SECTION: ONE

EVOLUTION OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY
Chapter I

EARLY POLICY

Education is no exotic in India. There is no country where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence. "An education system in India", says Ramsey Macdonald, "is as old as Hindu ritual and was originally connected with it, and the life of the student was the first stage in the great pilgrimage to his being's accomplishment. The relation of teacher and pupil was as close and tender as that of father and son; the young men who sought instruction was praised and he found schools and teachers available. In time science, mathematics, logic, philosophy and the other ways to knowledge were differentiated and studied, colleges were opened, great names were made,... But with the break-up of Indian government after Aurangzeb, misery and anarchy submerged education; and it sank to such a low level that it ceased to have any influence of the country. Still, the tradition survived, and if it cannot be said that education flourished schools existed in very large numbers." (1)

The policy of the British rulers in the beginning was

to leave the traditional modes of instruction undisturbed and to continue the support which they had been accustomed to receive from Indian rulers. There was no State system of education in England, and this perhaps was the reason for the indifference of the British rulers in the beginning to the educational system in India. They found in India systems of education of great antiquity existing among both Hindus and Muslims, closely bound with their respective religious institutions. To give and receive instruction was enjoined by the sacred books of the Brahmans. For the low classes, village schools were scattered over the country, in which a rudimentary education was given to the children of traders, petty land holders and well-to-do cultivators. The higher education of the Muslims was in the hands of men of learning, who devoted themselves to the instruction of youth. Schools were attached to mosques and shrines and supported by State grants in cash or land, or by private liberality. The spirit of the times did not encourage the East India Company to undertake any responsibility for the education of the people over whom they ruled.

The policy of the Company was that of not recognising that the promotion of education among the natives of India was part of their duty or obligation. The main object of the Company was the promotion of trade and the care of schools did not at first concern them at all. But by and they began to feel the responsibility. They accepted the
call to govern and began to enquire into the condition of
the people. Before 1793 the East India Company had played
only a comparatively unimportant part in educational pro-
jects in India. The Presidency Governments had made
several attempts to provide instruction for the children
of the Company's soldiers. The elementary education of
Indians, however, in so far as the Europeans played any
part in it, was undertaken almost entirely by the mission-
aries backed by the Government. The Government did not
assume any direct charge of the education of the country
during the early period.

Education in the early stages of the Company's rule
was closely linked with gospel work. "As early as 1614
steps were taken for the recruitment of Indians for the
propagation of gospel among their countrymen and for
impacting to these missionaries such education at the
Company's expense as will enable them to carry out effec-
tively the purposes for which they were enlisted. Captain
Best took home an Indian youth, christened him Peter and
educated him at the Company's expense." (2) In 1638, a
Professorship of Arabic was established at the University
of Oxford by Archbishop Laud with the object of giving
special training to missionaries for work in India. In the
Despatch of 1659 the Court of Directors formally declared

2. M.N. LAV, Promotion of Learning in India by Early Euro-
pean Settlers, (Longman and Green, 1915), p. 3
that it was their earnest desire, by all possible means, to spread Christianity among the people of India, and allowed missionaries to embark on their ships. In 1670, they made inquiries about the education of the children of Fort St. George at Madras and, appointed a Scotch preacher named Pringle after three years on £ 50 a year to teach the elements of English and the Protestant religion to the children of Portuguese and British Eurasians and of a few Indian subordinates.

In order to regularise and give a fillip to these activities of the Company, a 'missionary' clause was inserted in the Charter of the Company renewed in 1698. This clause desired the Company to maintain ministers of religion at their factories in India and to take a chaplain in every ship of 500 tons or more and also "to apply themselves to learn be the native language, the better to enable them to instruct the Cenatoos that will be the servants and slaves of the same Company or of their agents in Protestant religion." This Charter also directed the Company "to provide school masters in all the Garrisons and Superior Factories where they shall be found necessary."(3) It had the effect of making education of the people one of the duties of the Company's chaplains.

Following this the Madras Government established St. Mary's School in Madras in 1715 for instruction to

3. Charter of the East India Company, dated 5th September 1698
children of English soldiers in the doctrines of the Church of England and for teaching the boys "to read, write, cast accounts, or what they may be further capable of," and the girls "reading and the necessary arts of housewifely." (4) The first public effort to educate the 'Malabar' or Tamil people, however, was at the hand of the missionaries who established two charity schools -(5) one for the Portuguese in the English town, and another for 'Malabares' in the Black Town in Madras. Emulating the activities of the missionaries the Company established in 1717 a school for native children at Cuddalore. This was the beginning of the great system of Anglo-Vernacular education maintained under the patronage of the Government in the Madras Presidency.

The policy of financial allotment for education was initiated by the Court of Directors in 1752. In their Despatch of that year a sum of 500 pagodas was annually assigned to the Madras Government for the encouragement, at their discretion, of missionary activities. (6) The importance of this clause is that, though limited in scope, it did lay the foundation of some sort of education by the

4. Law, n. 2, p. 3.

5. Charity Schools were for the education of children of the poor. Most of them owed their origin to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded in England in 1698.

6. A.P. Howell, Education in British India prior to 1854 and in 1870-71, (Calcutta, 1872), p. 3.
Company. No doubt, the benefit of education was bestowed on
the Europeans and Anglo-Indian children who lived in the
possessions of the Company and not on the people of India
at large. Yet the Despatch of 1752 made the beginning of
the Company's education in India.

It will be evident from the above survey of educa-
tional activities in India that the educational policy of
the Presidency Government of Madras was formulated by the
Court of Directors in London. Except for the mild encourage-
ment given to the missionaries for educational activities,
the Court of Directors did not favour the education of the
Indians in general. Down to the year 1813, the same feeling
of indifference to the education of Indians continued to
prevail among the ruling authorities in England.

A policy of mild encouragement for higher education was
initiated by the first Governor - General of Fort William,
Lord Warren Hastings, in Bengal. Roused by a petition from
a considerable number of respectable Muhammadans, Warren
Hastings had founded a Madrasah or college in Calcutta in
1781. The Supreme Government of Fort William continued to
favour higher education whereas the policy of the Governments
in the South was that of encouragement to school education.
When John Owen, Chaplain to the Bengal Presidency, requested
the Government to establish schools for the purpose of
teaching English "to the natives of these provinces" no
action was taken by the Supreme Government. In 1791 the
Supreme Government opened a Sanskrit College at Benares to
encourage Sanskrit scholarship. The policy of the Govern-
ment in starting higher institutions of learning was purely utilitarian. The courses of study in the Madrassah and the Sanskrit College were strictly oriental in nature so as to train a number of persons sufficiently versed in Hindu and Muslim Laws to satisfy the requirements of the judicial administration of the Company.

The Company's Government in India had to accept, in course of time, that it was their duty to communicate to the Indian subjects the intellectual and moral conceptions of England. This policy was not initiated by statesmen and administrators in England but was advocated by the religious reformers. Chief among them was Charles Grant who had served in India, and was a Director of the East India Company. But his inspiration came from the evangelical revival, "a movement which gave a new impetus to missionary enterprise, and at the same time brought into British imperial policy a humanitarian spirit, of which the abolition of the slave trade was the most striking manifestation." (7) He submitted a memorandum in which he lamented the low moral condition of the people of India and observed that "the true cure of darkness is the introduction of light. The Hindus err, because they are ignorant." He pleaded the Company to improve their condition by imparting to them a knowledge of the English language which was to serve as "a key which will open to the world of new ideas." As the Muslim rulers had

taught Persian to the Indians, he felt, that the English men should teach English to the people of India in the same way. According to him it would be extremely easy for Government to establish, at moderate expense, in various parts of the country, places of gratuitous instruction in reading and writing English. He said that "the Hindus, in time, would become teachers of English themselves; and the employment of our language in public business, for which every political reason remains in full force, would, in the course of another generation, make it very general throughout the country. There is nothing wanting to the success of this plan, but the hearty patronage of Government." (8)

In 1792-93, when the House of Commons debated the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company, Charles Grant urged Wilberforce, the famous philanthropist, to move a resolution emphasising the adoption of such steps as would lead to the advancement in the useful knowledge of the people of India. The resolution ran as follows:

"That it is the peculiar bounden duty of the British Legislature to promote by all just and prudent means the interest and happiness of the British Dominion in India; and that for these ends such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge and to their religious and moral improvement." (9)

Wilberforce suggested the sending of masters and missionaries

9. Howell, n. 6, p. 3
to India for promoting useful knowledge.

The move of Wilberforce was opposed by the Directors. It was maintained that the Hindus had "as good a system of faith and morals as most people." It was feared that the introduction of education in India would result in the loss of the colony. During the debate on the resolution one of the Directors stated that "we had just lost America from our folly, in having allowed the establishment of schools and colleges, and that it would not do for us to repeat the same act of folly in regard to India; and that if the natives required anything in the way of education, they must come to England for it." (10) The resolution was excluded from the final draft of the Charter Renewal Bill. There was a genuine fear for the economic stability of the Company and as such this revolutionary policy of State's responsibility for the education of the subjects was not welcome. The proposal, however, gave rise to a very memorable debate, in which, for the first time, the policy of the Court of Directors - a policy of indifference to the education of Indians - was expressed.

The Marquis of Wellesley, impressed with the "sloth, indolence, low debauchery and vulgarity," which too often grew upon the younger servants of the Company, decided that

they should have a proper education in Calcutta. In 1800 he founded the Calcutta College for the education of the civil servants of the Company. Here as the statutes remind us, "the civil servants of the Company, no longer 'the agents of a commercial concern' but guardians of 'a sacred trust', were to study the people and their languages, improve their morals and fortify their minds." (11) Provision was made in the Calcutta College for the study of the oriental languages, and for lectures on almost every branch of literature and science. The Directors were hesitant to sanction such a salutary undertaking as Wellesley's College. They were worried about an enlarged debt in India and the consequent depression in public credit. They did not want to restrict measures of enlightenment, but they were compelled to exert a close supervision of expenditure. For the Governor-General to inaugurate an expensive project without first seeking their approbation was risk which the precarious state of the Company's finances could not permit them to condone. (12)

The next Governor-General who gave education his serious consideration was Lord Minto. He considered that the principal cause of the neglected state of education in India was

the lack of encouragement which was formerly afforded to
it by princes, chieftains and opulent individuals. In his
opinion such encouragement "must always operate as a strong
incentive to study and literary exertions but especially
in India, where the learned professions have little, if
any other, support." (13) Minto suggested Government
interference with a fostering hand for the revival of
learning in India. But Minto was unable to propose any
original means of satisfying the country's requirement,
and in spite of the overt failure of the Madrassah and of
the Benares Sanskrit College, his only suggestion was to
try to improve them as much as possible and to set up
similar institutions at Nadia and Tirhut, both in the
Bengal Presidency. (14) The minute of Minto is a very
important document as it suggested for the first time
Government interference in the educational system of the
country.

The policy so far had been that of indifference and
non-interference. The Government left undisturbed the net-
work of indigenous schools, the *tols* and *madrassahs* (the
seats of higher Sanskrit and Arabic learning), as well as
the *pattashalas* and *maktabs* (the Hindu and Muslim elementary
schools). The Company was more interested in the

commercial career and did not want to play an active role in the field of education. Further the Company did not recognise the promotion of education as part of their duty or obligation. Even in England in those days education was regarded as the proper sphere of private enterprise and as such the Government in India ignored it. In spite of this indifference it is interesting to note that a few individuals of high official rank in the administration of India were not altogether forgetful of the moral necessity of spreading education in India.
Chapter II

EDUCATIONAL CONTROVERSIES

The policy in the beginning was that of indifference. But gradually when the pendulum swung from commerce to administration Government had to undertake the responsibility of instructing the people. With this responsibility arose the great educational controversies concerning the policy, the medium of instruction, the agency, the content of education and the mode of spreading education. These controversies that arose with the passing of the Charter Act of 1813 continued up to 1854 when the Educational Despatch of that year defined the policy of the Government in clear terms.

The Charter of 1813 forms a turning point in the educational policy of the Company's Government. The education of the Indian people was definitely included within the sphere of duties of the East India Company. The following clause in the Act represents the first imposition upon the Supreme Government of Fort William of the duty of fostering education in India:

"It shall be lawful for the Governor-General in Council to direct that out of any surplus which may remain of the rents, revenues, and profits arising from the said territorial acquisitions, after defraying the expense of the military, civil and commercial establishments
and paying the interest of the debt, in manner hereinafter provided, a sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of the literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the science among the inhabitants of the British territories in India; and that any schools, public lectures, or other institutions for the purposes aforesaid which shall be founded at the Presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay or in any other parts of the British territories in India, in virtue of this act, shall be governed by such regulations as may from time to time be made by the said Governor-General in Council, not subject nevertheless to such powers as are herein vested in the said Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India respecting colleges and seminaries; provided always, that all appointments to offices in such schools, lecturerships, and other institutions, shall be made by or under the authority of the Government within which the same shall be situated." (1)

The novelty of the idea, which was not copied in England for another period of twenty years, found the Directors of the East India Company unable to propose any useful suggestion for implementing the order. It was lawful and not obligatory still! Lacking any directive from England, the Supreme Government of Fort William was further handicapped by the absence of any assurance that even so small a sum as the clause required would be available as surplus revenue for several years to come. (2) The allotment was only out of the surplus profit after meeting all the expenses of

1. Clause 45 of the East India Company Act of 1813.

military, civil and commercial establishments. In spite of these practical difficulties in implementing this order, this document is considered to be a very important one since the British Parliament admitted for the first time that education in India had a claim on public revenues.

The Court of Directors were against the educational grant. In 1814 they issued their first Educational Despatch which showed very clearly that they were not a little embarrassed over the expenditure of the grant which had been forced on them by Parliament. They conveyed to the Supreme Government in India their views and sentiments as to the mode in which they wished the enactment to be given effect to. In view of the peculiar circumstances of the political relation with India it had become incumbent upon them, the Court of Directors said, "from motives of policy, as well as from a principle of justice, to consult the feelings, and even to yield to the prejudices, of the natives, whenever it can be done with safety to our dominions." They suggested to the Supreme Government certain general measures of education that might be taken in pursuance of the Charter Act. Adverting to the principal object of the clause of the Act they said that "the clause presents two distinct propositions for consideration: first, the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and the revival and improvement of literature; secondly, the
promotion of knowledge of the sciences amongst the inhabitants of that country." In their opinion none of the objects of the clause could be achieved "through the medium of public colleges... because the natives of caste and of reputation will not submit to the subordination and discipline of a college." The best method, they suggested, was to leave them "to the practice of an usage, long established amongst them, of giving instruction at their own houses, and by our encouraging them in the exercise and cultivation of their talents, by the stimulus of honorary marks of distinction, and in some instances by grants of pecuniary assistance." (3)

In a short the Directors advocated a programme in which the mode of instruction was to be entirely oriental - even the content and scope were to preserve their original character. There was no reference to English education. This was a mere phase in the educational policy of the authorities in London because the attitude of the Directors changed within a few years in favour of English education.

Following this policy, Lord Moira, better known as Marquis of Hastings, the then Governor-General, agreed to spend a large sum of money on higher Oriental studies. He also appreciated the need for organising mass education, and declared that a strong Government could exist only on

3. Educational Despatch of 1814, From the Affairs of the East India Company, vol. 1 (1832)
the enlightenment of the people and not on their ignorance. He was of the opinion that it would be a betrayal of national morality to perpetuate ignorance for the sake of sordid political considerations. (4)

The first systematic effort of educating the Indians was made by the Calcutta School Society which was founded in 1818 under the presidency of Marquis of Hastings. The objects of the Society were "to assist and improve existing schools, and to establish and support any further schools and seminaries which may be requisite; with a view to the more general diffusion of useful knowledge among the inhabitants of India of every description especially within the provinces subject to the Presidency of Fort William, and to select pupils of distinguished talents and merit from elementary and other schools, and to provide for their instruction in seminaries of a higher degree, with a view of forming a body of qualified teachers and translators who may be instrumental in enlightening their countrymen, and improving the general system of education." (5) A scheme was submitted to the Court of Directors in 1821 which suggested the establishment of a Sanskrit College at Calcutta. The scheme evoked a Despatch from the Court of Directors, believed to have been written by James Mill, the


tone of which was very hostile.

In spite of the opposition the Calcutta School Society opened numerous schools and took steps for training teachers. As early as 1821, it had 115 vernacular schools with a total strength of 3,828 pupils. In 1823 Government sanctioned an annual grant of Rs.6,000 for the maintenance of these schools. The Court of Directors approved of this grant. Mr. Howell regards this as "the first recognition on the part of the Court of Directors in England of the claims of education for the masses in India." (6)

Having accepted the responsibility Government faced the problem of controlling the established schools. In 1823 they appointed a Committee called the General Committee of Public Instruction, to which was entrusted, subject to the general control of the Government, the education of the country. The Committee contained ten members of the civil service. The annual grant of one lakh of rupees, which was required by the Charter Act to be appropriated to the purposes of education, was placed at the disposal of the Committee. Moreover, it was considered desirable that the Committee should possess at the beginning itself a considerable fund to enable themselves to carry out the measures they might fit or necessary to undertake, without being stinted in the means of doing so. It was therefore resolved by the Government that the assignment of one lakh of rupees should

6. Howell (n. 6, p. 3)
take effect from 1821 - 22. Accordingly, for each of the years 1821 - 22 and 1822 - 23, the sum of Rupees 83,000 (which remained after deducting the expenses of certain existing schools at Chinsura, Rajputana and Bhagalpur that were charged on the one lakh) was carried to the credit of the Education Fund. (7) The first members of the Committee were men with orientalist views and ideas or with strong predilections for them; (8) and the profound Sanskrit scholar, Dr. H.H. Wilson, was appointed as the Secretary of the Committee.

The broad lines of the future policy of the Committee were clearly indicated in a 'Note', dated 17th July 1823, by Mr. Hold Mackenzie, Secretary to Government in the Territorial Department. This note appears to reflect the views of the Government on education on the eve of their embarking on measures for its promotion. In their letter of instructions to the Committee, (9) the Supreme Government referred "to the better instruction of the people, to the introduction of useful knowledge including the sciences and arts of Europe, and to the improvement of their moral character," as the grand object to the attainment of which the Committee had to direct their endeavours. There was

7. General Letter from the Governor-General in Council, in the Department of Public Instruction, to the Court of Directors dated 27th January 1826, paras 6 - 8.


no explicit reference in the letter to oriental learning or literature. Consequently, the set form of words used in it appears to have led later on to the notion that the Government of the day did not contemplate an orientalist basis for their educational policy and that they were in favour of European knowledge. This is the beginning of the great controversy over oriental education.

It is interesting to note that the educational policy adopted in the various Presidency Governments during the first half of the nineteenth century was not the same. The policy followed in Western India was to work through the vernaculars whereas in Bengal Presidency classical languages were given importance. In 1821 a Special Committee for education was set up in the Bombay Presidency in order to 1) to publish suitable vernacular books, 2) to improve existing schools for Indian children and 3) to start new schools. A year later as work increased the original Special Committee was divided into two distinct parts: one, preserving the original name, was to continue its attention to the education of European and Eurasian children only, and the other - a new body, the Bombay Native Book and School Society (better known as Bombay Native Education Society since 1827 - was to spread education amongst other classes. In 1823, the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, submitted his scheme to the Court of Directors, the principal object of which was the encouragement of vernacular
education. To conciliate the Directors, Elphinstone pointed out that the cost of the schools to the Company would be small, and would be largely borne by villages. In 1824 a deputation from the Bombay Native School Book and School Society waited upon Elphinstone and requested the Governor to grant monetary assistance for the establishment of a school. The reply of the Governor to the deputation reflected the educational policy of the Government. Elphinstone replied: "many of the measures necessary for the diffusion of education must depend on the spontaneous zeal of individuals, and could not be effected by any resolutions of the Government. The promotion of these measures, therefore, should be committed to the society; but there are others which require an organised system, and a greater degree of regularity and permanence than can be expected from any plan, the success of which is to depend upon personal character. This last branch, therefore, must be undertaken by the Government." (10)

The policy followed in the Madras Presidency also was also quite different from that of Bengal Presidency. While Bengal gave encouragement for higher education, Madras gave importance to the elementary education of the masses. Sir Thomas Munro, the Madras Governor, directed the Collectors to report on the education of the people in their respective

districts. The report of A.D. Campbell, the Collector of Bellary, submitted in 1823, was the most comprehensive and representative. Campbell gave the reason for the decline of education as follows: "There is no doubt that in former times, especially under the Hindu Governments, very large grants, both in money and in land, were issued for the support of learning. Of the 533 institutions for education now existing in this district, I am ashamed to say, not one now derives any support from the State." (11) Sir Thomas Munro who summed up the results of the various reports reached the conclusion that the downfall of the existing system of education was ascribable mainly to two reasons, one, the apathetic attitude of the Government and the other, the poverty of the people. The Governor took steps to give financial aid to the existing ones and started new institutions. In his Minute, dated 10th May 1826, he proposed the printing and publishing of text-books for the schools and training of the teachers. He approached the Court of Directors with an appeal for an annual grant of Rs.48,000/- with a view to put his entire plan into operation and the Court of Directors sanctioned the amount in 1828.

Munro encouraged mass education in his Presidency. The Court of Directors, however, believed in educating the higher classes of the society first as in the case of Bengal

11. A.D. Campbell, Report, Dated 17th August 1823.
and in their Despatch they directed the Madras Government to change their educational policy. They considered that the improvement in education "which most effectually contribute to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of a 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 numerous class." This policy that education imparted to higher classes will in course of time permeate to masses from above, was known as the "Downward Filtration Theory." This had been the policy of the Supreme Government during the first half of the nineteenth century and the Court of Directors wanted the Madras Government to follow the example of the Supreme Government of Fort William in imparting instruction to the higher classes of the society first. They said that "these measures have been attended with a degree of success which, considering the short time during which they have been in operation, is in the highest degree satisfactory and justifies the most sanguine hopes with respect to the practicability of spreading useful knowledge among the Natives of India and diffusing among them ideas and sentiments prevalent in civilized
Europe. We are desirous that similar measures be adopted at your Presidency." (12)

With the appointment of Lord William Bentinck as Governor-General, the educational policy of the Government which had been hitherto uncertain and vacillating, began to assume a concrete and stable form. In 1830, Rev. William Adam, a missionary of great industry, sent a memorandum on the subject of Education to the Governor-General at the latter's request. Adam pointed out that the educational survey of the country was an indispensable preliminary to every other measure. The survey, however, was ordered by Lord William Bentinck five years later in his minute dated the 20th January 1835. Adam criticised the Government's educational policy in his report and suggested a scheme for the improvement and extension of indigenous education. He concluded his report by appealing to the Government to undertake the education of the vast masses. He said that "the lapse of half a century and the operation of that principle have produced a new state of society which calls for a more enlarged and liberal policy. The moral duties require encouragement. The arts which adorn and embellish life will follow in ordinary course. It is for the credit of the British name that this beneficial

12. Despatch of the Court of Directors to the Madras Government, dated 29th September 1830, paras. 4 to 8.
revolution should arise under British sway. To be the source of blessings to the immense population of India is an ambition worthy of our country. In proportion as we have found intellect neglected and sterile here, the obligation is the stronger on us to cultivate it. The field is noble. May we till it worthily!" (13) This appeal of Rev. Adam did not have any effect. The suggestions submitted by him for the improvement of the vernacular schools were considered "almost impracticable" and too expensive by the Council of Education whose members hoped that the improvement of education among the upper and middle classes would react favourably on the rural vernacular schools and would in time bring about the desired result. The "Downward Filtration Theory" in education continued to be favoured by the authorities.

Meanwhile the Charter Act of 1813 came for renewal and the British Parliament passed the Charter Act of 1833 which empowered the Governor of Bengal Presidency to exercise his control over the other two Presidencies of British India and thus fully authorised him to direct the educational policy of those regions as well. The grant at the disposal of the Committee of Public Instruction was increased by the Act from £10,000 to £100,000. This strengthened the hope of further educational expansion. The Committee of Public Instruction had, on an average, been spending more than

double the authorised amount. (14) The Charter added a
fourth member (Law Member) to the Governor-General's
Executive Council and the first Law Member, Lord Macaulay,
was responsible for shaping the educational policy of
Bentinck's Government. With his arrival on the scene the
controversy over oriental education took a new turn.

Lord Macaulay made a vigorous plea through a very
forceful minute for the spreading of western learning through
the medium of English. He argued that "we are not fettered
by the Act of Parliament of 1813, that we are not fettered
by any pledge expressed or implied, that we are free to
employ them in teaching what is best worth knowing, that
English is better worth knowing than Sanskrit or Arabic, that
the natives are desirous to be taught English, and are not
desirous to be taught Sanskrit or Arabic, that neither as
the languages of law nor as the languages of religion have
the Sanskrit and Arabic any peculiar claim to our encourage-
ment, that it is possible to make natives of this country
thoroughly good English scholars, and that to this end our
efforts ought to be directed." (15)

Macaulay also believed in the "Downward Filtration Theory."
He wanted the limited fund at the disposal of the Government
to be used for creating a social class between the Govern-
ment and the masses. He argued that it was impossible, with
the limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the

14. F.W. Thomas, The History and Prospects of British Educa-
people. "We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern — a class of persons Indians in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicle for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population." (16) Macaulay perhaps believed that this class well versed in English language and western education would never take the trouble of refining the vernacular dialects of the country. The "Downward Filtration Theory" continued to be advocated by the policy framers of the Government of India.

Lord William Bentinck gave his entire concurrence to the sentiments expressed in Macaulay's Minute. By a Government Resolution he passed the following orders:

"His Lordship in Council is of the opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone." (17)

This policy to have Western education in the place of native Oriental education was adopted after a prolonged discussion, between men of extraordinary attainments and

16. Ibid, para. 29
17. Government Resolution, dated 7th March 1835, Resolution I.
rare scholarships ranged on the different sides of the controversy, as to the relative merits of Eastern and Western culture and the benefits which each would confer on the Indian mind.

The declaration of Lord William Bentinck gave to the educational policy in India a definite form. The aim and type of education were clearly defined. The rulers in India had decided on a great departure from their accepted policy to interfere as little as possible. They had resolved to introduce a system of education which was based on a study of Western thought and ideas and, as a corollary to this decision, they of the opinion that this instruction should be imparted, in the main, through the medium of alien race. It was believed in those days that this resolution would bring about a change in the national mind of India. Speaking of the resolution Alexander Duff said that "like the laws which silently, but with resistless power, regulate the movements of the material universe, these educationary operations, which are of the nature and force of moral laws, will proceed onwards till they terminate in effecting a universal change in the national mind of India." (18) It is hardly possible to exaggerate the

importance of this resolution.

Nothing was mentioned about the "Downward Filtration Theory" strongly recommended by Lord Macaulay. Again in 1837 Macaulay stated in a separate minute his views on the subject. He said that "we do not at present aim at giving education directly to the lower classes of the people of this vast country. We aim at raising up an educated class who will hereafter, as we hope, be the means of diffusing among their countrymen some portion of the knowledge we have imparted to them." (19) He wanted to raise a class of persons English in everything except in colour and blood. The Public Instruction Committee of Bengal also agreed with Macaulay and decided to concentrate on the education of the upper and middle strata of society. The Christian missionaries too supported this view and hoped that the doctrines imparted to the higher castes would be propagated to the masses below in course of time. Though there was no clear declaration by the Government in favour of the "Downward Filtration Theory", Macaulay's ambition to create a special class was ultimately fulfilled by Government. They felt it convenient to create a class who would take up high and responsible posts in the Government and with this intention they introduced Western education in India with English as the medium of instruction.

Lord Auckland too was a great supporter of the Western education and the "Downward Filtration Theory." He felt that the Indian youths would not come to schools to be instructed in vernacular composition. Rejecting Adam's recommendations for encouraging vernacular education Auckland paim wrote that "it is impossible to read his valuable and intelligent report, without being pain-
fully impressed with the low state of instruction as it exists among the immense masses of the Indian people...
The inference irresistibly presents itself that among these is not the field in which our efforts can at present be most successfully employed. The small stock of know-
ledge which can now be given in elementary schools will of itself do little for the advancement of a people. The first step must be to diffuse wider information and better sentiments amongst the upper and middle classes." (20)
He thus only reaffirmed the policy of Macaulay and Bentinck. Lord Auckland's Minute shaped the educational policy and all subsequent reforms and improvements up to 1854.

The Court of Directors approved Lord Auckland's policy. They, however, did not express any definite opinion on the subject and said that "we forbear at present from expressing an opinion regarding the most efficient mode of communicating and disseminating

European knowledge. Experience, indeed, does not yet warrant the adoption of any exclusive system. We wish a fair trial to be given to the experiment of engrafting European knowledge on the studies of the existing learned classes, encouraged as it will be by giving to the Seminaries in which these studies are prosecuted, the aid of able and efficient European superintendence." (21) At the same time the Directors had authorised the Government to give all suitable encouragement to translations of European works into the vernacular languages. They also endorsed the policy of Lord Auckland in educating the existing learned classes in the European knowledge.

A direct and powerful impetus to the study of English was given by Lord Hardinge as soon as he assumed office in 1844. His resolution stated that in the selection of candidates for the public service preference would in future be given to those who had distinguished themselves in the English language. The Council of Education was entrusted with the task of preparing a list of suitable candidates for Government employment from among the best students of various institutions. While practically no efforts were made by Government for the education of the masses before 1844, Lord Hardinge for the first time took an interest in the education of the humbler classes. But the only step that he

took was to give preference to the educated youth in filling the lowest offices under Government. His resolution ran as follows:

"With a view still further to promote and encourage the diffusion of knowledge among the humbler classes of the people, the Governor General is also pleased to direct that even in the selection of persons to fill the lowest offices under the Government, respect be had to the relative acquirements of the candidates, and that in every instance a man who can read and write be preferred to one who cannot." (22)

The education of girls did not attract Government's attention. It was left entirely to the fostering care of individuals and private societies. The attention of the authorities does not appear to have been directed to the subject until many years after they had adopted definite measures for the education of the boys. This is evident from the fact that in none of the general despatches relating to educational matters submitted to or received from the Court of Directors during the first half of the nineteenth century is there any reference to the education of Indian girls and women. The authorities both in England and in India were of opinion that any attempt to introduce female education, when there was no demand for it, might be regarded by the people as an interference with their social customs.

Instigated by Mr. Bethune, who in May 1849 had success-

fully opened a female school in Calcutta, the Governor-
General in Council, Lord Dalhousie, informed the Council
of Education that henceforth its functions were definitely
and systematically to embrace female education. The Governor-
General thought it quite possible to establish female schools
in which such precautions for the seclusion of the girls
might be adopted as the customs of the country required.
The establishment of the Bethune School in Calcutta in
May 1849 may be regarded as the turning point in the annals
of female education in India. Henceforward not only the
authorities in India, but the educated and the influential
members of Indian society began to show an active interest
in the cause. The minute of Lord Dalhousie is the first
official pronouncement indicating the future policy of
Government in regard to female education. It marks the
close of the era of non-interference, and the beginning of
that of an open encouragement. Lord Dalhousie in his letter
instructed the Bengal Government to inform the Council of
Education that its functions should include the superinten-
dence of female education and that "wherever any disposition
is shown by the natives to establish female schools it will
be its duty to give them all possible encouragement and
further the plans in every way that is not inconsistent with
the efficiency of the institutions already under their manage-
ment." (23) The Governor-General in Council also wanted the

23. Letter, dated 11th April 1850, to the Bengal Government.
Bengal Government to intimate the Chief Civil Officers of the Mofussil calling their attention to the growing disposition among the natives of India to establish female schools, and directing them to use all means at their disposal for encouraging these institutions.

We see now that from the tangled history of Indian education during the first half of the nineteenth century three movements detach themselves — the gradual acceptance of responsibility by Government, the rapid growth of the demand for English education and the move to educate the higher classes first leaving the masses to their fate.

In the first instance, responsibility for the education of the boys as well as girls was gradually brought to the notice of the administration. In the second case, though Government — or rather individual officials — had founded institutions for the study of traditional classics, a knowledge of English came to be recognized as the door to the treasury of Western knowledge. Even before the abolition (permitted under Act XXIX of 1837) of Persian as the language of the judicial and revenue proceedings, interest had been aroused in the knowledge of English. Making English as the court language was only a further incentive to the already existing desire for English education. With regard to the move to educate the higher classes first, Government policy was mainly due to financial conside-
rations. The task of educating the masses was immense. Further Macaulay advocated English for the few, and the consequent improvement of the vernaculars (and enrichment of their literatures) for the many. But instruction in English and the number of English teaching institutions have outstripped his ideal; and there has not been commensurate improvement or output in the vernaculars. The possible dangers of this development were early observed. The vernaculars in India were neglected. Justice had not been done to the vernaculars. The free introduction into higher institutions of Western thought and of the English language had probably been productive of considerably more good than harm; and perhaps it was inevitable.
Chapter III

RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION

The later half of the nineteenth century was a period of rapid extension of education. The spread of useful and practical instruction among the masses was the principal feature of educational policy during the period. The authorities in England impressed its importance upon the Central Government, the Central Government upon the provincial administrations and the provincial Governments upon the local bodies. Another feature of the educational policy during this period of rapid expansion was the encouragement given to the private enterprise through a system of grant-in-aid. An effort was also made during this period to replace a haphazard system of education by an organised system.

The need for defining an educational policy of the Government had become apparent by now. When the Charter Act of 1833 came up for renewal it was felt that a comprehensive survey of the whole field of education was indispensable. Consequently, a Select Committee of the House of Commons was set up and evidence on educational subjects was
taken from such men as Sir Erskine Perry, the Hon. C.H. Cameron, Sir C.E. Trevelyan, Dr. Alexander Duff, Sir Frederick Halliday, Marshman and Prof. H.H. Wilson. All these gentlemen were connected with Indian education and with the exception of Prof. Wilson they were supporters of Anglicists' policy, and the cause of English education was well represented by them. Based on the thorough enquiry held by the Select Committee the Court of Directors sent their great Educational Despatch on 19th July 1854. This is familiarly known as the "Wood's Despatch" after Sir Charles Wood, the President of the Board of Control.

This famous document is attributed to the pen of Mr. John Stuart Mill, the well known English thinker and it has been described as the "Magna Charta of English Education in India" and as the "Intellectual Charter of India." It is a lengthy document containing as many as one hundred paragraphs. In his minute on the Despatch, Lord Dalhousie declared that it contained, "a scheme of education for all India, far wider and more comprehensive than the Local or Supreme Government." It marked a climax so that "what goes before it leads up to it and what follows flows from it."

The Despatch emphatically brought to the notice of the administrators in India their responsibility for the
education of the people. It started with an emphasis on education having a stronger claim to the attention of the Government than many other subjects of importance and said that "it is one of our most sacred duties to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge, and which India may under Providence derive from her connexion with England." (1) The Despatch explained clearly the objects of the educational policy. The objectives were not only to produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness but to raise the moral character of those who partook of its advantages and to supply the Company with servants.

The need for an uniform policy for the whole country was felt by now. The Despatch suggested a scheme of education covering all aspects of Indian education, right from the primary to the University stages. It proposed to leave educational generally to the private enterprise in India; but at the same time introduced a policy by which the State identified itself with the educational system of the country. It aimed at achieving a certain amount of uniformity and method which were lacking. It wanted to adopt throughout India those plans which had been carried into successful execution in particular-districts of Bengal.

1. Educational Despatch of 1854, para 2.
It hoped to "establish such a system as will prove generally applicable throughout India, and thus to impart to the educational efforts of our different Presidencies a greater degree of uniformity and method than at present exists." (2)

A uniform and systematic effort was made for the improvement of education in India after this date.

The Despatch for the first time advocated the education of the mass of the people. This had hitherto been too much neglected on account of the policy of "Downward Filtration" followed by the authorities earlier. The Despatch wanted attention to be directed to the education of the great mass of the people, "who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts;" and it desired 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." (3)

The Despatch realised that it was impossible for the Government alone to provide adequate means for setting on foot a scheme of education for the vast population of British India. In view of the expenditure involved in introducing such a scheme, it recognised an increased desire on the

2. Ibid, para 22.
3. Ibid, para 41.
part of the native population, not only in the neighbourhood of the great centres of European civilisation, but also in remoter districts, for the means of obtaining a better education and their readiness to give liberal pecuniary contributions. This led to the conclusion that "the most effectual method of providing for the wants of India in this respect will be to combine with the agency of the Government the aid which may be derived from the exertions and liberality of the educated and wealthy natives of India and of other benevolent persons." (4) Hence the Despatch recommended the encouragement of a liberal education by sanctioning grants-in-aid of private effort and calling to the assistance of Government private exertions and private liberality. This encouragement led later on to another controversy in which the private enterprise demanded a complete withdrawal of Government from the field of education.

The general educational policy was clearly brought out by the Despatch in the concluding paragraph. "As a Government, we can do no more than direct the efforts of the people, and aid them wherever they appear to require much assistance. The result depends more upon them than upon us; and although we are fully aware that the measures we have now adopted will involve in the end a much larger expenditure upon education from the revenues of India, than

4.Ibid, para 57.
is at present so applied, we are convinced... that any expense which may be incurred for this object, will be amply re-paid by the improvement of the country." (5)

The policy laid down in the Despatch is subject to criticism. The Despatch aimed at uniformity in education through strict insistence on rules and regulations. This led, in course of time, to rigidity in the educational system of the country. Such a policy aroused suspicion in the minds of people who regarded Government as responsible for many defects in the educational system of the country. The Despatch did not anticipate the future educational development in the country and it failed to refer to the ideals of universal literacy and the obligation of the State to educate every child below a certain age. M.R. Paranjpe criticises the Despatch as follows: "The authors did not aim at education for leadership, education for the industrial regeneration of India, education for the defence of the motherland, in short, education required [somehow] by the people of a self-government nation." (6) Perhaps it was too early to expect all these.

The Government of India did not act upon the many suggestions and recommendations of the Despatch. They totally disregarded some of the suggestions and recommenda-

5. Ibid., para 100.

tions. Mass education which was the main theme of the Despatch continued to be neglected for the sake of higher education. It was neither expected nor desired that the State would directly provide schools everywhere, but it was hoped that indigenous schools would be improved through periodical inspection and would receive Government grants. But nothing was done in that direction also. The Government did not change their policy even when they were reminded of their pledge in 1858 by a man like Alexander Duff with his usual bluntness. The use of the mother-tongue at the school stage as the medium of instruction was also postponed. Private enterprise which was advocated in the Despatch was often discouraged by Government.

The administration of India passed into the hands of the British crown according to the Government of India Act of 1858. A Board of Control took charge of the control on behalf of the crown. The President of the Board, Lord Ellenborough, sent a Despatch in 1858 stating the educational policy of the Government. This document written shortly after the 'Mutiny' was a panicky document and it tried to reverse the policies laid down by the Despatch of 1854 on the ground that they led to the events of 1857. Lord Ellenborough instructed that there should not be any compulsion with regard to the education of masses in India. He made it quite clear that the Government did not desire to assist in the education of a single child not brought to the
school with the full, voluntary, unsolicited consent of its parents. He said that whoever offered a subscription to school was at liberty to withdraw it any time. He did not believe in the education of the masses and once again advocated the "Downward Filtration Theory." He said:

"Education and civilization may descend from the higher to the inferior classes, and so communicated may impart new vigour to the community, but they will never ascend from the lower classes to those above them; they can only, if impert solely to the lower classes, lead to general convulsion, of which foreigners would be the first victims.

If we desire to diffuse education, let us endeavour to give it to the higher classes first." (7)

The views of Ellenborough were contrary to the policy of the Despatch of 1854. If his orders had been accepted, the "Downward Filtration Theory" would have been revived in full vigour and the more liberal policy of mass education as outlined in the Despatch of 1854 would have been sidetracked.

Another document of importance after 1857 was the new educational Despatch that emanated from Lord Stanley, the first Secretary of State for India, in 1859. This document proposed to review the educational developments in India after 1854 and to find out whether education had something to do with the happening of 1857. The Secretary of State also wanted to ascertain whether it would be right

for him to pursue the educational policies as laid down in the Despatch of 1854. He was eager to assure the people that the change of Government did not mean a change in the educational policy also and he reaffirmed the earlier policy with but few modifications. He felt that sufficient attention should be devoted to the education of the masses and that the Government should directly undertake the responsibility of educating the masses.

Stanley's Despatch led to some controversies later on which centred round three points; 1) the attitude of the Government towards indigenous schools; 2) the policy of levying local taxes; and 3) the claims of primary education to receive a grant-in-aid from Government revenues. These controversies are dealt in greater details in later chapters.

The policy of the Government of India on educational matters was not rigidly enforced in all the Presidencies. Each Province was allowed to develop on its own line on line matters relating to education and the only control the Government had over the Presidencies was with regard to the financial matters. There was a great centralisation of financial power prior to 1871 and the provincial Governments had hardly any freedom. In 1859 the Government of India permitted Provincial Governments "to make
such changes and alterations in the educational establish-
ments as they might consider absolutely necessary, provided
such arrangements did not involve any additional expen-
diture." It was only in 1871 Lord Mayo transferred the
control of education departments to the Provincial Govern-
ments. The Provincial Governments were allowed to spend
their own educational income for educational purposes but
the Central Government still continued to hold the respon-
sibility of defining the general educational policy for the
whole country. In 1877 Lord Lytton introduced a policy of
Quinquennial Settlement. According to this, the Provincial
Governments were entrusted with the entire responsibility
of the defining of a number of departments, the department
of education being one of them. They were also entitled to
utilize the entire receipts from Law and Excise to meet
the expenditure of these departments. They were further
given fixed assignments from other revenues for a period
of five years for meeting deficits. But again the Central
Government reserved the power of determining the general
educational policy for the whole country. This system
continued even after 1882.

A demand for State-withdrawal from the field of educa-
tion was made by this time. This was because of a rapid
multiplication of Government institutions between the year
1854 and 1882. The reason for this multiplication of edu-
cational institutions run by Government was the absence of private Indian enterprise on a sufficiently large scale. Further there was the fear of possible political repercussions of Government encouraging missionary enterprise in India. The missionaries, in particular, did not like this policy and wanted the State to withdraw from the field in favour of private enterprise. They argued that so long as the Government were maintaining their own educational institutions, they could never adopt an impartial attitude of full encouragement to private institutions as recommended in Wood's Despatch. They protested that the educational policy of the Government of India was running counter to the directions and suggestions given by the authorities in England. An organisation named "The General Council of Education in India" was soon formed in England and was supported by such eminent persons as Lord Halifax and Lord Lawrence. This organisation took up the agitation in support of State-withdrawal. When Lord Ripon was appointed the Viceroy of India in 1882, a deputation of this Council waited upon him with the object of requesting him to institute an enquiry into the educational system in India.

Lord Ripon appointed the first Indian Education Commission known as "Hunter Commission" owing to Sir William Hunter, a member of Viceroy's Executive Council, being appointed as
Chairman. The Commission was instructed to "enquire particularly into the manner in which effect had been given to the principles of the Despatch of 1854, and to suggest such measures as it might think desirable with a view to the further carrying out of the policy therein laid down." The Commission had mainly to conduct the following enquiries: 1. Did the Government pay undue attention to higher education and thereby neglect primary education? 2. What should be the position of State institutions in the national system of education? 3. What policy should the Government adopt towards private enterprise? The Commission which was appointed in 1882 (8) submitted next year the report of more than 600 folio pages and 222 resolutions.

The Commission supported the educational policies of the Despatches of 1854 and 1859. They showed the possibility of organizing a system based on the happy blendings of private and public efforts right from the primary to the University stage. They brought out fully what a generous and judicious grant-in-aid system could achieve and how an efficient inspectorate could control and advise the managers of private institutions. For the first time the

Commission showed the advisability of extending primary education through legislation and also revealed, for the first time, how the secondary system of education in India was becoming too academical and literary and was not suitable for all types of children. Their report encouraged Indian private enterprise and awakened public enthusiasm for the cause of education for the first time in India. The policy of the Commission was that the Government should relieve themselves the responsibilities of mass education by entrusting them to the people of India because the State had already declared that there was scarcity of funds for education. By emphasising private enterprise the Commission supported the policy of State withdrawal from the field of education and thus emancipated the Government from the responsibilities of national education.

The Government of India accepted all the recommendations of the Hunter Commission except those in connection with religious education. The Resolutions of 1884, coupled with the Local Self-Government Acts of 1883 to 1885 brought out the necessary changes. The main changes in the field of education were the transfer of complete control of institutions to the Local Boards and Municipalities, the Government withdrawal from the field of education though it was not complete, the extension of the elementary education
of the masses and the encouragement of private enterprise.

With the policy of encouraging private enterprise there was an increase in the number of students in educational institutions. This increase resulted in multiplication of institutions amongst which proprietary high schools and colleges without any endowment sprang up in large numbers. As a result of this there was a deterioration in the quality of education. Government were helpless because the fund available for improving education was limited and any increase in the education budget at a rate higher than in the past was quite out of the question. It was felt now that education was fast producing graduates who could best be termed "mere machines of memory." Warning about the falling standards of education was given as early as 1889 by Lord Lansdowne who said:

"I am afraid we must not disguise from ourselves that if our schools and colleges continue to educate the youth of India at the present rate, we are likely to hear even more than we do at present of the complaint that we are turning out every year an increasing number of young men whom we have provided with an intellectual equipment admirable in itself but practically useless to them on account of the small number of openings which the professions afford for gentlemen who have received this kind of education." (9)

There was an extensive rather than an intensive growth of education. Most of the institutions which sprang up were

necessarily weak, under-staffed, and incapable of affording individual attention to the needs of the students, or of providing the various courses of study, practical as well as literary, which were necessary for the healthy growth of education. The increase in the number of schools was one-third, and there were about 130,000 schools and over 3,500,000 scholars in 1889; but "these figures, large as they are, merely serve to show that only one child out of ten of school-going age is under instruction." (10)

This trend continued till the end of the nineteenth century. The Government recognised their responsibility for the education of the people. But their policy was to avoid entering into competition with private enterprise—they pioneered the way and left the people to follow in the way indicated. When approved local efforts were made to supply educational wants, Government retired from the field and stimulated local efforts by grants-in-aid.

Chapter IV

MOVE FOR NATIONAL EDUCATION

The progress thus made in education came again, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, under comprehensive review extending to all kinds and grades of institutions, from universities to primary schools, and including in its scope the methods, organisations, tendencies, and results of Indian education taken as a whole. A keen interest in the educational progress of India was taken by the Government of India during the twentieth century. There was a strong national awakening during this period, and the love for Indian culture and civilization overwhelmed the Indian people. Indians for the first time began to realize that education should be of a national character.

Lord Curzon was keen on framing a sound educational policy. "If I can frame a good educational policy (as it is we have none at all) -- during the present summer at Simla", Curzon wrote in a letter to Sir A. Godley on 1st May 1901, "it will not be a bad season's work." He convened a secret conference of Directors of Public Instruction at Simla in September 1901. Lord Curzon put a series of questions for their consideration. "We are educating 4½ million out of
the total population of British India. Is this a satisfactory or an adequate proportion? We spent upon education in the last year from public funds a sum of £1,440,000 as compared with £1,360,000 from fees and endowments. Is the State's contribution sufficient? Ought it to be increased? Is there an educational policy of the Government of India at all? If so is it observed?" (1) Curzon himself was not prepared to answer all these questions.

The formulation of a comprehensive educational policy must be regarded as the outstanding achievement of Lord Curzon. On 11th March 1904 he published his educational policy in the shape of a Government Resolution. The Resolution said that "four out of five grew up without any education and only one girl out of forty attends any kind of school." It discussed the defects of the different branches of education and made some valuable suggestions. It accepted the policy of progressive devolution of primary, secondary, and collegiate education upon private enterprise and the continuous withdrawal of Government from competition therewith. At the same time the Resolution emphasised the need for maintaining a limited number of State institutions in each branch of education, "as models for private enterprise to follow in order to uphold a high standard of education."

In withdrawing from direct management "it is further essential

that the Government should retain a general control by means of efficient inspection, over all public educational institutions." (2) Lord Curzon's view was that a "pari passu development would probably for some time longer be found desirable, but that Government should be careful to regard its own institutions not as competitors, but as models." (3)

Lord Curzon believed in educating the masses so as to make them useful citizens. He was of the opinion that ever since the cold breath of Macaulay's rhetoric passed over the field of the Indian languages and Indian textbooks, the elementary education of the people in their own tongue had shrivelled. He said that in proportion "as we teach the masses, so we shall make their lot happier, and in proportion as they are happier, so they will become more useful members of the body-politic." (4) He regarded higher education equally important and felt that it required the care and support of the Government. Various conferences for technical, agricultural and other branches of education were held, educational surveys were

2. Ibid., p. 46. Resolution of 11th March 1904.
4. Ibid, p. 46.
made and different topics fully discussed. Technical and commercial institutions were established, State scholarships for technological subjects instituted and additional grants sanctioned for professional education.

The sincere desire of the Government for introducing a comprehensive system of education is well brought out by His Majesty, the King Emperor, in 1912. He said:

"It is my wish that there may be spread over the land a net work of schools and colleges, from which will go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens, able to hold their own in industries and agriculture and all the vocations in life. And it is my wish, too, 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 health. It is through education that my wish will be fulfilled, and the cause of education in India will ever be very close to my heart." (5)

The Government of India devised schemes for the extension of comprehensive systems of education but they realized that "in view of the diverse social conditions there cannot in practice be one set of regulations and one rate of progress for the whole of India." (6) They had no desire to centralise provincial systems or to attempt to introduce a superficial uniformity. Still less did they desire to deprive Local Governments of interest and initia-

5. Reply to the address of the Calcutta University, 11th January, 1912.

tive in education.

Along with the rapid development of education and the evolution of Government's educational policy a movement for national education was started. As early as 1889 under the Viceroyalty of Lord Lansdown a resolution was drafted and issued by the Secretary Sir Anthony Mac Donnell, "drawing attention to some of the most glaring defects of our educational system from the point of view of intellectual training and of discipline, and containing valuable recommendations for remedying them", (7) but it produced little practical effect. Rabindranath Tagore in his paper on Shikhar Her-Fer pointed out in a clear term the inadequacy of the prevailing system of education under British Rule. (8) A conference of leading citizens of Bengal was held in Calcutta on November 16, 1905, which appointed a Committee to take immediate steps to establish a National Council of Education and to organise a system of literary, scientific and technical education on national lines and under national control. This movement showed "rare courage and vision in an age the horizon of which was darkened by imperial bureaucracy at the height of its arrogant power."(9)

The National Council of Education had only an endowment of Rupees 8.5 lakhs when it launched on the ambitious venture of establishing a national university for imparting a more comprehensive system of education. The first work of the National Council of Education after its formal inauguration on March 11, 1906 was the declaration of its intention to hold general and technical examinations in July next in pursuance of two resolutions adopted by the Council on March 31 and April 29, 1906. Some of the most distinguished scholars such as Gooroo Dass Banerjee, Rabindranath Tagore, Hirendra Nath Datta, Dr. P.K. Roy undertook to set papers for the examinations. The next memorable work of the Council was the foundation of the Model National College and School at Calcutta known as the Bengal National College and School.

The progress of the National Education Movement continued unchecked during the year 1906. The subject of National Education which was recognised in 1906 by the Indian National Congress "as one of the main planks in its platform received a further impetus in the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Pabna with Rabindranath Tagore in the chair, in the second week of February 1906. (10)

The Reconstruction Committee appointed by the National Education Committee in 1918 anticipated many of the problems of Independent India and recommended that Technical institutions should be developed with a view to enabling young men to organise simple home industries on national lines and with improved technique. The Committee was also aware that excessive specialisation which some educationists advocated would be harmful. On this issue, the Committee observed that technical education, removed from humanising and liberalising influences, was sure to degenerate into a mainly bread and butter question and it should, therefore, be supplemented by lectures on subjects of general, humane and enduring interest.

Along with this movement for National Education an attempt was made to make education universal and compulsory. In 1911 Gopalakrishna Gokhale moved in the Imperial Legislative Council a Bill for the introduction of a modified system of compulsory primary education, but the Government refused to accept the proposal on funny grounds, such as "time is not still come for such a measure," and that "the masses are opposed to compulsion on religious grounds." *(11)* Gokhale quoted the example of Philippine Islands under

U.S. control and observed: "The population actually at School in the Philippine Islands advanced from 2% to 5% during which time in India it advanced from 1.6% to 1.9% only." (12) Gokhale's Bill and the interest of the Government in popular education made the Under Secretary of State of India, to admit, in the course of a discussion on the Indian Budget, the need for paying more attention to Indian education.

Due to the efforts taken by Gokhale and other reformers the Compulsory Education Acts were passed in most of the Provinces. The provisions of the Acts in different Provinces were more or less similar. The age of compulsion ranged from six to eleven, the compulsory period being four in some Provinces and five in others. If the children of the compulsory age-group did not attend schools, their parents and / or employers could be prosecuted. But the glaring defect in these Acts was that the Government, beyond promising to pay a certain percentage of the cost, had not bound themselves in any way to introduce the scheme, but had left the initiative in the matter entirely to the choice of Local Bodies and Municipalities - a course of action they could not usually afford to take for want of funds. Commenting upon the Compulsory Act passed by the Presidency of Bombay, the

"Bombay Chronicle" observed in 1923 that "the public, on a careful examination of the provisions of the Bill, will realise that the Government have nowhere laid down that the programme of compulsory education will be completed in the next ten years." (13)

The social, political and religious movements in the country were partly responsible for shaping the educational policy of the Government. There was an endeavour 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 during this century at such a revival four are important. These are the Gurukula, the Viveca-Bharati, the Jamia Millia and the Wardha Schemes of education. The first two of these are pre-eminent experiments at a definite renaissance and revival of Indian education. The third is an endeavour to rehabilitate Muslim culture and tradition in Indian environment through the instrumentality of a school. The Wardha Scheme of education is an attempt to evolve a national system of education for the country as a whole growing out of and related intimately to Indian life and culture, especially in their economic and social aspect. A more detailed account of these schemes are given in later chapters. It must be admitted

that there is nothing like pure Indian educational thought because of the close connection of the West with India. This has considerably influenced India's thought in all her spheres, perhaps more in education than in any other. However, there still remains a core of Indian thought which not only continues to maintain an individuality of its own, but also determines why a particular ideal or conception is to be adopted from some other group or country. The various events in India during this century only helped to develop the Indian thought. The "Passive Resistance," "Non Co-operation Movement" and the 'Satyagraha' of Mahatma Gandhi along with the rising prices of articles and the problem of unemployment influenced the education during twentieth century. Observing all these troubles the Government of India realized that "the inevitable result of education in the history and thought of Europe is the desire for self-determination; and the demand that now meets us from the educated classes of India is no more than the right and national outcome of the work of a hundred years." (14)

In 1937, Mahatma Gandhi initiated in the columns of "The Harijan" a discussion of Indian educational problems.

and offered several suggestions. For the all-round development of boys and girls he recommended that all training should, as far as possible, be given through a profit-yielding vocation. Such education taken as a whole must be self-supporting. His proposals were discussed at an All India National Education Conference held at Wardha in October, 1937. This Conference endorsed the proposals of Gandhiji and appointed a Committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. Zakir Hussain of Jamia Millia, Delhi, to formulate a scheme of Basic Education. The scheme, popularly known as the Wardha Scheme, was to educate "children through some suitable form of productive work." The craft or productive work chosen was to be "rich in educative possibilities" because "the object of this new educational scheme is not primarily the production of craftsmen able to practise some craft mechanically, but rather the exploitation for educative purposes of the resources implicit in craft work." The Zakir Hussain Committee did not wholly support the 'self-supporting' aspect of the scheme. "Even if it is not 'self-supporting', in any sense, it should be accepted as a matter of sound educational policy and as an urgent measure of national reconstruction. It is fortunate, however, that this good education will also incidentally cover the major portion of its running expenses." (15)

The Constitutional development in India during the first half of the present century was partly responsible for the evolution of the National Educational Policy. Education, in many of its more salient items, was made a "Transferred Subject", when the first dose of Provincial Autonomy was introduced in the Indian Constitution by the so-called Montague–Chelmsford Reforms of 1919. Public education became a direct responsibility of popular Ministers, who felt themselves in honour bound to make good the criticisms they used to urge against the irresponsible Bureaucracy. But finance being a reserved subject, the Indian Ministers were not free to spend the necessary amount on educational plans and this rendered their projects futile and meaningless.

With the introduction of the successive instalments of self-government and Responsible Ministry, the need for a revolutionary change grew and extended apace. Unfortunately a constructive alternative programme of education was not evolved by our national leaders. The people too, under the leading strings of a foreign power, were unable to find their way through strange grounds. Add to this, the deliberately encouraged sentiments of Provincial Autonomy, of local patriotism and parochial outlook, communal dissensions and financial stringency made it difficult to work out a new, uniform policy for National Education.
Despite this handicap, the inherent urge for a common policy and integrated system led to the revival of the Central Advisory Board of Education which was dissolved earlier owing to financial crisis. The Board which was revived in 1935 discussed the question of educational reconstruction in India and passed the following resolutions:

1) The Board is of the opinion 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. 2) The stages of education should be A. The Primary Stage, which should aim at providing at least a minimum of general education and training and still ensure permanent literacy and B. The Lower Secondary Stage, which would provide a self-contained course of general education either for higher education or for specialised practical courses. The Board recommended a Higher Secondary Stage, in which should be included institutions with varying lengths of courses according to the needs of the individuals such as admission to the Universities, training of teachers, training in agriculture, clerical training and training in selected technical subjects. Besides these the Central Advisory Board requested the Government to invite the advice of educational experts in order to construct and reorganize the scheme of education in India.
Accordingly the Government of India invited Messrs. A. Abbott, former Chief Inspector of Technical Schools, and S.H. Wood, Director of Intelligence, both of the Board of Education, England for the purpose of educational reorganisation. They visited the country during the winter of 1936 and submitted their report in June 1937. The Report was divided into two parts, namely, (1) General Education and Administration by Wood and (2) Vocational Education by Abbott. The Abbott and Wood Report examined each and every aspect of the problem and made valuable recommendations in regard to the reorganisation of education. Their suggestions were practical and thorough and were based on a proper understanding of Indian conditions. But nothing was done to implement even some of these suggestions.

The aim of a national education may be compendiously be defined to be threefold:-

(i) to develop the inherent faculties of man so as to enable him to express, fulfill, and realise himself;

(ii) to make him a good and useful citizen, and a decent social unit;

(iii) to equip him for the battle of life and enable him to bear worthily the obligations of a member of a real, working democracy.

The Congress Ministries in the seven out of the eleven Provinces in 1937 provided an opportunity to give the
National Education a fair trial. As part of National Education the Basic Education Scheme was introduced in these Provinces but nothing much could be done towards that direction. Even the slow progress in that direction came to an end in 1939 with the resignations of the popular Ministries.

In 1944 the Central Advisory Board of Education carefully considered the recommendations of its various committees appointed to examine the different problems of Indian education and brought out a comprehensive plan for "Post-War Educational Development in India." The plan known as "Sargent Plan" aimed at reorganising the entire system of Indian education at a total cost of Rs.313 crores, out of which Rs.277 crores were to be met from public funds. The Report emphasised the need for devoting much attention to the educational development of India. The main object of the plan was to create in India, in a period of not less than forty years, the same standard of educational attainments as had already been attained in England. The Board wanted the rambling edifice already existing "to be scrapped in order that something better may be substituted." The Board was not prepared to accept a half-way house of less expensive type but suggested an education enough to "prepare them to earn a living as well as to fulfil themselves as individuals and discharge their duties
as citizens." The Board concluded that "in the first place, therefore a national system can hardly be other than universal. Secondly it must also be compulsory, if the grave wastage which exists today under a voluntary system is not to be perpetuated and even aggravated, and thirdly, if education is to be universal and compulsory, equity requires that it should be free and common sense demands that it should last long enough to secure its fundamental objective." (16)

The decade preceding 1947 was one of new ideas in the field of education. It gave India the new schemes of education in the planned programme of National Education. The actual development of education during this period, however, remained unsatisfactory. When the popular Ministries returned to power in 1946 they began to develop plans for the expansion of Basic education. Enthusiastic schemes for expanding education and introducing compulsion continued unabated till India became free to decide her own educational policy.

To sum up, education in India under the British was first ignored and then accepted as the State's responsibility.

With this acceptance arose the great controversies over the core of education and the medium of instruction. During this period of controversy Government found it convenient to educate the top classes leaving the middle and lower classes to their own fate. The need for educating the masses was realised during the second half of the nineteenth century but no systematic effort was made to fulfil the need. From the very start, Western education in India aimed at making out of the educated sections of the Indian people recruits for the British Administration. Such a policy necessarily resulted in an over-emphasis on purely literary education. The schools and colleges became so many factories for mass production of a standardised pattern. With the introduction of the successive instalments of self-government and Responsible Ministry, the need for a revolutionary change grew and extended space. Out of this grew the schemes for National Education based on Indian life and culture especially in their economic and social aspect. The impetus to a new impulse of reconstruction, growth and development, was perhaps noticeable in no other field so clearly as in that of National Education.

With this background of the evolution of the educational policy let us analyse the various aspects of the policy.