Decline of the **Mughal** Rule and its political and economic impact in Gujarat:

The recent studies in the eighteenth century history of India demonstrate the process of transition in political and economic field. ¹ During this period the **Mughal** Empire began to disintegrate politically. The previously attached groups to the **Mughal** authority such as local gentry, nobility and commercial communities began to part from the **Mughal** authority and assert power in their respective area of influence.² As a consequence of this the **Mughal** Empire got disintegrated into semi autonomous states such as **Awadh**, **Bengal** and **Hyderabad**. The other **Mughals** provinces came largely under the sway of rising power of the

² Ibid, p.19
Marathas. One of the provinces was Gujarat. In preceding chapter we have already discussed how the province of Gujarat came under Maratha rule initially under *Peshwa* and later on under *Gaikwads*.

By the new analysis the disintegration of the *Mughal* Empire had corollary effect in the economy. The provincial states of *Bengal, Awadh* and *Hyderabad* became the new centers of trade and commerce. So the economy of these regions tended to be prosperous. However, the western region particularly Gujarat underwent a period of commercial decline after the disintegration of *Mughal* Empire. This was due to two reasons. To begin with, there existed political crisis in central Asian countries owing to the decline of the great empires the *Safavid* Empire and the *Ottomans*. This brought a temporary setback in maritime trade of western India with central Asian countries. Next, the trade and commercial activities in the ports likes *Surat, Bharuch* and *Khampat* which were under the *Mughals* began to decline. However, this downfall in trade and commercial activities in western part of the countries was

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5 Ibid, p.168
soon compensated by the rise in Europeans trading activities with India particularly western India.

II

Advent of East India Company's rule in Gujarat

The beginning of the eighteen century witnessed the increase in trading activities of Europeans with south East Asian countries. The rising commercial interest of Europeans towards these regions was precipitated particularly due to the fall of West Asian Empires such as Ottomans and Saffavids. For a long period of time these empires had hindered the Europeans from undertaking trading activities with the south Asians countries. Since the trading routes of South Asian countries were under the control of Ottomans and Saffavids. However, the fall of these empires cleared the way for European trading companies which got easy access to the trading routes of South Asian countries.

7 Mukharjee, Rama Krishna, ‘The Rise and Fall of British Empire’, 1957, p.30
The next underlying factor behind the increase in commercial activities of Europeans towards East was need for new markets. During this period the economy of Europe in general and Britain in particular was rapidly changing into capitalist economy facilitating the mass production of goods. Britain was termed 'the land of shopkeepers' due to boom in trading and business activities.

The economic prosperity made the capitalists and mercantilist as the dominant social class in Britain. Their interest and ideas began to dominate the political decisions in Britain. Later on, this class of capitalists and mercantilists played an important role in shaping the colonial policies in India.

A significant feature in the commercial growth of Europe was the rise of regulated merchants companies. These companies spearheaded and regulated the maritime trade with the Asian countries. Some of these companies monopolized the trade of Asian countries. One of these regulated companies was the East India Company of Britain which monopolized Indian trade.

9 Mukharjee, Rama Krishna, opt.cit, p.15
10 Ibid, p.45
12 Mukharjee, Rama Krishna, opt.cit, p.16
Initially, the East India Company dominated the trade in the coastal parts of India. Here the company established factories and fortified towns such as Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. In due course of time the company began to expand its territories further for revenue and wealth. During its course of territorial expansion the company waged wars with the local rulers to establish its economic and later on political dominance over them. As a consequence of this the company began to emerge as a major claimant in the political struggle for supremacy in eighteenth century India.\textsuperscript{13}

In western India the East India Company began to establish its hold in the beginning of the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{14} This part had been under the rule of five Maratha ruling houses namely the Peshwas of Poona, the Gaikwads of Baroda, the Sindhis of Gwalior, the Bhonsles of Nagpur and the Holkars of Indore.\textsuperscript{15} During this period all these ruling houses were disunited and engaged in fratricidal strife. This paved the right opportunity for the company to establish its hold over the western region.

\textsuperscript{13} Thomson, E., and Garrett, G.T., 'Rise and Fulfilment of British rule in India', 1980, p.24
\textsuperscript{14} Nayangandhi, J.J., 'Kutch no British Itihcis', 1977, pp.19-20
\textsuperscript{15} J. Grant Duff, 'History of the Mahrattas', Vol 1, 1978, p.21
The conflicts with the *Maratha* chiefs and company grew up in the mid eighteenth century which resulted in Anglo-Maratha wars. These wars came to an end around 1818 A.D.\(^{16}\) The *Peshwa* and other *Maratha* chiefs accepted the suzerainty of the British. Their territories were annexed and brought into the fold of administrative structure of the company.

In Gujarat the *Gaikwads* of *Baroda* remained neutral during the Anglo-Maratha wars. This was because they had accepted subsidiary alliance treaty in 1802 A.D by which *Gaikwads* became the permanent ally of the British.\(^{17}\) Hence company did not annex the territories of *Gaikwads*. However, by accepting the treaty of subsidiary alliance the *Gaikwads* lost their right on the matters of foreign affairs. On the other hand the rulers were independent from the company’s interference in their domestic affairs. The latter i.e. noninterference of the company in domestic affairs gave the rulers of *Baroda* adequate freedom to carry reformative activities particularly in the field of education.\(^{18}\) Hence there existed significant differences in the state of education between the British Gujarat and Princely state of *Baroda*.

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\(^{16}\) Ibid, pp.56-112

\(^{17}\) Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, History of Gujarat, Vol.1, Pt.1, 1836, p.316

\(^{18}\) Gazetteer of Baroda State, Vol.1, 1923, p.437
III

British Gujarat and the new administrative structure

The Indian territories during the British period were broadly divided into two categories, the British provinces and the princely states.\textsuperscript{19} The British provinces were the annexed territories of Indian rulers. The provinces were part and parcel of a complex but a unified administrative component of the British Empire. The princely states were relatively independent and treated as foreign territories by the British.\textsuperscript{20} These princely states however, formed subordinate and indirectly ruled territories of the British Empire.

The territories annexed by the company in Gujarat collectively formed the British Gujarat. These territories comprised of Surat, Bharuch, Kaira, Panchamahal, and Ahmedabad.\textsuperscript{21} For administrative purpose these territories were transformed into districts and were attached to the Bombay Presidency. The British Gujarat therefore formed the northern

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid, p.26
division of the Bombay presidency.\textsuperscript{22} By this way British Gujarat became a part and parcel of Bombay Presidency.

The small and big principalities of Gujarat formed the subordinate territories of the British Gujarat. However, these were free from the direct rule of the British. The biggest princely state in Gujarat was Baroda state.

The Administrative edifice of the British Empire was built on the following main components- the Presidency, the Provinces and the districts. Among these administrative components the Presidency was the largest. There were three important presidencies in the nineteenth century. These were the \textit{Calcutta} presidency, the \textit{Bombay} presidency and the \textit{Madras} presidency.\textsuperscript{23} The presidency was centralized and hierarchical administrative machinery of the British Empire headed by the governor. Within the presidency the administrative machinery had following units. These were the Divisions, the Districts, the \textit{Talukas} and the village. These units were under the charge of hierarchy of officers. The following diagram shows the administrative units of the Bombay presidency.

\textsuperscript{22}Rajygor, S.B., ‘History of Gujarat’, 1965, p.391
\textsuperscript{23}The Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire, Vol.IV, 1909, p.48
Diagram: Major Administrative units of Bombay Presidency:

The Bombay Presidency

- The Southern Division
  - Districts

- The Central Division
  - Districts

- The Northern Division (British Gujurat)
  - Districts
    - Surat
    - Bharuch
    - Ahmedabad
    - Khaira
    - Panchmahal
Map of British Gujarat

Source: The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Bombay Presidency, Northern portion, 1909, p.112.
Map of Bombay Presidency: Southern Portion

The most important unit of administration was the district. The British Gujarat consisted of five districts. These were Surat, Bharuch, Panchmahal, Ahmadabad and Kaira. Its administrative functions were
managed by various departments. Some of these were the revenue
department, the police department, the excise department, the public
health department and the public instruction department.\textsuperscript{24} The
recruitments in these departments were largely done on the basis of the
person's practical knowledge and technical knowledge of the work. In
this way the recruitment procedure of the British was slightly differed
from the indigenous system in which the recruitment was largely caste
based and hereditary.\textsuperscript{25} However, the significant outcome of the caste
based and hereditary based selection was the growth of a class of
professionals in India. This class consisted of administrators, revenue
collectors, educationalist, accountants, bankers and police personals.
These indigenous professionals were largely from upper castes.
Needless to say that the upper castes and communities were the largest
beneficiaries of the new jobs and new positions created during the
British period. The following table indicates the employment of people of
various castes in government educational institutions in Gujarat

\begin{table}
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
Caste & Employment in Government Educational Institutions in Gujarat \\
\hline
Upper Castes & 50% \\
Middle Caste & 30% \\
Other Caste & 20% \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{24} Directory of Educational Department, 1892-93
\textsuperscript{25} For detail see, Desai, Neera, 'Social Change in Gujarat' 1982.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr.No.</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Class/Grade</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kshatri</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Principal, Gujarat Training College, Ahmedabad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Brahmin</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Head Master, High School, Surat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bania</td>
<td>Matriculation</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Extra Assistant Master, Bharoch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kayastha</td>
<td>Matriculation</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Deputy Educational Inspector, Surat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Brahmin</td>
<td>Matriculation</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Deputy Educational Inspector, Amod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Patidar</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Ind Assistant Master, Nadiad High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bhavsar</td>
<td>J.J. School of Art</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Drawing Master, Surat High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Kunbhi</td>
<td>Previous Exam</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Clerk, Government Law School, Ahmedabad</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table illustrates largely the dominance of upper castes in upper middle class educational institutions. However, the table also indicates the breaking of Brahmins monopoly in education as other castes such as Bhavsar, Darji and Kunbi began to avail new education and the subsequent opportunities unleashed in educational field. This was a deceptive social change in Gujarat.

It was to be found that the new professional class emerged from the people employed in the government and non government services. This class of new professionals consisted of middle ranks such as doctors, teachers, lawyers as well as businessmen. These professionals

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26 Poet Narmad made a significant observation regarding changes in educational field. He said, 'during last twenty years (1848-1868) Banias are scoring over Brahmins in the educational field. All over Gujarat, the power of Brahmins is declining....Banias are becoming learned and also now preach to people.' Narmad, 'Narmad Gadhya', p.7

27 Misra, B. B., 'The Indian Middle Class: Their Growth in Modern Times', 1961, pp.10-11
formed a new social category known as middle class. The long association of this class with the colonists brought in them distinct changes in taste, fashion and attitudes. One of the significant but slow changes was towards women. This change was evident from social reformers and young males of new middle class. The former i.e. social reformers undertook the issue of women reforms while educated spouses were largely cherished by the young males of this class.

The representatives of new middle class in Gujarat were Narmadshankar [1833-1886], Durgaram Mehta [1809-1876], Mahipatramrupramji and Dalpatram Dahyabhai [1820-1898]. These people were largely from the service class mainly teachers. They were the pioneers of social reforms and literacy movements in Gujarat.

28 Ibid, p. 11
29 Poet Narmadashankar, Navalram, Mahipatramrupram, Goverdhanram, Manilal Nabhoobhai, Manishankar Bhatt were the earliest Gujarati men who received western education and propagated new ideas in Gujarat. See, Shastri Vajlal Kalidas; ‘Gujarati Bhashno Itihas’, 1887, pp. 58-90
30 Durgaram Mehta, after his training, joined a government school. Later on, Durgaram was appointed as a teacher in Surat school on a salary of Rs. 20 per month. See, ‘Durgaram Charitra’ by Mahipatrupram, p. 3
IV

Social and Cultural Policy of the British

Initially, the British government’s attitude to a large extent was that of non-interference in social, cultural and religious matters. However, the study of indigenous practices and customs and its implementation in administration and judiciary became necessary. A policy to that effect was prepared to follow indigenous methods and practices in administration ‘but also to tolerate even the revolting superstitious practices connected with the religion of the Hindus’. The government’s attitude to a large extent was of non interference in social, cultural and religious matters. This attitude manifested in the policy of non interference in social and religious matters that lasted till the beginning of the nineteenth century.

By the beginning of nineteenth century the industrial capitalists began to concentrate on Indian markets. They demanded a certain level of modernization in India for the facilitation of capital investments in the form of industrial projects. By the same time the new thoughts and ideas in Britain mainly that of the orientalists, the evangelists and the

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31 For detail see, ‘The Adam Reports on Indigenous Education in 19th century India’, New Delhi, 1983
32 See, Ballhatchet, K., ‘Social Policy and Social Change in Western India(1817-1830), pp.250-51; Bearce, G., ‘British attitude towards India’, pp.41-42.
utilitarians were replacing the old imperialist attitudes and manners.\textsuperscript{33}

The representatives of oriental line of thinking in India were such British officials as Bentham, Elphinstone, Metcalfe, Munro and Malcome.\textsuperscript{34} These officials emphasized on purposeful and useful governance. Under the influence of these officials the British government began to reshape and restructure its various administrative and economic policies. However, the greatest impulse to bring change was from the financial deficit the company faced during this period.\textsuperscript{35}

Various measures were taken to curb the deficit. One of them was recruiting local people at a lower rate of salary in the government departments.\textsuperscript{36} Another element that demanded change in the attitude of the government was Christian missionaries. The missionaries supported the program of imparting western education with the objective of increasing their proselytizing activities.\textsuperscript{37} However, the ruling elements in the British administration accepted and adopted those ideas and

\textsuperscript{33} Boman-Behram, B.K., 'Educational Controversies in India', p.261
\textsuperscript{34} Eric Stokes, 'The English Utilitarian and India', 1962, pp.234-287
\textsuperscript{35} Thomson, E. and Garratt, G.T., Opt.Cit., p.25
\textsuperscript{36} In Wood's Deppatch of 1854, it was stated that, 'we have always been of opinion that the spread of education in India will produce a greater efficiency in all branches of administration by enabling you to obtain the services of intelligent and worthy persons in every department of Government, and on the other hand, we believe that numerous vacancies of different kinds which have constantly to be filled up, may afford a great stimulus to education'. See, Narullah and Naik, opt.cit. p.212
\textsuperscript{37} For detail see, Richter, J.; 'History of Missions in India', 1908, p.25
demands which enabled the economic penetration and consolidation of British rule in India. All these factors culminated into a social policy in which education formed a significant aspect.

The social and cultural policy of the British in which education formed the main subject was a significant agenda of cultural imperialism. The cultural imperialism was one of the stages of colonialism. This stage was marked by peaceful imposition of colonial culture and religion on the colonized people.\(^{38}\) The main motives underlying this stage of imperialism was to consolidate and justify the colonial rule. Education played a significant role in 'hegemonising the minds of the natives and thereby alienating them from indigenous culture'.\(^{39}\) The type of education imparted in India was colonial in nature that to say, western learning.

\(^{38}\) Carnoy Martin; ‘Education as Cultural Imperialism’, 1974, p.20

\(^{39}\) Kelly, Gail P. and Philip G. Altbach (ed); ‘The Four Faces of Colonialism- Education and the Colonial Experience’, 1984, p.5
Colonial Education: The general characteristics

The education system introduced by the British was consistent with the colonial objectives. The education imparted mainly in the English schools was alien to indigenous culture. No attempt was made in the school curriculum to assimilate indigenous knowledge and language. The knowledge imparted in colonial schools therefore had very little to do with the society and culture of the colonized people. Schools mainly served as a mechanism for securing new social place and new culture or in other words westernizing people. English schools therefore, became sites of alienation. School system reflected the power and need of the colonists. Its curriculum was designed so as to create a section of society. The curriculum was based on utilitarian principles and inherent with zeal of civilizing mission. The utilitarian natures of western education qualified pupils for employment, mainly in government services and capitalist missions.

40 According to Ngugi Wa Thiong’o, ‘often, the implementation of new education system leaves those who are colonized with a lack of identity and a limited sense of their past’. See, Ngogi Wa Thiong’o, ‘Decolonising the Mind:The politics of Language in African Literature’ , 1981.
41 Ibid, p.21
42 English education and the spirit of English literature was expected to make the educated Indians, more English than Hindus just as the Roman Provincials became more Roman than Gauls or Italians. Travelyan,C.E., ‘On the Education of the people of India’ , 1838, p.48
economy. Therefore, the training given in schools was according to needs and requirements of the colonial empire.\(^{43}\) In India, English education qualified people for lower and middle levels administrative jobs.\(^{44}\)

The formal education introduced by the British was distinct from the indigenous education in terms of structure, approach and aims.\(^{45}\) In the indigenous system formal education was imparted in institutions such as schools. There were non formal ways of importing education which has been discussed in previous chapter. However, with the advent of English education system the scope of non formal education decreased tremendously because the British institutionalized the whole education system.

Western schools worked as a capitalist institution.

As the capitalist forces made headway, the formal schools turned into training ground for skilled laborers. The capitalist forces paved the ground for the emergence of institutions that supported capitalism.\(^{46}\)

\(^{43}\) Mangan, J., ‘The Imperial Curriculum’ ,1993, pp.40-50
\(^{44}\) Nurullah and Naik (ed), ‘A History of education in India’ , 1951, p.59
\(^{45}\) Mookherji, R.K.; ‘Ancient Indian Education- Brahmanical and Buddhist’ , 1947, pp.468-473

English schools were one of those institutions. Here, school functioned as institution which produced skilled laborers for material output and enabled men and women to face the competitive market. Western education was a doorway for enhancing financial and social status. According to Martin Carnoy, 'when the individual goes to school, he or she has access to a larger slice of the economy and social pie, provided that everybody else has not gone to school along with him.'\textsuperscript{47} This also implied less accessibility to material resources people educated in non western schools. Thus, we can make out from the study that the divide between English schools and vernacular schools were quite sharp. The beneficiary of English education was the upper section of the society as this section could affords this type of education. This western educated section of the society was generally employed in middle and lower grades of government services. Employment in such positions was considered as a mark of social status.

\textsuperscript{47} Martin Carnoy, opt. cit., p.8
VI

Debate on the nature of Western Education in India

In the early part of the nineteenth century the major focus of the East India Company was on revenue administration. Education was hardly the concern of British government. Nonetheless, a few British officials took keen interest in indigenous education and learning. These officials were generally referred as Orientlists due to their interest in oriental learning. The orientalist endeavored to set up educational institutions wherein indigenous education was imparted. These were the initial attempts by the Company to impart educational activities in India. However, these attempts were purely the act of individual enterprise.

In the second decade of nineteenth century the British government began to take responsibility on imparting education in India. This was evident in the charter Act of 1813, in which the clause number thirteen stated that 'a sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year out of the surplus territorial revenues for the introduction and promotion of knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the

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48 Cannon, G.; 'Oriental Jones', 1964, pp.30-50
49 With the efforts of Oriantalist, the Calcutta Madrassa and the Sanskrit College at Banaras were established.
British territories in India.\textsuperscript{50} It is interesting to note that this clause was largely the result of Orientalists efforts that, for a long time was agitating for more funds for the revival and improvement of classical learning in India.\textsuperscript{51} However, for a long period the stated amount could not be utilized for the promotion of education. In the third decade of the nineteenth century, concern for promoting education resurfaced. The British government, now, began to take concrete steps towards the formulation of education policy in India.

The education policy of the British government was the outcome of debates between the three prominent schools of thought of the time namely, the Orientalists, the Evangelists and the Utilitarian. The arguments put forward by these schools of thought resulted in shaping the education policy in India.

The Orientalists were among the earliest group of British officials who took keen interest in oriental studies. The Orientalist, therefore, emphasized more on indigenous learning in education system. They argued that indigenous knowledge would help and enable the British,

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\textsuperscript{50} Aggarwal, J.C., ‘Landmarks in the History of Modern Indian Education’, 1984, p.35
\textsuperscript{51} Ghosh, S.C., ‘The History of Education in Modern India’, 2000, p.34
\end{small}
particularly the ruling elements, in understanding ‘natives’ culture and society.\textsuperscript{52}

In contrast to Orientalists, the evangelists were in favor of imparting western knowledge in India. This school of thought was largely backed by Christian missionaries whose main objective was proselitization. The evangelists argued that by imparting western knowledge, the natives would be able to understand Christian values and Christian faith.\textsuperscript{53}

The most influential school of thought of the nineteenth century was utilitarians. The utilitarians were inspired by the philosophy of pragmatism which believed in dealing with matters according to their practical significance or immediate importance.\textsuperscript{54} The well known utilitarians of nineteenth century were James Mill, John Stuart Mill, and Jeremy Bentham.\textsuperscript{55} These utilitarians translated the philosophy of pragmatism in the field of education. According to them, education

\begin{itemize}
  \item Nurullah and Naik, opt. cit., p.85
  \item McCully Bruce, ‘English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism’, 1940, pp.17-39
  \item Sharma, R.N.; ‘Philosophy and Sociology of Education’, 2003,p.96
  \item Plamenatz, John, ‘The English Utilitarians’, 1966, pp.35-66
\end{itemize}
should be purposeful and useful.\textsuperscript{56} Utilitarians were in favor of imparting western education, to a section of the society which was useful in the growth of nation. In India most of the utilitarians favored in imparting western education to the upper section of the society for the consolidation of British Empire. Utilitarians supported their views on following grounds. First, by educating a section of the society, the government could employ western educated natives not only on subordinate positions but in fewer wages. By this measure the government could overcome its financial deficit. Second, western education would help in regeneration of Indian society which was infested with superstitions and inhuman customs. James Mill firmly believed that ‘Indian society was decadent and the key to its regeneration lay in the introduction of western knowledge and science’.\textsuperscript{57} In a letter to the Governor General of India, Mill explained his position towards selective education in the following sentences. ‘General education is my panacea for the regeneration of India. The ground must be prepared and the jungle cleared away before the

\textsuperscript{56} Eric Stokes, opt. cit., p.225
\textsuperscript{57} From the Reports of the General Committee of Public Instruction-1831-42, p.40
human mind can receive, with any prospect of real benefit, the seeds of improvement'.

The debate between orientalists, evangelists and utilitarian paved the way for the formation of education policy. Under the governor generalship of Lord William Bentinck, a general committee of public instruction was formed to undertake the work on education. It is interesting to know that most of the members of this committee were either backed by evangelists or utilitarians. There were hardly any takers of the orientalists ideas. The president of the General committee was Lord Macaulay whose main interest was the promotion of English law and English culture. Lord Macaulay was considered as the architect of modern education in India. He prepared an elaborate minute on education. The minute described in detail the nature of education to be promoted in India. The points putforward in this minute were largely in favour of utilitarians and evangelists ideas on nature of education in India. Following are important claims made in Maculay's minute:

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58 Ibid, p.45
59 Ghosh, S.C., opt. cit., p.30
60 Travelyan, G.O.; 'Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay', Vol.2, 1876, pp.112-115
1. Lord Macaulay's minute supported the promotion of western literature in India. This was argued by Macaulay in the following words, 'a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India' 61

2. The minute favored English as a medium of instruction in schools. Macaulay supported this point on the ground that 'the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information....English stands pre eminent among the languages of the west....Whoever knows that language has already access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of earth have created and horarded in the course of ninety generations' 62

3. Lord Macaulay was in favour of selective education. This he claimed in his classical comments that 'to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, inopinions, in morals and intellect' 63

61 Reports of the General Committee of Public Instruction-1831-42, p.45
62 Ibid, p.50
William Bentinck, the governor general of India, approved Lord Maculay's minute on education in education resolution of March 1835.\textsuperscript{64} This was a historic resolution on education. By passing this resolution a central policy on education came into effect. However, two approaches developed on the issue of medium of instruction in schools. One approach was to impart western education in English at the secondary level. This approach was largely adopted in the Bengal Presidency.\textsuperscript{65} However, in Bombay Presidency, vernaculars were adopted as the medium of instruction. This approach was known as 'Downward Filtration Theory'.\textsuperscript{66} The architect of this theory was Mount Stuart Elphinstone (1817-1827),

\textsuperscript{64} The resolution declared that, 'the great object of the British Government ought to the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and all the funds appropriated for this purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone.' See, Ghosh, S.C., op. cit., p.40

\textsuperscript{65} In the words of Trevalyn, 'the rich, the learned, the men of business will first be gained, a new class of teachers will be trained; books in the vernacular language will be multiplied; and with these accumulated means we shall in due time proceed to extend our operations from town to country, from few to the many, until every hamlet shall be provided with its elementary school...It was absolutely necessary to make a selection, and they therefore selected the upper and middle classes as the first object of their attendance because by educating them first, they would soonest be able to extend the same advantages to the rest of the people. Trevelyn, G.O., op. cit. p.15. Also refer, Nurullah and Naik, op. cit., pp.147-149

\textsuperscript{66} In the report of the Bombay Native Education Society for the year 1825-26, 'it was categorically stated that the new ideas in western literature and science will be easily rendered comprehensible to them by means of the mother-tongue of each scholar.' The Annual report of Bombay Education Society for the year 1825-26
the governor general of Bombay Presidency. This policy of Bombay government to encourage vernaculars as the medium of instruction was observed in a report of 1840-41 which stated that, 'knowledge must be drawn from the stores of the English language, the vernaculars must be employed as the media of communicating it, and Sanskrit must be largely used to improve the vernaculars and make them suitable for the purpose'. This approach was responsible for the growth of vernacular schools and vernacular literature all across the presidency.

VII

The Agencies for the promotion of western education in Gujarat

As mentioned earlier Gujarat was an integral part of Bombay presidency. The impact of any development in the presidency was felt in Gujarat province too. Similarly, the developments taking place in the field of education had an impact in the Gujarat province.

68 Quoted in Ghosh, S.C. op.cit.,p.15
Until the first half of the nineteenth century, the western education in Bombay presidency was promoted by the Christian missionaries and educational societies. Later, the Bombay government and its agencies such as municipal boards and local bodies promoted a state system of education in Gujarat. However, the reform-based organization of the late nineteenth century became significant agencies in the growth and development of western education in Gujarat in the late nineteenth century.

Christian Missionaries

From the beginning of the company's rule in India, the entry of Christian missionaries in India was restricted. The missionaries, on the other hand, tried to remove restrictions imposed on the passage of missionaries to India. During the time of the renewal of company's charter Act in 1813, the missionaries activated their campaign to open India to Christian missionaries. The detail of missionaries' led campaign is given in the next chapter. This missionary's led campaign was largely backed by Evangelical Christians. After conducting a vigorous campaign, Evangelists were successful in modifying the charter Act of

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69 Frederick Cooper and Laura Stolen (Eds), 'Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a bourgeois world', 1997, pp. 238-262
1813, which provided entry to Christian missions in India. 70 In this campaign, the propaganda of missionary got wide publicity and drew a large section of the public into active support for missions. 71 The Charter Act of 1833 further opened up India to the missionary activity of other nations.

In Bombay, the church Missionary society, the London Missionary society and Irish Presbyterian Mission were the major missionary organizations.72 These organizations emphasized on educational activities.73 This was so as Christian missionaries considered education as an effective measure to conversion. The missionaries believed that with the compulsory teaching of Bible in schools the natives would embrace Christianity. The missionary organizations established number of schools in various towns of Bombay Presidency. In Gujarat, the church missionary society and Presbyterian mission set up primary level schools in Surat and Bharuch.74 Mission schools were

70 Ibid, p.239

72 For detail see ISR Sunday, May 7, 1888, No.IX, p.282
73 M.D.David, ‘John Wilson and his Institutions’, 1975,pp.31-32
74 Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol IV, 1879, pp.210-11
generally referred as charity schools.\textsuperscript{75} The curriculum of these schools largely consisted of teaching of three R's and compulsory teaching of Bible and English.\textsuperscript{76} However, the medium of instruction in mission schools varied. Teaching was done in vernacular as well as in English. At the primary level the vernacular largely remained the medium of instruction in mission schools. From the secondary level the medium of instruction was either English or vernacular or both. In this way, mission schools initiated Anglo-Vernacular education.

The mission schools were the pioneer in vernacular education in Gujarat.\textsuperscript{77} Later on, Bombay Government followed their suit in establishing vernacular schools in Gujarat and other parts of the presidency. The missionary schools with their compulsory teaching of English able to attract the upper classes who desired to study English for carriers in government services. In Gujarat too, a large number of pupils from upper section of the society studied in mission schools. The earliest batch of English knowing Gujaratis were largely the product of

\textsuperscript{75} The schools set up by a mission were generally attached to its mission, thus, these schools were known as charity schools.

\textsuperscript{76} For detail see, A.G.Fraser 'Village Education in India', 1920, Madras.

\textsuperscript{77} Desai Neera, opt.cit., p.224
such mission schools. One of them was Ranchodlal Zaveri, the pioneer of new education in Gujarat.\textsuperscript{78}

The mission schools were generally associated with conversion activities. The conversion campaign taken up by mission schools often generated discontent among the local people. One case of conversion that effected the growth of mission school took place in Surat around this period. A Parsi boy named Nararvanji Manekji was converted to Christianity. This event had a negative effect on the growth of mission education in Surat.\textsuperscript{79} However, in spite of conversion activities, missionaries made a significant contribution in the growth of modern education in Gujarat.\textsuperscript{80}

\textbf{The State System of Education}

The state system of education in Gujarat was laid down by the Bombay government during the governorship of Lord Mount Stuart Elphinstone (1817-1827).\textsuperscript{81} A survey on indigenous schools was conducted before the introduction of state system of education.\textsuperscript{82}

\textsuperscript{78} Ramlal Navnitlal, ‘Arvachin Gujarati Shikshan na sava so varsha’ 1896 , p.14
\textsuperscript{79} See, Nandashankar, ‘Jeevan Charitra’, p.37; Adelji Patel, ‘Suratni Tavarikh’, 1890, pp.241-42
\textsuperscript{80} Speech of Hargovind Dwarkadas Kantawal, Gujarat Education Conference, October 1916.
\textsuperscript{81} Hiralal, T. Parekh, ‘Gujarat Vernacular Society no Itihas’, Pt.1, 1932, p.40
\textsuperscript{82} G.D. Volume, No.63 of 1824, pp.509-526

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These survey reports were largely critical of the existing indigenous school education as the British officials judged the education system from their standards of education system. This was evident in all the survey reports. One of the survey reports while examining the curriculum of indigenous schools commented that ‘the language of the country that in which alone education generally can be conducted, possesses with the exception of some ridiculous stories in verse, no books and therefore the first step must be to give these, and then to have masters instructed to teach them without this first great improvement – increase in the number of schools would in my opinion be attended with little valuable effect’.\textsuperscript{83} There were some reports that provided useful insights into the indigenous education system. The following report provided useful information on the indigenous education system of Gujarat: ‘The cultivators attach considerable importance to education and many Pateedars and respectable Coonbees are well versed in reading and accounts which gives them weight in their village and many avail

\textsuperscript{83} Parulekar, R.V., ‘Survey of Indigenous Education in the Province of Bombay, 1820-30’, 1951, p.23
themselves of their knowledge by carrying on trading transactions, simultaneously with agricultural pursuits'.

Based on the information provided by the survey reports, the Bombay government initiated the western system of education with vernacular as medium of instruction, in Gujarat. The foundation of the state system of education was laid in the year 1826 with the establishment of two vernacular schools at Ahmedabad city. Later on vernacular schools were set up in Surat, Bharuch and Kheira districts. The growth of government schools in British Gujarat could be estimated from the following table:

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84 Ibid, p.25
85 Narullah and Naik, opt.cit., p.223
Table: 1.2 The growth of government schools in British Gujarat-1855-1878

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Government School</th>
<th>1855-1865</th>
<th>1865-1877</th>
<th>1877-1878</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>High Schools</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Branch Schools</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Anglo-Vernacular</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Vernacular Schools</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 1.3 The growth of private schools in British Gujarat.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Government Aided School</th>
<th>1855-1865</th>
<th>1865-1877</th>
<th>1877-1878</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>English Schools</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Anglo-Vernacular Schools</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Vernacular Schools</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After 1850, the vernaculars were gradually replaced by English as the medium of instruction at the higher level.\(^{88}\) The previous policy of Bombay government to promote vernacular as the medium of instruction was challenged by Erskine Perry, a judge of the Bombay High Court in 1843. He suggested that Bombay should follow the Bengal example and adopt English as the medium of instruction in higher education.\(^{89}\) The Bombay government did not adopt the Bengal approach of imparting education in English immediately. However, under the pressure of central government, English was gradually adopted as the sole language at the higher education while vernacular remained medium of instruction at the primary level.\(^{90}\) This development largely created a wedge between English medium schools and Vernacular schools.\(^{91}\) However, vernacular education continued to remain popular among the people of Gujarat.

**Private organization**

From the beginning, the private organizations took the greater responsibility in promoting educational activities in the presidency. They

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\(^{88}\) In 1888, the Bombay University removed vernaculars from their examination. This move of Bombay University was disproved by Gujarat Vernacular Society, a leading educational institution of Gujarat. The society sent a memorandum insisting the university to continue with the teaching of vernaculars. See, Parekh, T. \(\text{opt.cit. p.12}\)

\(^{89}\) Ghosh, S.C., \(\text{opt.cit. p.35}\)

\(^{90}\) See, Desai, Neera, \(\text{opt.cit. p.229}\)

\(^{91}\) Government of India, Education Department, A Proceeding, September 1919, No.1
played a significant role in the growth of western education in the presidency. The private organizations could be broadly categorized into two, the Secular, and the Non secular. The non secular organization mainly consisted of missionaries and to some extent organizations formed by the revivalists of late nineteenth century. *Arya Samaj* founded by Dayananad- Sarasvati was one such non secular private organization. We have already discussed the role of missionaries in the promotion of western education in Gujarat. We will now turn to the rise and growth of other private organizations in the first half of the nineteenth century in Gujarat.

The beginning of nineteenth century witnessed rise of private organizations particularly in the field of education in Gujarat. The following factors were responsible for the growth of private organization: These were:

1. The emergence of new educated class: Under the impact of western education a small class of intellectual emerged. These intellectuals were conscious of the merits and demerits of Gujarati society. Some of them established social reform associations that
crusaded against age old social customs and practices.\textsuperscript{92} These associations simultaneously, worked for the promotion of western education.

2. The Rise of interest groups: Due to the emergence of new polity, economy and education, numerous interest groups in various fields emerged. This paved ground for the people with similar interest to come together and form associations. Many of the social reform and literary organizations of late nineteenth century were founded by the people of similar interest and ideas.

3. The Print Media: The print media became the mouth piece of emerging societies and associations. Most of the emerging associations came up with their own journals and periodicals that propagated new ideas in vernaculars. This consequently led to the growth of vernacular press.\textsuperscript{93}

4. The literary and educational institutions: The approach of the Bombay government in promoting western education through vernaculars encouraged educational and literary activities such as

\textsuperscript{92} The first social reform association of Gujarat was \textit{Manav Dharma Sabha} founded by \textit{Durgaram Mehta}.

\textsuperscript{93} In connection with Free Press in India, it was stated in a government report that, ‘the free press meant social reform. By the operation of education and free discussion the Hindoo will be enlightened. As a sure, slowly progressive result, morals will be improved, superstition and caste destroyed, women enfranchised, and religion purified’. Quoted in ‘British Attitude towards India’ by Bearce, p.100.
translation work and publication work.\textsuperscript{94} The phenomenal growth of these activities led to the establishment of educational organizations. The Gujarat Vernacular society was one such organization which worked for the promotion of Gujarati literature.

We will now turn to important private organizations of the first half of nineteenth century Gujarat that worked for the promotion of western education.

**Bombay Native Education Society**

This was the first voluntary association of India that pioneered in the growth of new education. The association was founded by European inhabitants of Bombay with the objective of promoting education to the poor people.\textsuperscript{95} Later on its work got extended in other parts of the presidency. The society was engaged in other educational activities such as preparing books in vernacular and training teachers. In 1819, a committee was formed known as 'Native school book Committee' to

\textsuperscript{94} H. Parekh, opt.cit. p.40
\textsuperscript{95} First Annual Report of the Bombay Education Society, 1817, pp.6-7
prepare books in vernaculars.96 For training teachers, the society evolved a scheme to train educated Gujarati youth as school masters. Ranchodlal Zaveri, popularly known as ‘Father of modern education in Gujarat’, was entrusted with the tasks of training teachers and preparing books in Gujarati for the new schools.97 Thus, Bombay Education Society pioneered in the growth of vernacular education in western India.

**Gujarat Vernacular Society**

This society was founded in 1848 with the efforts of Alexander Forbes, an assistant judge of Ahmedabad and social elites like Bholanath Sarabhai, Bhogilal Pravnallabhdas, poet Dalpatram and Nagarseth Premabahi Himabhai.98 The main objective of this organization was to collect available vernacular books and to prepare original and translated works for the emerging schools.99

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96 Ibid, 1819, pp.8-10
97 The names of first batch of teachers who received training from Bombay Education Society were: Durgaram Mancharam, Pranshankar Omnath, Hariram Dyashankar, Tuljaram Shukram, Dhumeshwar Sadanand, Gaurishankar Krapashankar, Mookundram Ashoram, Hareram Ashoram, Mayaram Jayashankar and Laxshmi Narayan Sevakram. Selection from Educational Records, Bombay, Pt.3, p.264
98 H.T.Parekh, opt.cit. p.9
99 Ibid, pp.10-11
Gujarat vernacular society significantly contributed in the promotion of Gujarati literature and growth of modern education in Gujarat. For the promotion of its twin objectives i.e. Gujarati literature and education, started a journal known as ‘Budhiprakash’ around 1850. This journal in true sense generated an ideological movement for the growth of education in Gujarat. The journal published articles from all fields of knowledge viz. History, sciences, general knowledge and literature.

Gujarat Vernacular Society set up schools for boys and girls in various parts of Gujarat. The society in fact pioneered in girl’s education as the first girls school was set up in 1849 under its management. The society’s educational activities were reflected on the publication of vernacular textbooks known as ‘Hope Vachan Mala’. These textbooks contained chapters on western ideals, morals, general knowledge, general science, History and Gujarati poems.

The Bombay education society and Gujarat Vernacular Society encouraged translation work and publication of literary books. This gave

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100 See, the files of Budhiprakash from 1858-1884

101 The discussion of the girls’ school set-up by GVS is carried in next chapter.

102 Ramlal Navanitlal, opt.cit. p.45
impetus to on going literary movement in Gujarat. Under the aegis of Gujarat Vernacular society renowned Gujarati writers published their work. Some of their books were prescribed as textbooks in the new schools. Thus, GVS pioneered in promoting educational and literary movement in Gujarat.

VIII

Conclusion

The province of Gujarat was not completely colonized by the British. The areas that were colonized and became the part of British Empire in India were Surat, Bharuch, Khaira, Ahmedabad and Panchmahal. These areas formed British Gujarat. The British Gujarat was part and parcel of Bombay Presidency. This formed the northern division of the presidency. Any significant development in the city of Bombay, which was the most urbanized city of this period, had an influence in British part of Gujarat. With the establishment of British rule in Gujarat, changes were witnessed in the areas of administration, judiciary, economy and lastly education. Changes in the latter i.e. education were made with

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1 These books were: Maganlala Vakhatchand, ‘Gujarat Desho no Itihas, 1860; Nilkanth Mahipatramrupram, ‘Gujarat no Balbodhak Itihas, 1878; Sashtri Vajlal Kalidas, Gujarati Bhasha no Itihas, 1887.
some reluctance as the subject of education formed a part of social fabric. However, British were successful in introducing colonial system of education in India in general and western part in particular. The colonial system of education that was introduced by the British was consistent with the colonial objectives.

In Bombay presidency, the Christian missionaries and private organizations took the initiative in promoting western education. Institutions such as Elphinstone College of Bombay catered to the educational needs of those Gujarati men who aspired for higher education in English. This institution was pioneer in producing the earliest batch of English speaking Gujarati men. The western educated Gujarati men later on, initiated the process of promoting western education in Gujarat. A section of them spearheaded the social reform movement in Gujarat.
Elphinstone College, 1890

DURGARAM METHA

KAVI NARMAD