Chapter Three

Government Policy towards Education and the Emergence of Institutions

The advent of the British rule in India saw four types of educational institutions engaged in the pursuit of imparting education in this country: Sanskrit Chatuspathi or Tol, Pathshala, Madarsa and Maktab. The Tol and Madarsa were institutions of higher learning in Sanskrit, and Persian and Arabic, respectively while Pathshala and Maktab were schools of elementary education.¹

3.0 East India Company and Education in India

The East India Company was purely a commercial concern at its inception and very naturally it did not consider that promotion of education in India was any of its concern. Not unlike all commercial companies then or since, it was primarily interested in the profits that it derived from its trade and if people desired education they must make the best of what they could. Further, if any territorial acquisition was made it was more in the nature of investments of capital for the future than in laying the foundation of future imperial domination. But in the latter half of the 18th century with the grant of the Diwani in 1765 ruling power was conferred upon the company and it was now obliged to pay heed to education and its encouragement among its subjects².

This was brought about only by a radical change in the circumstances fortuitous as they were. The period from 1765 to middle of the 19th century though mainly marked by the expansion of the British Empire in India and consolidation of the British administrative system as a natural sequel to it, witnessed also some significant measures on the part of the East India Company's Government to encourage education in this country by extending patronage to it in different ways.

For sometimes, however, the attitude of the East India Company's Government towards Indian educational and social matters was one of indifference. This was probably because a state system of education was then absent in England, and state interference was not relished by the English people. The same analogy was adopted in India too. Moreover, the administrators of the East India Company clearly realized that attempts at interference in the educational or religious life of the people by rulers belonging to an alien faith were bound to provoke strong opposition and shake the foundations of its rule. As a natural consequence of this policy, it refrained from developing an educational policy of its own. But needs of administration soon compelled it to take some interest in education.

Various reform movements had begun making headway in England by the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Undoubtedly, this must have also influenced some officers of the Company in India. This led to attempts being made for the revival of India's past culture and traditions. Warren Hastings established the Calcutta Madarsa in 1781 with the intention to promote the study of the Arabic and Persian language and of Muslim Law with a view to supplying officers for the Courts of Justice. In 1784 was founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal with the object of inquiring into "the history and antiquities, the natural productions, sciences, and literature of Asia". Hastings encouraged Charles Wilkins to study Sanskrit and Wilkins published a translation of the *Hitopadesh* in 1787. In 1771 Jonathan Duncan, the British Resident at Benaras established the Hindu College there, "for the preservation and cultivation of the Laws Literature and Religion of that Nation, at this centre of their faith and the common resort of all their tribes". The Company also respected the endowment which was made earlier to educational institutions; and the Permanent Settlement of 1793 recognized the rent free grants of land enjoyed by educational institutions.

Despite the efforts of individual officers, the East India Company had not yet come to regard the promotion of education as part of its duty. Until now the imperative needs of administration and the desire to promote friendly feelings towards

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the rulers were the motive force behind the educational activities of the company. At the time of the Charter Act of 1793 Charles Grant wrote a treatise on the “State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain” in which he strongly pleaded for the introduction of sound European knowledge and especially the elevating truths of the Christian faith. He influenced Wilberforce, who moved in the House of Commons that it was the duty of the British Government to send Chaplains and school masters to India. This was opposed tooth and nail by the Court of Directors. They urged that “the Hindus had as good a system of faith and of morals as most people and that it would be madness to attempt their conversion or give them any more learning or any other description of learning than what they already possessed”\(^6\). Wilberforce’s resolution was negatived, especially when Randle Jackson, a member of the parliament remarked, “we have lost our colonies in America by imparting our education there, we need not do so in India too”\(^7\).

The policy of non-intervention in educational matters continued. The interest of the Government in Indian education depended as before on individual officers. Sometimes the officers on their own initiative moved the Government for establishing schools or colleges in certain localities under their jurisdiction. Lord Minto’s Minute of the 6 March 1811 is another instance on the subject. He accordingly recommended the establishment of Sanskrit colleges at Bhaur (in Tirhut) and Nadia (in Bengal) and Madarsas at Bhagalpur, Jaunpur and at some other important places in the ceded and conquered districts.

Before any action could be taken on Minto’s Minute the company’s charter came again for renewal in 1813. The general consensus of opinion was in favor of the officials of the company who, as a matter of political wisdom, wanted the company to undertake educational work for the natives of the land. A resolution was, therefore, moved and passed in the House of Commons in 1813. It assigned educational responsibility to the company in the following words “……a sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year will be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and encouragement by the learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of the knowledge of science among the inhabitants of the

British territories in India........ The resolution after being passed was incorporated in the Company's Charter Act of 1813.

Another striking point about the Charter Act of 1813 was that it opened the doors of India for free and unfettered activities of the Missionaries in the field of proselytization. The best tool for this work, they thought was education and so started opening schools. In 1816 the Christian Missionaries opened a school for the children of the Indian converts. The children were taught to read and write and commit to memory selections from the Gospels translated into Hindustani by the Catholic clergy. The school was under the supervision of a Christian lay teacher, and it had twenty students on its roll. The Missionaries also opened one such school at Digha (Patna) in 1819.

However, nothing substantial was done. In 1823 a Committee of Public Instruction was formed by Adam, temporary successor of Marquis of Hastings: from among the civil servants, with Horace Hayman Wilson as its Secretary, to supervise the expenditure of the sum sanctioned according to the charter of 1813. But a new difficulty soon arose, as to whether the medium of instruction was to be English or vernacular and if the type of education was to be classical, oriental or modern and western in content.

After a fierce controversy which raged for some years between the Orientalists; who advocated the oriental medium of education, and the Anglicists who urged the introduction of Western education, the decision was made in favor of the Anglicists in 1835.

3.1 Indigenous System of Education

The impact of the educational policy of the Government began to be felt soon. Institutions for Western education, set up by the Government, began to spring up at different places throughout the British dominion. In Bihar, schools were established at several places. In these schools English, Urdu and Hindi (Nagri) were taught and

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8 H. Sharp, op.cit.p. 22.
9 This was the first school to be opened by Christian Missionaries in Bihar, cf., J.S.Jha, op.cit p.56.
accordingly the schools were divided into three departments. There were four classes in both English and Urdu departments but only two in Hindi department. Boys were taught to read and write. The subjects taught were English, Mathematics, History, Geography, Poetry etc. Two types of examinations were held: public examination and school examination. The students were examined at certain intervals by the headmaster and once a year the public examination was held. Examinations were both, oral as well as written. The examination result was announced immediately and prizes were awarded to the successful candidates.11

Thus efforts were made to establish schools at various places to promote English education among the natives, but the schools did not progress much. People did not pay much importance to English education, as they thought that it would only make their children clerks in the Government offices. While the common folk thought that the British, after giving them English education, would take them to England and make them their slaves. Besides, the caste and class restrictions also proved a big hindrance to the progress of these schools. Both, the socially higher and the lower class students were made to sit together. This was not liked by some of the higher caste people, and they withdrew their sons from these schools. Those who wanted their sons to know English arranged for private tuitions in English for them.12

Another factor which affected the growth and development of the schools was the resumption proceedings (take over of the Zamindaries) on the part of the Government which impoverished several big hereditary landlords. The people lost all confidence in the security of their property and so looked suspiciously at every activity of the Government. As for example, Raja Mitrajit Singh of Tikari refused to even pay the subscription for the Patna School.13

But Lord Harding’s declaration of 1844 turned the tables in favor of English education. According to the declaration, in all Government appointments preference will be given to persons with knowledge of English. As a result of this declaration, the

11 ‘From Secretary of the Local Committee to the Secretary of the General Committee’ dated 18 March, 1837, c.f.J.S. Jha, Education in Bihar, P.U., Patna, 1976, p.34.
13 Mr. Cliff’s letter to C.E. Travelyan (G.C.P.I), 14 August, 1835, H.Sharp.op.cit. p.45.
Council of Education in Calcutta was authorized to conduct competitive examination every year for selecting suitable persons for public posts and successful candidates were arranged in order of merit. The resolution further prescribed that even for lower posts under Government, preference would be given to those who could read and write English. The lingering prejudices against learning English vanished for ever; the English education began to be valued in terms of livelihood.

It thus became quite evident to the people that knowledge of English was a necessity and after Bentinck's resolution the educational grant was spent mainly on Western education. The General Committee adopted a policy of opening an English school at the headquarters of each district and of developing a few of the more progressive of these to the status of college.

The Government also took steps for the promotion of vernacular education, the Governor General determined "to sanction the formation of village schools in several districts of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in which sound and useful instruction may be imparted in the vernacular language." The schools were to be established in the principal towns of each district. Accordingly vernacular schools were established at Arrah, Buxar, Sasaram, Gaya, Saran, Champaran, Bhagalpur, Purnea and several other places. Urdu, Hindi, Arithmetic and Geography were taught in these schools.\textsuperscript{14}

The progress made by these schools was far from satisfactory. The absence of teaching of Persian and Arabic in these institutions was an important cause for their unpopularity and subsequent closure of many of them.\textsuperscript{15}

Two factors exercised a decisive influence upon the educational policy in our country at this time. Firstly the evaluation of political theory in England had by that time brought about the gradual acceptance of the doctrine that popular education was one of the duties of the Government. Secondly, the adoption of the concept of State education coincided with a great refashioning of the educational structure in India. This action so far reaching in its consequences was both natural and desirable. Some

\textsuperscript{14} 'An extract of a letter from the Deputy Collector, Maldah to Commissioner's of Revenue', Bhagalpur dated 26 March, 1845, cf. Syed Mehmood, \textit{op.cit.} p.73.

\textsuperscript{15} 'An extract of a letter from Collector of Monghyr to the Commissioner of Revenue', Bhagalpur, dated 12 March, 1847, cf. Syed Mehmood, \textit{op.cit.} p.74.
thirty years of English education, however beneficial, had not failed to reveal various defects in the system, or to elicit, from time to time, proposals for their remedy. Missionary and privately maintained institutions, it was intimated, ought to receive material support from the Government through some form of grants in aid. At the same time the Government would seek to broaden the base of the educational pyramid by making provision for a much greater extension of vernacular schooling than hitherto.

As time wore on these suggestions crystallized into a fairly definite programme which was the famous Educational dispatch (Wood’s Despatch) of 19 July, 1854. It was drafted by Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control and forwarded by the Court of Directors to the Governor-General of India in Council, it contained highly significant recommendations. It continued to be the basis of the system of education in our country for long.

The Despatch touched almost all the important points bearing on the subject. It began with the view of the Court of Directors regarding the objects of education and ended with the question of employment of educated “natives” in public offices. It also critically reviewed in brief the progress of education in the several presidencies, and made important recommendations. The Despatch received recommendation from the authorities on Indian education. For the first time the British Parliament made an authoritative declaration in a very unambiguous language that education of the people (of India) was one of the principal duties of the Government, and that it was no longer to remain confined to the upper classes. The theory of downward filtration which had so long been the guiding principle of the authorities and found quite infructuous was discarded at least in principle. Several measures were suggested not only for promoting the mass education but also for preserving the indigenous educational institutions. By the system of grant-in-aid it was intended as a long term plant to transfer even the existing government schools and colleges to the management and control of the public and thus limiting the departmental activities to supervision work only. The educational funds were no longer to be spent on only a few government institutions but they were to be utilized in producing a number of simultaneously organized institutions. Under the new system endeavours were to be made to take
both Government and indigenous institutions side by side and make them work as partners in the same concern and not as rivals.

After 1854, the Government started with the job of establishing schools. The resolution of 1859, led to the establishment of Zila Schools of Patna, Arrah, Chhapra and the Hill School at Bhagalpur. In 1863, the district of Deoghar, Motihari, Hazaribagh and Chaibasa got one school each.\textsuperscript{16} It was reported in 1866 that the education in Patna district was progressing well. As there arose a great demand for English knowing Indians, most people wanted their children to receive modern education. This resulted in the establishment of a vernacular school at every important place, and an English school at every principal town.\textsuperscript{17}

The first attempt to impart higher education in Bihar was made by the middle of the nineteenth century at Patna (it being the administrative headquarters of Bihar). Attempts to start a college at Patna failed twice during the first half of the nineteenth century. Gradually, public interest in higher education was noticed, partly as a result of the introduction of English in the Chief Appellate Court and, partly due to the extension of the railways. At last the Patna College was opened with five students in 1863\textsuperscript{18}.

The Government was not alone in working for the growth of education in Bihar. Other agencies were also at work. The Christian missionaries, the Brahmo Samaj Arya Samaj, Theosophical Society, Ram Krishna Mission and other voluntary institutions and some Philanthropic persons played no less important a part in the development of education for girls in Bihar, I have traced their role and extent of their involvement in a separate chapter.

The British authorities seemed mainly concerned with teaching those destined for married life a modicum of domestic science and how to play the harmonium. Indeed they seemed to accept that a women would either be as professionally qualified as a man in order to become an educator or that she would marry: "There is a necessity that India should produce women who after receiving the highest

\textsuperscript{16} Educational Proceedings (Government of Bengal), August 1863, cf., J.S.Jha, \textit{op.cit.} pp. 43-45.
\textsuperscript{17} J.W. Dairymple to the Government of Bengal, 20 August, 1866, cf, Syed Mehmood, \textit{op.cit.} p. 89.
\textsuperscript{18} K.K.Datta, \textit{op.cit.} p. 69.
academic education are capable of inspecting and advising in the planning of women's education of all grades. On the other hand the fact must be kept in view that the overwhelming majority of Indian girls are destined for married life. British educational policy seemed fixed upon the model of separate spheres. The British authorities seemed incapable of imagining that there might be women in India who would combine marriage and professional activity as these were in their own country-or conversely, that there might be women who had the means to achieve higher education for the love of learning and as mark of prestige, who would then stay at home, serving society in voluntary ways. At the end reformers and educational authorities alike left to women themselves the job of reconciling the seemingly irreconcilable aims of their education in the course of their everyday lives, which was not expected to generate it's own dynamics. (1863-Bhagalpur Mahila Samity-first organization for women, 1936-Chhapra Mahila Samity had its own journal Mahila Darpan).

At the same time, it also seems true that one of the reasons why English education failed to make headway in Bihar, on the whole, was the existence of a comparatively little demand for English educated persons. Babu Gurucharan Mitter, Head Master of the Bhagalpur Hill School, very truly observed:

I am aware that the educational measures of the government have been eminently successful in Bengal, and wish they have been so throughout India, but at the same time I do not think we have reason to regret, if the progress of education has not been equally rapid in Bihar, for the pages of history teach us that every thing at and near the seat of government has always been and is ever in advance of what prevails in the more distant part of an empire and that this disadvantage is proportionate to their distance from the Metropolis.

The Director of Public Instruction, Mr. W. S. Atkinson, placed this viewpoint even more clearly when he observed:

In Bengal proper English education has an ascertained and increasing commercial value. It pays, and therefore it is sought for. In Behar, on the contrary, the demand for it has yet to be created. As soon as a certain kind of education is known to be necessary for advancement in life, it cannot be doubted that the people of Behar will ask for it as eagerly as those of

20 General Department, Education Branch, Prog. No. 23, 5 Jan, 1848', cf. J.S. Jha, op. cit. p.48.
any other country. My recent tour in that District (Patna has firmly convinced me that the apathy of the people, of which so many complaints are made, is the simple and natural result of the ordinary law of demand and supply. There is no market for what we understand by education, and therefore the people will not trouble themselves to bring forward a supply.

3.2 Initial Phase

There were no girls’ schools in Bihar till late sixties of the nineteenth century except those of the Christian missionaries in 1853, when Fr. Anastasinns Hartman after obtaining the services of the sisters of the Institute of Blessed Virgin Mary of Munich established St. Joseph’s Convent School with nine students, three boards, and six orphans at Bankipore, Patna. It mainly served the Christian community as a school and an orphanage.

The credit for setting up of girls’ schools on modern lines in Bihar goes to the local educated Bengalis and some of the cultural associations of Calcutta. In 1867 the first girl’s school was established in Patna by the Bengali community with the active cooperation of the Principal of Patna College, Mc. Crindle. The name of Girish Chandra Ghose, Judge of the Small Causes Court, may specially be mentioned in this connection. In January 1868, the Secretary of the Bengal Social Science Association, Calcutta, addressed a letter to the Commissioner of Patna Division to enquire about the State of female education in Bihar. The reply of the Commissioner reveals that till August of that year there were only two girl’s schools at Patna, the other being the Nonmoohia School established by Mohammad Aziz Khan. There was a female teacher in the school. It was held in the house of Mohammad Aziz Khan.

Apart from his children, other girls in the school belonged to lower order of the society. But Aziz had to encounter severe criticism from the members of his community. The Deputy Inspector of School at Patna reported his conversation with a respectable old man of Phoolwari Sharif at a Mushaira. The old man had heard

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21. 'From W.S. Atkinson, Director of Public Instructions, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated the 3 May 1861', cf. Ibid. p.67.
24. Datta, op.cit. p 442.
25. Ibid.
about opening of a girl’s school at Bhagalpur. ‘Have you any such school in Patna also?’ he asked with some anxiety. On being told that there were two girls’ schools in Patna, he heaved a deep sigh and said, ‘Bas, ab Kya raha, Zamanah Ulat Gya’ (It is all up now; the world is turned upside down).26

The Bengali school at Patna was superintended by a mistress. During the year 1868 there was a move to set up a girl school at Muzaffarpur also. There was a Zenana School of Bengalis at Rajmahal.27 The salary of the mistress, a European lady was Rs. 50 a month. The ladies were taught fancy work. The school received an aid of Rs. 20 a month from the government. There was a Bengali girl’s school at Bhagalpur also.28 In Darbhanga again the credit for opening the first girl’s school goes to the Bengali community of the place.29 About this time some girl’s schools were established in other parts of Bihar on the initiative of some English officers. These were supported either from the Reward Fund or by private subscription. In a report of 1875-76 Croft recorded the following about the state of female education:

“The genuine desire (or reluctance) of the people about education of girls is shown by the number at school in boys’ paths alas, about a dozen in every district, except Patna and Champaran. In Patna, however there is some female education which does not appear on the returns. A tailor at Dinapur teaches 10 Mohammedan girls as he sits at work. At Lai, near the Bihata railway station an old woman teaches 30-40 girls Hindi. The people of that are the most advanced in the district, and the Deputy and Sub-Inspector are convinced that 30(?) percent of the women of the Kayastha, Rajput, Brahman and Bantiya castes have some education, a few even read the Ramayana. In Gaya some rich men teach their daughters to sign their names; some years ago a girl from Deo in this district passed the Vernacular scholarship examination. In Champaran many of the Kurmis about Bettiah (mostly servants of the Raj) teach their girls Kaithi, and even reading as far as the Ramayana is concerned, they have applied for a school, which will be opened. A khidmutgar (attendant) at Bettiah teaches 12 girls Hindi, Persian, the multiplication table, cooking and basket making.”30

In subsequent years also the increase in the number of schools and pupils continued, but till the close of the century female education of the school type had not taken firm

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26 Ibid.
27 K.K Datta op.cit. p. 442.
28 Ibid.
29 JS Jha,op.cit. p. 138.
30 K.K.Datta op.cit. p.443.
The conception of people regarding the duties of a woman did not allow much scope for it. The want of female teachers had made the situation more irksome.

Since Hindu and Mohammedan girls educated in government classes’ found it difficult to take to teaching as a career. This is no doubt, because social custom and public opinion alike point to the home as the proper place for women and to marriage as the summum bonum. The female education among the Mohammedans was carried on by Atus or Pardanashin ladies who did not stir out in public. Zenana education in the Province is conducted by peripatetic teachers and by central gathering classes, the latter including certain classes for Mohammedan women of which the teaches are termed Atus first Quinquennial Review on POE (Bihar and Orissa) described the Atus in these terms: “The Atus worked in Patna and Tirhut divisions and the inspectress of schools considered that their work had improved considerably during the period 1912-1917.”

In Patna city during this period (1906) there were 10-15 Atus who taught girls who went to them. There was a female Madarsa in Patna city opened by Rasidan, a literate lady, wife of Maulvi Mohammaed Yehia, a pleader; even this Madarasa was closed after sometime.

Due to scarcity of female teachers, the existing girl’s schools had to be managed by old male teachers: Government realized that it is desirable to replace these old men by women teachers as soon as this is practicable and in the mean time and until women teachers were forthcoming to amalgamate inefficient girls’ schools with efficient boys schools, encouraging girls to attend these efficient schools for boys. Following this problem many girls’ primary schools were closed down as it was not in accordance with the committee’s stand, which was formed on 8th June 1914 to examine the whole question of female education in the province, recommendations in appendix (no.3) that separate girls’ schools should be established

31 Ibid., p. 444
32 Fifth Quinquennial Review of the POE in Bihar & Orissa (1932-37), Patna, p. 117.
33 S.N. Pandey, Education and Social Changes in Bihar, Delhi, 1975, p 27.
34 Proceedings of Government of Bengal, General Department, (Education), 1906, No. 70, pp. 96-97.
35 “The majority of girl’s primary schools have been condemned by the District Inspectresses as inefficient and useless and their teachers as “old, lazy, uncertified men who have proved unfit for boys’ schools.” Fifth Quinquennial Review of the POE in Bihar and Orissa, (1932-37), Patna, p. 116.
36 Ibid.
whenever the number of girls in boys schools crossed 20, though it was not opposed to co-education.

Girls of tender age could be allowed to read in boys schools due to decrease in the number of school’s for girl’s from 2,971 in 1926 to 2,725 in 1930 and 2,695 in 1931 but the number of girls attending them which was 71,329 in 1926 and 70,838 in 1930 now rose to 71,883 in 1931.\(^{37}\) It shows that both local bodies and parents realized that at the primary stage it was seldom necessary to have separate schools for girls. There could be little objection from any but the most conservative parents to co-education if all the boys could be made to complete the lower primary stage by the age of 10.\(^{38}\) Co-education gradually gained popularity due to:

1. The public demand for female education in places where there was no school for girls.

2. The demand for superior teaching facilities and for selection for wider range of subjects offered by institutions for boys, especially in high schools and college.

3. The gradual relaxation of the Purdah system.\(^{39}\) Thus, we see in 1925 for the first time a girl student was admitted into the Patna College.\(^{40}\)

It was the Ram Mohan Roy Seminary in the case of schools which took the lead in 1923 to start co-education at the high school level. The idea came in the course of a casual discussion which Srish Chandra had with the then director of public instruction, C.E. Fraucus, about the paucity of girl schools and general difficulties of providing girls education.\(^{41}\) In spite of terrific social opposition Srish Chandra (a Brahma) admitted his two daughters in the school, however, co-education did not gain popularity fast and it was only in the mid forties that this school with 125 girls became the leading co-educational institution in the province.\(^{42}\)

\(^{37}\) Ibid.
\(^{38}\) Fourth Quinquennial Review of the POE in Bihar and Orissa, (1927-32) Patna, p. 79.
\(^{42}\) Ibid.
3.3 Cost of Education

The direct expenditure on recognized schools for girls increased from Rs. 652,381 in 1931 to Rs. 789,105 in 1936. During the five years (1932-37) the annual per capita cost of educating pupils in schools of all kinds for boys and in primary schools for girls was considerably reduced as will appear from the following table:

Table no. 1  Cost of Education in Primary Schools

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys Schools</th>
<th>Girl's Schools</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1931-32</td>
<td>1936-37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Rs. 45.02</td>
<td>Rs. 40.08</td>
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<tr>
<td>Middle English</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Vernacular</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.3</td>
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This difference continued as long as the difference in average roll number between a boys school and a girls' school continued and qualified women teachers remained much more expensive than male teachers of the same qualification, other factors which added to it were the need for the provision of conveyance and the escorts for pupil.

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43 Fifth Quinquennial Review of the POE in Bihar (1932-37), Patna, p. 114.
44 Ibid.
45 "The provision of conveyances especially at secondary schools is still a difficult problem. At the Bankipur Girls' school five large buses have been provided and the numbers in the school have increased accordingly but the expense of maintaining these buses are heavy and practically none of the parents who have conveyance of their own are willing to use them to send their girls to school." Third Quinquennial Review of POE in Bihar & Orissa (1922-1927), Patna, pp. 97-98.
The female education on Committee (1914) made changes and made provisions (see appendix no.1) for optional subjects which were to be introduced from 1918.\textsuperscript{46}

It was in 1909 that the first mistress’s training college; B.N.R. Training College was established at Patna with help of an endowment, made by Syed Badshah Nawab Rizvi of Patna city yielding an annual income of Rs. 7267. The Bettiah Raj provided accommodation for it in its palace at Patna. Miss Parsons of the Indian Educational Service was appointed the first lady principal in the college.\textsuperscript{47} There was a \textit{pardanashin} class attached to it, on which the following extracts from the lady principal’s report are of interest:

All students from outside Patna are resident in the hostels and even some who live in Patna City prefer living in the hostels to attending as day pupils. The food given them is good and plentiful and it is wonderful to see how much stronger and better they look after a few month’s residence in the hostels. The life there improves them in every way, they learn to keep regular hours, to keep their rooms neat and clean to give and take. When the college was first opened, the Hindu students would not allow a Mohammedan student to even pass through their class room. Now they are good friends and often sit and work together, and if they happen to be going the same way, will travel together. They feel they must work together. They feel they must work together, without petty prejudices, if they mean to benefit their country. Hostel life has done a great deal of good for the women.

The lady doctor at the Duchess of Teck Hospital is now in medical charge of the hotels and as the Hospital itself is very close to us, many of the women attend there if they are ill. This arrangement was sanctioned in 1913, and has worked well. I had all the students medically examined last year and out of 26 women only one was physically fit. Purdah women as a class are certainly not robust.

Though the college was established in 1909 the hostel for Hindu students was built in 1912 only.\textsuperscript{48}

\textsuperscript{46} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{47} K.K. Datta, \textit{op.cit.} p.443.
During the year 1915-16 a commencement was made in the province with the higher education of women, Intermediate classes\(^4^9\) being opened, since most of the parents were against educating their daughters away from home, after a certain age.\(^5^0\) Most parents were unwilling to invest in education which they viewed as wastage since the girls were unlikely to take up jobs and after marriage they had to go to the husband’s home. Curricular content has always been a key issue in women’s education and continues to be so even now, although in a modified form. There was considerable public opinion in favor of such a differentiated curriculum and the Education Committee of 1882 supported this view while advising a cautious approach to its implementation.\(^5^1\) The government grant-in-aid policy required conformity to the government established curriculum.

This policy did not allow innovation in subject matter, although private school could teach additional subjects if they wanted to offer special fields of study for girls.\(^5^2\) In this process certain subjects emerged as feminine” subjects (e.g. hygiene, domestic science, needlework, music, home science, etc), while others (e.g. physics, chemistry and mathematics) became ‘masculine’ subjects.\(^5^3\)

But we come across an interesting experiment in the case of C.M.S. school at Godda (Santhal Parangana) which had an agricultural class attached to it, as reported by the Inspector of Schools of the Bhagalpur Division: “There are a few fields in which the girls grow rice and a garden in which they grow vegetables”.\(^5^4\) On this curricular change Miss Honeyburne, Inspector of schools, commented that: “it appears that in many cases objection is made to sending girls away to school and there are no day schools in most small Santal villages on the ground that when they leave they cannot manage their rice fields and are too old to learn. I hope the experiment will prove successful”.\(^5^5\)

\(^4^9\) Intermediate of Arts, equal to 10+2.
\(^5^0\) The likelihood of Educated Girls becoming less adjustable and even defiant, added to the reluctance of parents to send their daughters to school.c.f Karuna Chanana, (ed.), Socialization, Education and Women: Explorations in Gender Identity, New Delhi, 1988, p. 55.
\(^5^1\) Ibid.
\(^5^2\) Chanana, op.cit. 1988, p. 56.
\(^5^3\) Ibid.
\(^5^4\) Annual POE Report(Bihar & Orissa) 1918-1919, Patna, p.17.
\(^5^5\) First Quinquennial Review Bihar and Orissa 1912-1917, Patna, p. 103.
In connection with the Ravenshaw Girls’ School at Cuttack, (then in the province of Bihar, Orissa separated in 1936) the subjects taught were English, Logic, History, Sanskrit and the Vernacular\(^5^6\).

Again there is an evidence of two recognized primary Sanskrit schools for girls. The *Jain Bala Bishram* at Arrah prepares candidates for the *madhyama* and higher Sanskrit examinations" (Annual Report on the Progress of Education in Bihar 1938-39, pg.56), and I would attempt to clear some myths specially around the Muslim women since what appears that the leaders of the community were not greatly exercised about educational backwardness of the women folk, there were a few exceptions later like Abdul Aziz of Chhapra, a barrister as well as a member of the executive committee of the Governor of Bihar and later first education minister of Bihar, after independence who founded *Aziz Kanya Pathshala* in 1936 in Chhapra, which was later shifted to the Hathwa Raj manager’s residence( Souvenir, *Aziz Kanya Pathshala*) and here there were some lesser known women of the community trying to raise their voice. As early as in (1855-1929) Rashid-un-Nisa Begum was quite vehemently advocating for women’s education. She wrote a novel *Islah-un-Nisa* (Feminist Reform) in 1894, which stressed the value of women’s education and condemned useless, expensive strenuous social ceremonies and customs. She also started a school for girls known as *Madarsa Islamia* in 1906 which was supervised by Lady Fraser herself and it was a landmark incidence, the same institution was later taken over by Badshah Nawab Rizwi who donated a chunk of his property to the institute and renamed it as B.N.R. School, Maharani Bettiah donated the building, so this school is also known as Bettiah House, there was a hostel also for the girls, which was supervised by daughter of Rashid-un-Nisa, Nasib-un-Nisa. Lady Imam, wife of Sir Ali Imam, was also a resident in the hostel and a product of the same school. And many more like Sughra Begum (1884 -1959), wife of Humayun Mirza who wrote articles for Urdu magazines and edited a journal *Al-Nisa* (*The Indian Annual Register 1930*, vol.1, pp144-148, 12 issues of the journal is there in Khuda Bkhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna), Begum Rokaiya Sakhawat Hossain of Bhagalpur who later shifted her base to Bengal, Begum Mazharul Haque who as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All India Women’s Education conference, held at Patna

in Jan. 1929 denounced prevailing system of Purdah stressed the need of developing education among women of Bihar (The Indian Quarterly Register, 1929, vol. 1, no. 1 and 2 pp. 419-420). Contrary to the stereotyped picture of British government solely carrying the burden of female education against the obduracy of its inert Indian subjects (Bhattacharya, 2000), there is ample indication of initiatives and participation of the indigenous intellectuals, the “local notables”, moneyed people, the “English educated” gentry and secondary, lesser known reformers who continues the momentum. In Tarikh-I-Ujjainia by Munshi Vinayak Prasad, (vol. 4, Book 2), there is a crucial reference of a girls’ school has been mentioned, founded by Maharaja of Dumraon Raja Radha Prasad Singh in 1882, the school had on its rolls, Hindu and Muslim girls as many as 200 by 1887, when the Lt. Governor of Bengal, Bailey came to Dumraon with Lady Bailey who laid the foundation stone of the building of the Girls’ School (Tarikh-I-Ujjainia, pp. 58-60). These were some straws in the wind indicating that a new breeze was blowing and while visiting Darbhanga Raj Record Room one gets a lot more straws [the records under reference are kept in big cloth bundles and consist of correspondence, office-notes, diaries etc.]. In 1868 there was a move to set up a girls’ school at Muzaffarpur, the manager of Raj Darbhanga was approached for a monthly subscription of Rs. 30 for the school (S. No., 209, dtd. 30-11-1868, from Deputy Inspector of Schools, Tirhoot Division). Again the Secretary of the Bengali Middle English School (first girls’ school in Darbhanga) approached the Maharaja in 1886 for aid, in response Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh sanctioned the school a monthly grant of Rs. 40 besides the use of a house free of rent (S. No., 130), then in 1905-6 the Chapman Girls’ school and the Levinge Zenana Institute were established at Muzaffarpur, the former was a branch of the Mahakali Pathshala of Calcutta (1893) to which Maharaja Rameshwar Singh donated Rs. 1500, in 1932 the Lady Stephenson Girls’ school was established in Darbhanga to which the Maharaja advanced a sum of Rs. 3000.

Education in general and girl’s education in particular continued to suffer from limited financial resources during the period. Girls education involved higher investment since not only there were separate schools to be set up but hostels had to be provided where the distance between home and school was not commutable, escorts had to be arranged to see girls home in areas where they were traditionally allowed to go outdoors; women teachers had to be trained because parents were
reluctant to let their daughters come in contact with male teachers and lastly scholarships had to be provided as incentives so parents would forego the earnings and labour of their daughters or overcome traditional prejudices.