SECTION: SIX

THE BRANCHES OF EDUCATION
Chapter XVIII

MASS EDUCATION

We discussed in the previous section the matter and medium of instruction at the various stages of education in India. We shall now take up the different branches of education and the Government's policy to each of these branches for discussion. The most important of these is the education of the masses.

During the days of the British regime in India primary education had a wider meaning and it was taken as "the teaching of the masses in the Vernacular." Adam's account of the elementary instruction in various parts of Bengal shows that elementary education was quite extensive. The schools were mostly single-teacher institutions and the standard of education provided was too low. Many of the teachers had no training and were quite inefficient. The hours of attendance were irregular and holidays were numerous. There were no school-houses built for, and exclusively appropriated to schools.
"The apartments or buildings in which the scholars assemble would have been erected, and would continue to be applied to other purposes, if there were no schools." The use of printed books was almost wholly unknown to the people, "with the exception of a printed almanac which some official or wealthy native may have procured from Calcutta, or a stray missionary tract which may have found its way across the great river from the neighbouring district of Moorshidabad." (1)

The Company's Government did nothing to improve the conditions of these schools or to organise these into well-established institutions following a common pattern of education. The schools catered to the needs of the various castes and owing to the Hindu caste system, those mainly intended for the lower classes were particularly closed to the higher castes, and vice versa. The authorities did not think that interference in the existing system was desirable. They did not consider it as a State service. Further they were more interested in the education of the higher classes and encouraged institutions started for the education of these classes. The higher classes provided men for the services, and the education of the masses, the Government thought was not necessary. The people in India were generally indifferent to mass education and Government did not want to go against the social customs of those days.

Even if the Government gave their full support, a sound educational system would have been still extremely difficult owing to the want of money and the lack of teachers. The introduction of English in the field of education was another hindrance to the progress of elementary education.

While the Government was indifferent to the mass education the efforts of the Company officials also was directed to the establishment of higher institutions for the teaching of Sanskrit and Arabic. It was Lord Hastings, who for the first time, declared that the strength of the Government must be based on the enlightenment of the people and not on their ignorance. He said that "as the public money would be ill-appropriated in merely providing gratuitous access to that quantum of education which is already attainable, any intervention of Government either by superintendence, or by contribution, should be directed to the improvement of existing tuition, and the diffusion of it to places and persons now out of its reach."(2)

Though Government were more concerned with the education of the higher classes they came to the aid of private agencies and Missionaries who ran elementary schools. The Court of Directors gave a monthly grant of Rs. 500 to the Bombay Society

2. Minute by Lord Moira, on the Judicial Administration of the Presidency of Fort William, dated the 2nd October 1815, paragraphs 120-1.
which was started in 1815 for promoting the education of the poor. A little later, in 1817 and 1819 respectively, the Calcutta School Book Society and the Calcutta School Society were founded, for the diffusion of useful elementary knowledge. Both received grants from Government. Howell says of the grant to the latter that it was "the first recognition on the part of the Home Government of the claims of education for the masses." (3)

Other than granting such occasional grants Government found it impossible to organise the elementary education of the masses in a systematic way. It was the Company officials in their private capacity organised some education for the masses in different places. W. Fraser, the Second Member of the Board of Revenue started four schools by 1820 in Delhi District by 1820 and these were intended exclusively for the children of the peasantry and the main object in view was that boys should understand from being able to read and write, something of the British Judicial and Revenue system to the purpose of a diffusion of information amongst the masses.

Fraser stressed the importance of educating the peasants first because he considered that "the greatest difficulty the Government suffers, in its endeavours to govern well, springs from the immorality and ignorance of the mass of the people, their

disregard of knowledge not connected with agriculture and
cattle and particularly their ignorance of the spirit, prin-
ciples and system of the British Government." (4) Fraser
said that the establishment of schools in cities and towns
was comparatively speaking of secondary consideration because
the majority of children of classes that inhabited cities
and towns in India were educated by their parents. "It is
the children of zamindars, of the peasantry, of men enjoying
hereditary and paternal lands in their own right, the mass
of the people; thousands to one of the people that require
this Instruction and will benefit by it." (5) When Fraser
found it difficult to maintain his schools he appealed to
the Government for financial aid but this was refused. The
General Committee of Public Instruction animadverted upon
Mr. Fraser's proposal, and based their refusal of support
among other things upon the fact that it was "expedient that
the appropriation of any limited funds assigned for the pur-
pose of public education should be chiefly directed to the
best means of improving the education of the more respectable
members of the Indian society, especially those who make
letters their profession." (6)

4. Letter, dated 25th September 1823, from W. Fraser to the
Chief Secretary, Fort William.

5. Ibid.

p. 15.
The earlier policy of the Government was to support the seats of Oriental learning and to start new ones. It was not until 1823 that they could pause to look around and take stock of the situation from a broader point of view. In that year Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, wrote as follows regarding the importance of elementary education of the masses:— (7)

"With regard to the education of the poor, that must in all stages of society be in a good measure the charge of the Government; even Adam Smith (the political writer of all others who has put the strictest limits to the interference of the executive Government, especially in education) admits the instruction of the poor to be among the necessary expenses of the Sovereign, though he scarcely allows any other expense except for the defence of the nation and the administration of justice."

In Madras too Sir Thomas Munro took a keen interest in the education of the masses and with this view collected information regarding the facilities available for mass education. When he submitted his proposals for the approval the Court of Directors wrote back: "By the measures originally contemplated by your Government no provision was made for the instruction of any portion of the natives in the higher branches of knowledge. A further extension of the elementary education which already existed, and an improvement of its quality by the implication and diffusion of useful books in the Native languages, was all that was then aimed at!...The importance of higher education was stressed by the Court of Directors. They

pointed out that "the improvements in education, which most effectually contribute to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of the people, are those which concern the education of the higher classes; of the persons possessing leisure and natural influence over the minds of their countrymen. By raising the standard of instruction among these classes, you would eventually produce a much greater and more beneficial change in the ideas and feelings of the community than you can hope to produce by acting directly on the more numerous class." (8) This was a clear statement of Government policy favouring the education of the higher classes first.

The excellent intention of those who initiated the movements for the development of elementary education was defeated by the vastness of the task, the paucity of available funds and growing demands for concentration of effort upon institutions of higher learning. The theory of "Downward Filtration" in education by which Government believed that the education imparted to the higher classes would permeate to the masses prevailed in India largely because the opposite theory of starting education of the masses first led to impossible paths. The measures taken in Bengal for the education of the higher classes in English were held up as worthy of imitation and the

8. Despatch of the Court of Directors, dated 29th September 1, 1850, paragraph 4 to 8. (Madras Selections, 11, 1855, XXVII)
Court of Directors expressed their desire that similar measures should be adopted in Madras where Sir Thomas Munro concentrated on the development of elementary education. In a Minute, Lord Elphinstone stated that the endeavours made in Madras to introduce a general system of education for the masses had produced nothing but disappointment and that their discontinuance had been ordered. He said that "a new direction was to be given to our efforts, and the plan which had been found to succeed in Bengal and Bombay was to be introduced, with such modifications as local circumstances might require at Madras." Among the principal points urged upon the attention of the Madras authorities by the Supreme Government was "the discontinuance of the system of frittering away the sums allowed for educational purposes, upon more elementary schools and upon eleemosynary scholars." (9) These instructions read strangely to the Madras Government. The main reason underlying them had already been made clear in a despatch from the Court of Directors to the Governor General in Council, dated the 5th September, 1827. Speaking of Mr. Fraser's Delhi schools and Dr. Gerard's proposals for the education of the hill people of Sabathu, the Directors said that "from the limited nature of the means at your disposal, you can only engage in very limited undertakings; and where

a preference must be made, there can be no doubt of the utility of commencing both at the place of greatest importance, and with the superior and middle classes of the nations, from whom the native agents whom you have occasion to employ in the functions of Government are most fitly drawn, and whose influence on the rest of their countrymen is the most extensive." (10)

This policy of the Government in educating the top classes first continued to be followed during the first half of the nineteenth century. The decisions to introduce Western education through the medium of education, the decision to introduce English as the official language in the place of Persian and the decision to recruit the educated youth to the Government service even in the lowest category all helped to continue the same policy of educating the top classes first.

In 1854, however, this policy changed. The Court of Directors realised by now that the earlier policy was wrong and in their despatch of that year they pleaded for more active measures of Government towards the development of the elementary education. The Court of Directors said that "our attention should now be directed to a consideration, if possible, still more important, and one which has been hitherto, we are

10. Madras Selections, ii, 1855, XXIX.
bound to admit, too much neglected, namely, how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life, may be best conveyed to the great mass of the people, who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts, and we desire to see the active measures of Government more especially directed, for the future, to this object, for the attainment of which we are ready to sanction a considerable increase of expenditure." (11) This was a clear departure of the Government's earlier policy. For the first time the Court of Directors desired the starting of the schools the object of which should be not to train highly a few youths, but to provide more opportunities than existed for the acquisition of improved education that would make those who possessed it more useful members of society.

In the category of schools imparting education to the masses the Despatch of the Court of Directors included the zillah schools of Bengal, the Government Anglo-Vernacular schools of Bombay and such as had been established by Indian princes and gentlemen in different parts of India. The Despatch did not expect the Department to open schools for the elementary education of the masses but suggested the improvement of the existing institutions for mass education by wise encouragement to make them capable of imparting correct knowledge to the great

11. Despatch of 1854, (n.21, p. 149), paragraph 41.
mass of the people. The Despatch said:

"When we consider the vast population of British India, and the sums which are now expended upon educational efforts, which, however successful in themselves, have reached but an insignificant number of those who are of a proper age to receive school instruction, we cannot but be impressed with the almost insuperable difficulties which would attend such an extension of the present system of education." (12)

The Despatch, therefore, proposed to leave the elementary education of the masses gradually to the private enterprise and extend ready assistance to these agencies.

Lord Dalhousie did his best to apply the suggestions into practice. He established a special Department of Education and set himself to improve the methods of instruction. The programme was to be directed to the teaching of reading, writing, arithmetic and mensuration. It was held that the knowledge of these measures would give the ordinary Indian a sufficient equipment for practical life. The efforts were made but the progress was blocked by immense obstacles.

Among the obstacles that stood in the way of implementing the policy of the Home authorities some were of a temporary character, such as the 'Mutiny' of 1857, which for years concentrated the attention of the Government upon military, political and purely administrative matters. This elicited the following panicky instructions from Lord Ellenborough, the

12. Ibid., paragraph 48.
President of the Board of Control, in a letter dated 28th April 1858, Lord Ellenborough once again suggested the revival of the policy of "Downward Filtration" in education. He said:

11. "There is throughout India, especially amongst the higher classes, a strong prejudice in favour of domestic education.

12. "I believe we rarely, if ever, induce parents above the lower class to send their children to our schools, and we should practically, if we succeeded in extending education to the labouring as we desire, give a high degree of mental cultivation to the labouring class, while we left the more wealthy in ignorance.

14. "Education and civilization may descend from the higher to the inferior classes, and so comunicated may impart new vigour to the community, but they will not ascend from the lower classes to those above them; they can only, if imparted solely to the lower classes, lead to general convulsion, of which foreigners would be the first victims."

Ellenborough concluded his letter: "If we desire to diffuse education, let us endeavour to give it to the higher classes first." (13) The letter, however, did not create any adverse effect. The liberal policy of mass education as advocated by Sir Charles Wood in his despatch continued to be favoured by the authorities in India.

Reviewing the efforts taken for the spread of mass education Lord Stanley, the Secretary of State, expressed his satisfaction. He said in 1859 that "the officers of the Department

13. Letter from Lord Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control, dated 28th April 1858, paragraphs 11 to 15.
of Education, acting under the orders of the several Governments have spared no pains to bring into operation, throughout the districts entrusted to their superintendence, such measures as appeared most likely to place within reach of the general population the means of Education suited to their circumstances in life." (14) He wanted to make the greatest possible use of existing schools, and of the masters, to whom the people had been accustomed to look up with respect. Lord Stanley stated that the system of grant-in-aid was unsuitable to the supply of vernacular education to the masses and that Government should directly undertake the task of educating the masses. Lord Stanley recommended drastic changes in the policy of the Government towards mass education. He was not in favour of State officers soliciting contributions for the support of primary education. He was rather hasty in suggesting the total abolition of 'grant-in-aid' system which was in force by then. To meet the expenses connected with the promotion of elementary education he suggested the levy of a compulsory rate as the only really effective step. Perhaps Lord Stanley was influenced by contemporary events in England, where the movement for the imposition of local taxes for the establishment and maintenance of public schools, had just begun.

But this policy of the Secretary of State was never en-

forced by the Government of India. The instructions of the Home Government led only to a "prolonged discussion" over the policy of financing primary education. One reason for this prolonged discussion was the differences in the policy of the various local Governments with regard to the introduction of primary education. Sir J. Peter Grant, the Governor of Bengal in 1860 submitted to the Government of India a plan by which "we could show one thousand village schools to a district, aided by Government, and affording the agriculturists a simple and practical education commensurate with their wants."

(15) In a correspondence between the Governments of Bengal and India relating to the education of the masses, the main question being as to the mode of levying a local Educational cess, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal expressed an opinion in favour of an increase to the salt tax. The Government of India stated their policy with regard to the mass education in their reply to the Bengal Government. They said: "The Governor General in Council feels that it would not be right to evade any longer the responsibility which properly falls upon the Government of providing that the means of obtaining at least an elementary education shall be made accessible to the people of Bengal. He feels that this responsibility must be accepted in this, as in other provinces, not only as one of the highest duties which we owe to the country, but because

among all the sources of difficulty in our administration, and of possible danger to the stability of our Government, there are few so serious as the ignorance of the people." (16)

The Government of India wished to carry out the views of the Home Government and to introduce a direct system of popular education; "while the local Government contemplated a system of grant-in-aid to lower class schools, and asked for a relaxation of the grant-in-aid rules in its favour." (17)

The Government of India declined to discuss any further the question of the necessity of providing elementary instruction for the masses of Bengal and reported about their policy to the Home Government. They stated that "while we would always be ready to view in the most liberal spirit all questions that might arise, and to afford every help that the Government could reasonably be expected to give, we would decline in future to listen to any proposition the effect of which would be to throw upon the State the main burden of the cost of educating the people." (18)

The progress made in the field of primary education was not satisfactory inspite of the importance attached to this

16. Letter from Mr. Bayley, Secretary to the Government of India, dated 28th April 1868, to the Government of Bengal.


18. Letter No. 17 dated the 31st December 1869 from the Government of India to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.
branch of education. The funds raised through cess acts were diverted into different channels. Further there was the difficulty of securing good village teachers. The Court of Directors impressed the importance of mass education upon the Central Government and the Central Government upon the Provincial administrations. But "various causes have combined against the fulfilment of this aim — the loud claims of higher education, the lethargy of the lower classes, and the inferiority of teachers... Elementary education long lay under the blight of ideals now regarded as obsolete or unsuitable — an oppressive examination system, the distribution of grants by examination results, the importation of methods of infantile instruction unsuitable to the genius of the country." (19) In the year 1873 all over India there were 30,477 schools, with 9,63,000 pupils. "These seem sufficiently large figures, but remembering the increasing density of the population we have to deal with, we ought not to be satisfied till our system of primary education has really penetrated to the remotest corner of the lowest stratum of Indian society." (20)

The liberal-minded Viceroy, Lord Ripon observed that "it

may not be higher education alone which will be spread more and more in India but that we may in future have more done than has been done in the past for the education of the masses of the people." (21) He said that the Government of India desired to advance further along the paths which their predecessors had followed, and to spread the benefits of elementary instruction more widely among the masses of the people. Ripon did not believe in educating the higher classes alone. He explained his views with regard to this while delivering the convocation address of the Calcutta University on 11th March 1882. He said:

"It is not desirable in any country to have a small highly educated class brought into contact with a large uneducated mass; what is wanted is, that instruction should be more equally distributed, that the artisans and peasants of the land should have brought within their reach such opportunities for the cultivation of their faculties as may be possible under the circumstances of their condition, and that there should be no sharp line drawn between the educated few and the uneducated few and the ignorant and untrained many."(22)

Ripon appointed the Indian Education Commission to review the educational policy of the Government and to recommend measures for the spread of mass education.

The Education Commission of 1882 recommended that primary education be regarded as the instruction of the masses through the Vernacular in such subjects as would fit them for their

position in life, and be not necessarily regarded as a portion of instruction leading up to the University. The Commission pointed out that elementary education was a State responsibility. They said:

"That while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the state, it is desirable, in the present circumstances of the country, to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension, and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed in a still larger measure than hithertofore."(23)

The Commission re-affirmed the policy laid down in Lord Hardinge's Resolution that in selecting persons to fill the lowest offices under Government preference be always given to candidates who could read and write. They wanted that primary education in backward districts should be directly under the care of the Department pending the creation of school-boards. The Commission suggested that the area of a District or Municipal Board should be fixed as a school area and that the local body concerned should either itself or by means of a sub-committee be constituted as School Board for that particular locality with full power and control over primary education. The responsibility of mass education was shifted to a weaker body and this adversely affected the growth of education.

Following the policy of shifting the responsibility of mass education to the Local Boards, primary education was.

declared to be an obligatory duty of the Local Boards or Councils and Municipal Boards and Councils which were established in all the provinces of India under the scheme of local self-government introduced by Lord Ripon. This policy of shifting the responsibility retarded the growth of primary education. The Government of India made the Provincial Governments responsible for mass education and the Provincial Governments shifted the responsibility to the local boards. This policy was defective. "The local bodies remained financially poor; they became the Cinderellas of the official hierarchy, and had to content themselves with the crumbs that fell from the Provincial Governments just as the Provincial Governments, in their turn, had to depend on the crumbs that fell from the tables of the Imperial Government." (24) The transfer of such a costly responsibility was not followed by the transfer of sufficiently large resources to enable the local bodies to discharge that responsibility. The conditions laid down by Lord Ripon for the successful working of the experiment of local self-government were never fulfilled, and primary education was transferred to organisations who had no adequate resources of their own and who were given absolutely inadequate grant-in-aid. "It is to this failure to work out the experiment properly, rather than to intrinsic error in the proposal itself, that we must

attribute the adverse effect which the transfer of local control ultimately produced upon the expansion of primary education." (25)

As a result of the defective policy the progress made in the field of mass education was poor. Private efforts failed entirely on account of paucity of funds and lack of Government support. Natural calamities of famine and plague and the indifference of the more advanced and ambitious classes to the spread of primary education were all responsible for the poor progress. The negligence of Vernaculars was also responsible for the failure. "Ever since the cold breath of Macaulay's rhetoric passed over the field of the Indian languages and Indian text-books, the elementary education of the people in their own tongues has shrivelled and pined." (26) The total number of schools in India in 1901 was 98,000 with more than 3,000,000 pupils who represented only about 18 per cent of the children of school-going age, i.e., 82 per cent were absent from the schools. (27)

The Government of India in their Resolution on Educational policy in 1904 observed that primary education "has hitherto received insufficient attention and an inadequate share of

25. Ibid.
the public funds." (28) They considered that it possessed a strong claim upon the sympathy both of the Supreme Governments, and should be made a leading charge upon Provincial revenues; and that in those Provinces where it was in a backward condition, its encouragement should be a primary obligation. The Government of India wanted that primary education should have a predominant claim upon the funds allotted for education by the District or Municipal Boards. They suggested the application of simpler and appropriate methods of teaching and the need for basing instruction on rural requirements in rural areas. They also suggested the improvement of salaries of teachers as an essential prerequisite for the general improvement in the standard of education. For the first time they declared that "the Government of India fully accept the proposition that the active extension of primary education is one of the most important duties of the State." (29) This anxiety to spread mass education perhaps due to the influence of the English Education Act of 1902, which introduced a new era in primary education in England.

The Indian public by now began to press the Government for the introduction of compulsory education. The percentage of literacy was very low and Mr. Orange in the Fifth Quin-

28. Resolution issued by the Governor General in Council on the 11th March 1904, (Calcutta, 1904), paragraph 15
quennial Review (1902-06) remarked that on the assumption that there was no increase in the population, "even at the rate of increase that had taken place in the last five years, several generations would elapse before all the boys of school age were in school." Indian opinion demanded therefore free compulsory education for the masses which alone could secure literacy within the shortest time. The idea was strengthened by the successful introduction of compulsory education by the Gaekwar in the Baroda State in 1906.

A strenuous attempt in 1911 to make better provision for the expansion of primary education was made by Shri Gopalakrishna Gokhale who moved a bill to that effect in the Imperial Legislative Assembly. Gokhale pleaded for the expansion of mass education even at the risk of qualitative improvement. He argued:

"The primary purpose of mass education is to banish illiteracy from the land; the quality of education is a matter of importance that comes only after illiteracy has been banished. Now, the primary purpose being to banish illiteracy, teachers who could teach a simple curriculum of the 3 R's, and houses hired by or voluntarily placed by owners at the disposal of school authorities, must do for the present. In Japan, when they began compulsion, they held classes in the verandahs of private houses. I think what was not beneath the dignity of Japan need not be beneath the dignity of this country." (30)

Quoting the example of an American legislator's slogan half a century earlier, "Educate your children, educate all your children, educate every one of your children", Gokhale said that

"even if the advantages of an elementary education be put no higher than a capacity to read and write, its universal diffusion is a matter of prime importance, for literacy is better than illiteracy any day, and the banishment of a whole people's illiteracy is no mean achievement." (31) Gokhale's Resolution moved on 9th March 1910 ran as follows:

"That this Council recommends that a beginning should be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory throughout the country, and that a mixed commission of officials and non-officials be appointed at an early date to frame definite proposals."

He suggested a concrete programme for mass education such as the appointment of a Secretary for education, sharing the cost of mass education by local Governments and the Supreme Government in the proportion of 1:2, and the inclusion of a statement in the budget describing the programme of education. But he withdrew the resolution on an assurance from the Government that the whole question would be examined most carefully.

The Government of India accepted Gokhale's suggestion of a separate Department of Education at the Centre but rejected that of sharing the cost with the Provincial Governments on the ground that education was a subject almost wholly within the sphere of Provincial Governments. On 16th March 1911, Gokhale introduced his bill to "make provision for the exten-

sion of elementary education." The bill permitted the local bodies to introduce compulsion but did not make the introduction of compulsion obligatory either on local bodies or on Government. The initiative had to come from the local bodies. Regarding the cost of compulsory education the bill did not bind the Government to pay any definite proportion of the additional cost. When the bill came up for discussion it was evident that Government were not prepared to take even 'one step' as demanded by Gokhale. Against the bill it was argued that:

a) "It is a sound maxim of educational policy that persuasion should be exhausted before compulsion is resorted to.

b) No popular demand for compulsory education had been felt.

c) A section of the educated Indians were opposed to it.

d) The Provincial Governments were not in favour of the bill.

e) The local authorities would be unwilling to increase existing taxes to finance schemes of compulsion.

f) There would be numerous administrative difficulties in the practical enforcement of compulsion." (32)

Gokhale met every objection raised against his bill and fervently appealed for support. He argued that with the diffusion of universal education the masses of our countrymen would have a better chance in life. With universal education there

32. Syed Nurullah and J.P. Naik.
would be hope of better success for all efforts, official or non-official, for the amelioration of the people—their social progress, their moral improvement and their economic well being. He said that with universal education the mass of the people "will be better able to take care of themselves against the exactions of unscrupulous money lenders or against the abuses of official authority by petty men in power." (33) The bill was voted out; but the movement in favour of mass education was considerably strengthened. Gokhale succeeded only in elevating education into a principal charge for a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

The introduction of Gokhale's bill on compulsory education was followed by Emperor George V's visit to India. In the royal grants announced at the Delhi Darbar, the pride of place was accorded to primary education. The Emperor announced that "they propose to devote at once fifty lakhs to the promotion of truly popular education, and it is the firm intention of Government to add to the grant now announced further grants in future years on a generous scale." (34) The policy of the Government was clearly expressed by the Emperor again in his reply to the address presented by the Calcutta University on 6th January 1912. He said that "it is my wish

33. Gokhale, Speeches, (n. 30, p. 419), p. 659
34. Government Resolution on Educational Policy, dated 21st February 1913, paragraph 1.
that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and
their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge with all
that follows in its train, a higher level of thought, of
comfort and of health." (35)

A clear statement of policy was issued in 1913 by the
Government of India regarding primary education. The state-
ment was that "the proposition that illiteracy must be broken
down and that primary education has, in the present circum-
stances of India, a predominant claim upon the public funds,
represent accepted policy no longer open to discussion." (36)
The Government of India could not undertake the task of com-
pulsory education for financial and administrative reasons
but they "desired the widest possible extension of primary
education on a voluntary basis." As regards free elementary
education the Government Resolution said that the time was
not yet ripe and that provision of free education would result
in the postponement of a provision of free schools in villages
without them. The Resolution said:

"The fees derived from those pupils who can pay them
are now devoted to the maintenance and expansion of
primary education, and a total remission of fees would
involve to a certain extent a more prolonged postpone-
ment of a provision of schools in villages without them.
In some provinces elementary education is already free
and in the majority of provinces liberal provision is

35. Ibid.

already made for giving free elementary instruction to those boys whose parents cannot afford to pay fees. Local governments have been requested to extend the application of the principle of free elementary education amongst the poorer and more backward sections of the population. Further than this it is not possible at present to go." (37)

For the guidance in the immediate future, with necessary modifications to suit local conditions, the Government of India desired to lay down the following principles in regard to primary education:

i) "There should be large expansion of primary schools teaching the three R's with drawing, knowledge of the village map, nature study and physical exercise.

ii) Simultaneously upper primary schools here should be established at suitable centres and lower primary schools should, where necessary, be developed into upper primary schools.

iii) Expansion should be secured by means of board schools, except where this is financially impossible, when aided schools under recognised management should be encouraged.

iv) The continuation schools known as middle or secondary Vernacular schools should be improved and multiplied.

v) Schools should be housed in sanitary and commodious but inexpensive buildings." (33)

The Government expressed the hope to see in the not distant future some 91,000 primary schools added to the 100,000 which already existed for boys and to double the 4½ millions of the pupils who received instruction in them.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid, paragraph 11
The provision of compulsory primary education was demanded in the various provinces. In Bombay Shri Vithalbai J. Patel, a great leader of the Indian Nationalist Movement, moved a bill for the introduction of compulsory primary education. His bill was passed in the Bombay Legislative Council and came to be known as the Bombay Primary Education Act of 1918 or the Patel Act. The Act allowed the Municipalities to launch a scheme of compulsory education either for boys or for both the sexes. These Municipalities were also empowered to levy fresh taxes to meet the expenses of free education. The Act, however, made it very clear that "it was not obligatory on Government to give a grant-in-aid to schemes of compulsion submitted to it." Inspite of the defects the Bill is important because for the first time Government was made to accept the popular demand for compulsory education.

Similar bills were passed in 1919 in the Provinces of the Punjab, United Provinces, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and in 1920 in the provinces of Bombay, Madras and Central Provinces. These acts constituted the first recognition by the Provincial Governments of the policy of compulsion. Very little action, however, was taken by the local boards to implement the provisions of the acts. As the Eighth Quinquennial Review observed:

"It cannot be said that local bodies have shown any alacrity in availing themselves of the opportunity afforded them by these Acts. In Bengal, Madras, the
The primary education Acts mentioned above together with the Acts passed in Assam in 1926 transferred large powers of administration and control over primary education to local authorities. The initiative in the matter of introducing compulsion was left with the local authorities. Though the Provincial Governments came forward to assist the local bodies with money primary education was a subject of purely local administration and responsibility.

On a careful analysis of the discussions that were carried on in connection with the introduction of compulsory free primary education in various Provinces one will notice the policy of shifting the responsibility from the Centre to the Provinces and from the Provinces to the local bodies. When Gokhale's bill was taken up for discussion it was argued that this question should better be treated by Provinces separately instead of by the Imperial Government. But the set-up of Provincial Governments in India was such that these Governments were but a miniature of the Imperial Government. Again when Mr. Patel's Bill came for discussion in the Bombay Legislative Council in 1916 it was argued that the power of legislation for compulsory primary education lay in the hands of the Imperial Government alone. Quoting the Resolution of the Government of India

of 1914 wherein it was definitely stated that the time for compulsory primary education had not yet arrived, it was argued that it would be impossible for the Provincial Governments to accept such a measure which would violate the policy laid down by the Imperial Government. "This shifting of the responsibility from the Imperial Government to the Provincial Governments and vice versa indicates in clear terms that the Government was always unwilling to spend even a pie more than what it could conveniently spare." "In short, the policy adopted made education as a legitimate object of expenditure but not an imperative charge on the resources of the Government. Since the close of the World War and after the introduction of the post-war Reforms, so-called Compulsory Primary Education Acts have been passed by various Provinces by which initiative has been left entirely to Local bodies without any adequate funds to meet the necessary expenses." (40)

The Provincial Governments drew various schemes for the expansion of primary education. In Madras a survey of all the population centres where an elementary school ought to exist was conducted and maps and consolidated registers of statistics were completed and published in 1925. A definite programme of expansion was drawn up to provide a school in all schoolless population centres with 500 or more persons. In Bengal

40. V.V. Oak, England's Educational Policy in India, (Madras, 1925), pp. 80-81.
Even E. Biss who was on special duty in 1920 to draw up a scheme, proposed the holding of an educational survey and the establishment of at least one school, public or private, in each centre of population within a radius of a mile and a half. A similar educational survey of each district was recommended by the Chandavarkar Committee appointed by the Bombay Government in 1921. Similar surveys were conducted in other Provinces too and steps were taken for the expansion of primary education. Explaining the scheme of the Punjab the Director of Public Instruction said that the main principles which have guided the educational policy are those of expansion, economy, efficiency and equality." (41) In spite of the steps taken by the various local Governments for the expansion of primary education the progress made was poor. This was due to the technical flaws in the statutes enacted making primary education compulsory and also due to the lack of experience and, in some cases, of interest on the part of Local Boards.

The Simon Commission appointed an Auxiliary Committee to review the growth of education in India. This Committee popularly known as the Hartog Committee, after its Chairman, Sir Philip Hartog, in its report submitted in 1929 devoted far more attention to mass education and considered that the

problems of primary education had been comparatively neglected. The Hartog Committee strongly recommended that the Government should adopt the policy of consolidation rather than of expansion. This policy which had been laid down by the Government Resolution of 1913 had to be given up in favour of the policy of expansion on account of public pressure for mass education. The Hartog Committee once again emphasised the policy of consolidation. As the Committee observed:—"Although we regard compulsion as essential to the ultimate success of any scheme of mass education, we realise that the immediate and widespread application of compulsion would present serious, and in some places almost insuperable financial difficulties, and that a sound system of national vernacular education can only be developed upon lines which permit the consolidation of one position before another position is attacked." (42)

The Hartog Committee pointed out the difficulties in expanding primary education in Indian villages. Among these were poverty, illiteracy and conservatism of the average parent, low density of population coupled very often with scantiness of the means of communication, irregularity of attendance on account of epidemic and seasonal illness and difficulties created by barriers of caste,

42. Review of the Growth of Education in British India by the Auxiliary Committee (Hartog Committee) appointed by the Indian Statutory Commission, (Calcutta, 1929), p. 87.
religion and language. The Hartog Committee observed that

"Such complications are by no means unknown in other countries but in many parts of India they are peculiarly acute, and they impede the construction of a system of mass primary education which on grounds of social solidarity as well as on grounds of economy and efficiency is now generally regarded as the best type of public system,—a system under which the children of all sections of the population sit together in the same school and enjoy equal opportunities of education." (43)

The Committee found that there was a good deal of wastage in the educational system in India. The Committee calculated that there were 5,33,873 pupils in Class I in 1922-23 which figure was reduced to 33,588 pupils in Class IV in 1925-26. "A period of rapid expansion naturally results in an abnormal enlargement of Class I, and as a consequence, a temporary disproportion between the numbers in Class I and those in the higher classes." (44) The irregular attendance and stagnation of many pupils in a number of years were other sources of waste. The Committee rightly pointed out that it was the waste and ineffectiveness of the educational systems in India which were so baffling and urged that "money is no doubt essential, but even more essential is a well-directed policy carried out by effective and competent agencies determined to eliminate waste of all kinds." (45)

The Committee made the State primarily responsible for mass education. It pointed out the defects in the existing policy of shifting the responsibility of imparting mass education and suggested that "the provision of educational facilities for all classes of the community and for all areas should not be left entirely to the mercy of local authorities, who may be unwilling, either for political or other reasons, to initiate schemes by which compulsion may be financed, or who, owing to the backwardness of the area or the people, may be unable to devise suitable measures for compulsion on their own initiative." (46) The Committee suggested that the policy of the Government should be to build up strong Vernacular schools in rural areas and then gradually to extend the sphere of compulsion from one village to another as soon as each single area appeared to be ripe for mass education.

The popular Ministries assumed office in various provinces in 1937 and they were faced with the problem of framing a policy for the national education. On the one hand there was the demand for rapid expansion of mass education at the quickest possible time and on the other hand, for the consolidation of the existing system of education and improvement of its quality. The Government revenue was insufficient to introduce compulsory, free and universal education especially because the new Governments were wedded to the policy of

46, Ibid, p. 87.
introducing prohibition. It was at this time when the Governments were faced with the dilemma of prohibition or compulsion that Mahatma Gandhi came forward with his proposal of mass education.

Mahatma Gandhi held the view that compulsory education could be given to every child if the process of schooling could be made self-supporting by imparting education through a useful and productive craft. The scheme as described by Mahatma Gandhi was that "for the all-round development of boys and girls all training should, so far as possible, be given through a profit-yielding vocation. In other words, vocations should serve a double purpose - to enable the pupil to pay for his tuition through the product of his labour and at the same time to develop the whole man or woman in him or her, through the vocation learnt at school." (47) Absence of vocational training, Mahatma Gandhi said, had made the educated class almost unfit for productive work and harmed them physically. Gandhi considered that all the process of cotton, wool, and silk, commencing from gathering, cleaning, ginning (in the case of cotton), carding, spinning, dyeing, sizing, double twisting, designing, and weaving, embroidery, tailoring, paper-making, cutting, book-binding, cabinet

making, toy-making, gur-making were undoubted occupations that could easily be learnt and handled without much capital outlay. Gandhiji wanted primary education to be extended at least to seven years and to include the general knowledge gained up to the matriculation standard less English and plus a substantial vocation. "This primary education should equip boys and girls to earn bread by the State guaranteeing employment in the vocations learnt or by buying their manufactures at prices fixed by the State." (48)

The proposals of Mahatma Gandhi were discussed at an All-India National Conference held at Wardha in October 1937 under the presidency of Gandhiji himself. The original idea of Gandhiji was modified and the following resolutions were passed in the Conference after discussion:

1. "That in the opinion of this conference 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 conference endorses the proposal made by Mahatma Gandhi that the process of education throughout this period should centre round some form of manual 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.

48. Ibid.
4. That the conference expects that this system of education will be gradually able to cover the remuneration of the teacher." (49)

The Conference appointed a Committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Zakir Hussain of Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi, to formulate a scheme of Basic Education on the lines suggested on-the-lines by its resolutions.

The Zakir Hussain Committee submitted a detailed report in December 1937 and a second report in 1938. The first report contained an elaborate exposition of the scheme explaining its fundamental principles, the aims and objects of the new type of school envisaged by it, the course for teacher-training and the system of supervision and administration. The second report gave a clear exposition of the methods of correlating mathematics, social studies, general science, drawing and mother-tongue with the basic craft of spinning and weaving. The report said that "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." (50) The report desired that Basic Education

49. Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Seven Years of Work, (Wardha, 1946), p. 3

50. Hindustani Talami Sangh, (n.47, p.432), p. 120.
would create a co-operative community, "in which the motive of social service will dominate all the activities of children during the plastic years of childhood and youth. Even during the period of school education, they will feel that they are directly and personally co-operating in the great experiment of national education." (51)

The Indian National Congress at its Haripura session in March 1938 accepted the scheme and resolved that the education in the primary stage be imparted in accordance with it. It also resolved that "an All-India Education Board to deal with this basic part of education be established in order to work out in a consolidated manner a programme of Basic National Education and to recommend it for acceptance to those who are in control of State and private education." (52) A month later the Board was formed under the name of the Hindustani Talami Sangh.

Steps towards the introduction of Basic Education as an experimental measure were taken by the Governments of U.P., C.P., Bihar and Bombay Presidency and the State of Kashmir. Special officers were appointed and Boards of Basic Education created. Training schools were opened and necessary arrange-

ments made for the opening of new Basic Schools or conversion of the existing primary schools into Basic Schools. A wave of educational reconstruction seemed to pass over the country. The Governments which introduced Basic Education appointed Educational Reorganisation Committees with wide references to study and report upon the scope of education from primary to the higher stage. The Central Advisory Board of Education likewise appointed a Committee with Shri B.G. Kher, the Premier and Minister of Education, Bombay as President to examine the scheme of educational reconstruction, incorporated in the Wardha Scheme of Education and to make recommendations. The Basic policy of the Wardha Scheme was accepted by the various Educational Reorganisation Committees and by the Kher Committee. Similarly all these Committees accepted the principle of free and compulsory education for a period of seven years and the principle of education through purposeful, creative activities leading on to productive work.

The outbreak of the Second World War and the resignation of the popular Ministries again affected the policy of national education for the masses. An April 1940, the Vidya Mandir Training Institute in Wardha was closed. In 1941 the Government of Orissa issued a communique that the Government had decided in the interest of the province not to continue Basic Education any further. The national movement of 1942-45, how-
ever, had a profound influence on the development of Basic Education. The Second Basic Education Conference at Jamai-
nagar, Delhi, in 1941 recorded with satisfaction that the
general standards of health and behaviour as well as the
intellectual attainment of children in Basic Schools were
very encouraging. The Conference of National Education
Workers at Sevagram in January 1945 was more revolutionary
and put forth the view that Basic Education which had been
hitherto been regarded as a new type of primary education
must literally become education for life. It was suggested
that Basic Education should not only be looked at as a revolu-
tion in education, but as a means of bringing about a more
radical and important revolution in the social, economic
and psychological structure of the Indian society itself or
as creating a new way of life.

With the return of the Congress Ministries in 1946 the
cause of Basic Education received a new impetus. The Confer-
ence of Education Ministers and educational workers called
by Shri B.G. Kher passed the following resolution in 1946:

"This conference is of opinion that Basic Education has
passed the experimental stage and requests the various
provincial governments to take the necessary steps to
introduce it on a province-wide scale." (53)

As a result of the conference, the Indian Provinces introduced
Basic Education or, if it had been already introduced, extend-
ed its scope and area of application. By 1947, it may be

be said that Basic Education had come to stay and that it had passed the experimental stage in the sense that its fundamental principles were accepted as educationally sound.

The Central Advisory Board of Education was called upon to prepare a plan of post-war educational development and submit its report on Post-War Educational Development in India. The report commonly known as the Sargent Scheme adopted the system of Basic Education for the primary stage. The report envisaged a scheme of universal, compulsory and free primary or Basic Education for all children between the ages of 6 and 14. It said that "the main principle of 'learning through activity' has been endorsed by educationists all over the world... So far as possible the whole of the curriculum will be harmonised with this general conception... On leaving (the school), the pupil should be prepared to take his place in the community as a worker and as a future citizen." (54)

Primary education had been a neglected aspect of education in view of the huge financial implications. The Basic Education scheme tried to solve the financial difficulty by making education self-sufficient. But it is wrong to argue that education at any stage especially at the primary stage could be financed out of the sale of articles produced by the children. If this had been the only motive this scheme would have disappeared completely by now.

54. Report of the Central Advisory Board of Education, 1944, pp.7-
Chapter XIX

SECONDARY EDUCATION

As discussed earlier, the British rulers in India were concerned with the secondary school education as it supplied native auxiliaries for administrative work. With this view, the Company encouraged schools started by the Private enterprise including Missionaries. These schools provided little to attract pupils with a practical turn of mind and for the bulk of the pupils the education they received in these schools was a final training which stopped, in the majority of cases, at this stage.

Prior to 1857, secondary education had a larger scope since colleges for higher education were not established. The Mission College in Nagpur (1844), the St. John's College at Agra (1845), the Bishop's College at Calcutta and the Noble College at Nasulipatnam were not real colleges in the modern sense of the word because there was no clear line of demarcation between a college and a secondary school in those days.
The Government's policy towards these institutions was that of giving encouragement with occasional grants but not in a systematic way. The secondary school system in India suffered from arrested development. It failed to keep pace with the developments in educational policies of the Government. With the triumph of the Anglicists who favoured English education all the money set aside for education was spent on the promotion of a knowledge of Western literature and science through the medium of English. The type of schools that sprang up as a result of this new policy gave a beginning to the system of secondary school education. The influence and example of Bengal schools changed the whole course of educational development in Madras, Bombay and the North-Western Provinces, where education through Vernaculars had been favoured, and English schools began to spring up in these centres too.

As a result of the policy of 1854 there was a rapid growth of secondary schools in India. The despatch of 1854 had suggested the grant-in-aid rules for aiding private secondary schools. More schools were opened as a result of this policy, and within a few years, more than made up for the slackening in Government effort.

The educational policy as announced by the Secretary of
State for India, Lord Stanley, in his despatch stated that "below the colleges there should be classes of schools in regular gradations, which should be placed in connexion with the colleges and with each other by means of scholar-
ships, to be held in the superior institutions by pupils gaining them at the schools below them." (1) The schools under this scheme bore different names such as Provincial Schools, Collegiate Schools, High Schools, Zillah Schools or merely Government Anglo-Vernacular Schools. In Bengal the expense of these schools was for the most part defrayed wholly from the public revenues, except so far as it might be met by the payments of the pupils, and other small sources of income. In the North-Western Provinces a greater number of these schools were maintained by Missionaries aided by the Government. In Madras too the Missionaries maintained schools which came under the above categories. In Bombay there were four schools similar to the Madras Pro-
vincial Schools and the rest corresponding to the Zillah Schools of Bengal. "On the whole", stated the Educational Despatch of 1859, "it may be assumed, with respect to this class of schools, that though there is a considerable difference in the efficiency of the schools which it comprises, and though the line which separates it from the class of schools next below it may not be very clearly marked,

it nevertheless, so far as the influence of the school extends, constitutes an effective link in that chain of educational institutions which it was the desire of the Court of Directors to render general throughout India."

Secondary education had developed in India along the lines laid down in the Educational Despatch of 1854 and 1859. In most provinces the Secondary stage was regarded as a simple prolongation of the primary stage and the pupils proceeded to the Secondary course after traversing the full primary course, and often without change of school. The Secondary education course was either in English or in the Vernacular. The Vernacular Secondary course completed the education of those pupils who desired to carry the schooling in the mother-tongue somewhat beyond the primary stage. The English Secondary course aimed at giving a sound English school education; the teaching of English was a prime object throughout the course, and in the higher classes instruction in all subjects was given through the medium of English.

The grant-in-aid schools steadily advanced in popularity and in number and by 1862-63 it had far outstripped that of departmental schools. The system of grant-in-aid has been elaborately discussed in an earlier chapter.

2. Ibid, paragraph 10.
Taking advantage of the system of grant-in-aid private institutions for imparting secondary education sprang up in large numbers. During the period 1871-82, however, the force of the movement in favour of secondary education slackened; and primary education, to which the main efforts of Government were now devoted, made rapid progress. The year 1881-82 witnessed the elaboration of Lord Ripon's scheme of Local Self-Government. It had a strong influence on the course of secondary education, for, in pursuance of the general policy that local needs should be supplied from local funds managed by committees of local inhabitants, "the Government began to divert itself of the direct management of the secondary schools in favour of the Municipal and rural Boards." (3)

The Education Commission of 1882 was required to make recommendations on (a) the ways and means of securing a still more rapid expansion of secondary education, and (b) the best agency for expansion of secondary education.

Public opinion in India in this period was strongly divided on the issue of expansion of secondary education. One view favoured the multiplication by the Government of the number of secondary schools directly under their control whereas a large section of public opinion favour-

ed the use of private enterprise as an effective means of expanding secondary education. (4) The Education Commission held the view that Government ought to withdraw from the field of direct management of secondary schools and encourage private enterprise as largely as possible. It was the duty of the State to provide primary education for the masses whereas secondary education did not have such a paramount claim upon the State. Hence the Commission favoured private enterprise instead of State management of secondary schools.

With regard to the existing Government institutions the policy to be adopted was to maintain these schools and effect the transfer gradually. The Commission wanted the existing State institutions to be maintained in a state of complete efficiency and recommended that, "in ordinary circumstances, the further extension of secondary education in any District be left to the operation of the Grant-in-aid system, as soon as that District is provided with an efficient high school, Government or other, along with its necessary feeders." (5) Laying down the policy for gradual transfer the Commission said:

"That all Directors of Public Instruction aim at the gradual transfer to local native management of Govern-

4. This controversy has been discussed elaborately under the chapter "Private Enterprise."

ment schools of secondary instruction (including schools attached to first or second grade colleges), in every case in which the transfer can be effected without lowering the standard, or diminishing the supply of education, and without endangering the permanence of the institution transferred." (c)

The Commission laid down that in transferring schools from Government to private or local organisations care should be taken to maintain the "permanence and efficiency" of these schools.

With regard to the qualitative improvement of secondary education the Commission realised that the defect of the secondary school system in India was that the curriculum was exclusively directed to university studies. To remedy this evil the Commission recommended the bifurcation of courses. According to this in the upper classes of high schools there would be two divisions,—one leading to the Entrance Examination of the Universities, the other of a more practical character, intended to fit youths for commercial or other non-literary pursuits. To make secondary education sufficient for public service the Commission recommended that "when the proposed bifurcation in secondary schools is carried out, the certificate of having passed by the final standard, or, if necessary, by any lower standard, of either of the proposed alternative courses,

C. Ibid.
be accepted as a sufficient general test of fitness for the public service." (7)

The Government of India did little to implement these policies recommended by the Education Commission. Schools continue to prepare students for the public service and for entry into the Universities. As a consequence, "ninety five percent of the boys who pass through secondary schools follow the curricula prescribed by the University for the Matriculation Examination." (8)

The policy of expansion and laissez-faire to private enterprise in the field of secondary education was given up by Lord Curzon and a new policy of qualitative improvement instead of the old policy of quantitative development was initiated. Curzon's view was that whether schools were managed by public authority or by private persons, and whether they received aid from public funds or not, the Government were bound in the interest of the community to see that the education provided in them was sound. The Government Resolution on the control of secondary education stated:

"It must, for example, satisfy itself in each case that a secondary school is actually wanted; that its financial stability is assured; that its managing body, where there is one, is properly constituted; that it teaches the proper subjects up to a proper standard;"

7. Ibid. Recommendations on Secondary Education.

that due provision has been made for the instruction, health, recreation, and discipline of the pupils; that the teachers are suitable as regards character, number, and qualifications; and that the fees to be paid will not involve such competition with any existing school as will be unfair and injurious to the interests of education." (9)

To improve the efficiency of the secondary schools proper control over them was found essential.

To tighten control over secondary schools, regulations were framed by all Universities for the recognition of schools under the Indian Universities Act of 1904. Some control, hardly more than nominal, had been exercised by some Universities over the schools which were admitted to the privilege of recognition. (10) The regulations under the Act of 1904 laid down the conditions to be fulfilled by a recognised secondary school. Recognition by the University entitled a school to send pupils to the Matriculation examination. The schools would value now the depart-


10. In the Calcutta University, for instance, rules were laid down requiring a school to give certain information as to its management before it could be placed upon a list of recognised schools, and empowering the Syndicate to refuse recognition or to discontinue it, if the schools were badly conducted or inefficient. In practice recognition was given indiscriminately, and the whole value of the privilege of recognition was undermined by the fact that if recognition were withheld it was open to the pupils of the schools to present themselves for Matriculation not indeed as school candidates, but as private candidates.
mental recognition for purposes of grants and recognition by University for purposes of the Matriculation. To bring under control the unrecognised institutions which neither received grants from the Government nor prepared students for the Matriculation examination orders were passed prohibiting automatic transfers of pupils from such schools to recognised institutions. The orders were quite effective, "It closed to the pupils of the unrecognised schools admission to a recognised school and consequently to the Matriculation and Upper Secondary Examination, and under present conditions no secondary school which does not lead to one or other of these examinations can hope to succeed." (11)

The Government of India took a keen interest in the development of secondary education during the twentieth century. In a resolution passed in 1913 on educational policy Government decided to improve the existing Government schools by:

(a) "Employing only graduates or trained teachers;

(b) Introducing a graded service for teachers of English with a minimum salary of Rs.40/- per month and a maximum of Rs.400/- per month;

(c) Providing proper hostel accommodation.

(d) Introducing a school course complete in itself with a staff sufficient to teach what may be called the modern side with special attention to the development of an historical and a geographical sense;

(e) Introducing manual training and improving science teaching." (12)

Government wanted to improve the aided schools so that they may also keep pace with the improvements in Government schools on the above-mentioned lines. The importance of providing trained teachers for public and private institutions was also stressed by Government.

The policy of having dual control over the secondary education was found defective in course of time. The schools had to satisfy the department of education and the universities. "Owing to the existing division of authority between the University and the Department of Public Instruction there is no adequate machinery for supervising, guiding and assisting the work of the schools as a whole; in other words, no coherent system of secondary education yet exists." (15) It was argued that school administration would become more efficient if the dual control were removed, and the departments of public instruction were left in full control of secondary schools. "The ability, experience and energy of

*12. Resolution of 1913 on educational policy, (n. 34, p. 419), paragraph 22.

University fellows and teachers, on which there is today a heavy demand for carrying out the work of school inspection, could be employed more profitably in work connected with higher education at the University level, of which there is plenty to do. Government, on their part, would be able to maintain a uniform policy with regard to the organisation of secondary education throughout the Province."

(14)

A radical change in the set up of the secondary school system was suggested by the Calcutta University Commission. The Commission recommended the establishment of a Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education, to consist of from fifteen to eighteen members, with power to appoint advisory and other committees including outside members. The powers of the Board should be (a) to define the various curricula to be followed in high schools and intermediate colleges; (b) to conduct the two secondary school examinations, the first at the end of the high school course and the second at the end of the intermediate college course; (c) to grant after inspection, formal recognition to high schools and intermediate colleges; and (d) to advise Government as to the needs of these grades of examination and as to the best modes of expending the available funds for these purposes. The Commission wanted that this Board should be regarded as

an important branch or aspect of the whole system of educational organisation, closely linked with the other branches, especially through the Director of Public Instruction. In order to give unity to the educational system by reducing the cleavage between Government schools and colleges and privately managed schools, and by facilitating an interchange of teachers among these institutions, the main body of the teaching staff of the Government schools and intermediate colleges should be gradually reorganised upon a professional rather than a service basis.

The domination of Matriculation examination and the lure of Government service through Matriculation were the evils of the secondary school system from the beginning. These evils continued and the Hartog Committee condemned these in 1929. The Committee observed that "the reasons for the uniformity of the course in the middle English and high schools is not far to seek; it is the influence of the matriculation and all that this means to the Indian boy, both as an immediate qualification for service, and as a gate to a university course and the possession of a degree as a higher qualification for service. The lure of Government service through matriculation is still potent." (15) The Committee found out that the percentage of failure at the matriculation exam was high.

examinations was large and that a large number of boys were wasting time, effort and money by following the existing course in secondary classes and that the waste was pitiful. To eliminate waste and the domination of the matriculation examination the Hartog Committee suggested:

(a) "That retention in the middle vernacular schools of more of the boys intended for rural pursuits, accompanied by the introduction of a more diversified curriculum in those schools;"

(b) "The diversion of more boys to industrial and commercial careers at the end of the middle stage, for which provision should be made by alternative courses in that stage, preparatory to special instruction in technical and industrial schools."

The Committee hoped that India would look forward to the day when her soldiers, policemen, postmen, builders, farmers etc., would be literate and would have received that type of education which should be given in rural middle school. "It is both wasteful and harmful that in many provinces almost the only form of education now open to boys who wish to pursue these callings should be that given in a middle English school, the training of which is based on urban requirements and the main object of which is success in a matriculation examination."

Radical changes in the secondary school scheme were also proposed by the Central Advisory Board of Education at its inaugural meeting held in December 1935. The Board wanted

changes to be implemented in such a way as not only to prepare pupils for professional and University courses, but also to enable them, at the completion of the appropriate courses, to be diverted to occupations or to separate vocational institutions. The Board suggested the following stages:

(a) Primary stage.

(b) The lower secondary stage, which would provide a self-contained course of general education either for higher education or for specialised practical courses; (In rural areas, the courses at this stage should be attuned to rural requirements).

(c) The higher secondary stage, in which would be included institutions with varying length of course for:

1. preparing for University entrance
2. training of teachers
3. training e- in agriculture
4. clerical training
5. training in selected technical subjects.

The scheme contemplated the division of the school course into definite stages, each with a clearly defined objective which would enable pupils, on the completion of each stage, either to pass on, with as little disturbance as possible, to the next stage or to enter employment. It also provided for the diversion to practical occupations and vocational institutions of those pupils whose aptitude appeared to be in that direction." (13) The Board, however

wanted expert advice in organising the scheme of reconstruc-
tion outlined above, and also in the matter of suggest-
ing methods of training masters who would assist pupils
and in selection, by the pupils of courses of study with
due regard to their aptitude. For these reasons the
recommendations of the Board could not be carried out
immediately.

On the advice of the Central Advisory Board of Educa-
tion, the Government of India invited in 1936 ten persons
with wide educational experience and familiarity with the
latest ideas in regard to technical and vocational instruc-
tion to assist the provinces in the task of educational
reconstruction. But only two experts from England Messrs.
A. Abbott and S.H. Wood visited India and submitted a hasty
report on vocational education. (19) As regards secondary
education the following recommendation is noteworthy:

"General and vocational education should be consider-
ed, not as essentially different branches, but as the
earlier and later phases of a continuous process. They
should not, however, be provided in the same school,
since the pupils in the two types have diverse aims." (20)

On account of various reasons little effect could be given
to the recommendations.

The final attempt for educational reconstruction was
made by the Central Advisory Board which appointed several
committees between 1938 and 1943 to review various educa-

19. The report is dealt with in greater detail under the
chapter "Technical Education."
tional problems in the country and make suitable recommenda-
dations. The recommendations of all these committees have
been generally incorporated in the report of the Board on
"Post-War Educational Development in India" (1944), popular-
ly known as the "Sargent Scheme."

The Sargent Scheme suggested changes in the High school
the function of which "is to cater for those children who
are above the average ability." (20) Entry to High Schools
should be on a selective basis; "only those pupils should be
admitted who showed promise of taking full advantage of
education provided. Additional places may be provided for
those not selected provided that no cost falls on public
funds." (21) The High School course should cover six years
and the normal age of admission should be eleven. Places in
High Schools should be provided for at least one child in
every five of the appropriate age-group. In order to secure
the right type of children for the High School course the
method of selection to be employed should be carefully con-
sidered. The Report also recommended the transfer of pupils
from Senior Basic (Middle) Schools to High Schools "parti-
cularly of those who show signs of late development."

High Schools according to the Report should charge ade-

Board of Education, 1944, p. 18.

quate school fees and scholarships should be provided for about 50 per cent of the pupils. Poverty should not be a bar to the education of a deserving child. The Board allowed children to pursue High School education even though they were not selected to undergo the course provided the full cost of the education was met by the parents. "The Board would not object to places being provided for such children on the condition that these are in addition to those required for children selected on the ground of ability and that the parents concerned are required to pay the whole cost of the education provided. It would appear inequitable to spend public money on providing higher education for those who have not shown that they are likely to take full advantage of it." (22)

The Sargent Scheme suggested that High Schools should be of two main types: (a) Academic, (b) Technical. "The object of both should be to provide a good all-round education combined with some preparation in the later stages for the careers which pupils will enter on leaving school." (23) The curriculum in both should be as varied as circumstances permitted and should not be unduly restricted by the require-

22. Ibid., p. 18.

23. Ibid., p. 21.
ments of Universities or examining bodies. The Academic High School should impart instruction in the Arts and pure Sciences. The Technical High School should provide training in the applied sciences and industrial and commercial subjects. Transfer from one type to the other should be made as easy as possible, at any rate, up to the end of the junior classes. In smaller centres instead of two types of schools one High School should be required to offer as wide as a course as possible.

The Sargent Scheme came for severe criticism as its implementation would take such a long period of forty years from 1944 but still India would attain a standard of education in 1984 similar to the standard which England attained in 1939! The cost of implementing the scheme would come to about Rs.313 crores, too high a figure in 1944. In its recommendations on the bifurcation of courses, the Sargent scheme repeated only the proposals of Abbott and Wood. The ideals were well brought out without detailed working of the schemes for implementation. In spite of the defects the Sargent Scheme was a bold attempt to prepare children for different vocations of life and not merely for entrance to the Universities. The attempts in this direction were, however, half-hearted and unsuccessful before 1947.
In general the secondary school system in India suffered from arrested development. It failed to keep pace with the changes—social and political, economic and industrial—which had gone to the making of modern India, and it failed to keep abreast of the latest development in educational theory and practice. Schools were weighed down by the incubus of Matriculation, and fettered by regulations governing recognition; courses were bookish and theoretical and provided little to attract pupils with a practical turn of mind. The excessive use of English as the medium of instruction placed a severe psychological burden on both pupils and teachers. The course "stifles individuality, encourages memorization and makes instruction lifeless and mechanical; scientific and practical subjects are neglected and inadequate provision is made for out-door games and other recreational activities." (24) The whole system was rigid and inelastic and was characterized by a dull and monotonous uniformity. On the whole, "India has been well served by expert advice but, despite the recommendations of the various Committees and Commissions, little has been done to adapt an outworn system to the condition of modern life. Indeed, it is only a slight exaggeration to say that the Indian high school, with a few notable exceptions, is much the same as it was in 1904 and has but little changed from what it was as far back as 1884." (25)

25. Ibid.
The earliest known institution of higher learning during the British period was the Madrassa, or Muhammadan College of Calcutta founded by Warren Hastings in 1781. In 1792, Jonathan Duncan, Resident of Benares, opened the Benares Sanskrit College. The first institution of higher learning imparting Western education through the medium of English language, however, was started only in 1817 through the joint effort of David Hare and Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The College was formally opened in 1817 with the Governor General as Patron and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court as President. In this way began what was not merely the first English College, but "the first experiment in the direction of a purely and avowedly secular education that India had seen." (1)

Encouragement was given by Government for the starting of higher institutions imparting English education. In 1826 Mr. W. L. Melville, who then held the office of Agent to the Governor General at Murshidabad, reported the establishment of a college there. The Government approved his scheme and instructed him to report the progress of the institution. He was also authorized to draw from the Collector of the District the sum of Rupees 4,918-5-15, together with the monthly allowance of Rupees 1,500 on the same account. In Bombay too though the official policy was the encouragement of Vernacular education, a fund in 1827 was raised for the establishment of an English college similar to the Hindu College at Calcutta. Government did not hesitate to aid these institutions of higher learning though they did not take the initiative in starting these Colleges.

The circumstances in which Western education was introduced into India were such as to favour the development of colleges under Christian control. The Church of England founded the Bishop's College in Calcutta in 1820. Ten years later Alexander Duff founded the General Assembly's Institution which combined "secular instruction of the highest order, through the medium of English, with an unreserved communication of the doctrines and morals of Christianity,"
which were altogether excluded from the Government colleges."
(2) The Government while neutral in religious matters, threw their weight on the side of Western education. This policy did not, however, imply financial help to the Mission institutions imparting Western education. Government funds were devoted almost exclusively to Government institutions. Nevertheless the Christian institutions profited by the change of educational policy, for they had the freedom to develop Western education which they had themselves advocated, and there was a growing demand for what they could give.

On the eve of the establishment of modern Universities there were twenty three colleges of general learning, three Medical Colleges and one Engineering College in the whole of India. These institutions for higher learning were different from the colleges of today. Many of them grew out of schools teaching English and contained classes "in which the alphabet was taught under the same roof with classes reading Shakespeare, the Calculus, Smith's Wealth of Nations, and the Ramayana." (3) A High School in Madras was called the 'University' and the same was raised to the status of Presidency College in 1852. The word 'College' was used

rather loosely to denote any institution where a higher type of instruction was given.

It now seemed to be necessary not only to extend the system of higher education, carried by a number of scattered colleges, but to provide some means of regulating and standardising the work carried on at these scattered institutions. It was also felt necessary that some means of testing the candidate's for Government posts in an uniform manner should be evolved. In 1845 the Council of Education, in order to meet these needs, made a proposal for the establishment of a Central University at Calcutta on the model of London University. The Council also prepared a plan and submitted it to the Court of Directors for approval. The adoption of the plan, the Council of Education assured the Directors, would only be attended with a very trifling expense to Government in the commencement; for the course of a few years the proceeds of the 'Fee Fund' would be more than sufficient to defray every expense attendant upon the University.

Although the proposal was supported by the Government of India, it was rejected by the Hon'ble Court of Directors on the ground that it was premature.

When the Charter Act came up for renewal in 1853, evidence on educational subjects was taken by a Committee
of both Houses of Parliament. Several witnesses from such men as Sir Erskine Perry, the Hon. C.H. Cameron, Sir C.E. Trevelyan and Dr. Duff testified to the fact that the native education was well advanced to justify the creation of Universities. As a result of this the educational policy of the Government as given in the Despatch of 1854 favoured the starting of a University in India. The Despatch stated that "the time is now arrived for the establishment of Universities in India, which may encourage a regular and liberal course of education, by conferring Academical degrees as evidences of attainments in the different branches of art and sciences, and by adding marks of honour for those who may desire to compete for honorary distinction." (4) This policy statement determined the whole subsequent course of Indian educational development.

The Despatch agreed to the earlier proposal of the Council of Education to have London University as the model for India. Copies of the charter and regulations of London University were sent to the Government of India to be adapted to the wants of India, although with some variation in point of detail. The Universities proposed would each consist of a Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and Fellows, who would constitute a Senate. The Senate would have the management of the funds of the University, and frame regulations for approval, under which periodical

examinations might be held in the different branches of art and science, by examiners selected from its own body, or nominated by them.

The type of Universities proposed was the affiliating type. The functions of the Universities would be to confer degrees upon the students of the affiliated institutions after their examinations as per the rules fixed in this subject. The Court made it clear that "the examinations for degrees will not include any subjects connected with religious belief; and the affiliated institutions will be under the management of persons of every variety of religious persuasion." (5) Following the London example where the University was empowered to receive certificates for degrees from institutions conducted by various missionary societies in India too "institutions conducted by all denominations of Christians, Hindus, Mahommedans, Parsees, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains or any other religious persuasions, may be affiliated to the Universities, if they are found to afford the requisite course of study, and can be depended upon for the certificates of conduct which will be required." (6)

5. Ibid, paragraph 28.
Though the official policy was to start the affiliating type of Universities it was found advisable to institute, in connexion with the Universities, Professorships for the purpose of the delivery of lectures in various branches of learning, for the acquisition of which, at any rate in an advanced degree, facilities did not exist in other institutions in India. Of these subjects Law, Civil Engineering, the Vernacular languages and the learned languages of India were included.

Universities on the above line were to be established at Calcutta and Bombay and considered at Madras too if a sufficient number of institutions existed from which properly qualified candidates for degrees could be supplied. The policy laid down was that "the great centres of European Government and civilisation in India should possess Universities similar in character to those which will now be founded, as soon as the extension of a liberal education shows that their establishment would be of advantage to the native communities." (7) The affiliated institutions would be periodically visited by Government Inspectors; and a spirit of honourable rivalry, tending to preserve their efficiency, would be promoted.

In spite of the elaborate plan given by the Court of Directors, the Government of India thought that a further

7. Ibid, paragraph 35.
preparation of the scheme was necessary. A Committee was appointed in January 1855 to go into the scheme of starting Universities and the Committee reported the next year. The scheme did not give details of the constitution and administration of the Universities but dealt with regulations for holding examinations and conferring degrees. According to the proposals the first examination of the University would be the Entrance Examination followed by the Degree Examination after four years or the Honours Examination after three years. No examination would be conducted for the Master's degree which was to be conferred only on Honours graduates.

The Committee's plan was accepted by the Government of India in their Resolution of December 12, 1856. The Act of Incorporation of the three Universities were the same except for some minor changes to suit local conditions. The functions of the Universities were limited to that of "ascertaining, by means of examination, the persons who have acquired proficiency in different branches of Literature, Science and Art, and of rewarding them by Academical Degrees as evidences of their respective attainments, and marks of honour proportioned thereto." (3) Though the Universities were after the model of the London University the intention of the Despatch was not

carried out fully. For instance there was no clause in the Acts anywhere about the institutions of Professorships for the purpose of delivery of lectures in various branches of learning as in the case of London University and as advised by Wood's Despatch.

Government policy in the early years of the University was to have a proper hold on the University. The Senate was to consist of the Chancellor, the Governor-General or Governor of the Presidency, the Vice-Chancellor and Fellows whose number was not fixed. The Senate was empowered by the Act to have the entire management and superintendence over the affairs of the University, to make and alter any bye-laws or regulations regarding the examinations, to hold examinations, to appoint or remove all examiners, officers and servants and to act in such manner as to promote the purpose intended by the University. Teachers of affiliated colleges did not have adequate representation in the Senate. "The teachers were present, as it were, by accident, not by right, and many of the colleges in the mofussil were not represented at all." (9) In framing the syllabus the needs of the various Government Departments for suitable men were kept in the forefront and so a University degree came to be considered by all as a passport to

Government service. Thus the control of the Government on
the Universities was complete in every way.

The Universities were founded in the 'Mutiny' year and
the policies of the Government in establishing them were in-
fluenced by political and financial considerations. The Uni-
versity as a Corporation was quite distinct from the colleges
wherein all the work of teaching was done. The University
dictated their curricula and conducted their examinations
without consulting them. The only relation established bet-
 tween the University and Colleges was that of 'affiliation',
whereby the 'affiliated' institution was licensed to provide
instruction and to present candidates for particular examina-
tions. The adoption of an 'affiliating' rather than a 'federal'
basis for the University was no doubt suggested by the analogy
of London. "But a curious irony is the fact that London (except
in regard to medical schools) abandoned 'affiliation' the very
next year (1858) after her example had persuaded India to
adopt it, and substituted for it a system of open examinations
without regard to the candidates' place of education." (10)
One of the great considerations that led the Government of
India to depart from the original proposal of Wood's Despatch
and establish purely affiliating Universities was no doubt
the small cost that these entailed, and it was not to be

10. Ibid, paragraph 46.
expected in the financial circumstances of that time that Government should undertake any large and ambitious programme involving great expenditure. Further the new system gave to Government an impartial means of picking out young Indians of ability for the public service.

Though the ultimate policy of the Government was to leave higher education in the hands of private enterprise in the initial stages the Government had to take the initiative in higher education. There were a number of Government Colleges which sought affiliation to any one of the three Universities established in 1857. Among these the following were important: the Presidency College, the Hindu College, and the Muhammadan College in Calcutta and the Colleges at Berhampore, Dacca, Hooghly and Kishnagar. In the North Western Provinces Government Colleges existed at Agra, Delhi, Benares and Bareilly. In Madras the High School was remodelled and formed into an institution somewhat resembling the Presidency College at Calcutta. Out of the twenty seven general and professional colleges that existed eighteen were run by the Government and the rest by the Missionaries in 1857. Higher education was considered to be important to supply means for conducting the secondary and primary education. Some critics recommended that Government should withdraw from taking part in higher education, leaving it to private enterprise, and devote to the pro-
motion of primary education, all the resources which could be afforded by the State. As Sir Richard Temple observed: the policy of the Government was to foster alike both kinds of education, higher and lower. "We diffused superior instruction by the establishment of additional colleges in the interior of the country, at the same time developing the village schools and adding tens of thousands every month to the number of children under instruction. The policy was to refrain from supporting any branch of education entirely by the State resources, but to induce the people themselves to contribute at least half. This proportion was maintained for the whole educational expenditure, and also for the education of each sort—upper or lower." (11)

In 1867-68, a strong movement was made in the Punjab for the establishment of a University at Lahore. About a lakh of rupees was contributed by European and Native gentlemen and in May 1868 a formal application was made to the Government of India for the sanction of the measure. The declared objects of the proposed University were to encourage the enlightened study of Oriental languages and literature, to improve and extend the Vernacular literature of the Punjab and to diffuse Western knowledge through the Vernaculars. This was against the existing policy of the Government of

diffusing Western knowledge through English. Pleading for the departure from the official policy, the Punjab Government of Punjab wrote to the Government of India that "what is intended in the Punjab is to place the higher education in sympathy with the people, and not in opposition to them." (12) The Punjab Government pointed out that when English was made other than optional save for the highest University degrees, when it was made compulsory upon students in their entrance and matriculation examinations, when no opportunity was given to them of obtaining either higher degrees or titles of honour for proficiency in other languages than English,"then either the progress of high education is checked at once, or the study of the English language is forced upon a very large class of students for whom the Government is unable to provide employment, and who, becoming unfit for their own natural and hereditary professions, remain discontented and disloyal members of the community." (13)

The Government of India expressed the general approval of the objects in view, but showed that higher education had made comparatively little progress in the Punjab and that the establishment of a University at Lahore was premature. It was clear that while there was an almost inexhaustible material

12. Letter No 2740, from the Secretary to the Government of Punjab to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated 7th July 1877.
13. Ibid.
requiring to be examined. If the University could be founded for all the Urdu and Hindi speaking districts of Northern India, the Government of India would sanction it, but if not, it would be better to found at Lahore a University College similar to the other colleges, and to such an institution an imperial grant-in-aid not exceeding Rs. 21,000 a year, or the equivalent of the local subscriptions with interest, would be allowed. This alternative plan of the Government of India was, however, found impracticable.

In the end the Government of India approved the recommendations of the Government of Punjab. Giving the reasons for a separate University the Government of India pointed out that: "the state of education in the Punjab at the present time is far more satisfactory than it was at Madras in 1857, that it was reasonable to expect in the Punjab the same results as had occurred in Madras and in Bombay, that the influence of such an University upon the more northern provinces would be beneficial... and that there were political advantages in connecting the establishment of such an institution at Lahore with the assumption by Her Majesty of the imperial title." (14) In 1882, the Punjab University was established by a special Act of Incorporation.

The Report of the Indian Education Commission of 1882

14. Letter to the Secretary of State for India, No. 6 of 1877, Home Department (Education), dated Simla, 16th August 1877.
little changed the policy of University education. The Government of India did not authorise the Commission to enquire into the general working of the Indian Universities and the Commission therefore contented themselves with making only a few observations in connection with the improvement of the affiliated colleges. The Commission drew the attention of the local Governments to the need of "providing or extending the means of collegiate education" at several places and recommended that "the rate of aid to each college be determined by the strength of the staff, the expenditure on its maintenance, the efficiency of the institution, and the wants of the locality."(15)

In order to encourage diversity of culture, both on the literary and on the physical side, larger colleges, Government or aided, had "to make provisions for more than one of the alternative courses" laid down by the authorities. The Commission did not suggest any major change in the policy towards higher education. Perhaps the Commission felt that problems relating to University education were outside their terms of reference.

"They commended the benefits of properly organised residential facilities, but made no suggestions for their expansion. But although they fixed their hopes upon the system of instruction becoming more thorough and more scientific, they had no measures to recommend whereby it could be made so; for that would have

been to trench upon the sphere of the University." (16)

In connection with the proposal of the Education Commission to found a University for Oudh and the North Western Provinces, the Government of India asked these Governments to convey their ideas and advice on the subject. Mr. Deighton, Inspector of Schools, Rohilkhand favoured the affiliating type of University for the North-Western Provinces. He said:

"That the University should not at present, if ever, be a teaching body seems clear to me for two reasons. In the first place the cost of a University professoriate would be out of all proportion to the amount we can afford to spend on higher education. In the second, we should not in our University have a centre round which would cluster a number of colleges. For a long time to come, therefore, it would be only doing what can be as well done by one good college." (17)

The Director of Public Instruction of the North Western Provinces gave his opinion on the subject and said that Government should take measures for the training of men for the services by founding a local University. He favoured a teaching University to that of the affiliating type and said that "if circumstances—financial and otherwise—prevent such a project from being carried out and render the only University possible, one constituted on the old lines, then

I cannot at present advocate secession from Calcutta." (18)

The Government of India approved the policy of establishing a separate University in the North West. They said that "the policy of establishing a University for the North Western Provinces and Oudh and the Central Provinces was accepted by the Government of India in 1884 on the report of the Education Commission, and the only questions which need consideration now are the opportunities or otherwise of the present time for carrying this policy into effect, the location of the proposed University, and the limitation of the function which, if established, it should perform." (19) An Act was passed in the Council of the Governor General in the year 1887 incorporating the University of Allahabad. The University followed the practice of the original Universities and confined itself to conferring degrees on candidates who passed its examinations after following prescribed courses of study in the institutions affiliated to it.

Although the Universities were brought into existence by the Acts of Incorporation which were similar to in almost all the cases, the Government of India did not want any rigid

18. Letter from the Director of Public Instruction, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, dated the 14th December 1885, Home (Edn.) A. Progs., November 1886, No. 18.
19. Letter to the Secretary of State, dated Simla 2nd November 1886, Home (Education), No. 10 of 1886.
uniformity in the administration of the Universities. Within three years of the establishment of the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, two significant issues emerged. The first was the desirability or otherwise of permitting each University to develop along its own line. Under the Acts of Incorporation of these Universities all matters of detail regarding courses for examinations were to be determined by 'bye-laws and regulations' framed by the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and the Fellows of the University and approved by the executive head of the Province. As was only to be expected each University framed bye-laws and regulations in accordance with its own local conditions and several differences in the prescribed courses of the Universities became noticeable.

The second question that arose was with reference to the specific degrees to be awarded by the Universities. The Acts of Incorporation of the Universities stated that they could confer, after examinations, certain degrees specified in the Acts. If the University desired to institute any degree other than specified in the Act it could not do so unless the Act was amended. It was felt desirable to remove this rigidity too by a suitable amendment of the Act.

With regard to both the questions the Government of India expressed an opinion when representations were made by the University of Calcutta. The Government of India directed that
each University should have the freedom to develop on its own lines and that it is no "object of paramount importance to secure a more perfect uniformity in the Regulations and Bye-Laws of the three Universities than already exists." (20) The Act of XLVII of 1860 which incorporated this order of the Government was passed which provided that "it shall be competent to the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and Fellows of the Universities of Calcutta, Madras or Bombay respectively to confer such Degrees and to grant such Diplomas or Licences in respect of Degrees" with the approval of the Governor General in Council as far as the University of Calcutta was concerned or by the Governor in Council of Madras or Bombay as regards the University of Madras and Bombay respectively. (21)

The Indian Universities during the 19th century were isolated and independent bodies. They were subject to some general control by the Government, but this was mostly of an indirect character. They were not under the Director of Public Instruction of the Province in which they were situated. The Senate was not a truly representative body in the beginning and consisted of Fellows who were, for the most part,

20. Letter from the Government of India to the Registrar of the Calcutta University, No. 625, dated the 28th March 1860, Home (Edn.) Cons., 30th March 1860, No. 3.

nominated by the Chancellor, i.e., by the Government but a certain number were elected by Masters of Arts, or other specially qualified graduates. The State did not make any direct grant to the Universities except to the Punjab University and they mainly relied on the sources derived from examination fees and from private endowments.

The affiliated colleges were managed both by the State as well as by private management. The State, however, while abstaining, as a rule, from direct management of the colleges, did not cease to concern with the education given there and the teaching staff. "It influences those directly by giving, or by withholding, grants-in-aid, and indirectly through the Universities, the Senate of which, consisting for the most part of Government nominees, can give or withhold the recommendations which alone enables a college to take part in University examinations. In deciding whether a college shall be aided, the Government takes into account its material equipment, its hygiene, the examinations for which it prepares pupils, and the quality of the teaching. Those colleges which are the most satisfactory in these respects receive more liberal grants-in-aid, while in the case of those which are least satisfactory the Director of Public Instruction moves the University to withhold recognition." (22)

The policy of expanding education prevailed in the field of education till the end of the nineteenth century. On a survey of the educational results of the period it was pointed out that education had not materially advanced in quality. In higher education the position was worse. Lord Curzon observed that "we found in some of the affiliated Colleges a low standard of teaching and a lower of learning; ill-paid and insufficient teachers, pupils crowded together in insanitary buildings, the cutting down of fees in the interest of an evil commercial competition, and management on unsound principles." Speaking of the Universities Curzon observed that "we found courses of study and a system of tests which were lowering the quality, while steadily increasing the volume of the human output, students driven like sheep from lecture-room to lecture-room and examination to examination, text-books badly chosen, degrees pursued for their commercial value, the Senates with overswollen numbers, selected on almost every principle but that of educational fitness, the Syndicates devoid of statutory powers— a huge system of active but often misdirected effort, over which, like some evil phantom, seemed to hover the monstrous and maleficent spirit of Cram." (23)

Lord Curzon accorded top priority in his programme to University reforms because, according to him, the most stre-

nuous efforts were needed at that stage. He contrasted the condition in Indian Universities with that which prevailed in Oxford and Cambridge. He said in the Simla Conference in 1901:

"Oxford and Cambridge are incorporated institutions composed of Colleges which constitute and are embodied in the corporate whole. The two together make the University; they twain are one flesh. Each college has its own students and fellows and tutors, and its own local habitation, often followed by romance and venerable with age... Above all it sways the life of the College undergraduates, by the memory of its past, by the influence of its public buildings by its common institutions, and by the cosmopolitan field of interest and emulation which it offers.

How different is India! Here the University has no corporate existence in the same sense of the term; it is not a collection of buildings, it is scarcely even a site. It is a body that controls courses of study and sets examination papers to the pupils of the affiliated Colleges. They are not part of it... They are part collections of lecture-rooms, and class-rooms, and laboratories... Even if the process may be termed education, it is not in the truest sense teaching; it may perhaps sharpen some faculties of the mind, but it cannot properly develop the whole." (24)

It was with a view to reform the Universities of India that he appointed on 27th January 1902, a Commission to inquire into the condition and prospects of the Universities established in British India. (25)

The Commission adopted the model of the London University


25. The Commission was headed by the Hon'ble T. Raleigh, the members included the Hon'ble Syed Husseain Hilgrami, J.P. Hewett, A. Pedler, F.S. Bourne, the Rev. Mackichan and Justice Gooroo Dass Banerjee.
as modified by the Act of 1898. The policy of London seemed to be the latest word of educational statesmanship in 1902 as it was in 1857. The Commission briefly traced the history of colleges and Universities in British India and made important recommendations for the improvement of these. The Commission did not discuss some of the policies which needed revision. It did not ask whether the affiliating system ought ultimately to be replaced by some other mode of organisation. It assumed the permanent validity of the existing system, in its main features and set itself only to improve and strengthen it. The only change recommended was that while the undergraduates were to be "left, in the main, to the colleges," the Universities should justify their existence as teaching bodies "by making further and better provision for advanced courses of study." (26) They were to appoint their own lecturers, provide their own libraries and laboratories, and have residential quarters for students from distant places. There was to be a central college, under the direct supervision of a University, to which the affiliated colleges could send their advanced students for study and some of their best teachers for teaching.

The recommendations of the Commission mainly referred to

the following:

(a) The reorganization of University administration.

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

(c) A much more closer attention to the living and working conditions of students.

(d) The assumption within defined limits of teaching functions by the University.

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

As a result of the Report of the Universities' Commission of 1902 legislation was undertaken in 1904 which tightened the control of the Government over all higher education. The functions of the universities were enlarged which included "the instruction of students, with power to appoint University Professors and Lecturers, to hold and manage educational endowments, to erect, equip and maintain University libraries, laboratories and museums, to make regulations relating to the residence and conduct of students, and to do all acts, consistent with the Act of Incorporation and this Act, which tend to the promotion of study and research." (27)

The Act reorganised the governing bodies of the Universities. The Senators were appointed by the Government for life

27. The Indian Universities Act, 1904, Section 3.
and there was no upper limit to their number. Persons were 
often appointed as Fellows for purely honorific reasons, and 
not on the grounds of their capacity for or interest in 
academic work. Many were busy officials, many were ambi-
tious pleaders, anxious for opportunities of winning status 
and popularity. "It was only by accident that the teachers, 
upon whom the main work of the Universities fell, were repre-
sented in the Senate or its executive, the Syndicate; many 
teachers of distinction never had an opportunity of making 
their voices heard; many colleges never obtained representa-
tion." (28) The Act of 1904 provided that the number of Fellows 
of a University shall "not be less than fifty nor more than a 
hundred and that a Fellow should hold office for five years 
only instead of life."

The Act considerably increased the proportion of elected 
Fellows in each University except Allahabad, for it required 
that twenty Fellows should be elected at the three older Uni-
versities and fifteen at the other two. "Of the elected Fell-
ows at the older Universities ten were to be elected by the 
registered graduates, who must be Doctors or Masters or gra-
duates of ten years' standing, and ten were to be elected by 
the faculties, the Chancellor having power to prescribe the

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qualifications of the Fellows to be elected by the faculties...
The practice of election by the Senate was to last until orders should be issued by the Chancellor, with the previous sanction of the Governor General in Council, for its replacement by election by graduates." (29)

The Act gave statutory recognition to Syndicates which existed on account of the bye-laws passed in the Senate. The Act of 1904 laid down that "the executive government of the University shall be vested in the Syndicate, which shall consist of -

(a) the Vice-Chancellor as Chairman;

(b) the Director of Public Instruction for the province in which the head-quarters of the University are situated; and

(c) not less than seven or more than fifty ex-officio or ordinary Fellows elected by the Senate or by the Faculties in such manner as may be provided by regulations, to hold office for such period as may be prescribed by the regulations." (30)

The Act laid down stricter control over the affiliating colleges and provided that all of them should be periodically inspected by the Syndicate in order to see that a proper standard of efficiency was being maintained. Among the conditions of affiliation were that the governing body managing a college should be "regularly constituted", that "the qualifications of the teaching staff and the conditions of their tenure of

30. The Indian Universities Act of 1904, Sections 15.
office" should be reasonable, that the college and hostel buildings should be suitable, that there should be due provision for a library, and that, in case of any branch of experimental science, for "a properly equipped laboratory or museum", the college should have adequate financial resources and its scale of fees, because of an unfair competition with those of a neighbouring college, should not be injurious to the interests of education. The Syndicate was to satisfy that all these points were fulfilled before according affiliation.

The Act vested in the Government certain powers in regard to the regulations to be framed by the Senate. The Act provided that while approving the regulations framed by the Senate, the Government might make such additions and alterations as might be necessary and even frame regulations itself should the Senate fail to do so within a specified period. The Act also empowered the Governor General to define the territorial limits of the Universities. The Governor General in Council might, according to it, "by general or special order, define the territorial limits within which, and specify the colleges in respect of which, any powers conferred by or under the Act or Incorporation or this Act shall be exercised." (31)

31. Ibid, Section 27.
The provision in the Act to bring to an end the evils of the profit-making proprietary college was a potent cause of the bitter hostility which the reforms evoked. This was opposed on the ground that the policy of the Government was to embarrass Indian private effort in the field of higher education. It was feared that under the pretext of reforms, the Government were really trying to vest all powers in the hands of European educationists with a view to sabotaging the development of Indian private enterprise. Speaking on this Gokhale observed in the Legislative Council:

"When the Universities Commission was first appointed, its composition, as is well known, afforded much ground for complaint; and though, to meet public opinion, half way Your Lordship took the unusual step of offering a set on the Commission, almost a at the last moment, to Mr. Justice Guru Das Banerjee the objection remained that, while missionary enterprise was represented on the Commission in the person of De, Mackichen, indigenous enterprise in the field of education was again left unrepresented. The hurried manner in which the Commission went about the country and took evidence and submitted its report was not calculated to reassure the public mind. Finally, the holding back of the evidence, recorded by the Commission, on the plea that its publication would involve unnecessary expense, was very unfortunate, as other Commissions had in the past published evidence tensi times as voluminous and the question of economy had never been suggested." (32)

But the main ground on which the Indian public based its opposition to the changes was that their effect must be to convert the Universities into a Department of the State. It was on these grounds that the Universities Bill was assailed

by Mr. G.K. Gokhale during its passage through the Legislative Council. Many also felt that the stricter conditions for the affiliation of colleges and the provision for periodical inspection of affiliated colleges by the University were measures to tighten the Government's hold on higher education in India. As the Calcutta University Commission observed: "The main result of the Act (i.e., the Indian Universities Act, 1904) was to make the control and supervision of the Government over university policy more direct and effective than it had hitherto been. The universities of India are, under the terms of the Act of 1904, in theory though not in practice, among the most completely governmental universities of the world." (33)

The real reform of the educational system was not fully undertaken in 1904. The reforms required were a liberal provision of funds for the encouragement of original research and of higher teaching, the institution of an adequate number of substantial scholarships to enable the most gifted young men to devote themselves to advanced studies, an improvement in the status and mode of recruitment of the Educational Service so as to attract to it the best men available, both European and Indian, and the simplification of the preliminary

tests, with a single stiff examination at the end of the course for ordinary students, so as to discourage "cramming" as far as possible. But the provisions of the Bill came as a painful surprise. "It was, however, not long before the new-born hope that had thus gladdened our hearts was called to death, and we found that, instead of the measures we were looking for, we were to have only a perpetuation of the narrow, bigoted and inexpensive rule of experts." (34)

Lord Curzon sincerely undertook measures for the improvement of higher education. Larger financial aids were granted by him for the college education. He assigned a sum of Rs. 13½ lakhs as additional grant-in-aid between 1904-5 and 1908-9. While assigning the grants the Government of India laid down the policies as to the application of the grants. The policies were:

(1) "The main purpose for which the grants were given was to assist in the improvement of the efficiency of colleges in those respects in which an inspection by the University showed them to be defective.

(2) The growth of the residential system was to be encouraged; and adequate arrangements were to be made for the residences of students who did not take up residence with their parents, guardians or relatives, and for the proper supervision of resident students.

(3) Endeavours were to be made to induce voluntary effort to supplement the aid given by Government." (35)

An annual grant of Rupees five lakhs was sanctioned for the improvement of the Universities. These grants from the Government continually increased and this helped to improve the working of the Universities and colleges.

Within a period of ten years it was felt necessary to broaden the policy of Government in the matter of University education. The federal type of Universities was abandoned in Britain by 1913 and most of the British Universities were reconstituted as unitary, teaching, and residential organisations. These changes had their repercussions in India. It was felt that an effective synthesis between college and University was still undiscovered and the foundation of a sound University organisation was yet to be laid. The Government Resolution of 1913 stated that "by the common consent the Universities Act of 1904 has had beneficial results; but the condition of University education is still far from satisfactory, in regard to residential arrangements, control, the courses of study and the system of examination. The Government of India have accordingly again reviewed the whole question of University education." (36)

It has been claimed that the superiority of the unitary over the affiliating University arises from the fact that

36. Government Resolution on Educational Policy, dated 21st February 1913.
through its teaching and research departments it can discover new knowledge as well as disseminate the old. The affiliating Universities in India were charged with the neglect of this aspect of higher education. The affiliated colleges did not possess the means to maintain the staff and the equipment which were required for conducting an efficient research department of a University. The Government Resolution distinguished clearly on the one hand between the federal University, in the strict sense, in which several colleges of approximately equal standing separated by no excessive distance or marked local individuality were grouped together as the University — and on the other hand the affiliating University of the Indian type, which in its inception was merely an examining body. "The days is probably far distant when India will be able to dispense altogether with the affiliating University. But it is necessary to restrict the area over which the affiliating universities have control by securing in the first instance a separate university for each of the leading provinces in India and secondly to create a new local teaching and residential universities within each of the provinces in harmony with the best modern opinion as to the right road to educational efficiency." (37)

The policy of the Government as laid down in the Resolution

37. Ibid.
(a) The Government of India have decided to found a teaching and residential university at Dacca and they are prepared to sanction under certain conditions the establishment of similar universities at Aligarh and Benares and elsewhere as occasion may demand.

(b) Simultaneously the Government of India desire to see teaching faculties developed at the seats of the existing Universities and corporate life encouraged, in order to promote higher study and create an atmosphere from which students will imbibe good social, moral and intellectual influence.

(c) In order to free the universities for higher work and more efficient control of colleges, the Government of India are disposed to think it desirable (in provinces where this is not already the case) to place the preliminary recognition of schools for purposes of presenting candidates for matriculation in the hands of the Local Governments.

The Government Resolution hoped that by these developments a great impetus would be given to higher studies throughout India and that Indian students of the future would be better equipped for the battle of life. No action to start a University on the lines suggested by the Resolution was, however, ever taken. This was partly on account of the outbreak of the war and partly as a result of the fact that the Government wanted an expert inquiry into the question.

The Benares Hindu University came into existence in 1916 by an Act of 1915 and began its operations in 1917. The initiative for its establishment came from Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who secured liberal endowments from Hindu Princes and other rich people. It was one of the cherished ambition
of this great Indian leader to see a University established which would be a live centre of Hindu culture so dear to his heart. This was the first denominational University to be established in India. The Aligarh Muslim University contemplated in the Government of India Resolution of 1913, did not come into existence till four years later. The latter University grew out of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. The University is a living memorial to the great work of the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.

In establishing these denominational Universities the Government of India departed from the original policy of 'strict religious neutrality.' The policy of neutrality in education had been reiterated by the Government of India often. The new Universities were intended in the main to conserve the peculiar cultural heritage of the two major communities in India, though providing instruction in all subjects of modern learning and sciences and also admitting all students without any distinction of creed, colour or race. The Universities were to be governed not by official representatives of the Government but by people interested in the preservation of Indian culture. They were to be national Universities. The religious atmosphere was to be maintained in the campus. The departure from the earlier policy of religious neutrality in education was mildly
criticised by Arthur Mayhew. He said:

"As a result India today has a Hindu and a Mohammedan University; it has no Christian University nor system of Christian schools and Colleges. That such a University would have aroused official or religious opposition, or that the Government would necessarily refuse recognition or aid to a system independent of its own system, but morally and socially quite as acceptable, is a proposition that few would maintain. No such proposal emerged during the period under review because of the prominence assigned to the task of "leavening the lump." It is always dangerous to let a single parable dictate a policy. Mixture of metaphors is sometimes a safeguard." (38)

These Universities were different in another way. They were to be, nor provincial, but all-India Universities, having been constituted by Acts of the Imperial Legislature. They also continued to be directly under the Central Government inspite of education having been transferred to the Provincial Governments under the Government of India Act of 1919. Each of these Universities was in receipt of an annual grant of three hundred thousand rupees from the Government of India. They were also model institutions for later Universities in that they were the first unitary, residential Universities during the British period. Thus in all respects the Government of India deviated from the declared policies on higher education with regard to the Benares Hindu University and the Aligarh Muslim University.

Several attempts were made during the twentieth century

to revive the Indian tradition of education and to evolve a
system suited to the Indian conditions of life and culture.
Out of the several attempts made at such a revival mention
may be made of the Gurukula, Viswa-Bharati and the Jamia
Millia. The Gurukula system had its origin in the early
years of this century. The well-known Arya Samajist reformer,
Swami Shraddhananda being dissatisfied being alike with
the official system of education inaugurated by the British
in India and the old pathshala system, raised a voice of
protest and set on foot a movement which should revive the
ancient Gurukula system and combine with it what was best in
the modern official system. The result was that the Arya
Pratinidhi Sabha (39) of the Punjab passed a resolution in
1896 that a Gurukula should be established. (40) The aims of
the proposed Gurukula University were:

1. "To revive the long forgotten system of Brahmacarya.
2. To develop a stronger character in the students.
3. To create between the teachers and the taught relations
   of love like those between a father and son.
4. To institute research into ancient Indian History and
to teach history from a national point of view." (41)

39. The Representative Assembly of the Arya Samaj.


41. The Prospectus of the Gurukula University, 1944, p. 2.
The Gurukula was founded on the 4th of March 1902 with thirty-four students, divided into four classes under four teachers. Upto 1921 the Gurukula was managed by a local Governor under the general supervision of the Executive Committee of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabdh, Punjab. In that year it was converted into a University with a special Governing body and the various Councils necessary for the proper conduct of a University.

The Visva-Bharati was formally founded on the 22nd December 1921. It was, however, not a new institution; it had grown gradually out of a very small school built on the foundation of the Shanthiniketan Ashram which came into being in somewhat poetic circumstances. About the Vidyalaya which was started in 1901 Rabindranath Tagore said that "to give spiritual culture to our boys was my principal object in starting my school in Santiniketan." (42) The school had its origin in the reaction of a poet's mind to the mechanical and soulless system of education current in his time. Rabindranath Tagore could not long remain satisfied within the original limits of the school Shantiniketan. The successive tours that he made in foreign countries immediately after the First World War convinced him of the necessity of a wider educational venture. This gave birth to the Visva-Bharati, the International Uni-

42. Shantiniketan and the Educational Institutions, Visva-Bharati Bulletin No. 12, p. 6.
versity, which was registered as a corporate body with a Board of Trustees in 1922. Shantiniketan soon became a hive of varied activities. The Visva-Bharati attracted devoted services of distinguished educators, artists and men of practical idealism. (43) The College or Siksha-Bhavana provides University education to young men and women in an environment and against a background of creative cultural activities which properly relate academic education to a full, all-round, human development. Students are admitted either to the Visva-Bharati course or the Calcutta University course. The Visva-Bharati courses are varied and lay special stress on the unity of knowledge, art and culture. The institution has very high ideals. "If a sane and civilized society is to be salvaged out of this chaos, it is necessary that atleast some educational institutions should help in generating an atmosphere in which man may find scope for the expression of his better feelings, his higher self, and his normal love for his fellowman. It is in the light of this ideals that the contribution of the Visva-Bharati will finally be assessed." (44)

The Jamia Millia Islamia was founded at Aligarh in October 1920 "in the days of the Khilafat and Non-co-operation

44. Ibid, pp.2-3.
Movements, in days of unlimited dreams and fervent determinations, of enthusiastic nationalism," (45) as an expression of the desire of the Indian Muslims to keep their education in their own hands, entirely free from alien influences. It is a religio-cultural institution concerned with the task of promoting a renaissance of Islamic culture, of reviving the religious and moral ideals of Islam, and of directing the Muslims from narrow-minded communalistic attitudes into a progressive nationalism.

The origin of the Jamia may be attributed to a protest against the outlook of the Aligarh Muslim University, founded by Sir Sayyid Ahmad, which had come, by 1920, to change from "the liberal religious atmosphere" to an attitude which was "patently both illiberal and secular... Its staff became much like any other university staff, and its graduates went out into the bourgeois world not much concerned with religious questions; tolerant, rationalist, and care-free." (46) Moreover, "the immediate dependence of the institution on the British Government had its effect, particularly on the staff. Aligarh was famous for its pro-British gentility." (47)

The enthusiasm that brought the Jamia into being did not

46. Ibid, p. 44.
47. Ibid, p. 45.
last, for the movements - the Khilafat, Non-co-operation and Hindu-Muslim unity movements - that generated the enthusiasm received serious setback. The founders of the Jamia had believed that a freer and fuller education, called 'national' education for want of a clearer term, was necessary. They had also hoped that the demand for national education which advocated boycott of official schools, colleges and universities, would result in those institutions becoming national. This, however, did not happen and there was bitterness and disillusionment. Some of the founders of the Jamia declared that it had outlived its usefulness and should close down. Others believed that it was only now beginning to be useful. In 1925, the Jamia moved to Delhi. Here it began to develop its real character. "This marked the end of the spirit of pure opposition to Aligarh and Government. In its new site, where it is gradually building up an extensive and remarkably beautiful home for itself, it has embarked on a more positive programme." (48)

These were the attempts to establish institutions for the development of Indian culture and tradition in Indian environment. The attempts were successful in so far as the institutions were concerned; but they did not in any way change the official educational policy.

48. Constitution of the Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi, p. 3.
The Government of India appointed in 1917 the Calcutta University Commission. (49) The Commission headed by Dr. M.E. Sadler submitted their report in 1919. The report is voluminous and comprehensive and covered all fields of education; and the problems on which it concentrated were more or less common to other Indian Universities as well.

The Commission, for the first time, urged that an effective reorganisation of Secondary and Intermediate education would greatly improve the quality of University work. It pointed out that "no satisfactory reorganisation of the University system of Bengal will be possible unless and until a radical reorganisation of the secondary education, upon which university work depends, is carried into effect." (50) The Commission recommended that the stage of admission to the University should be that of the intermediate instead of the matriculation. The duty of providing training at the intermediate stage should be transferred from the universities to new institutions known as 'Intermediate Colleges' some of which should be attached to selected high schools, while others should be organised as distinct institutions.

As regards the defects of teaching in the University

49. Resolution of the Government of India in the Education Department, No. 783, dated the 14th September 1917.

the Commission recommended as a remedy "the creation of new Universities, wherein the teaching function can be assured of its due prominence. To this end we recommend the organisation of the teaching resources which exist in the city of Calcutta in such a way as to create a real teaching University." (51) The Commission also recommended the adoption of a mode of organisation for the mofussil colleges which "will encourage the gradual rise of new University centres by the concentration of resources for higher teaching at a few points." (52)

As to the general University organisations the Commission recommended that the regulations governing the work of the Universities should be made less rigid, and should be classified in accordance with the character of their subject -matter. The classification recommended was:

"(a) The Act, made and alterable only by the Imperial Legislative Council;

(b) the statutes, made in the first instance by the Imperial Legislative Council, but subsequently capable of being altered or added to by the Court of the University;

(c) the ordinances, made by the Executive Council of the University, subject to ratification by the Court, the Chancellor having the right to veto;

(d) the Regulations, made by appropriate bodies in the University to which such powers are enumerated by Statute or Ordinance." (53)
The Calcutta University Commission Report is an important document as the recommendations covered all spheres of education. The Report tried to rectify the defects pointed out by the earlier Commissions such as the Education Commission of 1882 and the Indian Universities Commission of 1902. The Report, though primarily intended for the Calcutta University, did not produce the desired effect owing to the controversies between the University and the Government regarding financial support which was absolutely essential for implementing the recommendations. It was decided to transfer the control of the Calcutta University from the Government of India to the Government of Bengal and to leave any further initiative for the reform of the University to be taken by the local Government. An Act was passed in March 1921 substituting the Governor of Bengal for the Governor-General as the Chancellor of the University. "Except for this change and for the excision of the Dacca University area from the control of the Calcutta University, the report of the Commissioners has had little effect on the conditions of the University which they were called in to advise." (54)

Meanwhile more and more Universities were started with a different set up. Two new Teaching Universities were started, one in Mysore and the other in Hyderabad. The special

feature of the Mysore University started in 1916 is that its teaching activities are confined to two centres namely Mysore and Bangalore. The other one, the Osmania University at Hyderabad, established in 1918 through the efforts of Sir Akbar Hyderi, was also under State and its claim to uniqueness was in its adoption of Urdu, the official language, as the medium of instruction. The United Provinces accepted the Calcutta University Commission Report and constituted in 1921 a Board of High School and Intermediate Education to organise and control secondary education. In Madras with the object of establishing a teaching and residential University and with a view to organise and develop the teaching resources existing in the city, a bill remodelling the University of Madras was introduced and passed by the Legislative Council into law in 1923. This Act of 1923 gave to the University the function of teaching especially in the higher ranges of study, and the encouraging of research. "The unwieldy size to which the federating functions of the Madras University led it, coupled with the demand for unitary and teaching and regional and linguistic Universities, has led to the formation of the Andhra University in 1926, for the Telugu area and later of the Annamalai University in 1929 - the latter being a teaching and residential institution developed out of a college by the munificence of Sir Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiyar of Chettinad." (55)

With the establishment of the new Universities, the Government of India felt the need of some agency to co-ordinate their work. The first All-India Conference of Indian Universities was held at Simla in 1924 which decided to establish an Inter-University Board. Inaugurating the Conference, Lord Reading, the then Viceroy, referred to the rapid increase in the number of Universities in India and said that "it is essential to ensure the preservation of the highest standards of University education and to safeguard against any falling away from the ideals of the best class of University training." (56) Speaking about the Government policy with regard to higher education, the Viceroy said that "the work of reorganisation and development lies primarily in the hands of each individual University with the help and control of the local Government, but the Government of India will always take a profound interest in the progress of the Universities, and it is with the hope of strengthening the structure as a whole and of adding solidarity to the general system that they have initiated the conference." (57) Thus the policy of consolidation, instead of expansion, was once again emphasised and for this purpose the creation of the Inter-University Board was suggested. The objects and aims of the Board were:


57. Ibid. Ibid.
(a) To act as an inter-University organisation and bureau of information;

(b) To facilitate the exchange of professors;

(c) To serve as an authorised channel of communication and facilitate the co-ordination of University work;

(d) To assist Indian Universities in obtaining recognition for their degrees, diplomas and examinations in the countries outside India;

(e) To appoint or recommend, where necessary, a common representative or representatives of India at Imperial or International conferences on Indian education;

(f) To act as an Appointment Bureau for Indian Universities; and

(g) To fulfil such other duties as may be assigned to it from time to time by Indian Universities.

The Government of India were also represented on the Board by one member, though only in an advisory capacity without a vote, usually the Commission of Education with the Government of India.

The Hartog Committee, an Auxiliary Committee of the Simon Commission, under Sir Philip Hartog reviewed the educational policy of the Government of India with regard to higher education. The Committee condemned the system of University education which failed to produce the right type of leaders needed for the country. The Committee observed that "the very large influx of students, many of them none too well-selected, during the last twenty or thirty years, has imposed a heavier burden on most colleges and Universities than they could
reasonably be expected to bear. It is not surprising, therefore, that the activities of Universities and colleges are not always well-balanced or adjusted; that the social atmosphere is only partially developed; that many of the opportunities of building up a corporate sense and of arousing and finding outlets for a spirit of service remain unused. The graduate on leaving college is only too often a man with no wide or living intellectual interests, with no discipline or experience in the difficult art of living in a community, with no training in leadership and with little sense of responsibility to others." (58)

The Committee of opinion that there had been a fall in the standard of University education on account of indiscriminate admission of students, poor work at the secondary stage and the mutual competition between Universities. "The overcrowding of Universities and colleges by men of whom a large number fail and for whom there is no economic demand has vitally affected the quality of University education." (59) Regarding the mutual competition the Report said that "the Gresham's Law of Universities can be illustrated by actual and not only by theoretical examples. A few years ago, the low standard


of Calcutta University examinations attracted to it students from all parts of India, even from as far south of Travancore. Another example is to be found in the Punjab." (60)

The Hartog Committee favoured the teaching and Unitary University as an ideal agency for imparting higher education. But the report admitted that "it is well clear, however, that the requirements of India cannot be met solely by unitary universities and that the affiliating University is likely to remain for many years to come." (61) The keynote of the recommendations of the Hartog Committee as that of any other Commission before was qualitative improvement of education. "The time has come when all efforts should be concentrated on improving university work, on confining the university to its proper function of giving good advanced education to students who are fit to receive it, and, in fact, to making the university a more fruitful and less disappointing agency in the life of the community." (62)

The same policy of qualitative improvement of higher education was stressed often. Speaking on quality Lord Irwin said in 1929 at the Second Quinquennial Conference of Indian Universities at Delhi that the problem was to cultivate the

60. Ibid, p. 136.
highest standards of University education. "First, the standard of learning and research which the Universities as the homes of scholarship owe it to themselves to preserve... Secondly, the necessity of a right standard of judgment; Thirdly the standard of conduct." (63)

The Commission on Christian Higher Education in India, better known as the Lindsay Commission was appointed "to review the field of service open to the Christian colleges under the present conditions in India" (63), and the Commission submitted the report in 1931. The Commission pleaded for more freedom from Government control in the matter of higher education and said that "higher education in India depends for warmth and colour, vitality and response to communal aspirations, on the measure of its freedom from the control and direction of any form of Government, whether Indian or alien. The functions of Government in this sphere is to suppress what is harmful to the common will and to support, with the utmost elasticity, whatever is useful and effective. But for the better education of the masses, as a fundamental condition of national progress, a vigorous initiative must be taken and a financial policy prescribed by the Government." (65) In view of the

diminishing prestige of the Christian institutions compared to the Government institutions the Lindsay Commission suggested three alternative policies to be followed:

(a) "We might persist in the present policy, in spite of all its defects, for the sake of the opportunities which it offers."

(b) We might withdraw from the task of higher education altogether and endeavour to reach the students and the educated classes of India by other methods.

(c) We might set up a Christian University." (66)

On analysing these policies, the Commission said that the first one was an unstable policy but it was the one which was actually being pursued. The second policy put the teachers in an intolerable position. As regards the third policy the proposal for a Christian University on the lines of Aligarh or Benares the Commission said that it would not imply doing without Government assistance or recognition. "It is rather advocated as a means of acquiring freedom to carry out the distinctive purpose of Christian education and yet remain within the system of Government grants and recognition... We have concluded, however, that the plan it advocates would be both unwise and impracticable, at least at the present time." (67)

The policy of fixing the stage of entrance to the University was much discussed by various Commissions. The Travancore

University Committee discussed this policy in detail and finally came to the conclusion that:

1. "the stage of admission to the University should be that of the present Intermediate instead of that of the present Matriculation or S.S.L.C. examination.

2. there should be two examinations, the first approximately corresponding to the present S.S.L.C. or Matriculation, to be taken at the end of the high school stage, and to be known as the S.S.L.C. examination; the second, approximately corresponding to the present Intermediate, but much more varied in its range, to be taken at the end of the Intermediate examination. Success in the Intermediate examination should be accepted, under conditions to be laid down by the University, as sufficient qualification for admission to the University." (68)

The Committee also analysed carefully the administrative setup for conducting the entrance examination and the control by the University over the schools or colleges preparing students for the Entrance Examination. The Committee pointed out that there was a tendency to go back on the policy of separate administrative agencies for second grade colleges and their feeder schools and even their physical separation. This policy of separate administration for the various stages of administration for the various stages of education resulted in the separation first administratively, and subsequently physically, of H.H. the Maharaja's High School, and the transfer of the latter ultimately to new building at Vanchiyur in Trivandrum.

As regards the policy of University control over the stage

of education just below the University level the Committee concurred with most of the witnesses in the view that "the University should take upon itself not only prescription of the conditions determining entrance, but it should also have the entire control and conduct of the examination leading to it, and exercise some degree of control and supervision over the institutions preparing candidates for its entrance test." (69) The Committee felt that investing the University with this power of controlling entrance was necessary for the recognition of equivalence of entrance qualifications and for the prevention of hardship from the existence of inelastic rules." (70)

The Travancore University was established only in 1937 though the attempt for this had been made as early as 1919. The aims of the University, as stated in the Acts of Incorporation are:

1. to effect a reorganisation of the system of education in the State with a view to the gradual development of technical and technological education;

2. to make greater and more systematic provision for the furtherance of original research in the various branches of Applied Science; and

3. to provide for the conservation and promotion of Kerala Art and Culture.

The University became a teaching and affiliating University and

69. Ibid, p. 258
70. Ibid, p. 258
began by taking over the six colleges conducted by Government. To carry out the specific objectives stated in the Act, the University conducted an Oriental Manuscript Library and a Publication Department intended to enrich Malayalam and Tamil literature.

The policy of fixing the stage of entrance to the University course again was criticised by the Central Advisory Board of Education in 1944. The recommendations of the previous Commissions for the abolition of the Intermediate stage in Indian higher education and the addition of one year to the High School course and the other to the University were not actually followed in the Indian Universities for various reasons. The Central Advisory Board regarded this as "an essential and urgent reform."

The Report of the Board known as the Sargent Scheme pointed out that the University education in India followed a course of study not relating to the practical needs of the community as a whole. The universities did not make any systematic attempt to adjust their output to the capacity of the employment market to absorb it. "Hundreds of young men, who have received a purely literary education, go about knocking at every office door without any clear idea as to where their proper vocation lies." (71) The reason for

the defect in the system lay in the fact that "neither private benefactions nor grants from public funds have yet been on such a scale as to place Universities in a position of financial stability. So long as they remain largely dependent on students and examination fees, they can hardly be expected to put such restrictions on admission as would allow high standards to be maintained and the risks of educated unemployment to be minimised." (72) The Board also criticised the policy of Central and Provincial Governments in yielding to the pressure of popular demand in bringing Universities into existence without providing the necessary resources to enable them to function on sound lines. To raise the standard all round, the Board recommended that the conditions for admission must be revised, the Intermediate course be abolished, the tutorial system be widely extended, the minimum length of a University degree course be 3 years and an Indian University Grants Committee be constituted.

The Universities should play a part of supreme importance in any system of education and the activities of the Universities should be carefully co-ordinated in the interests of economy and efficiency. Towards this end the Inter-University Board was constituted, as already stated, in 1925 on the recommendations of the Sadler Commission. The Board was purely

72. Ibid., p. 25.
an advisory body and it was not able to restrain unhealthy and uneconomic rivalry between Universities in regard to new developments and to prevent the creation of new Universities. The Central Advisory Board, therefore, suggested the creation of a more powerful body with the power of the purse. The Board said:

"It is not suggested that such a body should be directly or indirectly under the control of the Central Government, even though the financial implications of educational reorganisation may ultimately make it desirable that the Central Government should relieve Provincial Governments to a large extent of financial responsibility for University education. It should also refrain from any interference in the ordinary administration of individual Universities." (73)

The main function of the new Board as recommended by the Central Advisory Board would be to exercise a general supervision over the allocation of grants to the Universities from public funds with the object of ensuring that they are in a position to meet the demands which may be made upon them. The Provincial Governments, it was suggested, should consult the Committee before making any substantial grant to the Universities. All grants for new development by the Central Government should be made through the Grants Committee.

The Grants Committee was constituted in 1945 and its scope was widened in 1947 to include all Universities and academic and scientific institutions in the country. The Grants Committee was empowered:

73. Ibid., pp. 31-32.
1. "to encourage private benefactions;

2. to co-ordinate university activities with a view to avoiding overlapping and to adjust, so far as possible, the output of the universities to the economic needs of the country;

3. to prevent undesirable competition between universities, and to remove all inter-provincial barriers;

4. to visit universities periodically with a view to ascertaining their needs at first hand;

5. to establish cultural contacts and to arrange for the exchange of teachers and students with foreign universities.

Throughout the British period several attempts were made to reform the university education in India but no attempt was made for the fundamental reconstruction of the university system to suit the need of the country. In spite of the various attempts made by Government, they could not check the high percentage of failures in the University examinations and the low standard of University teaching. The position did not improve in any way and the Government of India appointed another University Commission under the chairmanship of Prof. S. Radhakrishnan for a thorough study of the financial and academic problems of the Indian universities. The Commission which was appointed in 1948 had very wide terms of reference which included "the aims and objects of University education and research in India", "the constitution, control, functions and jurisdiction of Universities in India and their relations with Governments, Central and Provincial", etc.
Chapter XXI

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Technical education in India was a neglected subject for a long time. The primary need of the society at the time of the arrival of the Englishmen in India was not technical education as India is primarily an agricultural country. But in course of time the influence of English industrialism led to the development of technical education in India.

The first school of Industry in India was established in 1837 at Jubbulpur for the benefit of Thugs and their children. In 1844 an Engineering College was opened in connection with the Elphinstone Institution under a Professor specially sent by the Court of Directors. The Thomason College of Civil Engineering was opened at Roorkee in 1849. This institution was a direct product of irrigation and other engineering schemes undertaken by Government. Appealing for
the establishment of an Engineering College the Government of the North-Western Provinces wrote to the Government of India in 1847. The Government of North-Western Provinces pointed out the favourable circumstances prevailing in that part of the country for Engineering education. The following were the circumstances pointed out:

"5. The character of the country affords great facilities for irrigation, and the nature of the soil and climate renders always valuable and often necessary for raising any produce at all.

4. In many parts of the country there is valuable water-power, which at present only turns a few rude water mills, and might be made the means of promoting the prosperity of the country.

5. The navigation on many of the rivers is imperfect and liable to frequent interruption. Much might be done to remove the impediments and improve the navigation.

6. Engineers are wanted to lay out the roads, to form them, to metal them, and to bridge them.

7. The introduction of railways which cannot be long delayed will create a new and unlimited demand for all kinds of engineering skill.

On these accounts, the Lieutenant-Governor would propose the establishment at Roorkee of an institution for the education of Civil Engineers, which would be immediately under the direction of the Local Government in the Education Department."(1)

When the matter was referred to the Court of Directors they fully agreed "with the Lieutenant-Governor as to the importance and ultimate economy of having a well-trained agency efficient

1. Letter to the Government of India, dated the 23rd September 1847, No. 594 A, from the Government of North-Western Provinces.
in all its branches, to execute the various great and important works which he enumerates." (2) Again in another despatch sent to the Government of India in 1854 the Court of Directors approved the proposals submitted to them and authorized the Government of India to carry "it out in such a way as may seem to you most suitable." They also expressed the view that "an institution of such peculiar importance to India and of character so entirely novel in that country, should bear the name of its founder and it is accordingly our desire that the College be henceforth designated "Thomason College of Civil Engineering at Roorkee"."

The first proposal for the opening of an engineering class in connection with the High School at Madras was submitted by the University Board to the Government in 1842. But it was disallowed by the Court of Directors' despatch, dated the 18th October 1843. Several attempts were afterwards made, the last being 1853, to establish this class which did not, however, come into existence until after the constitution of the University of Madras in 1857: The institution was started in 1858 and the Director of Public Instruction in his report for 1858-59 made the following remarks about it:

2. Despatch, dated the 2nd June 1852, from the Court of Directors to the Governor General of India in Council, paragraph 6.

3. Despatch, dated the 8th February 1854, from the Court of Directors to the Governor General of India in Council, paragraph 2.
"The long projected Civil Engineering College has been brought into operation during the year under review; the Survey School formerly attached to the Board of Revenue and subsequently to the Chief Engineer's office, having been adopted as its basis. The plan upon which it was originally proposed to establish it, viz., that it should provide instruction for all grades of the Public Works Department, except officers of the corps of Engineers and civil engineers educated in England, has been abandoned for the present on financial grounds; and it has been determined to confine it to training candidates for the grades of Sub-overseers and of Assistant Engineers." (4)

An interesting industrial school in Madras was the school of Ordinance Artificers which was opened in 1840 by Major Maitland, Superintendent of the Gun Carriage Manufactory. When he referred this matter to the Secretary to the Council of Education, Calcutta, the Secretary sent a copy of the rules and course of study followed in the Roorkee College and requested Major Maitland to state his opinion as to how far he could carry out a similar or greater extent of practical education in engineering, in his school, and what additional establishment and means of instruction he would consider necessary to enable him to do so. Maitland gave a brief history of his institution and appealed for financial help "to put the institution upon a permanent footing." He said

"The College at Roorkee is to cost Government Rupees 1,950 monthly - this institution may be established on a permanent basis for less than that sum, without any necessity for the construction of a public building. If Rupees 1,950 are paid monthly out of the Government exchequer, the fifty extra Artificers while qualifying for the Engineer Department are each

giving back a day's useless work and they are available for any emergency. The exact pay of the teachers and Superintendents can easily be determined, if the system I now propose should meet with the favourable consideration of the Madras Government and approval of the Governor General of India." (5)

The school was taken over by Government in 1855. A School of Arts was opened by Dr. Hunter, Surgeon of the Black Town in May 1850, "with the liberal and enlightened design of creating among the Native population a taste for the humanizing culture of the fine arts." In June 1851 he started another institution called the School of Industry, "to afford to the rising generation of the country the opportunity and means of acquiring useful handicrafts; to improve the manufacture of various articles of domestic and daily use, now largely made in the country, but rudely and uncozthly; and also by developing the latent material resources of the country, to create a local supply of several articles in general demand, which hitherto have been almost entirely imported; to improve the taste of the native public and make them familiar with beauty of form and finish in the articles daily in their hands and before their eyes." (6) The two schools, amalgamated into one under the name of "School of Industrial Arts", became a Government institution in 1855.

5. Letter, dated the 13th September 1849 from Maitland, Superintendent, Gun Carriage Manufactory, to F.J. Mouat, Esq., Secretary to the Council of Education, Calcutta

Lord Dalhousie suggested in 1848 that "great good would result from the training in a well instructed class of a certain number of youths annually, to fill vacancies as they arise and to meet the increasing demands of the departments" (7) of public works. He, therefore, submitted his proposals to the Court of Directors as a general one recommending it strongly for their favourable consideration. The Government of India submitted to the Court of Directors the proposals of Mr. J.P. Grant who recommended that Civil Engineering should form part of the course of instruction at the Presidency College at Calcutta. The Court of Directors gave this their policy over this question as follows: "We are of opinion that the object of affording to all grades the means of acquiring a sound practical and theoretical knowledge of Engineering in all its branches is far more likely to be attained through the means of a separate institution than in the mode proposed by Grant of combining a scientific course at the Presidency College with practical instruction at various detached working Establishments in Calcutta." (8)

The Court of Directors desired the establishment of institutions in all parts of the country for the purpose of train-

7. Minute by the Earl of Dalhousie, dated the 29th of August 1848.
8. Despatch, dated the 2nd May 1855, from the Court of Directors to the Governor General of India in Council, paragraph 2.
ing up persons capable of carrying out the great works which were in progress under the Government throughout the country, and for enabling Indians to be qualified for the exercise of a profession. The development of Railways and Public Works offered large openings for engineering personnel and the Government considered the works of irrigation necessary especially in places like Madras, not only for the prosperity of the country, but also for the very existence of the people at the time of drought and scarcity.

There was no definite policy as regard technical education during the nineteenth century. The Court of Directors sanctioned schemes of technical education submitted to them by the Government of India. They did not lay any definite policy. The Despatches of 1854 and 1859 which shaped the educational policy of the Government of India were silent with regard to technical education in India. Even in England technical education did not make any headway. A Select Committee of the House of Commons had in 1835 inquired into the best means of extending among the manufacturing population a knowledge of the principles of art and design; and a Government School of Design established in London, with a system of grant-in-aid to similar schools in the manufacturing districts, had grown out of that enquiry. The progress made, however, was small, until the International Exhibition of 1851 drew public attention to the deficiencies
as regards art of the English workman, and as regards science of the English manufacturer. It is, therefore, no wonder that the Court of Directors did not attach much importance to this branch of education. They, however, said that "we are ready to assist in their establishment by grant-in-aid for the supply of models, and other assistance which they may advantageously derive from the increased attention which has been paid of late years to such subjects in this country." (9)

With the development of industries the need for organising technical education was felt in India. The development of technical education had to go side by side with the development of industries in a country. This was stressed by Ramsay Macdonald who said that "Education and a country are companions. When they cease to keep in touch with each other they wander uselessly. We see year after year the spread of the large industry in India, but for many years to come it will not only be confined to one or two trades like jute and cotton, but will be an insignificant proportion of the whole volume of Indian production and consumption... Devise an industrial policy to keep step with your educational one!"(10)

9. Despatch of 1854, paragraph 81. (n.21, p.149)
Although the Education Commission of 1882 was not required to discuss the subject of technical education, this comprehensive report could not ignore a question which was rapidly growing in importance in public estimation. One of the questions put to witnesses before the Commission ran as follows: "Is the attention of teachers and pupils in secondary schools unduly directed to the Entrance Examination of the University?" The replies to this question were singularly unanimous. It had been felt in all provinces, and urged by many witnesses, that the attention of students was too exclusively directed to University studies, and that no opportunity was offered for the development of what was corresponding to the "modern side" of schools in Europe. It was believed that there was a real need in India for some corresponding course which should fit boys for industrial and commercial pursuits, at the age when they commonly matriculated; more directly than was effected by the existing system. The University looked upon the Entrance Examination, not as a test of fitness for the duties of daily life, but rather as a means of ascertaining whether the candidate had acquired that amount of general information and that degree of mental discipline which would enable him to profit by a course of liberal or professional instruction. "In these circumstances, it appears to be the unquestionable duty of that Department of State which has undertaken the control of education to recognize the present
demand for educated labour in all branches of commercial and industrial activity, and to meet it, so far as may be possible, with the means at its disposal." (11)

In this connection the question of bifurcation of courses came into prominence. The Departments in many provinces dealt with this question. The attempts to fix a course for 'independent' high schools were found to be improper. But what was chiefly needed was variety, so that the educational system as a whole might be such as more fully to meet the needs of a complex state of society. It was, therefore, proposed to have bifurcation of studies within two years of the Entrance Examination. The studies in the middle school would be sufficiently practical to prepare the boys for what they would take up in the 'modern side' and sufficiently liberal to fall in with those of the academical side. The Government of India, therefore recommended that "in the upper classes of high schools there be two divisions, - one leading to the Entrance Examination of the University, the other of a more practical character, intended to fit youths for commercial or non-literary pursuits." (12)


12. Ibid.
Such was the policy which the Government of India, after a careful examination of the facts, promulgated on this question. That policy enforced the necessity of making the course of study in High Schools more practical than it was; and it recognized the desirability of encouraging technical instruction. Beyond such a recognition, however, the Education Commission or the Government of India did not then go. No indication was given in the direction in which, or of the means by which, such technical instruction might be imparted.

To give a fair start to technical education, it was found essential that Government should take the lead in such education. This was originally done in England by the establishment of the Government School of Design and the Government School of Mines. Later more schools were established and these were known as the Departmental Normal Schools of Art and Science. Even in England, the great Technological College of the City and Guild of London Institute did not spring into existence till Government had set the example, and "in this country, where there are no corporations with vast funds at their disposal; where private enterprise seldom leads, and where the conditions are in so many respects different, it is still more essential that Government should show the way." (13)

In India the facilities afforded for University training in Engineering were found to be sufficient considering the need of the country. The colleges at Calcutta, Madras, Poona and Roorkee were well-equipped and the theory of Engineering was well taught in these institutions. The defects seemed to lie in the too theoretical nature of the teaching and in the want of facilities for practical training in these institutions. Another defect was that there was practically no instruction leading to Engineering course in the colleges, which was provided in the elementary and secondary secondary schools. The colleges were the alpha and omega of instruction in Engineering.

Authorities in India agreed that the true principles from which to start technical instruction was that it must not be considered as something separate and apart from ordinary general course. The scheme of education should be so arranged as to lead without any break of continuity to technical instruction. As Technology was the study of the practical application of science, a system of education which had for its aim the acquisition of literary knowledge only could never be a satisfactory introduction to technical instruction. The Government of India therefore wanted that "the principle of science ought to underlie the education of those whose aim in life is the practice of the Industrial Arts." (14)

14. Ibid. p. 30
The Government of India in a Resolution in 1888 defined technical education "as the cultivation of the intelligence, ingenuity, taste, observation, and manipulative skill of those employed in industrial production, so that they may produce more efficiently." (15) They observed that in India at that time the application of capital to industry had not been developed to the extent which in European countries had rendered the establishment of technical schools on a large scale. But the extension of railways, the introduction of mills and factories, the exploration of mineral and other products, the expansion of external trade, and the enlarged intercourse with foreign markets led to the same results in India as in other countries, and created a demand for skilled labour and for educated foreman, supervisor and managers. The Government of India, however, felt that the effect of these various influences on Indian people was very gradual, and that it would be premature to establish technical schools on such a scale as in European countries, and thereby aggravate the existing difficulties, by adding to the educated unemployed a new class of professional men for whom there was no commercial demand. The Resolution said that:

"The practical conclusion, then, which the Government of India draws from the foregoing premises is, that it should support technical education as an extension of

15. Proceedings of the Government of India in the Home Department (Education) — under date Simla, the 18th June 1888.
general education in the sense indicated above, and, further more, that it should promote and countenance such technical education of a special nature as may be applied to the service of existing industries, which will profit by the aid of scientific research, scientific method, and higher manipulative skill."

In their Resolution of 1891 the Government of India again accepted the principle that educational system should comprise a secondary school course which should fit boys for industrial and commercial careers and emphasised the need from a trade point of view of industrial education for developing the resources of India. "Technical education is, therefore, supported by the Government of India as an extension of general education, and industrial education is countenanced so far as it is of a nature applicable to the service of existing industries."

The Government of India suggested that schools of drawing and design might be attached to the principal railway workshops.

The agricultural aspect of technical education was considered in the instructive report on Indian agriculture which was prepared for the Government of India by Dr. Voelcker. Dr. Voelcker recommended that:

"The spread of education will be an important element in the improvement of agriculture. It will do much to remove the prejudices attaching to 'caste' and


custom which prevent progress in agricultural methods, and it will give rise to a more intelligent farming class." (18)

The Government of India considered that in a country like India where agriculture is the chief employment, agricultural education should be encouraged. The tendency had been in a purely literary direction and this had turned attention away from the land rather than towards it; "the fault can now be best remedied by substituting agricultural education for a part of the present educational programme. The work must proceed simultaneously from above downwards and from below upwards." (19) The scheme of work suggested included instruction in agriculture even in the primary schools by means of "readers" and "object lessons" which would introduce familiar agricultural subjects. In the Middle schools the elements of physical science, the use of agricultural primers, accompanied by Illustration plots on which the ordinary farm crops are grown, should form part of the instruction. In High Schools more attention should be given to physical science and to agriculture, and Illustration Farms or fields should be attached to the schools. Agricultural classes should be established where colleges or institutions that specially taught agriculture did not exist, and there should Demonstration Farms attach-

18. Ibid., paragraph 17.
19. Ibid.
ed, and land on which the pupils could themselves work. "Special attention should be directed to the agricultural education given in colleges, in order that the teachers supplied to High Schools and to agricultural classes may be well trained men, and that the Land Revenue, Agricultural, and Cognate departments may be supplied with subordinate officials who have studied Agriculture, both theoretically and practically." (20)

The Local Governments and Administrations had not been backward in the encouragement of Technical and Industrial education of different kinds. Schools of Art had been established by the State at Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, and Lahore and almost every variety of Technical and Industrial school had been attempted in one Province or another. The question whether School of Art should continued to be maintained by the State was discussed in connection with Lord Kimberley’s Educational Despatch No. 128, dated the 9th November 1893, and the Report of the Art Conference, which was assembled in Lahore in 1894. The conclusion of the Government of India was that in the then existing stage of Technical education, it would be a mistaken policy to insist on casting all the provincial arrangements regarding Technical or Art Schools in the same mould. They considered it desirable that each Province should work out the scheme for such institutions on its own lines, and a anti-

20. Ibid.
cipated that the experience thus gained would facilitate the formation of a broad and general conclusion. (21) The Secretary of State agreed that it was inexpedient to withdraw State aid and control from Indian Schools of Art, and that public expenditure on them was justifiable. (22)

During the twentieth century greater attention was paid to technical education. Lord Curzon took a keen interest in the development of technical education. According to him the cause of technical education seemed to have suffered from lack of clear thinking, both on the part of the public and of the Government. There seemed to be a vague, general idea that in technical education would be found the economic regeneration of the country. He said that "technical education is to resuscitate our native industries, to find for them new markets and to recover old, to relieve agriculture, to develop the latent resources of the soil, to reduce the rush of our youths to literary courses and pursuits, to solve the economic problems and generally to revive a saturnian age." (23)

Lord Curzon was not satisfied with the earlier attempts made to impart technical education in India. The Government of


22. Educational Despatch No. 9, dated the 6th February 1896, from the Secretary of State to the Government of India.

India had of course taken a keen interest in technical education but this interest alone did not produce any results. As Curzon put it "the autumnal leaves are not more thickly strewn in Vallambrosa than the pigeon-holes of our Departments are filled with Resolutions on the subject inculcating the most specious and unimpeachable maxims in the most beautiful language." (24) He was very much disappointed with the existing industrial schools in India which were largely engaged in teaching carpentry and smithy-work to the boys who never intended to be carpenters or blacksmiths. "If technical education is to open a real field for the youth of India, it is obvious that it must be conducted on much more business-like principles." (25)

The Simla Conference convened by Lord Curzon discussed about technical education in India and defined it as the study of the scientific method and principles underlying the practice of any handicraft, industry and profession and the application of these methods and principles to the practice of the handicraft, industry, or profession in question. It was resolved in that conference that "all techni-


cal instruction must rest upon the basis of some preliminary education of a simple but practical nature." (26) The Conference also resolved that the functions and activity of the Education Departments, both of the Government of India and of the Local Governments, "should be devoted to the promotion of Technical Instruction, rather than to the development of trade; in other words, that a clear line should be drawn between educational effort and commercial enterprise." (27)

Lord Curzon's Government took active steps to provide technical education. In the first place, they constituted a Committee immediately after the Simla Conference of 1901, which held conferences with local authorities in provinces. The main recommendations of that Committee was the organisation of an apprentice system under which the master artisans would ply their trades on the school premises. This was not accepted by the Government of India, who proposed whole time schools at industrial centres for those who had reached a certain standard of general education, and for the encouragement of local handicrafts half time industrial primary schools the course in which should be designed with special reference to teaching accuracy of workmanship and familiarising the pupils with the best designs and processes applicable to their hereditary calling. Importance was also attached to the formation


27. Ibid, paragraph 6.
of an inspecting agency and the provision of scholarships.

There were in India during this period four schools of Art, at Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and Lahore. The aims to be pursued in them had been the subject of much discussion. The Government's opinion was that the true function of Indian Schools of Art was the encouragement of Indian art and art industries. Drawing, painting, illumination, modelling, photography were some of the arts taught in these institutions. The Government of India resolved that instruction in these institutions "should be directed to their expansion through the improvement of the skill and capacity of the pupil or workman, but it should not be pushed to the point of competing with local industries, of doing within the school what can equally be done outside, or of usurping the sphere of private enterprise." (28) They did not like the conversion of these schools into shops; nor did they like the officers of the Education Department to be responsible for extensive commercial transactions.

The Industrial Schools were intended to train intelligent artisans of various industries, and to further or develop those local industries which were capable of expansion by the application of improved methods of implements. Schools of

this type were not numerous, nor had they succeeded in doing much to promote the growth of industries. Some of them were conducted by the Government, either as separate institutions or as attached to Schools of Art, while others were managed by local authorities, or by private persons under a system of grant-in-aid. A large proportion of the pupils who attended these schools had no intention of practising the trade they learnt, but passed into clerical and other employments using the industrial schools merely in order to obtain that general education which they could acquire in ordinary schools at less cost to the State, but at greater cost to themselves. "Even for those who do intend to follow the trades taught in the industrial schools, it is feared that in some cases the teaching given does not provide a training of a sufficiently high standard to enable them to hold their own with artisans who have learnt their craft in the bazaar." (29) The industries selected were frequently not those which were locally of most importance, and there was an undue predominance of carpentry and blacksmith's work amongst them. Various remedial measures were taken such as restricting admission to those boys who were known by their caste or occupation to be likely to practise in later career the handicrafts taught in the schools and ordering the courses of study as would not lend themselves to the manufacture of

29. Ibid, paragraph 33.
clerks, but bear exclusively upon carefully selected industries. "A distinction will be drawn between these types of school which will be suitable for the large centres of industry, where capital is invested on a great scale and the need of trained artisans is already recognised by the employers, and those adapted to places where hand industries prevail and where the belief in the value of technical training has yet to make its way." (30)

The whole subject of technical education attracted much attention of the educated public and the various Provincial Governments. A series of industrial surveys were conducted in India between 1907 and 1912. There had also been a series of industrial conferences. In Madras, the Ootacamund Conference of 1908 recommended the creation of a department of industries and the transfer to it of the supervision of technical and industrial education. "This purpose has been sanctioned in part; but the pioneering of industries by Government was not allowed; it was held that State funds might be expended upon familiarising the people with such improvements in the methods of production as modern sciences and the practice of European countries can suggest and that it should be left to private enterprise to demonstrate that these improvements can be adopted with commercial advantage. " (31)

30. Ibid, paragraph 34.
In Bombay a Committee was constituted to consider the question of co-ordination between the courses of studies and the standards of technical institutions. A Committee in Bengal also was considering the question (among others) of a technological institute for Calcutta. A Conference for the U.P. was held in 1907 at Nainital. It recommended the establishment of a technological institute, a school of design, two industrial schools on the lines of that at Lucknow, an experimental weaving station and a carpentry school, the introduction of a practical character into general education and the appointment of a director of industrial enquiries, etc. A Committee constituted in the Punjab in 1911 considered that there was nothing radically defective in the course of study at the technical schools, but that the industrial teaching was often unintelligent owing to the employment of ill-paid artisans. In 1909 a conference was held in Eastern Bengal and Assam; this also recommended the formation of a special department and the establishment of a central industrial institute at Dacca, with demonstration factories.

The question whether industrial education should be under the departments of public instruction, or transferred to departments of industry as they arose, or transferred to departments of industry only if those schools were organised on a more or less commercial basis, was one which was not decided by the Government of India. Different arrangements
existed in different provinces. In Madras a department of industries was created in 1909-10, of which the director undertook the inspection of industrial schools. The creation of this department was vetoed by the Secretary of State, and inspection was retained in the hands of a superintendent of industrial education under the department of public instruction.

The system of state technical scholarships commenced in 1904. The object was to "qualify the holders on returning to India to assist in promoting the improvement of existing native industries and the development of new industries, especially those which are or may be organised on a considerable scale and those in which Indian capital is or may be embarked." (32) Nominations for the award of scholarships were made by the Local Governments and the final selections by the Government of India. The scholar was expected to have had the best education available in the industry he intended to study, a practical interest in the subject and the intention of devoting himself in India to the practice of what he had learnt. In order of popularity the subjects chosen were textiles, mining and mining engineering, mechanical engineering, leather, metallurgy, soap-making and the chemistry of oil and fats, sugar industry, alkali, pottery, and

32. Ibid., p. 176.
engineering and sanitary science. Ordinarily one scholarship was awarded to each province annually subject to a total limit of ten scholarships.

The Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore was initiated by Mr. J. N. Tata, the Parsi merchant; but the scheme did not take final shape till after his death. The Tata family gave annually Rs. 1,25,000 and the contribution of the Government of India amounted to Rs. 87,000 a year. The Mysore Government contributed a site and five lakhs towards the initial expense, and the Government of India gave two and a half lakhs towards the same. The institute opened in July 1911 provided for research, the application of new processes and the production of thoroughly trained managers.

The policy to be pursued in regard to technical and industrial education was discussed at the Allahabad Conference of Directors of Public Instruction. The Government of India accepted the conclusions of that Conference and resolved in 1913 that:

"(1) The Indian Institute of Science, which provides for research, the application of new processes and the production of thoroughly trained managers, should be developed, as opportunity offers, and become eventually a complete faculty of pure and applied science;

(2) The larger provincial institutions, which attract students from different parts of India, and afford instruction in practical methods of management and supervision, should in the first instance specialise along lines converging on local industries -
a plan which will prevent overlapping and make for economy. Subsequently, as industries arise and the demand for managers and foreman increases, other and more varied courses may be found necessary;

(3) The lesser industrial schools, minor weaving institutions, such as schools of art as have an industrial bent, the artisan classes in Bengal, and trade schools generally, should be more permanently directed toward such industries as exist in the localities where the institutions are situated." (33)

The question again arose as to how far educational institutions should develop on commercial lines. It was decided by the Government of India that "while educational institutions should in no case trade on commercial lines, in certain cases instruction in industrial schools may be supplemented by practical training in workshops where the application of new processes needs to be demonstrated. In certain cases, also, it will be necessary to purchase and maintain experimental plant for demonstrating the advantage of new machinery or new processes, and for ascertaining the data of production." (34)

Interesting developments before 1920 were the rise at the Calcutta institution of a new school of Indian painting, which combined Indian treatment of subjects with western technique, and the foundation of an architectural branch in the institution at Bombay. During the period, the Govern-

33. Resolution of 1913, (n. 34, p. 419), paragraph 30.
34. Ibid, paragraph 31.
ment of India had also to seek expert advice on technical and industrial education from time to time. In 1911-12 the Principal of the Thomason College, Roorkee, Lieutenant Colonel E.H. de V. Atkinson, R.E., and the Principal of the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Bombay, Mr. T.S. Dawson were deputed to enquire how technical institutions could be brought into closer touch and more practical relations with the employers of labour in India. Their report emphasised the necessity of studying the demand for technically-trained men, of attracting Indian capital to industrial enterprise and of supplementing tuition at college by a period of apprenticeship. In 1915 an Industrial Commission was set up under Sir Thomas Holland.

The Central Advisory Board discussed the question of educational reconstruction in India. At its first annual meeting, the Board passed the resolution that "a radical readjustment of the present system of education in schools should be made in such a way as not only to prepare pupils for professional and university courses, but also to enable them at the completion of appropriate stages, to be diverted to occupations or to separate vocational institutions." (35)

The Central Advisory Board suggested a scheme which

would include institutions with varying courses:

(a) preparing students for admission to universities in arts and science;
(b) for agricultural training;
(c) for clerical training; and
(d) for training in selected technical subjects, which should be chosen in consultation with employees.

The Board was of the opinion that expert advice would be of value in organizing the scheme of reconstruction outlined above.

The Government of India invited Messrs. A. Abbott, formerly Chief Inspector of Technical Schools, Board of Education, England, and S.H. Wood, Director of Intelligence, Board of Education, England. They visited the country during the winter of 1936-37 and submitted their report in June 1937. The report is divided into two parts, namely, (1) General Education and Administration by Mr. Wood and (2) Vocational Education by Mr. Abbott. The recommendations with regard to vocational education were:

(1) The expansion of vocational education should not greatly outstrip the development of industry.

(2) General and vocational education are not essentially different branches, but the earlier and later phases of a continuous process. Each subject in the vocational school has its origin in the non-vocational school.

(3) Vocational education must be based on an adequate general education. The entrance standard should not, as a rule, be below that reached at the end of
the Middle School (Class VIII). Pupils from this stage can be admitted to 'Junior Vocational Schools'. Pupils who have successfully completed the Higher Secondary School Course can be admitted to 'Senior Vocational Schools'.

(4) The Junior Vocational School, receiving its pupils at the end of Class VIII and providing a two year course, would be parallel to the Higher Secondary School. The Senior Vocational School, receiving its pupils at the end of Class XI and providing a two year course, would be parallel to the Higher Secondary School. Part-time schools should be provided for the further education of young men already in employment. A limited number of Higher Secondary Schools should have an agricultural bias.

Nothing was done by the Government of India to implement even some of the suggestions.

The main recommendation of all the Committees, Conferences and Boards was the provision of alternative course of technical education in schools. Pure technical schools were also started by the Provincial Governments. The Second World War assisted this trend considerably as it required a large number of technically trained recruits. The development of Indian industries during the war also helped the introduction of technical education in the schools. The movement was kept going on during and after the War. In 1944 the Central Advisory Board of Education in its report on Post-war Education Development pointed out that "in view of the prospective needs of post-war industry and commerce for skilled technicians, and in order to cater for the aptitude of those who will derive greater benefits from a practical course, the establishment of an efficient system of Technical Education at all stages, on the lines set out in the
report of the Technical Education Committee, is a matter of great urgency." (36) The Board recommended that the type of Technical school was to be determined to a large extent by the requirements of industry and commerce. Four types of Technical schools were recommended: (a) Junior Technical or Industrial Institution or Trade School with a two-year course after the Senior Basic Stage; (b) Technical High School with a six-year course after the Junior Basic Stage; (c) Senior Technical Institutions - the duration of course to be fixed in consultation with employers; and (d) University Technological Departments, providing facilities for research-work. Part-time schools were also found necessary. The Report of the Central Advisory Board of Education offered a plan for the development of Technical education at an estimated cost of Rupees ten crores.

In spite of all these efforts of Government the progress in Technical education before independence was slow. The following Table will give an idea of the slow progress made:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutions</th>
<th>1931-32</th>
<th>1936-37</th>
<th>1942-43</th>
<th>1945-46</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Engineering colleges</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College of Technology</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Schools</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>536</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>654</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though the policy was to encourage Technical education the progress made was slow partly on account of lack of funds and partly of lack of trained teachers.

37. S.N. Mukerji, (n.35, p.541), Table IV.