent on primary education only Rs 1.4 crores went for girls' education and the rest for boys'.

* Figures are taken from the 11th Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1932-37, Vol. II. They relate to British India only.

In 1936-37 of the total of Rs. 7 crores spent on primary education for boys Government funds provided Rs 3.45 crores, Board funds 2.4 crores, fees .46 crores and other sources .67 crores. The Provincial Governments give grants to local authorities. The Board funds are made up of such grants and grants set apart from their own general funds for purposes of education. Where the education cess has been levied, as it has been done in a limited number of areas, the cess provides the largest amount in the Board fund. From this fund are maintained the Board schools. A portion of it also goes as grants-in-aid to private schools in the area under the jurisdiction of the Board. "The grant-in-aid given to such aided schools is seldom adequate with the result that they are generally ill-staffed and ill-equipped." "In some cases the grant is as small as eight annas a month."* Incidentally, if such be the case of aided schools one can easily imagine the condition of schools which are denied even that amount of aid; and their number is not at all negligible.

Coming now to the question of enrolment and attendance we find that in 1936-37 out of about six crores of children of school-going age (i.e., in the 5 to 14 age group), only about 11.5 million were under instruction in some school or other. Of these 10 million were boys and 1.5 million girls. We may note the striking disparity in the number of boys and girls reading in primary schools.

It may be said that in the absence of compulsion 11.5 million pupils in primary schools should be considered quite a satisfactory figure; but when we

* Quoted from official reports.

examine the question of wastage and stagnation in our primary schools the real state of affairs reveals itself to us. Of the 11·5 million children going to school in 1936-37, 51·9 lakhs were in Class I, 23·7 lakhs in Class II, 17·2 lakhs in Class III, 12·1 lakhs in Class IV and only 7 lakhs in Class V. The rest were in middle schools. This means that out of every 100 children admitted into Class I only 23 came up to Class IV and only 13 remained to reach Class V.

These figures clearly indicate the amount and extent of wayside dropping at every class all through the primary course. Such dropping is specially marked after Class I. Higher up it gradually decreases but nowhere is it negligible. It would appear that more than half the children fail to obtain promotion to the next higher class. They remain there, stagnate and after a fruitless year or two leave the school to forget every thing they may have learnt there. This stagnation is one of the saddest features of our system.

But there is a still more disquieting feature. Out of every 100 children who joined Class I only 23 remained in school for four years, that is, long enough to reach the earliest stage at which permanent literacy, not to speak of other more important educational objectives, is likely to be achieved. In the case of girls the proportion is larger still. For every 100 girls who entered Class I only 14 remained to reach Class IV. This can mean only one thing; it is that more than 80% of our educational effort and expenditure is simply wasted. For children who suffer from these evils of stagnation and wastage it can only result in creating

a distaste for education and generating a sense of futility and frustration. When we note that over eighty per cent of our children in primary schools begin to suffer from this feeling of failure quite early in their life then we realise how the present system has only succeeded in stunting the growth of Indian manhood and womanhood.

Many are the causes that have been suggested to explain this appalling state of affairs. Incompetent teaching, existence of a large number of inefficient, incomplete and single-teacher schools, defective curriculum, lack of proper equipment and accommodation, irregular admission and attendance, heterogeneous classes, lack of enthusiasm on the part of parents, their poverty, all these have contributed to this; but the main causes undoubtedly are the lack of funds and the absence of compulsion.

The teacher is the pivot of any educational system. On him rests the failure or success of the system. If he himself is well educated and trained and if he is intellectually alive and keen on his job then success is ensured; but if, on the other hand, he himself lacks education and training, and if his heart is not in his job then the system is bound to fail. In this country the latter has been the case. A large majority of the teachers in our primary schools had very little education and practically no professional training, and in many cases their heart is not, and can not be, in their job. Under such circumstances it is difficult, if not impossible, to expect good work from them.

The fundamental difficulty is with regard to finance. We pay very little to our primary school teachers. Most of them are not even paid a bare

living wage. Not many years ago the average pay of a primary school teacher in one big province was as low as rupees six. The situation has no doubt improved of late ; but even now the average pay of a primary school teacher in a private school is not much more than rupees ten per month. That is, we pay him much less than what we pay our *chaprasis* or bearers. Under such circumstances, it is futile to expect that a better set of people with better educational qualifications and training will be attracted to the profession and take up teaching as their life's vocation. So teaching has become the last haven and refuge for those who fail in other walks of life or who lack initiative enough to try their luck elsewhere. The result has been that a great majority of our primary schools are staffed by half-educated and incompetent men who are incapable of doing any good work.

The fact is not widely known that nearly fifty per cent of our primary schools are single-teacher schools. Further, many of these schools are incomplete schools i. e., schools with one or two classes only. There are also many single-teacher schools which have the usual and full complement of classes and this makes the position worse still. It has been found out that wastage and stagnation are greatest in single-teacher schools whether complete or incomplete. This is only natural. An inefficient teacher teaching a large number of boys can hardly do justice to his work. Moreover, he is hampered at every step by irregular admission and attendance (in the absence of compulsion attendance cannot be enforced), heterogeneous nature of his classes, lack of proper equipment and

accommodation, and other obstacles. How many of our primary schools can boast of a decent habitation or educational equipments or amenities like school gardens ? An average Indian primary school is indeed a dull and dreary place. This is true in the physical as well as the spiritual sense. It is hardly the place where young children could grow in physical and mental health.

On the top of everything comes a curriculum which is, to say the least, extremely uninteresting and uninspiring, in which all the emphasis is on books and book-learning and in which education is thus dissociated from activity and life. No wonder that children find very little attraction for it. And they can hardly be blamed if there are premature withdrawals and chronic disinclination on their part to continue in the deadening atmosphere which prevails there.

Our primary school curriculum leads to nowhere. It does not enrich life nor does it provide a vocation. On the other hand being bookish and theoretical it creates an atmosphere of unreality in the minds of the pupils and weans them away from their ancestral homes and occupations.

One great contributing factor leading to the failure of the present system of primary education has been the poverty of the people. Poverty has bred ignorance and apathy. The people have no desire for primary education nor do they feel any inclination to send their children to primary schools unless they are forced to do so. We do not often realise that the appreciation of education is itself the result of education. One result of the extreme poverty of the people has been that it has, in many

cases, indirectly encouraged child labour. The few pieces of copper that a child may earn by looking after the cattle or doing some such work are a welcome addition to the family budget and in their present economic condition very few parents would readily encourage their children to go to school instead of earning even that pittance.

In western countries there are many amenities which go to lessen the burden of the parents and so indirectly encourage co-operation between the home and the school. There, not only education is free but there are also other arrangements to help the people. I am referring to the system of maintenance grants and the provision for the free supply of books and other educational materials. There they even supply milk and free tiffin to needy pupils. Besides, there is the School Medical Service organised to render medical aid. These and other amenities go a long way to overcome the apathy of the masses towards education of their children, an apathy which is found not only in India but in other educationally advanced countries in the west.

The only logical solution for all these problems of parental apathy, wastage and stagnation, inefficiency etc., is to introduce compulsion. It has now been admitted on all hands that compulsion is an economy and not a luxury which must wait for better times. Compulsion alone can stop wastage, eliminate uneconomic investment in incomplete schools, and ensure some measure of efficiency.

We have seen how owing to defective legislation compulsion could not be enforced on any extensive scale. The defect lay not so much in the wording of the legislation as in the spirit behind it. As a

result the local authorities who were made responsible for organising primary education, failed in their charge. The absence of a central directive authority further complicated the situation. It has now become practically obvious that the enforcement of compulsion can no longer be left to the option of the local authorities. The entire machinery for the administration of primary education should therefore be thoroughly overhauled and recast.

Introduction of effective compulsion would mean much increased expenditure. The present expenditure on primary education is totally inadequate. But where is the money to come from? Under the present constitution education is a provincial matter and the Central Government have no responsibility for it. And yet all the expansible sources of national income are under the control of the Central Government, while practically all the major items of expenditure excepting defence are left to the provinces whose sources of revenue, even under the best of conditions, are extremely limited. Such inequitable financial arrangement has been responsible to not a little extent for the slow progress of all nation-building activities including education. No wonder under such circumstances the condition of primary education in India is what it is today.

[10]

REFORM OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

It has already been stated that in the matter of working out the constitutional reforms of 1919 there was a sharp difference of opinion among the people of this country. This and other causes led in 1920 to the Non-co-operation Movement, started under

the leadership of Gandhiji. This movement had repercussions in the field of education too. A cry was raised against the existing system of education and a demand was made for placing education on a national basis.

This demand for national education once more brought into existence a large number of national institutions of all types, primary schools, high schools, colleges and even universities. 'Vidyapiths', that is, national universities, were established in Calcutta, Patna, Benares, Ahmedabad and other places. Even at Aligarh, side by side with the Muslim University, a National Muslim University was founded*. But as at the time of the Swadeshi Movement, so also now, the movement for national education came to lose much of its vigour and appeal after a time.

Among the many national institutions which were founded in those days some have survived and they are still carrying on; but on the whole the movement could not directly influence the general course of education to any great extent. However, its indirect influence has not been negligible. The movement once more focussed the attention of the country on the problems of education and created a countrywide enthusiasm for educational reform and reconstruction. The keen interest in primary education was largely responsible for the Primary Education Acts which were passed in course of the next ten years. Perhaps it also indirectly hastened another salutary reform which was effected in the

* This university, called the Jamia Millia Islamia, was later shifted to the outskirts of Delhi where it is flourishing and doing excellent work.

years that followed. This was the introduction of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction. It may be remembered that this was one of the basic demands of the national education movements. Hitherto English had been the medium of instruction in high schools, colleges and universities; but within the last twenty years the Indian languages have gradually replaced it as the medium in the high school stage. Their introduction in the higher stages is yet to come, and their lawful place in the educational system of the country is yet to be fully established; but the principle has now been almost universally accepted. In fact, this has been one of the most significant developments in the field of Indian education in recent times.

Various other attempts at reforming secondary education have also been seen in course of the last ten years. These have been mainly directed to reorganising the secondary curriculum and providing diversified courses of studies at this stage. It is an old complaint that ours has been a single-track system of education and that our secondary education is extremely bookish in nature and theoretical in outlook. To correct this defect attempts have been made to render education, particularly at the secondary stage, more practical by introducing vocational subjects. With this end in view some authorities like Calcutta University have reformed their syllabuses and courses of studies. But it is to be doubted whether these reforms have been really effective in transforming the character of our secondary education.

There was one reason for which the attention of the people was forcibly drawn to this aspect

of the problem. Every one saw how in course of the last ten or fifteen years* unemployment among the educated people had been steadily increasing, reaching to alarming proportions. The situation became critical and naturally it began to agitate the minds of the people and specially of the intellectual leaders of the country. Even the Government could not shut their eyes to it. In fact they had a special reason for being uneasy about the matter. In their opinion unemployment among the educated young men was responsible to a large extent for many of the political movements. Thus all eyes were turned on this problem of unemployment. It then became necessary to find out a cause for this trouble, and all were united in pointing their accusing fingers towards our educational system. They alleged that this system was responsible for this growing evil. Its aim seemed to be to prepare students for the Matriculation Examination rather than for life. It was a single-track system leading only to the universities without any reference to the actual vocational needs of the pupils. As a result, people who had no aptitude for higher theoretical studies were forced to go to the colleges and the universities. So there was overcrowding in those institutions; they were filled with students a large majority of whom should have been diverted to other channels more fruitful not only for themselves but also for the nation. And the avenues of employment of college and university trained men being limited, when these people came out, naturally they could not obtain suitable employment.

* This refers to conditions before the war.

The real remedy in such cases is to provide diversified courses of studies at the secondary stage and to make that stage more practical and complete in itself and more closely related to the vocational requirements of different types of students. At the secondary stage, side by side with the general course leading to the university, there should be parallel courses offering instruction in technical, commercial, industrial and other vocational subjects. Such courses will be more or less complete in themselves. They may also be linked with higher specialised instruction in special institutions outside the universities. Under such arrangement, after a good grounding in general education up to the lower secondary stage, students will select specialised courses more in accordance with their own abilities, aptitudes and interests, and will not be forced, as they hitherto have been, to go through the intellectual grind of the universities. Such a reform will not only influence the work at the university stage for the better and raise the standard there, but also solve the problem of wastage and stagnation at the university stage to a certain extent. Incidentally, it may also relieve the pressure of unemployment among university graduates.

Here perhaps one might well ask if unemployment is fundamentally an educational problem or not. There has been a tendency to attribute all the evils of our body politic including that of unemployment, to the imperfections and shortcomings of our educational system, as if by removing the defects in our education we might cure them all. The naive assumption behind such a feeling is that education is the most potent influ-

ence in our life. But is it really so? Is education so powerful as that? Is it not in its turn influenced, guided and shaped largely by economics and politics? Let us take the present case of unemployment. Is it not more an economic issue than an educational problem? There is unemployment in the country because the avenues of employment are limited and not because there is a lack of trained personnel. Supposing all the defects of the existing system of education were removed, and supposing we had a well developed system of technical, commercial and industrial education providing training in all possible vocational subjects, would that have automatically solved the problem of unemployment? Would that have, by itself, created new occupations and employment for the products of such a system? No, that could not and would not happen. For the real problem is that of want of occupations, not of unemployment. There is an acute dearth of occupations in this country. The number of occupations always depends on an all-round development of the economic life of the people, on their industries and on their commercial enterprises. In India there is unemployment because her commerce and industries have not been properly and fully developed; and the reason for all that is not so much economic as political. Technical or commercial education by itself does not and cannot create new avenues of employment. On the other hand we have found that in Russia industries of gigantic proportions grew up even before arrangements could be made for adequate technical education. So ultimately it comes to this, that unemployment is essentially a politico-

economic and not an educational problem. It has to be solved finally at the politico-economic level. The educationists in the meantime can perhaps try to tackle the imperfections of the educational system regarding proper co-ordination of theoretical and practical education and general intellectual education and specialised vocational education. But their activities will always be limited by the political and economic conditions of the times. *

Between 1930 and 1935 there were some proposals for reforming secondary education on the lines suggested above. The U. P. Unemployment Enquiry Committee presided over by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru suggested a reshuffling of the different stages of education. According to this there were to be diversified courses at the secondary stage, one of which would lead to the university where the first degree course would extend to three years. The Intermediate stage was to be abolished and the secondary stage extended by an additional year. The secondary stage was to be divided into two, the higher and the lower, each covering three years. There would thus be a six-year secondary course following a five-year primary course. After eight years of general education, at the conclusion of the lower secondary stage, diversification of courses would come in, bringing in vocational specialisation; but there would also be a general course at the higher secondary stage leading to the university.

* The reader will, it is hoped, pardon this digression and apologia for educationists. It is necessary to clarify the issue. After all, our educational problems cannot be dissociated from politics; to do that would only make our discussions unreal.

Such was in outline the proposal put forward by the Sapru Committee for the reorganisation of the entire educational system. The Inter-University Board suggested a similar reorganisation. The Central Advisory Board of Education of the Government of India also made a similar proposal.

In this connection we should mention another proposal for reorganising secondary education. In 1938 a committee set up by the Bombay Government recommended a four-year secondary course following a seven-year primary course, bifurcated into a general group and a science group. Each of these two groups was to be further sub-divided into three courses. The courses under the general group would be (i) literary (ii) artistic and (iii) commercial, and those under the science group would be (i) agricultural, (ii) industrial and technological and (iii) scientific and professional. Each course was to be of four years' duration and it was to combine instruction of a practical and vocational character with general education, except the purely literary course corresponding to the present high school course. The Joshi committee also recommended separate institutions for the different types of courses mentioned above.

The above scheme is an advance over other schemes to which we have already referred. It goes into greater details and presents a more complete picture than others do. Moreover, its idea of a seven-year primary course plus a four-year secondary course appears, for many reasons, to be better than the five-year primary course plus a six-year secondary course.

Here and there a few new types of schools imparting secondary education with a practical bias have been opened, but the general character of secondary education has hardly changed. No well planned and elaborate arrangement has yet been made anywhere to give effect to these proposals. In Bengal the controversy is still centering round the question of control and communal proportions and not of reorganisation. The University of Delhi, however, has recently reorganised its system creating a new type of secondary schools called the higher secondary schools, and introducing a three-year first degree course by abolishing the Intermediate stage. There is no doubt that the rest of India will watch with interest these experiments at Delhi.

[11]

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

The problem of vocational education is closely connected with that of secondary education. At the primary stage there can be no talk of vocational education because the object of primary education is not so much to impart vocational training as to provide the foundation for all future education. At this stage the child is too young for us to think about his vocation.* But beyond the primary stage all education is, in a sense, vocational education. Hence the question of vocational education rightly comes at the secondary stage. We have also seen how it first came up in connection with the reorganisation of

* With this question is involved the question of the duration of the primary stage ; but its consideration is not essential for our argument.

secondary education. We have already noticed how there was deep discontent with the present one-sided system of secondary education, how it had failed to respond to the requirements of the industrial and economic development of the country or to find employment for its products. We have also seen what efforts were, as a result, made to reorganise secondary education. One of the indirect results of the dissatisfaction with the system of secondary education was increased attention to vocational education.

In 1938 the Government of India requisitioned the services of two experts, Messrs Wood and Abbott, from the Board of Education, England "to advise them on certain problems of educational reorganisation and particularly on problems of vocational education". The actual terms of reference were :

"(1) Whether any vocational or practical training should be imparted in primary, secondary (i. e. middle) and higher secondary schools and, if so, what should be its nature and extent ?

(2) Whether the technical or vocational institutions already in existence can be improved and if new institutions for vocational or technical training be required, to suggest :—

(i) The type of institution or institutions required for the purpose ;

(ii) The stage at which diversion of the students from the ordinary secondary schools (lower or higher) to such institutions should be effected ;

(iii) The means to be adopted for effecting such diversion.

(3) The differentiation or special arrangements needed to meet the special requirements of rural

areas, specially in view of the desirability of remedying the trend of the present educational system to draw many boys and girls from rural areas to towns where they receive a purely literary form of education, and by so doing not only congest still further the high schools, but also become very largely lost to the service of the countryside."

This last term of reference is interesting. For though the problem of the intellectual denudation of the countryside had given cause for concern to many thoughtful observers, it had not attracted the attention of the educationists to the extent to which it should have done. Here was a glaring example of lack of co-ordination of sociological and educational objectives which is such a patent feature of our educational system.

In the introduction to the report of Messrs Wood and Abbott occurs the following : "One of the reasons for instituting this inquiry....is the fact that a large number of university graduates are not securing employment or employment of a kind for which their education qualifies them. On this aspect of the problem we may remark that it would not affect unemployment, considered as a quantitative problem, to divert students from universities into other educational institutions regardless of whether the students from these other institutions were likely to be more successful in obtaining employment than are the B A's and B. Sc's. Such a policy would but alter the educational qualifications of the unemployed without decreasing their number. It is important to make this clear and avoid encouraging the delusion that a quick solution of the problem of

unemployment is to be found in a reconstruction of the educational system."*

"The immediate purpose of education in relation to industry is to secure to industry the services of better qualified men, an achievement which does not by itself and at once result in more employment. The long range relation of education to industry is another matter. An improvement in the content and method of education will make for steadily increasing efficiency in industry and will contribute to its expansion. It should also generate new ideas and result in pioneer activities in the sphere of business. But the development of industry on a scale which will offer employment to any substantial number of those who are now idle also depends upon the natural resources of the country, climatic conditions and a number of other factors which education cannot influence, as well as upon action in the field of economics and politics which do not come within our terms of reference."

Readers will note that the above views are in complete consonance with our observations on the relationship between education and employment. Even now there are people who believe that in the reorganisation of education lies the cure of unemployment. The above extract may serve as a corrective to such loose thinking.

Messrs Abbott and Wood have also done well to bring out clearly in their report the real function and purposes of vocational education. Vocational education is not to be regarded as an inferior type of education fit for those who work with their

* The italics is ours.

hands and who are so of an inferior order of being. It is as good a system of discipline as general education. There is no reason why, properly organised, it should not provide the culture which general education and the study of books provide. The aims of general and vocational education are the same in essence; the objective of both is to help the child to develop gradually into a good citizen; but each chooses its own curriculum and method to attain this objective. It is essential that we view vocational education in this perspective. Throughout their report Messrs Abbott and Wood have taken this view of vocational education.

The actual report is divided into two parts, part one dealing with problems of general education and part two with vocational education proper. With regard to general education the report has much to say. The general system should be thoroughly reorganised and reoriented. For reorganising the system it accepts the general scheme proposed by the Central Advisory Board, namely a four-year primary stage followed by a four-year lower secondary and a three-year higher secondary stage with a three-year first degree course in the university.

It also lays emphasis on the proper education of infants, and the employment of properly trained women for this purpose. In the primary stage, the report recommends, that education should be based more upon the natural interests and activities of young children and less upon book learning and in the middle stage, the curriculum specially in rural schools should be closely related to children's environment. Manual work, that is creative

manual activities of diverse kinds, should be part of the curriculum of every school.

While thus claiming an important place for manual work and creative activities in the curriculum of the primary and secondary schools the report does not favour the combination of general and vocational education in the same school. The lowest grade of vocational education was to be provided in Trade Schools, the next higher grade of vocational institutions being Junior vocational schools which would take up their pupils from the general side on the completion of the lower secondary stage. Higher than these will be the Senior vocational schools, which will admit pupils who will have completed their general education up to the Matriculation stage. Above them will be the Technological Institutes.

There will be thus a complete hierarchy of vocational institutions parallel with the hierarchy of institutions imparting general education. The different stages of vocational education will supply different types of workers, from operatives to managers of big and small industries: The Universities and Technological Institutes for the education of the managing and directing grades of personnel in organised large-scale industries; the Senior Commercial Schools for upper grades on the business side; the Senior Technical Schools for upper supervisory grades mainly in non-manipulative industries; the Junior Technical Schools for lower supervisory grades in manipulative industries; the Industrial Schools for independent workers in small-scale industries; the Trade Schools for craftsmen and operatives in organised industries;

the Rural Middle Schools and the Higher Secondary Schools with the agricultural bias for cultivators and farmers. Such is the scheme recommended by Messrs Abbott and Wood.

The Abbott-Wood report, it will be seen, has dealt with the whole question of vocational education in a comprehensive manner. It has discussed the details about future administration of vocational education of different types, about the length of the courses, and the organisation of the different types of schools, about Vocational Training Colleges which will supply the schools with properly trained teachers, about part-time instruction for those already employed in industries, and other relevant matters. Another important point discussed is about the problem of vocational guidance. It is not enough to provide the means for vocational education of different types; we must find the right type of vocational education for the right type of students, otherwise there will be intellectual and vocational *misalliance*, unhappiness, and misery. In the long run the industries will be affected and there will be unemployment. Hence the problem of vocational guidance is of supreme importance to the country. The report rightly recommends that it should be tackled co-operatively by the different provinces working together.

Such in brief are the recommendations made in the Abbott-Wood report for the organisation of vocational education in India. Here we have a blue-print of the entire thing complete in all its details.

But planning is one thing. Its execution is another. As we have already pointed out many

are the factors involved in this question. The proper organisation of vocational and technical education is dependent on many other things. Still the problem has to be faced and solved sooner or later.

A beginning has been made following the recommendations made in the Abbott-Wood report and a new type of technical institution called the Polytechnic has come into existence. There an attempt is being made to combine general education and vocational education at a higher level. This experiment on the synthesis of technical education and general education will undoubtedly have a far-reaching influence on the future course of education in this country.

Viewed rightly ours is not merely a problem of finding employment for our youngmen by the creation of some industries. Our real problem is one of creating a culture in consonance with the spirit of the times.

The old age has passed and we have entered into a new one, a special characteristic of which is the use of machinery. They say that this is the age of biotechnics. The need for a new synthesis and a new orientation in education adapted to the needs of this new age still remains unfulfilled. This is the problem before us. We cannot and we will not go back to the age without machinery and yet if we fail to reconstruct and adjust our national life to the needs of this machine-age, then the machine instead of being the slave of man will become his master and man will be defeated and oppressed by his own creation. Only a new type of education can cover the time-lag between man's

material and spiritual evolution and thus bring about the much needed synthesis in our life.

[12]

PLANS FOR EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

A new plan for a complete reorientation of education came from an unexpected quarter. In 1937 Gandhiji published a short article in the *Harijan* giving in outline his now famous Wardha scheme of educational reconstruction. Briefly, his idea was that education was to be imparted wholly through the medium of the mother tongue of the pupils and with the help of a handicraft and that it was to be self-supporting by the sale of the product of the craft.

About that time in six out of eleven provinces of India the members of the Congress agreed to work out the new constitution introduced in 1935 and they accepted the task of forming the ministry. Mass education and temperance were the two main items on their programme of nation-building. But here they were faced with a dilemma. Advocacy of temperance would result in a heavy depreciation of revenue, while a really effective programme of mass education would entail heavy additional expenditure. How then could these conflicting interests be reconciled? It was then that Gandhiji came forward with his scheme of self-supporting Basic education. The self-supporting aspect of Gandhiji's scheme may be rightly appreciated in the light of the above facts.

Another point may be borne in mind while we discuss this scheme. Gandhiji calls it a scheme of "rural national education through village handicrafts". He was planning for seven million of India's villages and not for the cities; The term 'rural' clearly indicates this. He wanted a scheme of education which would fit in with the economy of Indian rural life.

The three principles laid down by Gandhiji were discussed and finally accepted by an Educational Conference held at Wardha in October, 1937. There the following resolutions were adopted. :—

1. That free and compulsory education be provided for seven years on a nation-wide scale.
2. That the medium of instruction be the mother tongue.
3. That the process of education throughout this period should centre around some form of manual and productive work and that all the other abilities to be developed or training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child.
4. That it is expected that this system of education will be gradually able to cover the remuneration of the teachers.

The Conference then appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Zakir Husain, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi, to work out the details of the syllabus of Basic education. The Committee submitted its report early in December, 1937. This valuable report provides us with a complete outline of the scheme of basic education.

The scheme makes provision for a seven years' course for children from the age of 7 to 14. The school-leaving age has been fixed at 14 in order to ensure that the children when they leave the school will not only acquire effective and permanent literacy but will also be mature enough mentally to appreciate and understand social problems and to develop social attitudes and habits of mind. Such understanding does not, really speaking, come before 11 or 12, and social instincts do not also, generally speaking, make their appearance before that age. Hence instead of letting the children loose at this critical age as would happen if education were to begin earlier or if a shorter period of compulsion were adopted, it becomes necessary to keep them in the educative atmosphere of a school and to help them to tide over the most difficult period of their life. A longer period with or without an earlier start would perhaps have been better; but seven years seem to be the basic minimum length for the course and under the present circumstances 7 seems the best age for beginning formal instruction.

It is necessary to explain here the significance of the word "basic" in the term 'basic education'. This education is to be 'basic' inasmuch as it will provide the basis of our national culture; this amount of education will be the common possession of every Indian, man or woman, rich or poor, Hindu or Muslim, Harijan or Brahmin. Each and every Indian child, unless he is disabled physically or handicapped mentally, will go through this minimum course of education. Then again this education will be 'basic' as it will be closely linked

with the basic needs and interests of child life. One such basic need of human life is the satisfaction of the innate urge for doing creative and productive work. Hence the provision in the scheme for craft work. Further, education is to be correlated with the basic occupations of community life. Craft work at once provides such occupations as it also offers the means of satisfying the inner urge for creative and productive work.

"Modern educational thought is practically unanimous in commending the idea of educating children through some suitable form of productive work. This method is considered to be the most effective approach to the problem of providing an *integral* all-sided education.

"Psychologically, it is desirable, because it relieves the child from the tyranny of a purely academic and theoretical instruction against which its active nature is always making a healthy protest. It balances the intellectual and practical elements of experience, and may be made an instrument of educating the body and the mind in co-ordination. The child acquires not the superficial literacy which implies, often without warrant, a capacity to read the printed page, but the far more important capacity of using hand and intelligence for some constructive purpose. This, if we may be permitted to use the expression, is 'the literacy of the whole personality'.

"Socially considered, the introduction of such practical productive work in education to be participated in by all the children of the nation, will tend to break down the existing barriers of prejudice between manual and intellectual workers, harmful

alike for both. It will also cultivate in the only possible way a true sense of the dignity of labour and of human solidarity, an ethical and moral gain of incalculable significance.

"Economically considered, carried out intelligently and efficiently the scheme will increase the productive capacity of our workers and will also enable them to utilize their leisure advantageously.

"From the strict educational point of view, greater concreteness and reality can be given to the knowledge acquired by children by making some significant craft the basis of education. Knowledge will thus become related to life, and its various aspects will be correlated with one another."*

The position that has been given to craft work in the scheme of basic education, in fact it has been called "craft-centred" education, has evoked much criticism and so it is necessary to elucidate further the approach of its sponsors. "The object of this new educational scheme is *not* primarily the production of craftsmen able to practise some craft mechanically, but rather the exploitation for educative purposes of the resources implicit in craft work." Only such crafts will be chosen as are rich in educative possibilities. Moreover, they should provide natural points of correlation with important human activities and interests and should extend into the whole content of the school curriculum."†

It would be clearly seen from the above that craft is not to be just another subject like manual

* Report of the Dr. Zakir Husain Committee ; pp. 9-10.

† Ibid P. 12.

training on the school curriculum to be treated like any other subject. Craft in the basic scheme will be the centre of the entire teaching process; all other subjects will be correlated to it. Gandhiji said, "Every handicraft has to be taught not merely mechanically, as is done today, but scientifically. That is to say, the child should learn the why and wherefore of every process." In course of such activity problems will arise and questions will occur to the pupil which will, under the skilful and unobtrusive guidance of the teacher, gradually take him into the domains of mathematics, history, geography, science and other school subjects.

The principle underlying the whole process is that of correlation and integration. Knowledge is unified. The division of knowledge into so many watertight compartments called 'subjects' is apt, specially when pupils are young, to disrupt this fundamental unity of knowledge. Hence the necessity of correlation and integration. The importance of such correlation, specially in the early stages of education, has now been accepted by educationists all over the world. But correlation must be natural and easy. A well-chosen craft has the advantage of making such correlation both easy and natural. However, even the best selected craft cannot provide all the points of correlation of all the items of a rich curriculum. The committee were fully alive to this problem. So they have made provision for three centres, three focal points of the curriculum. These are the craft work, the physical environment and the social environment. What cannot be correlated through craft work will be correlated through the physical and social

environment of the child in which he is as keenly and as vitally interested as in craft work. This point may be remembered when uninformed criticism suggests the impossibility of correlating everything through craft.

There is another point we would like to stress in this connection. Young children stand more in need of direct perceptual experiences than of second-hand experiences gleaned from books. Psychology states that there is an intimate relation between the mind and the senses and that we learn not only from books but also through the use of the various sense-organs. If we learn to use our fingers skilfully that simultaneously cultivates the intellect and helps in the development of the mind. No one will deny that book-learning is essential; but books are not the only medium of instruction, planned activities can well be as effective a medium as books. In the early stages specially, we must not make a fetish of booklearning; for there is always a danger that books may come between the pupils and life, that they may provide a means of escape from life rather than an introduction to it. A well-selected craft has this advantage that it always pins children down to real and live problems.

The life-breath of the basic scheme is activity, that is, learning by doing. This is no new principle. Learning by doing bridges the gulf between the theoretical and the practical in a manner that book-education can never do. A child loves to do things with his own hands; he wants to build, to make things. His nature, his instincts demand opportunity for such activity. In the basic scheme there is plenty of scope for that. Such education, there-

fore, comes to the child more naturally than ordinary book-education. Children take to activities more readily than to books, because these activities have the powerful backing of their instincts and emotions. The initiative in such activities will be left to the child. The responsibility will also be his. He will plan for himself and he will be responsible for executing the plan. A portion of such activity will bear tangible and measurable results in the shape of craft products. These results the child himself will see and examine, and he will compare them with those achieved by others. This provides intellectual discipline of a high order. Moreover tangible achievement creates self-confidence, and self-confidence is the basis of personality.

Basic education also gives ampler opportunities for self-expression than ordinary education. It is true creative education in the sense that it provides an effective outlet for the creative urges innate in every human breast. The significance of fostering these urges, the creative instincts of man, should not be lost sight of. Only by encouraging these we can tone down the anti-social acquisitive propensities which are the sources of many of the evils of contemporary life. By giving opportunities for their expression we also help children to develop a sense of worth-whileness and to fight the feeling of frustration which is so common in our children.

There is yet another characteristic of basic education which deserves notice. A good deal of stress has been laid in it on co-operative activities. The Zakir Husain Committee have emphasised the ideal of citizenship implicit in the scheme. They have spoken of education for a co-operative

social order. Men learn to co-operate with one another by undertaking co-operative forms of activities. In the academic activities of an ordinary school such co-operative effort is almost tabooed: but in the basic scheme plenty of opportunity is given at every step to undertake such activities. Socially useful and productive work and co-operative activities provide the best training ground for morals and citizenship. They give the child a sense of personal worth, dignity and efficiency and they also develop a spirit of social service. Even during the period of his education the child feels that he is directly and personally contributing to national welfare.

We shall now examine the self-supporting aspect of the scheme, which has raised a storm of protest and which has been the main plank of criticism. It has been said that this will lead to enforced child labour and that it will transform a basic school into a factory where teachers, whose salaries are expected to be covered by the work of children, would become slave-drivers extorting maximum amount of labour from them and the intellectual, social and moral implications and possibilities of craft education may be lost sight of. That there is danger from that quarter is apparent from the note of warning sounded by the Committee itself. But this is taking an unduly pessimistic view of things. All that is expected is that the work that children will produce will be marketable: and *the State guaranteeing the take-over* it is certainly not unreasonable to expect that the return will "incidentally cover the major portion of the running expenses". The word 'incidentally' occurring in the above quotation from

the report deserves notice. The Committee advocates the scheme not because of this aspect of self-support but because of its educational soundness. It says, "Even if it is not self-supporting in any sense, it should be accepted as a matter of sound educational policy." The Committee has worked out the details with regard to spinning and weaving as the basic craft and has shown that this is quite feasible. We may remember that there is a constant check against over-emphasis on craft work in the shape of well-defined goals to be attained in normal school subjects. A scrutiny of the pupils' progress will surely and speedily reveal any such over-emphasis and this can be corrected forthwith. Moreover, children's nature in itself will be a guarantee against any such misuse.

It has been necessary to discuss at some length the theoretical basis of the scheme because of the many criticisms that have been levelled against it, much of which is mis-informed. I shall now give an outline of the syllabus of studies suggested to be covered in the seven years' course of Basic education.

The course will consist of :—

- I. The Basic craft
- II. Mother tongue
- III. Mathematics
- IV. Social Studies including History, Geography and Civics
- V. General Science including Nature Study, Botany, Zoology, Physiology, Hygiene, and Chemistry. Physical Culture also comes in as a correlative to Hygiene.

- VI. Art work
- VII. Music
- VIII. Hindustani.

It will be seen that English has not been included here and that Hindustani as the national language has taken its place. In non-Hindustani-speaking areas Hindustani will be compulsory only during the fifth and sixth years of school life.

The syllabus will be more or less the same for boys and girls up to the fifth grade. In the case of girls the syllabus in General Science will be modified to include Domestic Science which in the last two years will replace basic craft for them. Incidentally, the scheme visualises co-education up to the fifth grade.

It is not possible to give here the details of the syllabus. But a comparison with the existing school syllabus conclusively shows that leaving out the question of English the Basic syllabus is, in no way, inferior to the syllabus now in use, rather in certain respects it is an improvement on the present one. Gandhiji has claimed that the seven-year Basic course will be equivalent to the present Matriculation course less English ; to judge from the outlines the claim does not seem to be unjustified. But only actual experiments can fully reject or establish this claim.

It will be seen that religion has been excluded from the syllabus. On this point Gandhiji has said : "we have left out the teaching of religions from the Wardha scheme of education because we are afraid that religions as they are taught and practised today lead to conflict rather than unity. But on the other hand, I hold that the truths that are common to all

religions can and should be taught to all children. These truths cannot be taught through words or through books—the children can learn these truths only through the daily life of the teacher.” The above statement clearly explains the position of the sponsors of Basic education in the matter of religious instruction.

A scheme like this depends for its success to a large extent on the teachers and the organisation set up. The Zakir Husain Committee report has dealt with these two aspects of the problem at some length. The Committee has proposed special long and short course of training for teachers of Basic schools. It has also laid down a minimum scale of salaries for them. One interesting and important suggestion made by the Committee regarding the organisation of school work is the abolition of external examinations.

The above is an outline of the Basic scheme of education. In the Haripura session (1930) of the Indian National Congress the scheme was accepted as the official Congress scheme for educational reconstruction in India and an All-India National Education Board under the title Hindustani Talimi Samgha was appointed to give effect to it. When in 1937 Congressmen agreed to form the ministry in some of the provinces of India the scheme was launched under official patronage in C. P., U. P., Bihar, Bombay and Orissa, with a good deal of enthusiasm. Even unbelievers became believers under the magic wand of Government patronage. Elaborate preparations were made, training schools were opened, teachers were deputed to undergo short and intensive courses of training and on their return they

started a number of Basic schools. Soon, however, there was a change in the tide of affairs. In 1940 even before the scheme had been fully established as an experimental measure, the Congress ministries resigned office, and the Government patronage, which Basic education had enjoyed (though only for a brief period), was withdrawn with a consequent but strange change in the attitude of the people who had only a few months back waxed eloquent on the merits of the scheme. After having barely started the schools and run them for only a few months the Government of Orissa decided that the scheme was unworkable (!) and so they closed the experiment. A more or less similar fate awaited it in some of the other provinces which had adopted the scheme. In Bombay and Bihar, however, the new Governments were more favourable to the scheme and it was continued, though the enthusiasm with which the scheme was first hailed was no longer there. In Bihar the scheme has been working for the last six years in a selected area in the district of Champaran. In that area there are 27 schools which have gradually developed from single-grade schools to full-fledged Basic schools with all the seven classes. The seventh grade was opened only this year and this is therefore the last stage of the experiment. So we may take it that in one area at least the Basic syllabus has been given a fair trial. It may be asked, has that experiment succeeded, has it fulfilled the expectations of its promoters? A couple of years ago the Bihar Government deputed a member of the Government Training College to make a comparative estimate of the achievements of pupils in Basic schools and ordinary primary schools in the

compact area mentioned above. The report of this study has been published ; and it would go to show that the results have been quite gratifying. "My study makes it clear that the achievements made by the Basic school children during the period of four years* are superior to those made by the children of ordinary primary schools of the locality in the same time, the superiority being highly marked in oral reading, elementary science, hygiene and social studies but not so in other subjects." If we remember the limitations under which even the Bihar experiment was conducted we must admit that the results have more than fulfilled our expectations. That has been the testimony of other independent observers.

Early in 1945 another National Education Conference met at Wardha to review the whole situation with regard to Basic education and that conference too has come to similar conclusions.

The Conference also elaborated the scheme for a comprehensive system of education based on Gandhian lines. According to Gandhiji the whole system will be known as the Nai Talim (new education) and it will consist of four stages, pre-basic, basic, post-basic and adult. The pre-basic education will be for children from three to six and the post-basic will be the higher stage. The common characteristic of the education to be imparted in all these four stages is that it will be craft-centred. In the pre-basic stage play will largely replace actual craft work though even there there will be a good deal of emphasis on manual activity. The Confer-

*The survey was conducted in 1942 when only four grades were working in full swing. (The footnote is mine)

ence adopted the principles of Nai Talim and appointed various committees to prepare detailed syllabuses for the different stages. These reports are not yet available but they will be eagerly expected by all interested in education.

If the principles underlying the Basic scheme needed any further influential educational support, that has also come. The Central Advisory Board of Education of the Government of India has accepted these principles and they form the basis of its scheme for post-war educational reconstruction which has been recently published and which we shall presently discuss. The National Planning Committee appointed by the Indian National Congress at the instance of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru also accepted the Basic scheme as the corner-stone of its plan for educational reconstruction.*

Reference should be made in this connection to the plan of national education prepared by a committee of the All-India Education Conference. This plan gives an outline of the frame-work of the reconstructed system beginning with nursery schools and ending with the university and institutions for continued education. It also defines the following objectives for the reconstructed system :—
(1) health and physical fitness, (ii) national unity, (iii) social, civic, industrial and economic efficiency, (iv) cultural development, and (v) ethical and moral consciousness. †

*Unfortunately the details of that plan could not be published due to the political situation in the country.

† See National Education for India, a scheme prepared for the National Education Committee of the All-India Federation of Educational Associations, by K. S. Vakil. The Committee was appointed at a session of the All-India Education Conference which is organised by the Federation.

We should also, in this connection, refer to the Vidyamandir scheme sponsored in C. P. when the Congress ministry held office there. The importance of the scheme lay in the suggestion it made for the organisation and maintenance of a compulsory primary school system. While accepting the basic syllabus for the content of education the Vidyamandir scheme suggests that in every village sufficient land would be set apart for the maintenance of the village primary school. The income from that land would cover the salary of the teacher and other incidental expenses. Thus the school instead of depending on grants from the provincial exchequer would be a part of the village economy and be maintained as such. It may be noticed that the scheme revived an idea which had been put forward a century ago by William Adam. Unfortunately with the fall of the Congress ministry the scheme was abandoned and nothing was done to find out whether it was practicable or not.

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THE SARGENT PLAN

The plan which has, however, loomed large before the public eye in connection with the reorganisation of education in this country is the one prepared by the Central Advisory Board of Education of the Government of India and contained in their report on post-war educational development in India. It is commonly known as the Sargent Plan after Sir John Sargent, the present

Educational Adviser, who prepared the memorandum in which the scheme was first outlined. The memorandum was in fact based on the reports of the several committees of the Board appointed from time to time to examine different aspects of the Indian educational problem. This report of the Central Advisory Board is a memorable document. It presents a comprehensive scheme of educational reconstruction from top to bottom, from nurseries to universities, higher technological institutes, and adult education centres and deals with all aspects of education including the health of school children, social and recreative activities for them and the question of their proper placement and employment. This is perhaps the first complete Government scheme for providing India with a national system of education.

According to Sir John Sargent, the essentials of such a system of national education briefly are :—

(1) Universal, compulsory and free education for all, boys and girls from the age 5 and 6 until 14, in order to ensure literacy and the minimum preparation for citizenship.

(2) A reasonable provision of education before the compulsory age for school attendance, in the form of nursery schools and classes. This is important mainly in the interest of health, particularly in areas where housing conditions are unsatisfactory.

(3) Secondary or high school education for those children who show the capacity for benefitting by it. Probably to satisfy this requirement provisions are to be made ultimately in high schools of various types for not less than 20 per cent. of the boys and girls in each age group. Variety both

in types of school and in the curricula of individual schools is essential to suit the varying tastes and aptitudes of individual pupils on the one hand and the requirements of the future occupations on the other. In addition, so that no boy or girl of outstanding ability may be debarred by poverty from further education, liberal financial assistance in the form of free places, scholarships and stipends must be forth-coming.

(4) University education, including post-graduate and research facilities for picked students. It is difficult to fix a quantitative standard here, but probably when a high school system as contemplated above, has been fully established, about 1 pupil in every 15 should be found fit to proceed to university.

(5) Technical, commercial and art education. The amount, type and location of this will necessarily be determined to a large extent by the requirements of industry and commerce.

(6) Adult education, both vocational and non-vocational, of all kinds and standards, to meet the needs of those who were denied adequate opportunities in their earlier years or recognise the importance of supplementing what they then received.

(7) Arrangements for training the vast army of teachers which a system of this kind will require.

(8) An efficient school medical service, which will see that the children are made healthy and kept healthy. This means inspection as well as treatment and the provisions of proper nourishment in necessitous cases. It is a waste of time and money to try to teach a child who is underfed or

conscious of other ways of serious physical discomfort. Health also postulates the provision of hygienic buildings in suitable surroundings, the right kind of furniture and equipment and ample facilities for physical training and games.

(9) Special schools for children suffering from mental and physical handicaps.

(10) Recreational facilities of all kinds, to satisfy the craving for corporate activity and to counteract drabness of the conditions in which so large a part of the Indian people otherwise spend their lives.

(11) Employment Bureaux to guide school and college leavers into profitable employment and so far as possible to adjust the output of the schools to the capacity of the labour market.

(12) An administrative system which will place initiative and authority in the hands of those who understand and care about education.*

The Sargent Plan has attempted to provide a scheme to fulfil the above requirements of a national system of education for this country. Though we may differ as regards the details it will be difficult not to agree with Sir John Sargent in the outline he has given here.

In its final shape the scheme of the Central Advisory Board makes provision for universal compulsory education for all children between 6 and 14. Following the decisions of its two com-

*From the presidential address at the Psychology and Educational Sciences Section of the Thirty-first Indian Science Congress held at Delhi, in January 1944. See also the First and second Reports on the progress of Reconstruction planning by the Reconstruction Committee of Council, 1944.

mittees which examined the Wardha scheme the Board recommends that that education should be generally on the lines of the Basic scheme. The course shall extend over eight years and while preserving its essential unity it shall consist of two stages, 'junior' covering a period of five years and 'senior' three years. The transfer of children from the 'basic' school to other forms of post-primary education shall be allowed at the conclusion of the 'Junior Basic' stage.

By far the largest majority of the future citizens of this country will, however, finish their education at 14 after completing their course in the Senior Basic Schools. A small section may later join the Junior Technical or Industrial or Trade School for a two-year full-time course, to be trained as craftsmen of different categories.

Below the 'basic' stage there will be free (though not compulsory) provision for nursery schools and classes for young children, in urban and other areas where housing conditions are unsatisfactory, specially where mothers have to go out to work. Above the basic stage there will be the high schools which will provide a six years' course for children from 11 to 17. This stage will not be simply a preliminary to the universities but a stage complete in itself. The high schools will be of two main types, academic and technical. Academic High Schools will impart instruction in the arts and pure sciences while the Technical High Schools will provide training in the applied sciences and in industrial and commercial subjects. Admission to high schools will be generally on a selective basis and it is expected that about 20 per cent. of the

boys and girls in each age group will go there. Above the high school stage there will be, on the general side, the universities offering a three-year first degree course* and on the technological side Senior Technical Institutions or Technical Departments of universities providing a three-year diploma course. Technical education will include commercial and art education, and agricultural education will be an essential branch of it. In view of the importance of agricultural education, schools (Senior Basic as well as High) in rural areas shall have an agricultural bias. There will also be provision for advanced post-graduate work on both sides for higher degree and diplomas as well as for research work.

The above is an outline of the system for whole-time general and vocational education. With regard to vocational and technical education, it will be seen that the Board has largely followed the suggestions contained in the Abbott-Wood Report. Besides the above, provision has also been made for the special education of handicapped children, for part-time and continued education at different levels, and for adult education for which a comprehensive scheme has been drawn up. A school medical service will be organised to look after the health of school children. Proper recreational facilities will be provided by organising a Youth Movement on an All-India basis for which leaders will be specially trained. Employment Bureaus will be opened for giving vocational guidance to students and for placing them in suitable vocations after their educational career.

* The present Intermediate course will be automatically eliminated.

The High Schools will have to satisfy a special national need in the near future. To bring a whole nation under a compulsory system of education many thousands of teachers will be required. Matriculation has been rightly prescribed as the minimum educational qualification for any intending teacher. So the High Schools will have to provide these thousands of teachers with the right kind of intellectual discipline and academic training in order that they may become the right type of teachers for the coming generations. This is a national need carrying a grave responsibility and it will fall upon the High schools to satisfy this need. In view of this the Board has discussed at some length the curricula in the high schools of the future. Some reference should be made here to this very important aspect of secondary education.

The reorganised High Schools will be of two main types, (1) the Academic High School and (2) the Technical High School. The Academic High Schools will generally impart instruction in the arts and pure sciences while the Technical High Schools will provide training in the applied sciences and in industrial and commercial subjects. The following lists of subjects are recommended for the two types of schools : for Academic High Schools : (1) The Mother Tongue, (2) English, (3) Classical languages, (4) Modern languages, (5) History (Indian and world), (6) Geography (Indian and world), (7) Mathematics, (8) Science (Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Physiology and Hygiene), (9) Economics, (10) Agriculture, (11) Civics, (12) Art, (13) Music and (14) Physical Training. For Technical High Schools : (1) The Mother Tongue, (2) English, (3) Modern

languages, (4) History (Indian and world), (5) Geography (Indian and world), (6) Mathematics, (7) Physics, (8) Chemistry, (9) Biology, (10) Economics, (11) Technological subjects (wood and metal work, elementary engineering, measured drawing etc.), (12) Commerce (book-keeping, short-hand type-writing, accountancy, commercial practice, etc.), (13) Agriculture, (14) Art (including designing for industrial and commercial purposes), (15) Music, (16) Physical Training.

For Girls' High Schools, a choice is given of the above subjects together with Domestic Science for all at the appropriate stage.

As a list no exception can be taken to the above. A wide range is offered, as it should be, to suit the different needs and requirements of different groups of students. But the list is not so important as the details of the curricula, the method of teaching and examination. These details are yet to be developed and much will depend on how they are developed. On the whole, however, we welcome the suggestions of the Board for the reorganisation of secondary education.

The great thing about the Sargent Plan is not so much the outline it supplies for a national system of education for India, as the bold provision it makes for a wholesale reorganisation of the teaching service to give it the real status of a profession and to effectively reorganise it as an important branch of the public services. The Board has rightly held that there cannot be any reform of education without an improvement of the status and conditions of teachers. For that the first thing necessary is the provision of a better scale of salaries for them. The

Board has, therefore, laid down what in its opinion should be the basic minimum national scale for teachers of different grades and types. For primary teachers other than heads this scale is Rs. 30 to 50. No one will contend that this scale is either exorbitant or even adequate; but this seems to be the best that could be done under the present circumstances. Even on this basis the cost of introducing universal compulsory education for all children from 6 to 14 would, it has been calculated, come to about Rs. 200 crores. When a universal system will be in force we shall have in all about 18 lakhs of teachers for a total school population of 5 crores and 15 lakhs in the Junior and Senior Basic schools only. There will thus be an enormous increase in the number both of pupils and teachers. Obviously there will have to be a corresponding increase in our expenditure. At present we spend in all about Rs. 30 crores for all types of education and when the Sargent Plan will be fully operative we shall be spending about Rs. 313 crores of which 200 crores would go for primary education alone. It may be noted that seventy per cent. of this amount would go as salaries to the 18 lakhs of teachers who will be employed. This is, by the way, the normal proportion in every well-organised system of education.

But we shall not be immediately required to spend all these 313 crores annually. For the scheme in its entirety cannot be implemented forthwith. Necessary preliminaries will have to be gone through. Teachers will have to be trained; the success of the scheme will almost wholly depend on that. Then accommodation will have to be provided and an efficient administrative machinery set up to take

charge of the programme. All this will take time. So the scheme has been spread over a period of forty years with eight five-year stages. At the end of each five-year stage more teachers will be forthcoming and more accommodation will be available and so the scope of work will be widened. Our educational expenditure will therefore increase gradually. The approximate incidence of increased cost will be in the fifth year 10 crores, tenth year 24 crores, fifteenth year 37 crores and so on. In the fortieth year it will be 313 crores. Of these 313 crores the net expenditure from public funds will be Rs. 277 crores. Today we spend only Rs. 17½ crores from that source. It should be pointed out that the above calculations are based on pre-war standards both in regard to population and cost of living.

Such is the plan which the Central Advisory Board of Education has put forward before the Government and the country. The plan has been generally accepted by the Government of India and there is little doubt that future reconstruction of Education in India will be more or less on the lines laid therein.

The Sargent scheme has been widely discussed and criticised. It will be helpful if we briefly examine some of these criticisms here.

One of the most popular criticisms is that it would cost too much and so it would be impossible for us to adopt it. Some have even gone so far as to suggest that by recommending an impossible scheme its framers have successfully sabotaged all proposals for any wide-scale educational reform.

To such pessimists it need only be pointed out that a majority of those who were responsible for

it were men whose bonafides and intention it is not for us to question. This also answers the criticism of its being foreign and unnational.

But to return to the question of costs two facts will have to be clearly borne in mind in this connection. Firstly, India has not yet got a national system of education and until and unless she builds up a truly national system she will have to be content to relegate herself to a position of permanent inferiority in the society of civilised nations. This is a position which no self-respecting Indian would accept. Secondly, in the matter of building a national system no compromise and half-way houses are possible. This is a truth which should be hammered into the minds of those who have always pleaded the paucity of funds and who as a matter of compromise have given us a system which does not provide the foundations on which an effective structure of a national system could be erected. That means that much of the money that has been spent in the past on building the present system is wasted and for that we have only to thank ourselves. The Sargent Plan seems ambitious on this background, but in reality it recommends nothing more than the minimum provision of public instruction which would, as his own memorandum states, place India on an approximate level with other civilised countries. We may modify it here and there and economise, we may try to cut down the expenditure on this or that head; there may be adjustments which will bring down the cost to some extent; but on the whole the outline must be maintained and to do that we must have to face a huge expenditure, many times more than what we are spending at

present. Economy is sometimes dangerous; it may defeat its own purpose. Education is a field where economy does not pay in the long run as we know by our bitter experience of the past. The crux of the whole problem and the determining factor is the teacher. Their salary-bill will cover the major portion of the expenditure. Are we to continue to underpay them and encourage all the evils of the present system, or shall we boldly face the facts and decide to have an efficient and truly national system in the place of the existing one?

A demand for three hundred crores of rupees annually, however impossible it may appear at first glance, can really speaking be hardly called exorbitant. For India has a population of more than forty crores; and three-hundred crores on the education of this vast people works out at less than ten rupees per year per capita. In England today they spend nearly thirty-five rupees per head of the population; and after forty long years from now we shall be spending, if the present scheme is adopted, only eight rupees per head.

It may be asked, where is this money to come from? On this point the Board observes: "The expenditure involved is admittedly heavy but the experience of war suggests that when a paramount necessity can be established, the money required to meet it can and will be found. It is for India to decide whether the time has arrived when a national system of education is a paramount necessity."

In times of war the general gives the plan for action. No one questions him as to how the money to implement his plan is to be found. It is not his job. In planning to combat the evils of ignorance

in the country it is the duty of the educationists to prepare an effective educational scheme, and it is for the politicians and statesmen to find the money. The educationists will be failing in their duty if they are to whittle down their scheme and make themselves a party to nullify it on the score of lack of funds which, as the Board has justly observed, has often been the excuse for inaction.

Of the other criticisms of the scheme is the one which points out the time it will take. Even veteran educationists have objected to this feature. But here too we must see that the determining factor is the teacher. Unless teachers are well-trained it would be waste of effort to attempt any radical change in the system. No one would be happier than the sponsors of the scheme if the whole process could be expedited, but can it? This question has to be very carefully explored. It is true that the urgency of the problem demands that we must achieve maximum progress in minimum time and so we may not always try to follow ideal methods with ideally qualified teachers working under ideal circumstances. But we must warn ourselves against undue haste which may impair efficiency and ultimately lead to wastage of effort. There is always a limit in these matters.

It has been suggested that instead of adopting the programme in its entirety we may follow an abridged version. For example, instead of having a full eight-year course of primary education and extending our activities and scope area by area we may start with a shorter course, say of four or five years, and begin our work everywhere simultaneously and then go on adding classes as circumstances

would suggest and as more and more funds would be forthcoming. The Board has definitely warned us against adopting this procedure. The experience of other countries, it holds, has shown conclusively how inefficient and wasteful such a procedure may be. Moreover, it rightly points out that an education which lasts only five years and ends about the age of eleven cannot be regarded as an adequate preparation either for life or livelihood. On this point we shall, however, have something more to say later.

Some people have objected to the idea of proceeding area by area on the ground that such a selective method would only tend to create or increase the disparity between different parts of the country, and it would work against the interests of backward areas. While we may partly admit the force of the argument it may be pointed out that such disparity would not be a new thing, that it already exists and has always existed. Then again we need not take it for granted that backward areas will be adversely affected if this procedure is adopted. That would not necessarily follow. It would be a matter of mere administrative arrangement to see that backward areas are also selected. In the experimental stage naturally and necessarily all typical and representative areas would be included. Then again the above gradual procedure will give us one advantage. It will enable us to profit by our experience though it may mean waiting for some time. After all, forty years is not a long time in the life of a nation.

Another criticism that has been heard is about the provision for the cut at eleven plus for the sake

of selecting pupils for the high schools. It means a parallel system, the senior basic school system and the high school system running parallel courses for children of the same age group. This is both psychologically and sociologically undesirable. Sociologically it is undesirable because it tends to create class-consciousness, by bringing in an artificial distinction between two types of schools doing very much the same kind of work. Psychologically this is not desirable because it is not possible to select at this early stage whether a child is suitable for high education or not. That the Board is conscious of this fact is shown by the provision that it has made for another transfer at thirteen plus. In fact many of the psychological traits which could and should determine the eligibility or otherwise of a child for a high school education do not make their appearance at eleven. They become perceptible some time between twelve and fourteen, with large variations for individual differences. These are the reasons why in England too psychologists and others have now come to object more and more to the cut at eleven plus and why in England an attempt has been and is still being made to raise the status and prestige of the senior and central schools (which between them take in by far the largest number of children between 11 and 15) to those of the general secondary schools i.e., the schools where high school education is imparted. There they are now calling all post-primary schools secondary schools. How far these efforts would really remove the stigma from the senior and central schools as being of an inferior social order is yet a moot point. Anyhow, these critics argue, in this country we need not

repeat the errors of the English system and create new social difficulties by bringing in new divisions among the growing generations. That there is much in this view which deserves careful and sympathetic consideration has to be admitted.

There have been other criticisms like the omission of any reference to women's education and rural education, of the place of religion in the system of education and others. The Board does not certainly devote a special chapter to women's education for the reason that in its opinion what is applicable to boy's and man's education would be equally applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, in the case of girl's and woman's education. The lack of any specific reference to women's education may not therefore be construed as an omission. But we may argue that the question of women's education, specially in regard to its content will have to be thoroughly thrashed out before we put that part of our plan for national education into operation. The same remarks apply to rural education. With regard to religious education the Board has, really speaking, by-passed it without trying to ignore its importance. It seems to be in favour of keeping the State schools free from teaching any denominational form of religion, and this attitude is in accord with the practice prevailing in other countries. Whether this is right or wrong is, after all, a matter of opinion.*

A scrutiny of the original proposals and their criticisms would thus show that on the whole Sargent plan is satisfactory and acceptable. There

* See appendix for a fuller discussion of the problem of religious instruction in school.

is no doubt that modifications here and there are possible. They may, in fact, be necessary before the plan is put into operation ; but generally speaking its outline and frame-work will remain much the same. Those who say in disparagement of the plan that the outline tends to follow that of the English System too closely should know that today the outline of any effective national system of education would be very much like any other—English, Chinese or Indian.

Before concluding this section I may offer one or two suggestions as to how the plan may be modified to some extent without detracting from its merits but only making it easier for us to adopt it by reducing the costs which seem to be and are the most formidable obstacle in the way of the acceptance of the plan.

It is obvious that if we could somehow or other shorten the period of compulsory education the costs would be reduced. In fact it has been said that for each year we could save about twenty crores. It means that if we could satisfy ourselves with a five-year course to start with instead of the eight-year course recommended by the Board we could have cut down our expenses appreciably. The Board has warned us against such a course if it means letting the children loose at about the age of eleven just when they are in the greatest need of the healthy influence of an educational atmosphere. In this it is perfectly right. It would indeed be a pity if the children were to leave school at eleven after finishing a five-year course of elementary instruction. For it would lead to huge wastage. There will be a greater possibility for relapse into

illiteracy and the good effects of education would be nullified because of the mental immaturity of the school-leaving pupils and the lack of opportunities for consolidation which can be effected only by maturer minds. It is therefore essential that the upper age-limit for the period of compulsory education should not be disturbed. There are certain things which cannot be taught to younger children because of their lack of appropriate mental development in these respects. For example, social consciousness in the true sense of the term does not develop before the child is about twelve. It is therefore difficult to teach him civics and citizenship before he has attained to that stage of mental development. Before that age, he is not in a position to understand the social problems correctly and in their proper perspective. To teach him social habits and attitudes before that age therefore becomes an imposition. Such education besides being psychologically undesirable is also ineffective in building up character. But we cannot think of a primary course in which the education for citizenship will not be included ; for, the majority of our people will have to remain content with that much of education only. It then follows that the primary course must continue at least upto thirteen, if not fourteen.

Keeping the upper age-limit at thirteen we may have a five-year course of compulsory education if we begin at eight. There are several points in favour of this proposal. Firstly, it would cut down the expenses at least by one-third. This is its immediate advantage. Secondly, with older children to start with we may build bigger school units.

With younger children it becomes necessary to provide almost each and every village with a school. While small children may not be expected to walk long distances for going to school, older children could easily do that without any bad effect on their health. This means that we may, to begin with, do with a smaller number of schools than would have been necessary were we to have started with younger children. This would further reduce the cost and specially the capital expenditure on buildings, equipment etc. Thirdly, older children are more easily motivated than younger children and so they may take less time than younger children to cover a particular course. It is quite conceivable that the seven-year Basic course or the eight-year Board course will be covered in six or even five years if we have an older group of children to deal with. Eight years old children without losing the mental pliability of younger children will have greater capacity to learn and work. Their capacity for sustained work is greater and an activity-centred curriculum (as their curriculum is going to be) of the nature proposed is in some respects more suitable for them than for younger children.

It must be clearly understood that the above proposal is recommended as a matter of expediency and is nothing more than an interim arrangement. We do not for a moment want to suggest that a course covering five years will be equivalent in all respects to a course extending over eight years. There is not the least doubt that a child with five years' primary education will be handicapped in comparison with a child who goes through a course extending over eight years. Further, from our

interim proposal it should not be construed that we do not attach any importance to early education, i.e., the education of young children before eight. Far from that, it is only because we have not enough funds for a full-bodied scheme that we are suggesting the exclusion of the very young children for the present from the purview of the compulsory system. As more and more funds will be available we shall extend the scope of compulsion downwards as well as upwards. We shall add one or more years below and above the age-limits proposed here. It may be asked, what will happen to the children below eight in the meantime, will they go without any education? At the worst perhaps it would be so; but would that be worse than if they were to receive bad education as they are doing now? For after all, it yet remains to be proved that bad education is better than no education. Moreover, we must realise that even as things are or as things are going to be under the reconstructed system we cannot bring in the children early enough to begin their education. For, if we are to believe in the testimony of the psychologists their education begins much earlier and the general outline of character is formed by the time the children are about two years old. Even under the ideal circumstances we shall not be able to begin their education as early as that. So whether we shall begin at five or six or eight is, after all, to be decided mainly on other grounds. Really speaking it matters little whether we begin a year or two earlier or later. Furthermore, by deferring the introduction of compulsion by two years we shall give the children more opportunities for sharing

the educative influences of the family and social life than they at present do. Today there is a tendency for the school to encroach too much upon the homes thereby denying the latter the opportunities to exercise those extremely valuable influences which can come from no other quarter and which cannot be compensated in any other manner. We must realise that the education of children is a co-operative venture between the home and the school, and even in the meanest and most uneducated homes there are certain opportunities for work and companionship which have undoubted educational values and which cannot be provided in the primary schools, now or at any other time even under the best of circumstances. This is a fact the importance of which is often lost sight of by educationists as well as parents. It is a pity that sometimes parents would like to send their children away to school just to avoid their share of responsibility for the education of their children who are often looked upon as being a source of nuisance. It is also a pity that by thus shirking their responsibility they thrust upon the schools responsibilities which very few schools are in a position to fulfil. To conclude then, our proposal for beginning compulsion with eight years old children should be judged on its own merits and it should not be construed as a disparagement of the values and importance of early education or of the work done in schools for younger children including the Montessori or nursery schools.

It should be added that our proposal is not so novel as it may appear at first sight. We may remember that in Russia compulsory education

begins at eight and there the nursery school education is neither compulsory nor is it a part of the national system of education in the sense that all children get the advantages of a nursery school education.

I may mention here another point in favour of the above proposal. It would obviate the cut at 11+ and the consequent parallel system which has been adversely criticised in England (where such a system prevails) as well as in this country, on both psychological and sociological grounds. If our proposal is accepted then there will be a single course of primary education right up to the age of thirteen, and secondary, i. e., high school education would begin at 13+ and would extend over four years instead of six years as proposed in the Sargent plan. By cutting down the secondary course in this manner we shall also reduce the expenditure under that head. The high schools may be of two types as suggested in the Sargent scheme. The course for the first year will be common for both the types and the next three years' course will provide opportunities for specialisation.

Even with the above modifications of the original Sargent plan the cost will be formidable; but it cannot be helped. If we want to have a sound system of education we must be prepared to pay for it and there is no escape from the fact. Perhaps the adoption of a scheme like the Vidya-mandir plan may cut down the expenditure to some further extent and the consequent introduction of decentralisation may reduce the burden of direct taxation; but even then the expenditure will be very heavy. The adoption of temporary measures

like conscription of teachers, cutting down the proposed scale of salaries etc., may serve as palliatives to some extent, but not for long. Ultimately we shall have to face a very heavy educational budget. Our only hope is that with the application of science to the development of industries and the improvement of our economic position, India will before long be in a position to meet such expenditure.

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A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

To sum up then, it would appear that our biggest problem in the field of education today is to build a national system of education in the true sense of the term. Our task, in the immediate future, will be to lay the foundation for such a system and to work in the coming years for the completion of the superstructure.

The Sargent plan provides us with the framework for such a system. But the breath of life will have to be infused into that framework in order to make it a living system serving the needs of a living and growing nation. We have to define the aim and ideal, the nature and scope of our national system of education and then to adjust the framework to serve these aims and objects.

A national system has three main characteristics. It is national in extent, content and administration. The system is national in extent, that is, it provides for the education of all classes of people who constitute the nation according to their special needs and requirements. It is a complete system of

education embracing within its sphere of action the whole nation from its youngest to the oldest members. It is of a composite type consisting of different stages from the lowest to the highest, and composing varied forms of education, general and vocational, technical and commercial, literary and scientific, aesthetic and utilitarian. The Central Advisory Board has clearly realised this and so it justly speaks of a national system complete with all its branches.

We have already shown how the existing system in India is utterly incomplete and inadequate. While in other countries they are raising the school-leaving age to sixteen we in this country have not yet been able to introduce compulsion even for children between six and ten. We have not a system of vocational education worth its name and as for continued and adult education such things have no place in our system.

No country can be said to have a national system of education where almost ninety per cent of the people are illiterate, where only one out of every five children of school-going age is at school, where not even four women out of a hundred have attained the bare elements of literacy and half the nation has practically to go without any education.

Of late some attention has no doubt been paid to the education of our girls; but the inadequacy of the measures taken is too well known to need any detailed mention. The inadequacy is not merely quantitative but also qualitative. The present system of girls' education is not proceeding on right lines and that is the worst of it. It

is but a poor replica of our system of boys' education. It follows the latter too slavishly and like it, it does not seem to lead anywhere. Moreover the present system does not fit in with the social background and as a result it creates more social misfits than what a normally and naturally adjusted system would do. It is true that the character of general education up to a stage should be similar in the case of both boys and girls; but no one would deny that there should be certain obvious differences too. Education respects individual differences; it must also respect the differing vocational needs of our boys and girls. This is all the more necessary in our country with its peculiar social system. But excepting for a grudging admission here and there the special needs of girls have received very little recognition in our present system of education. We must clearly realise that equality does not mean similarity. Our girls should have the same opportunity for education as our boys, but their lines may not, need not and should not always run parallel. Just as at one time our boys' education did not (and perhaps even now largely does not) lead to the fulfilment of any definite national purpose so too our girls' education lacks a definite purpose. We may notice that it is very often desired as a matter of fashion or in some cases for the sake of some material advantages. We educate our girls not because education is their birthright but because it may give us some advantage. This narrowly utilitarian view of education has been harmful for our boys and it is becoming equally harmful for our girls. Such education can not lead to intellectual or spiritual enrichment of

either the individual or the nation. We are yet to give the right orientation to our system of girls' education and it is yet to come to its own, to be claimed as a matter of right and not as a concession or privilege or fashion. When we build up a national system of education we shall have to pay serious attention to this aspect of our educational problem.

Education spreads over the entire life of a man. It is an education for life and throughout life. It does not cease when a person leaves the precincts of a school or college, nor does it consist merely of a knowledge of the three R's or even of this or that particular subject. This fact was clearly recognised in the old days and in those days we had various institutions for popular education such as the *yatras*, *kathakatas*, folk music and dramas, recitals etc. They were a part and parcel of our social life. The age-old ancient institutions of popular education are almost dead but no new ones have yet grown up to take their place. To fill this void we need a comprehensive system of continued and adult education. After all, secondary and higher education will be for the few and the majority will have to depend upon and to be satisfied with the elements of education imparted in primary schools. But the fate and the future of the nation depend on this vast majority and so it becomes imperative to provide for them a rich type of continued and adult education to supplement their meagre education or to make up for their lack of education in early life. No country can be called educated or to have attained a high level of culture, where only a handful of men receive higher education

while the majority spend their lives groping through the darkness of ignorance.

So far we have discussed the aspect of the extent of education in a national system and shown how things should be different under such a system. We shall now discuss the administration aspect of national education.

The administration of a national system of education also must be nationalised, *i. e.*, it must be in the hands of the representatives of the nation. They must be free to manage it and guide it. Without meaning any disparagement to any one it may be mentioned that till recently the administration of public instruction in India, since the creation of the department in 1855, was in the hands of men many of whom were ill-fitted for their job. Many of them did not know our languages, and were not acquainted with our national traditions and they could have very little respect for our culture and sympathy for our national ideals and aspirations. Many of them had no doubt worked with the best of intentions ; but good intentions cannot compensate for the qualities, which those in charge of administering national education should necessarily possess. Lest my contention be misunderstood I should add that I preach neither the hateful doctrine of exclusivism (which holds that everything foreign should be shunned) or the presumptuous doctrine of chauvinism (which extols everything indigenous). I must not be interpreted to mean that we do not need the help of foreign experts and their advice and good will. We do and shall always require such help and advice, and we surely stand in great need of the best wishes of the rest

of the world to build up a sound national system of education for our country. But for all that the administration of education must be in the hands of the people and their representatives. The responsibility for it must be fully and wholly ours. It would be wrong to hand over that responsibility to outsiders, wrong not only for us but also for them. It would indeed be an injustice to saddle them with a responsibility which they are not capable of discharging. Our educational service, therefore, should be manned from top to bottom by our men leaving enough room for experts from outside. It is impossible to conceive of a national system of education without nationalised administration.

A national system of education is also national in content, that is, it feeds upon national traditions, uses the cultural heritage of the nation and the languages of the people as the medium of instruction and it consciously strives for the realisation of national ideals.

No system of education can be called national which ignores the languages and literatures, art and culture of the people. Even today our educational system is largely dominated by the English language, and the claims of the mother-tongue still remain unfulfilled. It is still to become the sole medium of instruction throughout. Besides being the medium of instruction in the higher stages English is still considered to be the most important subject in the curriculum. The effect of this has been extremely harmful in many ways. Among others higher study in the languages of the people has suffered greatly. This has also led to a one-sided

development of the Indian languages in which pure literature may have flourished to some extent but in which scientific, economic, political and sociological literatures have not developed to the same extent. Such unequal development (of our natural medium of expression) has had a deleterious influence on our cultural life. This cannot be permitted to go on and it is high time that English should be removed from its place of pre-eminence and the languages of the people should take its place. When I speak against English it must not be understood that I am oblivious of the greatness and importance of that language or the contribution it has made to our national life. As the greatest of the languages of the world it will always be included in our curriculum and studied by our students. And why only English? French, German and other modern languages will also find a place in our curriculum. What we object to is the exclusive emphasis that has been and is still being placed on English and the importance that is being given to it; and what we want is that in our curriculum it may occupy a place below our mother-tongue and not above it.

Just as in our educational system we have neglected the languages of the people, similarly we have neglected their literature, history, philosophy, art and music and other forms of cultural life. It would appear as if our educational administrators could not shake off the ghost of Macaulay. Till recently one could graduate in philosophy from an Indian university without knowing anything about the great contributions of India to the philosophical thought of the world. Our art and artistic tradi-

tions have been similarly neglected. Even history and economics have often been twisted and edited before they were served to our pupils. Love of the country was a taboo in our educational institutions; we were taught to look down upon everything Indian and to extol everything foreign. After a time the inevitable happened. It succeeded in developing a spirit of chauvinism among our educated people. But this was only a reaction and it was nothing more than an expression of the inferiority complex that was being sedulously fostered among us in our schools and colleges and everywhere. This complex impeded at every step the development of a well-rounded national life. The cultural heritage of the nation should not only serve as the standing point of the education of our children but it should also form the staple of such education. In a national system of education the curriculum will thus have to be thoroughly revised and re-oriented. We want to build for the future but in doing so we cannot neglect our past.

I have already said that a national system of education must consciously strive for the realisation of national ideals. This realisation is just as important a part of the definition as the insistence on national traditions being the starting point of education. A nation has, just as much as an individual, a past as well as a future, that is, it has a history as well as destiny. If in that history the past is of importance then the future is of equal, if not greater importance. Education has as much to do with the future progress of the nation as with the preservation of its past achievements and traditions. Conscious strivings for the realisation of the

national ideals implies the existence of a consciously formulated philosophy of life. The present system can hardly provide us with such a philosophy. One would readily agree with Prof. Clarke of London that "to take up one's standpoint within the educational structure as it is now and to suggest merely expansion here, some readjustment there, and a little reconditioning at some other points", would be wholly inadequate and that "difficult and dizzying as the effort may be, we have to find some standpoint *outside* the educational system and from that determine as best as we may the direction that is being taken by a civilisation now on the march as never before". Prof. Clarke thinks that "then we may frame some conception of what we really want and may hope to get in the matter of a re-ordered society. With some clear ideas about that we can then understand better not only the lines along which the educational system is to be reconstructed, but also—and this is much more important—the purposes and values by which it is to be re-inspired". Prof. Clarke speaks about the English system of education in the background of the war. But his views are equally applicable to the Indian system today. And what he means by 'purposes' and 'values' constitute the philosophy of life as I see the problem. This philosophy of life is a part and parcel of the social and political philosophy of the nation. Only a national government can define this philosophy and so only a national government can create a truly national system of education. Here we enter into the larger domains beyond education, of politics and philosophy and here the educationist must stop. All

the same he must clearly realise the implications and the limitations of his subject and he will be failing in his duties if he does not at the same time draw the attention of his readers to the larger issues involved.

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EPILOGUE

Many important things have happened in this country since the above was written and many new developments are taking place every day. The Congress has once more formed ministries in eight out of eleven provinces of India and there is an interim national government in the centre, majority of the members belonging to the Congress. Once more attention has been drawn to the programme of educational reconstruction as sponsored by the Congress. At a conference of Education Ministers (to which invitation was issued to all the provincial ministers of Education, but which was attended only by the ministers from provinces where the Congress is in power), it was decided that the scheme of basic education having successfully passed through the experimental stage should now be accepted as a matter of national educational policy and efforts should be made to introduce it all over the country. As a result, vigorous preparations are going on in these provinces (Assam, Bihar, Bombay C.P., Madras, N.W.F.P., Orissa and U. P.) to implement the programme of basic education. The member in charge of Education in the Interim

National Government has announced that the Central Government is going to spend Rs. 125 Crores for the purpose. That amount will be placed at the disposal of the provinces which accept the scheme and which are ready to work it out. This offer has been a great fillip to the provinces. A good beginning has thus been made in the reconstruction of education in these eight provinces, but much yet remains to be done even there. Let us hope that we shall have the courage and faith to carry through the programme of educational reconstruction and thus lay the foundation for a better and richer life for the coming generations.

Calcutta University
6th April, 1947.

A. N. BASU

APPENDIX I

ON THE PROBLEM OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN SCHOOLS

*[A note of dissent by the author submitted by him in his capacity as a member of a committee set up by the Government of Bengal to inquire into the question of primary curriculum.]**

"In the matter of religious instruction my views are opposed to those expressed in the main body of the report and shared by my colleagues on the Committee. At the outset I shall like to make it perfectly clear that I am not opposed to religion. Far from that, I hold that religion occupies or should occupy the central place in our life. But at the same time I hold that religion is primarily a matter of personal belief and it should be allowed to remain so. To confuse religion with the Church and to claim for it a secular organisation of the type of the State have been among others two of the chief sources of evils perpetrated in the name of religion. Furthermore, I hold that the State representing as it does or should do the various interests of diverse types of people composing it, should take a neutral view in the matter of denominational religions and all State institutions including educational institutions should have a secular character. The education the State should provide should also be secular. As the State gives freedom in the matter of religious opinion, similarly the State should see that no indoctrination is allowed specially in the matter of personal

*Vide the Government of Bengal, Education Department, Resolution No. 1036 Ed, dated the 9th March, 1937, on School Education in Bengal.

religious beliefs in its institutions. I therefore strongly dissociate myself from my colleagues when they recommend the introduction of religious instruction in our primary schools.

Then again I hold that religion is to be caught and that it cannot be taught. Can we teach religion in the way we are thinking of, by introducing it as another subject like Arithmetic or Geography in the curriculum? I hold we cannot. In this connection the following quotation from Tagore may be of interest; "Religion is not a fractional thing that can be doled out in fixed weekly or daily measures as one among various subjects in the school syllabus. It is the truth of our complete being, the consciousness of our personal relationship with the infinite; it is the true centre of gravity of our life. This we can attain during our childhood by living in a place where the truth of the spiritual world is not obscured by a crowd of necessities assuming artificial importance, where life is simple, surrounded by fulness of leisure, by ample space and pure air and profound peace of the nature, where men live with a perfect faith in the eternal life before them."

No one I hope will hold that our primary schools are or are going to be in any near future, the places of the type envisaged by Tagore. The atmosphere that prevails there is anything but helpful for the development of the true religious spirit in our children. I am also reminded of the words of Carlyle where he says, "Can dronings of articles, repetitions of liturgies bring ethereal fire into human soul, quicken it out of earth from darkness into heavenly wisdom? Soul is kindled only by soul. To teach religion the first thing needful and the last and the

only thing is finding of a man who has religion". Carlyle, I believe, puts the whole problem in a nutshell. Unless we can get hold of competent men worthy of the great task it will be futile, nay it will be calamitous to impart religious instruction. We all know of what calibre our primary school teachers are, and we cannot expect any change for the better in the near future. In their hands religious instruction will become a travesty of religion—it will lead to dissensions and disharmony.

Then again there is every possibility of creating contrariant attitude in our pupils through bad methods of religious instruction and through efforts of indoctrination which is bound to accompany such instruction. This evil cannot be ignored. In fact I feel that by imparting religious instruction we shall be defeating our very purpose; instead of making our pupils religious we shall end by making them irreligious; they will hate religion and shun it. No religious instruction is certainly better than bad religious instruction.

Then again, granting for a moment that in spite of the dangers mentioned above we should introduce some sort of religious instruction in our schools, what is the religion that should be taught? My colleagues have prepared a scheme for Mohammedan religious instruction which, they hold, would meet the demands of that community. Similarly they have prepared a syllabus for Hindu religious instruction. The assumption seems to be that every religious group should have its own syllabus of religious instruction. Now suppose several groups are represented in a school community, can we make provisions for all the different communities?

Are not some minority communities in the danger of being neglected? The people of Bengal have so many different religions, they are divided into so many different sects, that there is every danger of our not providing for one or the other of such sects. There can apparently be no greatest common measure in the matter of religious instruction. If it were so, my colleagues would have recommended a single agreed syllabus, but they have not done so. And even if among the Hindus any such greatest common measure is found, such measure is apt to be like the chemical properties of hydrogen, tasteless, colourless and odourless, in a word absolutely ineffective. Of course, it may be argued that in their essence all religions are the same. But this is only true of religions in their philosophical aspects. The theologies differ and it is the warring theologies which create dissension. We have seen enough of sectarian and religious conflicts in this country. Let us not recommend any measure which will add to the already existing dissension.

Shall then our children go altogether without the inspiring influence of religion? I hold that they need not, provided we are ready to make some sacrifice and take some pains. Let us, every parent and guardian, divide and share the task of educating the youth of the nation with the schools. Let us not shift the entire responsibility to the schools. If we believe in religious instruction, let us, every parent and guardian, come forward and say, because the problem of religious instruction in schools bristles with so many difficulties, we shall, in our homes, give that instruction, we shall individually take charge of it. Are we not sometimes demanding

too much from our schools? Why in the matter of educating the children the home should entirely abdicate its rights and avoid its duties in favour of the school, and why should the school arrogate to itself all the functions and duties of the home? The modern ideal of education desires a closer co-operation between the home and the school, and nowhere does it advocate the supplanting of the former by the latter. When we think that the school should do everything for the child do we not thereby give the school a far more prominent place than what belongs to it legitimately? In the matter of religious instruction therefore, the home should divide the responsibility with the school, thereby creating a deeper and closer union between the two great institutions of humanity. And who can doubt that the loving initiation by the parents in spiritual life will be a thousand times more potent than any religious instruction that we may give in our schools? It is thus alone that the problem of religious instruction may be satisfactorily solved and we can avoid the conflict of sectarianism and differing religions and also pave the way to positive national unity—the greatest need of the country today. Even if the homes refuse to co-operate, I recommend that no religious instruction should be provided in our primary schools.

The 13th October, 1936.

The reader will no doubt recognise that Tagore's ideas on religious instruction as expressed in the body of the above note of dissent have been taken from his *Personality*, p. 136.

The following passage which briefly sums up

Gandhiji's attitude towards this question occurs in the *Educational Reconstruction*, pp. 57—58 :

"We have left out the teaching of religions from the Wardha scheme of education because we are afraid that religions as they are taught and practised today lead to conflict rather than unity. But on the other hand, I hold that the truths that are common to religions can and should be taught to all children. These truths cannot be taught through words or through books—the children can learn these truths only through the daily life of the teacher. If the teacher himself lives up to the tenets of truth and justice, then alone can the children learn that truth and justice are the basis of all religions.

* * * *

The truth that all religions are the same in essentials, that we must love and respect others' faiths as we respect our own, is a very simple truth, and can easily be understood and practised by children of seven. But of course, the first essential is that the teacher must have this faith himself."

....

It would be obvious that the fundamental problem in religious instruction is the creation of the right type of atmosphere in schools which will be congenial to the growth of the spiritual and moral life of the children. This atmosphere is best indirectly provided through extra-curricular activities such as daily assemblies, community service, social activities etc. In fact it is and it should be the bye-product of the general organisation of the school life. The first and the only prerequisite for building up the right type of

organisation is the presence of the right type of teachers. If such teachers are present the children will unconsciously develop their own religious and moral life along right lines. Then direct teaching will not be required. In fact direct teaching can be and is often dangerous.

While we are on this question we may also examine some of the suggestions that have been made to solve this intricate and vexed problem. Some people think that it is possible, though the task may be difficult, to come to what has been called an "agreed syllabus". Granting for the moment that it were possible to do so, the question is, will it satisfy those who are now clamouring for religious instruction. We are afraid that it will not. For, what they want is not the teaching of the philosophical principles of religions which we may perhaps by a *tour de force* reduce to a common measure, but the theological aspects for which there can be no such common measure. Because of this difficulty some have suggested the 'open-door' or 'the right-of-entry' system. Instead of the State providing teachers for giving religious instruction to children of different communities it calls upon the communities to provide such teachers at their own expense, the State only agreeing to give them the right to enter into the schools and also to provide a period when they may come and instruct the pupils belonging to their own religious communities. At first sight this may appear to be a satisfactory solution, but really speaking it is not. Firstly, there will be no control over these teachers. Who would guarantee that they will be the right type of teachers for children, and who would

vouchsafe that some of them will not, in the name of giving religious instruction, preach hatred for other religions? Secondly, what about the community which may not be well organised enough to provide such teachers? There will also be many other administrative difficulties.

From all points considered it would, therefore, appear that parental co-operation alone can provide us with a satisfactory solution of this problem.

We have not here discussed the question of moral instruction separately, for the common belief is that the two cannot be separated. This belief may well be questioned and we may well imagine of the existence of persons who do not follow any particular religious creed and yet who are the best of God's creatures. However, what we said with regard to religious instruction is equally applicable in the case of moral instruction, that is, morals are best taught not by word of mouth but indirectly, by examples and by creating the right type of atmosphere. Of course, in the case of moral instruction there will be more unanimity and less divergence of views making it possible to develop an agreed syllabus. Such a syllabus may be based among others on the study of the lives of heroes and saints belonging to different communities and such study may no doubt provide inspiration to our children to lead a better and nobler life, but ultimately the guidance will have to come from the parents and teachers working in close co-operation with each other and here too the home and the parents will play a much larger part than the school and the teachers.

APPENDIX II

STATISTICS OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS.

British India (excluding Burma)

Year ending 31st March	1920-21	1924-25	1928-29	1932-33	1936-37	1940-41	1942-43
No of Educational Institutions.	180,380	203,232	232,429	229,771	227,940	232,766	219,342
No of Govt. Instns.	2,749	3,484	4,665	3,822	4,062	6,817	6,298
No. of Scholars, (000)							
(a) Total :	7,820	9,228	11,461	12,125	13,390	15,770	15,374
(b) Males :	6,527	8,236	9,521	9,735	11,482	12,201	11,758
(c) Females :	1,293	992	1,940	2,390	2,908	3,569	3,616
No. of Scholars attending, (000)							
(a) Arts & Science Coll.	48	64	75	83	96	127	124
(b) Professional Colleges	13	17	18	19	21	26	25
(c) Secondary Schools	1,125	1,368	1,909	2,090	2,288	2,754	2,733
(d) Primary Schools :	6,113	7,131	8,734	9,236	10,224	11,778	11,594
(e) Technical & Industrial Schools.	10	20	27	26	31	39	32
Expenditure on Recognised Institutions (Rs. lakhs)							
(a) Total :	15,84	19,42	24,91	24,09	26,49	29,84	31,61
(b) From Govt. Funds :	7,32	9,30	12,11	10,71	11,52	12,89	13,88
No. of Printing Presses.	3,583	4,994	5,729	6,410	7,872	8,758	*
No. of Newspapers published	955	1,342	1,642	1,594	2,123	2,609	*
No. of Periodicals :	2,197	3,018	2,781	2,693	3,046	2,880	*
No. of Books published :							
(a) In English or a European language	1,676	2,283	2,546	2,691	2,556	2,841	*
(b) In Indian languages	9,815	14,591	14,348	13,401	14,629	14,117	*

* Figures not available.

APPENDIX III

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