"About the modern period, a number of books on the history of education containing a wealth of data are available. But a number of gaps are to be filled up. For example, a detailed and objective examination of the role of castes and new social groups and classes in the growth of education is needed. A history of foreign influences on Indian education is another necessity. Another clear-cut history of the educational efforts of different social and educational organizations such as Missionaries, Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj, Ram Krishna Mission and the like is also needed."

CHAPTER

5.1. INTRODUCTION

The previous Chapter was devoted to the consideration of the political determinants of the development of education in India. This was largely done keeping in view the assumption which governs the relationship between education and politics. In this Chapter also, it would be fruitful to spell out the main assumptions which govern the relationship of socio-cultural factors with education. But before one can process to do so, it would be in the fitness of things to state briefly the meaning and scope of socio-cultural factors in the limited reference frame to which the researcher would confine and restrict his discussion about the development of education.
(a) Meaning of the 'Culture' and 'Social'

Culture is a very comprehensive term and can be interpreted in a number of ways and connotations. The term can easily be construed to cover the whole life of man and society. In this Chapter, the term 'cultural' however, would be used in a limited way. Whenever the term culture is used, it would refer to the ideas, the beliefs, the values, the attitudes and activities of the people. Likewise, social factors would normally include in themselves the caste and class movements as a part and parcel of the cultural life of the people.

(b) Some Assumptions

On the basis of this simplified meaning of the terms 'culture' and 'social' determinants some assumptions may be derived to be used in the present study.

The first assumption is that all conscious and well directed activities of man and society flow from the deep laid ideas, beliefs, values, attitudes and motives. Since imparting of education in any society is also, by and large, a conscious and well directed activity, there must be presumably some motivational ideas, beliefs which lead to such activity. In other words, education reflects the ideas, beliefs of the people which are reflected in the form of increased or decreased attendance in educational institutions.

Another assumption is, that the change in ideas, beliefs and values make a significant change in the rigidity
of caste and class structure. From this it can be inferred that if education, in matter of its own expansion draws some guidance from caste and class structure, then a change in the rigidity in caste structure will reflect corresponding change in the picture of educational development of the country.

(c) Society and Education: The Interaction

Education has been defined many times by many persons. Each definition reflects either the personal point of view of the individual or that of the field of knowledge of which he is an exponent. For example, to the biologist, education is largely adaptation; to the psychologist, it is synonymous with learning; to the philosopher and especially to the educator, it reflects the school of thought to which he belongs. Definitions vary from that of the extreme conservative who views education as a protective process of the State to preserve the status quo, to the extreme progressive to whom education is self-expression—to assist individual to do better the things he would do any way.

Education, whether a concern of the formal agency of the school, or in its broader aspects, of all the consciously controlled processes that produce behavioural changes in persons and groups, is an integral part of the total social pattern. It can neither be the direct reflection of the status quo nor be divorced from its social environment.
Education takes place in the interaction of individuals, groups, and entire cultures. Education is the process of interaction resulting in changes in behaviour of both the individual and the culture.

Education is at once a creature and creator of social change. It is for that reason that education as a tool of social control has to perform two interspersed functions: (a) to assimilate, preserve and transmit the useful elements of the cultural patterns—folkways, mores and institutions; and (b) to develop and promote new cultural patterns throbbing with the new vitalities of people and answering the list of social values.

Education, through its various processes of teaching, learning and the rest draws on society as well as attempts to modify it. Thus, education and society are closely interrelated. Education is one of the chief agencies of society for socialising human beings.

Sidney Hook defines education (in the broadest sense) "as assimilation of the culture of any society, and its transmission from one generation to another." As such, it perpetuates and gives continuity to society. From this definition, it is clear that education is related to society in as much as it conserves the socio-cultural patterns through schools. It is true that this function can be performed by other social institutions as well, but the school, it is argued by many, is the best fitted for that.
Socio-cultural patterns in India are so complex and overwhelming in quantity that it is impossible for the school to conserve all. Here, the business of education is to see that every educated gets a chance to escape from the limitations of the social group to which he belongs and "to come in contact with the broader environment." This is done through school as an agency of education.

According to many thinkers, education is a creative force. It must forge ahead. It must supply new ideas that will reconstruct and revitalise the social fabric that prevails. Education must take some initiative and responsibility for social progress, e.g. in producing a system of government or system of economics different from which exists. The education is to develop personality of the child who comes to it. Development of personality is an important factor from the point of view of creating a new society.

Education has worked as a creative force in society in the past. This can be illustrated from history. For example, the Spartans deliberately set out to cultivate a type of the State where physical fitness, physical strength and military prowess were to be the ideal. So they framed their educational system with a view to producing such individuals.

Later on the Jesuits at the Counter Reformation did the same thing. They had a definite aim before them, and they realized that in order to achieve that aim, and to save
some part of Europe for the Roman Catholic Church, they had to begin their work in the schools. Thus, they succeeded in making effective changes by their use of education.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, Prussia in particular, but Germany as a whole, set out to indoctrinate her young people so that they would definitely become a people who were good followers. And they also succeeded.

There are outstanding examples of Fascism and Nazism and Communism using the schools and the education given therein, to produce the type of citizens needed to perpetuate the system of government and of society. For centuries, the system of society and government in England has been founded on class distinction and in perpetuating these distinctions, their educational system had played an important part.

Since education plays a vital role in educating the individuals in the society, it can affect society in a number of ways. Likewise, education is also influenced by the philosophies and views of prominent individuals. In Ram Mohan Roy, Gokhale, Tagore, Gandhi India had men who not only influenced her society but to some extent her educational system also.

This being so, if education is to be creative of a new society and particularly if that society is to be a
The place of education in this work of creating a new society is all the more important because of the new orientation that has taken place in educational work during the period under study.

One of the most common and least provocative beliefs about the relation of education to society is that the educational activities reflect in different ways the character of the society and its dominant ideals. For instance Mr. Hutchins in "Education for Freedom," remarks that "the goodness and badness of education is both a sign and effect of the goodness and badness of the society."

If education is to be dynamic, it must reflect the social growth in its methods, its curriculum and in its ideology. The influence of education is visible both in democratic as well as undemocratic countries.

Society, too, affects education in various ways in its aims, methods, curriculum. It is an undeniable truth that any educational system is dependent for its values on the purposes of the community of which it is an instrument. Educational reforms cannot be discussed in vacuum, but are the outcome of changed communal values. Social movements make changes in educational provision, methods, administration and curricula imperative.
It is assumed in the discussion that society is dynamic, and it grows and changes. And as such, these social changes must not only be reflected in education but also must affect it. How the changing society affects education has been well brought out by Dewey in "The School and Society." Discussing the importance of society with reference to education, he says "whenever we have in mind the discussion of a new movement in education, it is especially necessary to take the broader or social view. Otherwise changes in the school institution and tradition will be looked upon as the arbitrary inventions of particular teachers, at the worst transitory fads, and at the best as merely improvements in certain details... The modification going on in the method and curriculum of education is as much a product of the changed social situation as much an effort to meet the needs of the new society that is forming, as the changes in modes of industry and commerce." Dewey has illustrated his viewpoint by referring to the progress of science and how it has changed our religious ideas, our interests, our habits of living. All these influenced the educational system, its methods and devices.

With these introductory background observations, the researcher would now turn to the main theme of the present Chapter, viz., identifying and examining the social determinants of Indian education during the period under study.
5.2. THE EFFECT OF SOCIAL CHANGE ON EDUCATION AND OF EDUCATION ON SOCIAL CHANGE

The winds of social change blew more vigorously in India from 1905 onwards. Right from the beginning, there was considerable discontent with the policies of the Government and this was resulting in an increasing restlessness in the field of politics. This has been already discussed in the last Chapter. This discontentment was receiving stimulation not only from the events which were happening at home but also from those which were happening abroad. Most of these political events were examined in the previous chapter in relation to their impact on Indian education.

If the political field had seen its changes, the economic field was presenting changes in its own way. While in the field of agriculture, the same old and crude techniques, simple tools and wasteful methods were being used, industry was taking firmer roots in the country. The keynote of these developments was rising output on one hand, and the development of some industrial cities on the other. India had a vast supply of cheap and unskilled labour. Culturally, they had no educational values, economically they could ill-afford education for their children. In short, they were lost to education. But because of this development some of them migrated to cities. While socially, this represented a general movement from the villages to the cities; educationally, the disadvantageous position of the immigrants changed for the better.

A brief summary of these changes in relation to education and as a part of social change is given below:

(a) Means of Communication

Indian education had suffered considerably because of
two things. One, the lack of means of transportation and communication. Two, the lack of educational values. Schools were scattered at far off distances. Each school was meant to serve a good area. This was specially true in the case of secondary school. Because of the lack of good roads and other means of transportation, even some of those who really wished for education, could not take the benefit of it. For example, each primary school covered an average number of 5.7, 5.3, 4.3 towns and villages in 1906-1907, 1911-12, and 1916-17 respectively. And in terms of area each primary school served 11.6 square mile; in 1901-1902, 10.9 in 1906-1907, 10.2 in 1911-12 and 8.8 square miles in 1916-17.

The situation was rendered further difficult by the fact that in many provinces many habitants had a population of less than 150 persons to the square mile. In Borth-West Frontier Province, Coorg, Assam, Central Provinces and Bombay such habitations existed in plenty.

Such areas, and the scantiness of roads and means of communication were the real hurdles in the way of the expansion of education.

Much of the social change revolves round roads and railways. While it is difficult to minimise their contribution in the field of economics, they contribute most in fostering new attitudes in the people. Because of this fact, the Auxiliary Committee Review carried the optimistic remarks:

"Concurrent with the numerical expansion, there has been a slow, but steady breakdown of the obstacles that stood in the way of the spread of education. The isolation of rural areas and the difficulties imposed by distance on the extension of education are gradually being lessened by the building of new roads and railways, and by the provision of motor services, which are linking up even remote villages with the main stream of life and activity."
Apart from the railways, roads, and transport, the expansion of postal, telegraph and telephone services were also playing a vital role in the change of ideas, beliefs, and values. These means of communication and transportation were bringing the educationally backward close to the educationally advanced.

The Indian Government had, indeed, in the words of Basil Mathews "made famine impossible by an interrelation of transport and irrigation." 7

The motor omnibus, too, was now "outstripping the train as a carrier of ferment into the peasant life of India. As the millions of Indian rats carry plague, so the thousands upon thousands of Indian buses... from the village to the city and back, carry the seeds of modernism." 8

(b) Growth of Cities and Changing Population

Another very important factor in the increasing tempo of social change was the growth of cities and the changes in the complex of population of these cities. The new industries attracted unskilled labour from the villages. The economic necessity made these workers to settle in areas of higher educational values. This population was increasing as the cities were increasing, because the cities generally happened to be highly industrialised areas. For example, by 1929, some industrial large cities, such as, Bombay, Calcutta, Ahmedabad, Jamshedpur, Coimbatore etc.
had found their place on the industrial map of India. By 1929, there were 29 cities with a population of 1,00,000 or over, and 2,100 towns with a population between 5,000 and 1,00,000. However, the proportionate percentage of cities did not increase much during this period. As against 9.88 per cent in 1901, it was 10.2 per cent in 1929, though the net increase was substantial in absolute numbers. Added to it were the expanding means of communication and transportation. Naturally, the cities presented an intense drama of significant social interaction and cultural give-and-take. This social interaction in these cities was definitely influencing the educational ideas and values of the people for the better.

(c) Growth of Mass Media of Propaganda

The growth of mass media of propaganda, especially the press, was another agency of social change. It disseminated new ideas and beliefs. Of course, broadcasting was in infancy as it started quite late in the period, but the press was having great strides forward. The newly educated people whom the Calcutta University Commission described as a sort of "intellectual proletariat," were being largely fed by an evergrowing number and volume of newspapers, periodicals and books.
It is difficult to quote the exact development of newspapers, periodicals and books as many of these ventures started and faded within short intervals of time. It can, however, be stated that their growth rate was sizeable. For example, the number of such publications in 1906 was 1366. It rose to 1,815 in 1911.11

The press was, thus, a powerful factor in building and developing social consciousness among the educated people of India. The press was an effective weapon in the hands of social reform groups to expose social evils such as the caste fetters, child marriage, ban on remarriage of widows, social, legal and inequalities from which women suffered and others. It also helped them to organize propaganda on a vast scale against such inhuman institutions as untouchability. It became a weapon in their hands to proclaim to the broad mass of the people, principles, programmes and methods of democratic reconstruction of Indian society. It was also through the press that social reformers, all over the country, were also able to maintain a permanent discussion about the best programmes of the solution of social evils and to prepare and hold all India level Social Conferences with a view to chalking out a common line of attack on social evils.

In addition, there were some new places of social interaction and social change. The development of cities
and means of transportation made an increasing number of people travel minded. This led to development of places like hostels, on the one hand and 'inns' on the other. Although no figures are available, they contributed their role in the increasing tempo of the social change.

Broadcasting stations had been set up in Delhi, the Provincial capitals and other important cities. Urdu, Marathi, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu were the languages used at different centres and at all these were at times programmes in English. Clearly the radio was a highly effective means of imparting instruction to mostly illiterate population and thereby bringing about a social change, though slowly and on a moderate scale.

(d) Social Legislation and Social Awakening

Social legislation which took place before and during the period played an effective role in the change of cultural practices, and educational values. The distinctive feature of these social legislation in regard to the ideas and beliefs of the people was that while the old Indian laws and customs largely had religious sanctions, the new social laws enacted through legislation appeared to derive section from practical social considerations and from the philosophy of humanism. This was leading to a welcome change in the attitude of the people. It was no longer
religion but socio-economic needs determined the action. In the field of education also, this new emerging humanism caused a major shake up of the idea that specific education was reserved for specific people.

Some Indians had already supported social legislation. It is not within the scope of this study to point out all social legislation, but the comments would be confined to only those effects which had some relevance with education. Social legislations had significant effect on two fields, viz., (i) marriage, and (ii) child labour.

One significant landmark in this direction was made through the Sarda Act (1929) the minimum age for marriage for boys and girls was fixed at 18 and 14 respectively. Some reactionary elements in Indian society made hue and cry against such a measure. But the progressive element supported the measure. This Act influenced to some extent the attitude of the people towards "marriage" specifically towards the age of marriage, and this had positive influence on the development of education. Child marriage took away both the male and female from school. The unmarried child had more chances of continuing in the school. This had also more chances to break cultural apathy towards education. The Auxiliary Committee Review rightly pointed out:
"The age of marriage is gradually rising and there are powerful movements on foot to raise the age of consent and to mitigate the rigours of custom of 'Purdah'. The conservative and orthodox prejudices against education are not nearly as strong as they were a generation ago. The active opposition to the spread of education which existed among several classes of the community has largely disappeared."12

While this change in marriage-age was having positive influence on the expansion of education, another consideration in the field of marriage, which also came during this period, had powerful influence on the development of education, especially secondary and university. During this period it was felt that a reasonably good education ensured some kind of Government job and through it life long economic security. Since every father wanted his daughter to be married with a boy who was economically independent, and thus could look after the well being of his daughter, he searched for such boys. Thus, educated young men were sought after for marriage. Since "supply" was less and "demand" more, the parents of the sons found that if their sons were educated, not only they would be married in better families, but also the brides would bring good dowry. For them education became an investment and this in some ways provided a big incentive for education. It is difficult to state precisely and exactly the influence of this factor on the development of education, but most of the people who were informally interviewed for the purpose of the present study told it was quite considerable.
Some evidence to support this view is also available from the Calcutta University Commission Report, e.g.

"One of the forces already at work, and likely to become more potent, in the removal of this disability is growing preference of young men for educated wives, whom they are ready to accept with smaller dowry."13

This factor also gave a fillip to girls' education also. Along with this influence of education, this social legislation had vital impact on social change as well, and consequently on the new ideas, beliefs and values.

Another very potent factor responsible for bringing about a social change was education itself. This has been rightly alluded to in the observations of Arthur Mayhew:

"Our education has done far less for Indian culture than for the material and political progress of India. She looks to our schools and colleges for equipment in the struggle for existence, for the secret of happy living, 'vivendi causal', she looks elsewhere."14

It was not a mere accident that the pioneers and all subsequent leaders of Indian nationalism came from the educated classes of the Indian society. This has been beautifully remarked by Kohn Hans in the following words:

"The rising generation assimilated European teaching with astounding receptivity. They quickly became nationalists, democrats, and socialists. Cavour, Mazzini, Kossuth, Parnell, and Mill became their teachers and heroes. The English Government forbade European history of the nineteenth century to be taught in Indian schools. But already it was too late. The process could no longer be checked, and at this point it soon took a new turn. A more intimate acquaintance with European culture had been attained and it
was no longer accepted uncritically... The European writers who themselves criticized Europe...Ruskin, Carlyle, Tolstoy and others... played their part.\textsuperscript{15}

The advantages of the knowledge of English language were almost immeasurable. It gave access to modern English literature, one of the richest, if not the richest, literatures in the world. The educated Indian, who studied English democratic literature and imbibed its democratic principles, felt inspired to rebel against the reactionary social institutions and world outlook of a bygone era, such as caste and authoritarian social philosophies which sought to enslave the individual and suppress his free initiative.

The English language did a great service as a medium of communication for the educated Indians throughout India to exchange views on a national scale, on different subjects, social, political and scientific interests. It became a meaningful medium of expression at various national Congresses and Conferences especially in the earlier stages.

Another significant contribution of modern education in India is strikingly proved by the fact that practically all leaders of progressive movements, economic, political, social, religious, or cultural belonged to the English educated intelligentsia. It can be said that it was through the English education that many people adopted new ideas, attitudes and values. Educated people knew some of the
contributions made by English poets, scholars, and political philosophers.

K.M.Panikkar in 'A Survey of Indian History' describes the decision in favour of English education as the most beneficient, revolutionary decision taken by the Government of India and goes on to say that "some idea of the importance of the decision which was forced on the British Government may be gauged by considering what the results of the alternative policy would have been."\textsuperscript{16}

English education had also developed the Indian languages to standards in which a university education is now becoming possible.

The very fact that the English educated people were more liberal, more humanistic, more sceptical and more rational, and cared less for caste rigidities shows that the English education had contributed something solid to the Indian culture also.

The whole process of social change which was due to a combination of factors such as means of communication, urbanization, industrialization, new ideas, and rational attitudes etc., which were bringing gradual change in the social and cultural order of the country, led to a clash between the 'New' and the 'Old'. This period witnessed this struggle in its distinctive nature. This was reflected right from the national level down to a family level.
In the cultural field, the whole country was at crossroads. There was reluctance to leave the old values; there was reluctance to accept the new values. But in the case of uneducated, this reluctance was greater in favour of the former, i.e. the leaving the old, while the educated people were less reluctant to accept the new values, attitudes and beliefs. This is reflected in the fact that the educated "caste Hindus" were ready to accept the backward and depressed classes with some considerations, if not with equality. This idea has also been supported by Srinivas when he says:

"...the conversion of the lower castes (especially Harijans) to Islam and Christianity was an important factor in producing changed attitude among the Hindu elite, towards caste and untouchability."7

Ideals of secularism and sciences were also becoming popular. The Indian National Congress which was the largest representative body of the Indians had also supported these new trends. Its leaders favoured secularism as against the communalism.

Even socio-religious movements which had a bias in favour of old religion had absorbed some of the new trends. This is proved by their programme in favour of caste-reform, caste abolition, equal rights to women, against child marriage. The two outstanding socio-religious movements of
the period were the Arya Samaj and the Rama Krishna Mission, and both categorically favoured new ideas. This struggle between the new and the old was also reflected in the Muslims also. Gradually, the educated Muslims started favouring modern education, science and technology along with the teachings of Quran. The compromise between 'new' and 'old' was visible in the lives of some great leaders also. Among such leaders, the most prominent were Aurobindo and Gandhi.

The story was not materially different at the family level. The educated showed less respect for traditions. Even now professions were not taken on hereditary basis, "Individualism was a marked phenomenon especially in middle class families."18

Such clashes between the 'new' and the old views were also reflected in the writings of one of the greatest socialist novelists, Munshi Prem Chand. For example, in his famous novel "Karan-Bhumi", Amarkant, the hero of the novel tells his father:

"I am sorry I cannot go on like this any more. My life is my own, and I mean to live in. Living with you has lost me my best years. You do not know, father, that a man's life is not eating and living and dying. It's not making money. I can't bear it. I have a different vision. I will sweat for a life which means, what it means for a man to sweat; which respects a man and his wife; which gives them a chance of discovering some happiness. I know if I stay with you, my life will pass in sticking to niceties of convention - dry years, dead years all."19
Thus, in this struggle between the forces of modernity and forces of traditionalism, it was found that though slowly, almost imperceptibly, yet inevitably the 'new' was emerging as victorious as against the 'old' which was losing ground, though slowly.

On account of this clash between the 'new' and the 'old' all the socio-economic problems were looked at from a different angle. More and more emphasis was given on reasoning than to accept things on blind faith. Old political and social institutions such as village structure and caste structure were receiving hard jerks.

Here it would be in the fitness of things to see other changes which were distinctly visible on the social scene and which directly or indirectly influenced educational growth.

During the period under study the following changes need some explanation:

(e) Emergence of New Ideas, Beliefs and Values

Here following five sets were clearly visible:

(i) Idea of equality,
(ii) philosophy of humanism,
(iii) belief in sanctity of education,
(iv) belief in the social prestige value of education, and
(v) belief in economic value of education.
(i) Idea of Equality:

During this period many people were demanding equality of opportunity in order to progress and become equal to those who were politically, socially and economically advanced. Since education was an instrument for achieving progress, there was a great demand for education. While the Muslims demanded opportunities in the name of equality, even the depressed classes also clamoured for not only for political equality but equality in social and educational fields also. This idea had been put forward by Ambedkar before the Simon Commission.

"The first thing I would like to submit is that we claim that we must be treated as a distinct minority separate from the Hindu Community, a distinct independent minority. Secondly, I should like to submit that the depressed classes minority needs for greater political protection than any other minority in British India for the simple reason that it is educationally very backward, that it is economically very poor, socially enslaved from which no other community suffers. We claim reserved seats if accompanied by adult franchise."20

Thus, even the number of the backward classes though historically backward started clamouring for equality.

(ii) Philosophy of Humanism:

Close to the idea of equality was the philosophy of humanism which was getting roots in the Indian social order. By 'humanism' it is meant the attitude of mind or a system of thought which concentrates especially upon human interest and human mind rather than upon the religious
ideals. It applies to human as well as humane approach to the problems of man and society.

As a result of change in social outlook the old cultural and caste-ridden prejudices were crumbling and the values of human national character were being proclaimed. For example, the Bihar and Orissa Report on education 1927-32, carried these remarks:

"Caste prejudices among the higher class Hindus in rural areas are not as strong as before." 21

The years after the World War I attracted many people to humanism. Actually the years 1918-1929 was a period of great awakening in India. Many forces were contributing to the popularity of the philosophy of humanism, viz., result of the War, foundation of the League of Nations, and Wilsonian Fourteen Points abroad and increased socio-political activity at home. This philosophy of humanism was also reflected in the socio-political and economic programmes of the Indian National Congress. Moreover, this philosophy was also indirectly reflected in the writings of contemporary writers, of whom Munshi Prem Chand 22 in the Hindi language was the leading one.

(iii) Belief in Sanctity of Education:

The sanctity of education grew remarkably during this period. It was felt by people that education made the youngsters to forget traditional ways and professions. Others regarded education as a means by which economic conditions of the people may be raised. Still others were of the opinion that intelligence and intellect improved along with the education.
Thus, the sanctity of education was getting firmer roots on the minds of the people.  

(iv) Prestige Value of Education:

During this period education had some prestige value in the society. Educated people were respected everywhere. Some of the parents advised their children to emulate educated persons. This further proved by the fact that educated people were very few in number and hence they were seen with respect.

(v) Economic Worth of Education:

As education was treated as the passport for Government Service, job openings in the administrative set-up of the country and the development of professionalism had made the educational qualifications a necessity. It would be wrong to assume that education did ensure some employment. Even then education was a 'must' for any type of appointment in the Government set-up. This stimulated the young people to go to universities. This view was also substantiated by the Auxiliary Review Committee when it stated:

"There can be little doubt that one of the main attractions of the universities and colleges to men who have no taste for academic studies and insufficient qualifications for pursuing them, is the insistence on a university degree by Government and other employers as a passport to service."
Though no study has been done to assess the opinion of College students in those days but people belonging to older generations give testimony to prove this fact, viz., education was perceived as opening better opportunities. As stated earlier, the middle class families had begun to treat expenditure in education as investment and viewed the whole thing in the light of certain returns. This factor was also responsible for the failure of the educational wing of the Swadeshi Movement in 1905 and the Non-Cooperation Movement in 1920-1921. People could not get such benefit from the education imparted on national institutions, a fact which diminished their interest in these movements.

5.3. NEW IDEAS AND EDUCATIONAL EXPANSION

After reviewing the effects of social change on India education during the period under study and of education on social change, an attempt will now be made on examining and relating the influences of the new emergent ideas on educational expansion achieved during the period.

It should, however, be noted that the exact influence of the new ideas, beliefs and values on the expansion of education cannot be measured. But one thing is quite clear that advancement did take place in the education of the Muslims and the depressed classes.
(a) Muslim's Society and Education

Before this period, Muslims were mostly averse to the English system of education. The evidences of it are found in many educational records. The Hindus took to the English system of education comparatively more kindly from the very early stages and as a result of this they were advanced in the socio-economic field. This contrast between the two communities was first noticed by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in about 1870. But, by then, the Muslims were almost left behind a complete generation in education. Sir Syed had to do a lot to convince the members of his community about the value of the English education. Gradually the ideals of his fellow brethren started changing. But till 1904 they lagged far behind on education.

The period from 1905-1929 especially the years after the World War I, saw a continuous increase in the number of Mohammedan students on educational institutions. The following table will bear this out (Table 5.1.)

This table shows that the number of Muslim students was then trebled in about twenty-five years. This shows that the resistance of the Muslim Community against education was breaking.

This increase in the Muslim students may be attributed to many factors. For example, there was provision for more scholarships for the Mohammadan students at all
### Table 5.1: Increase in Number of Mohammadan Students 1906-1931

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutions</th>
<th>1906-07</th>
<th>1911-12</th>
<th>1916-17</th>
<th>1921-22</th>
<th>1926-27</th>
<th>1931-32</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Universities and Art Colleges</td>
<td>1,569</td>
<td>3,095</td>
<td>4,921</td>
<td>5,424</td>
<td>8,456</td>
<td>10,040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Colleges</td>
<td>471</td>
<td>664</td>
<td>1,152</td>
<td>1,544</td>
<td>2,331</td>
<td>2,362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Education in High, Middle (English and Vernacular) and Primary Schools</td>
<td>8,93,162</td>
<td>11,94,049</td>
<td>15,22,142</td>
<td>17,10,910</td>
<td>24,37,373</td>
<td>30,16,805</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


(a) Excludes 53 Mohammadans in the Oriental College, Lahore.
stages. There were also some reservation of seats for them in different institutions. For stimulation and supervision of Muslim education, Government had even appointed special inspectors. Moreover, greater attention was paid to the appointments of Muslim teachers. The effect of all these factors cannot be ignored. Along with these factors, the new ideas, beliefs and values, as stated earlier, were also playing a vital role to the advancement of the Muslim Community. This changed the attitude of the Mohammadan community which was clearly reflected in two Educational Conferences. The second Mohammadan Educational Conference was held at Shillong in February, 1926. This Conference after careful discussion passed the following resolutions:

1. The improvement of the junior madrasa course with a view to bringing it into line with the middle school course;
2. The teaching of Urdu and Arabic in public schools.
3. The question of the increase in the number and values of Mohammadan scholarships;
4. The revision of textbooks;
5. The opening of Government junior madrasas;
6. The appointment of special Mohammadan inspecting officers.

These Conferences and resolutions testify that the attitudes and ideas of the Muslims towards education were undergoing a rapid change. The whole case had been
beautifully stated by the author of the quinquennial review of education, 1922-1927. He stated:

"The chief cause of the backwardness of Mohammedan education has perhaps been the general aversion of the members of the community to avail themselves of the public systems of education, which are mainly, where not wholly, secular in character, in preference to the indigenous system of education which is essentially religious in character. But this aversion is slowly decreasing as will be borne out by the figures of scholars in 'recognized' schools. The Community has begun to feel that it cannot afford to lose pace in the general progress towards full development through universal literacy, and it must lose pace unless it accepts the opportunities for education that are afforded." 27

(b) The Depressed Classes and Education

What was true of the Mohammedans, was also true of the depressed classes, although to a lesser extent. But before their educational position could be examined, it would be worthwhile to point out who actually constituted the depressed classes. Many definitions about the depressed classes are found, but the two — respectively given in the Memorandum on the progress of education in India prepared by the Government of India, and by the author of the quinquennial review on education, 1917-22, would be quoted as they would serve the purpose.

Depressed classes constituted, according to the first definition, "those members of the Hindu community who are regarded as out-castes or 'untouchables' and who have in consequence suffered from various social disabilities in the matter of education and general advancement." 28

The second definition runs like this, "From the point of
view of the educationist a child may be said to belong to a depressed class if his or her presence in the common school is resented by respectable parents. 29

Since these were the most backward people in education their advancement in education would prove the issue that the new ideas, beliefs and values were playing a vital role in the expansion of education in India.

There was constant increase in the number of students belonging to the depressed classes. Table 5.2 shows their phenomenon.

This table shows that there was a considerable increase of students belonging to depressed classes. The figures for Bengal are remarkable. The position in Punjab is more bright. Other Provinces also show good progress. One thing may, however, be pointed that most of the students belonged to the primary classes. This growing consciousness of the depressed classes for education is not only reflected in the increased number of students but also in the number of separate schools. 30

The following factors contributed to this progress in a Province like Madras where the caste system was very rigid.

(a) The appointment of commission of labour, entrusted with the task of encouraging the education of the depressed classes.
### Table 5.2: Growth of Enrolment of Pupils belonging to Depressed Classes in recognised institutions in various provinces (1922-1927)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>1922</th>
<th>1927</th>
<th>Percentage of Increase of all Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>1,57,113</td>
<td>2,28,511</td>
<td>45.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>36,543</td>
<td>60,260</td>
<td>64.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>96,552</td>
<td>149,479</td>
<td>56.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Provinces</td>
<td>39,873</td>
<td>90,816</td>
<td>127.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>3,732</td>
<td>19,502</td>
<td>422.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar and Orissa</td>
<td>15,096</td>
<td>25,006</td>
<td>65.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Provinces</td>
<td>28,919</td>
<td>34,531</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:** Quoted by B. S. Gool, Op. Cit., p. 169.
(b) The insistence on the right to admission for depressed class pupils into all publicly managed schools.

(c) The refusal of grant-in-aid to privately managed schools which do not admit depressed class pupils.

(d) The removal of publicly managed schools from places inaccessible to depressed class pupils.

(e) The opening of 'special' schools and hostels for the depressed classes.

(f) The remission of fees and the provision of scholarships, and

(g) the provision of special facilities for the training of depressed class teachers.

Likewise, some other steps were taken in other Provinces also which have been given in Auxiliary Committee Review. 31

The contribution of these factors cannot be denied. Along with these factors the change in ideas, beliefs, and values of the depressed class people and also of the upper class people contributed much to the growth of the education among the depressed class people. To quote one evidence, the Central Provinces Quinquennial Review on Education, 1922-1927 stated:

"Two tendencies have become increasingly manifest during the quinquennium. First, the depressed classes have evinced a growing consciousness of their educational, and social disabilities and growing recognition on the part of the more advanced classes of the claims of the depressed classes."32

Similar situation was also happening in other provinces. This could be seen from the study of the Auxiliary Committee Review. 33
With the spread of education among the depressed classes, more and more members from them took to vocations which were formerly the monopoly of the upper castes. The spread of education also produced a rebellious attitude among the educated members of the depressed classes who organised these classes for smashing the barriers of social expression imposed on them.

The lack of education among the untouchables was one of the factors which restricted them to low occupations. This bred immense economic and cultural poverty among them. With the spread of education among the members of the depressed classes, they started serving on different
occupations. This led to gradually transforming the mass of untouchables into social groups such as factory workers, teachers, clerks, merchants, mechanics or manufacturers. This new economic activity started weakening the social prejudices against untouchability. This tendency was more marked and visible in big cities and other industrial centres.

When an untouchable was educated and when his economic position was improved, the attitude of the higher castes towards him began to be modified.

According to the Census Report of 1911, the total population of all the backward communities in India was estimated to be around 42.75 millions. The depressed classes constituted about 31.50 millions of people to the population of the country. The literacy percentage of the depressed classes is not available but the literacy percentage of all the backward communities was 2.8 as against 6 percent for the general population of the country.

An estimate of the position of the enrolments of the depressed class pupils in proportion to the population of these classes in the various provinces of India could be obtained from the following table 5.3.
Table 5.3: The Position of Enrolment of the Depressed Class Pupils at the End of 1917 in the Provinces of British India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>No. of Schools</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>56,86,382</td>
<td>1,20,607</td>
<td>2.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>16,35,896</td>
<td>30,568</td>
<td>1.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>67,42,913</td>
<td>80,952</td>
<td>1.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Provinces</td>
<td>83,74,542</td>
<td>10,924</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>21,07,293</td>
<td>6,906</td>
<td>0.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar &amp; Orissa</td>
<td>12,36,300</td>
<td>19,841</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Provinces and Berar</td>
<td>30,389</td>
<td>26,668</td>
<td>0.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>27,01,144</td>
<td>32,088</td>
<td>1.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>3,15,02,859</td>
<td>3,28,554</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


As would be seen from the table, the development of education among the depressed classes was maximum in Madras, followed by Bombay, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam respectively. The Provinces lagging behind the all India average were the Central Provinces and Berar, the Punjab and the United Provinces. These educational statistics of enrolment could, perhaps, be an underestimation of their real number because the tendency in many a case and especially in common schools was to edge away the
level of the depressed classes and not to be identified as untouchables. 35

Uptill 1917, the Congress had followed as seen earlier, a policy of abstention with regard to socio-religious matters and all questions of a religious or quasi-religious character were kept outside its deliberations. But Gandhiji had changed the very character of the Congress by integrating socio-religious reforms with political activity. It was mainly at his instance that the Congress had adopted a definite resolution in 1917 for removing all disabilities imposed by custom upon the depressed classes. In February 1922, the Congress working Committee in Bardoli had passed a resolution setting out the details of a constructive programme, one of which items was, to organise the depressed classes for a better life, to improve their social, mental and moral condition, to induce them to send their children to national schools and to provide for them the ordinary facilities which the other citizens enjoy. 36 The Congress under the leadership of Gandhiji came to consider untouchability as a social evil. Though some other leaders had also taken up the issues relating to the welfare of the depressed classes but Gandhiji's approach was different from theirs. For example, he never thought of regenerating the Hindu society as did Veer Sarvarkar, not did he desire to refashion the social order by accepting the
separation of the depressed classes from the Hindu society as considered by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, but, as a social reformer, Gandhiji wanted to renovate the old Hindu structure by eliminating the undesirable social practice of untouchability.  

The period of 1922–1932 opened with an atmosphere surcharged with political activities. The Montague Chelmsford Reforms were being implemented despite opposition. Among the fourteen non-official members nominated by the Governor-General to the Central Legislative Assembly one was the representative of the depressed classes. They were also represented by four nominations in the Central Provinces, two in Bombay, two in Bihar, one each in Bhopal and United Provinces. In Madras, ten members were nominated to represent nine specified depressed classes. The nomination of the depressed classes to the legislative bodies provided them with opportunities to voice demands for their welfare and also to criticise the discriminatory practices against them. As a corollary, the depressed classes were becoming politically conscious. Provisions for educational facilities were also included in the political demands of these members.

To promote the spread of education among the depressed classes, the Bahiskkrit Hitkarni Sabha was founded on July 20, 1924 and got registered under the Societies Act of 1860.
Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was selected on the Bombay Provincial Committee on August 3, 1928 to help the Simon Commission which was appointed in 1927 to re-examine and revise the Act of 1919. His membership on the Committee was a source of encouragement for the various depressed class organizations to represent their case. In all eighteen depressed class Associations had represented to the Simon Commission, sixteen of them had pleaded for separate electorate for the depressed classes.

Of the various political organizations of India the Indian National Congress did not go in the first session of the Round Table Conference. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Rao Bahadur Srinivasan represented the organisations of the depressed classes. Dr. Ambedkar pleaded on the need to provide safeguards for the depressed classes in the Constitution of India and to recognise them as a minority. During the period 1931-32 to 1936-37, the country had witnessed a grim controversy over the status of depressed classes as a community separate from the Hindus. This was followed by Gandhiji's fast unto death if that position was conceded by Government.

The Yervada Pact (1937) between Gandhi, Dr. Ambedkar and other leaders was in a way a political agreement between two segments of the Hindu population binding on each other to joint electorates but it envisaged socio-religious reforms as well. An organization by the name of "All India Anti-
Untouchability League" was established to take up social reforms and educational development among the depressed classes. This organisation was later on renamed as "The Harijan Sewak Sangh". Clause 9 of the Yervada Pact pertained to the educational grants for the depressed classes. It reads as

"In every Province, out of the educational grants, an adequate sum shall be earmarked for providing educational facilities to the members of the depressed classes."

The above educational clause of the Yervada Pact helped in the development of education of the depressed classes to a great extent.

After World War I, the attitude of the British Government had softened towards the legislation of compulsory education which it had continuously till then opposed on several grounds. Vithalbhai Patel had taken up the unfinished task of Gokhale and as a result of his efforts, the Patel Act (1918) was passed by the Bombay Legislative Council. This was, of course, a landmark in the history of primary education. Other provinces followed suit and by 1930, 12 Bills, eight of them official, were passed into law. Bombay, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Punjab, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Madras and Assam had legislated compulsory education Acts on their state jurisdictions. But these laws did not take the total territories or jurisdictions of a province under compulsion. In many a place, only municipalities
were covered; in some orders, it was extended to rural areas. There was thus a mixed response to the movement for compulsory primary education. As to the response of the depressed classes towards the legislation of the compulsory education, the information contained in the Chandravarkar Committee's (1921) report shows these classes had not yet realized the advantages of compulsory education.

Table 5.4.: Depressed Class Pupils under Instruction in 1917 and 1927 in the Major Provinces of British India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1922 / 1932 Province</th>
<th>Enrolment in 1917</th>
<th>1927</th>
<th>Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>1,20,607</td>
<td>2,73,926</td>
<td>1,53,319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>30,568</td>
<td>60,260</td>
<td>29,692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>80,952</td>
<td>3,44,179</td>
<td>2,63,227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Provinces</td>
<td>10,924</td>
<td>94,669</td>
<td>83,745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>6,906</td>
<td>19,502</td>
<td>12,696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar and Orissa</td>
<td>19,841</td>
<td>25,006</td>
<td>5,165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Provinces &amp; Berar</td>
<td>26,668</td>
<td>34,531</td>
<td>7,863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>89,466</td>
<td>8,06,658</td>
<td>7,17,192</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


On May 18, 1935, a special issue of the "Harijan Weekly" was devoted to Harijan education. Gandhiji contributed an article entitled "Harijan Education." Explaining his ideas on preliminary educational administration.
or preparatory education for the Harijan children, he quoted from his personal experiences and emphasized upon the need to have some special classes for Harijan children. 44

Some voluntary institutions opened for the depressed classes were as under in response to Gandhiji's Call.

(a) The Harijan Industrial Home, Delhi (July 1936).

(b) The Viswa Bharti Sanskar Bhawan, at Vishwa Bharti by Ravindra Nath Tagore also assured Gandhiji full support to the cause of Harijan uplift. He not only opened the school for Harijan children at Vishwa Bharati but also composed and contributed poems entitled: 'The Great Equality" and appealed to the Caste Hindus to shun untouchability and to accept the depressed classes as their brethren. 45

(c) Karnataka Harijan Balika Ashram was started at Hubli on 20th June, 1934.

(d) In May 1934, the University of Delhi by a resolution exempted the depressed class students from the payment of examination fee of the University till 1940. 46 Other universities like Andhra, Madras, Nagpur also followed similar steps to provide exemption from examination fees from the students belonging to the depressed classes.

The introduction of Provincial Autonomy in 1937 and the assumption of power by the Indian National Congress in majority of the British Provinces had enlivened the hopes that the new leadership would do speedy work for the uplift of the depressed classes.

There was comparatively a dull period on the educational scene on the country between 1939-44 because of India's involvement in World War II and the intensification of the
political activities. But the old measures introduced for the development of education had been continued. The Central Advisory Board of Education had been revived in 1935 and it was entrusted with the work to advise on any educational question referred to it by the Government of India or any local government. When the War was over, the Central Advisory Board of Education was called upon by the Government of India to prepare a plan for the 'Educational Development' in India. This has been already referred to and discussed earlier.

"It is certainly intended that the educational provisions contemplated in this report will cater equally for all irrespective of community or caste to which they belong." The report did not devote any special section to the education of the depressed classes except for devoting a few lines on the communal and caste divisions of India. Commenting on the report, Sir Meveral Statham, the Director of Public Instruction, Madras had observed:

"In one half paragraph, the report deals with the question of communal and caste divisions of India. Briefly, in my opinion, there are still communities and sections of communities which cannot and will not be educated, even under a compulsory system, unless special provision continues to be made for them for many years to come... These difficulties should be realized and plans should be made to overcome them, until in the distant future no difference between communities, in so far education is concerned, remains."
Table 5.5: Depressed Class Pupils under Instruction in 1937 and 1947

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Enrolment in 1936-37</th>
<th>Enrolment in 1946-47</th>
<th>Increase</th>
<th>Decrease</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>3,28,445</td>
<td>4,35,834</td>
<td>1,07,389</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>80,486</td>
<td>2,62,134</td>
<td>1,81,648</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>5,36,796</td>
<td>4,64,225</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>72,571</td>
<td>1946-47 Enrolment for W.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Provinces</td>
<td>1,61,407</td>
<td>2,23,762</td>
<td>62,355</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1946-47 Enrolment for East Punjab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>28,870</td>
<td>33,863</td>
<td>4,993</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>43,683</td>
<td>60,641</td>
<td>17,058</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Provinces</td>
<td>54,479</td>
<td>64,905</td>
<td>10,426</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>48,935</td>
<td>36,196</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>12,739</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>2,375</td>
<td>3,662</td>
<td>1,287</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajmer Marwar</td>
<td>2,379</td>
<td>3,294</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The Figures have been taken from the report 'Education in 1947-48' and the Eleventh Quinquennial Review (1932-37).

In 1947 India was partitioned and several parts of the country were separated to form Pakistan. A large number of the depressed classes which were inhabiting the areas of Pakistan had remained there and there should have been a fall in the increase in enrolments of the depressed classes on a consequence of the same. But despite all such disturbances, there was an all India increase by 16 to 17 per cent in the enrolment of the depressed classes.
For the first time in the history of the country extending over more than five thousand years, the depressed classes came to be accepted as equals of the other sections of the society and constitutional guarantees were provided for their amelioration.

Table 5.6: Depressed Class Pupils under Instruction in the years 1946-47 and 1947-48

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Enrolment in 1946-47</th>
<th>Enrolment in 1947-48</th>
<th>Increase in Enrolment</th>
<th>Decrease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>70,021</td>
<td>53,524</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>16,497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>2,64,225</td>
<td>2,82,418</td>
<td>18,193</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>60,641</td>
<td>76,863</td>
<td>16,222</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>2,62,134</td>
<td>3,93,045</td>
<td>1,30,911</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Province &amp; Berar</td>
<td>64,905</td>
<td>72,144</td>
<td>7,239</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>4,35,834</td>
<td>4,48,311</td>
<td>12,477</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>36,196</td>
<td>59,732</td>
<td>23,536</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Punjab</td>
<td>3,33,863</td>
<td>38,760</td>
<td>4,897</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Provinces</td>
<td>2,23,762</td>
<td>2,72,317</td>
<td>48,555</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajmer Marwar</td>
<td>3,294</td>
<td>3,716</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>3,662</td>
<td>4,941</td>
<td>1,279</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Report: Education in India (1947-48). Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1951, p. 120.

Thus, socio-political forces that emerged during 1921-1947 period considerably helped the expansion of education among the depressed classes in all British Provinces.
5.4. INCREASED SOCIAL INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION

The increasing tempo of social change and new economic necessities had led the people in search of some work of economic value. This resulted in new social contacts and new social intercourse. This contact with educated people, and exposure to their belief and values etc. made it necessary for the people to get education. The social intercourse between the educated Indians and non-educated Indians was a widespread phenomenon. Similarly, the social contact between the less educated and the more educated also existed. This intercourse to a large extent convinced the people that education was the prime factor for any future progress of their families. This ideal was also reflected in the views of the authors of the Auxiliary Committee Review when they stated:

"... it should be remembered that where an educational system is young and undeveloped, it tends to expand more rapidly than by arithmetical progression. The larger the number of the educated people, the stronger becomes the demand for education."

Thus it can be safely said that a greater number of educated people naturally provided greater amount of social intercourse between the educated and the uneducated. This phenomenon gave rise to the development of education.

5.5. EMERGENCE OF NEW SOCIAL CLASSES

The old Indian Society was caste-stratified. It is very difficult to define the word 'caste'. According to Srinivas, "a sociologist would define caste as a hereditary endogamous
usually localised group, having a traditional association with an occupation, and a particular position in the local heirarchy of caste.\textsuperscript{48} This shows that heredity, locality, traditional occupation and a predetermined social status were the essential elements of caste.

In the Hindu society, such castes were too many and the whole system too complex. Later on, the Hindu society was distinctly divided into four major divisions, viz. the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, the Vaishyas, and the Sudras.

With the passage of time the caste system became very rigid. This rigid caste structure was further supported by the self-sufficient nature of Indian villages. Moreover, the caste system had religious sanctions. Thus, both the caste system and self-sufficient nature of village put together had stood as road blocks in the way of change, and adventure, initiative. As a matter of fact, tradition had given to each caste-group a definite position in the social structure along with a definite occupation which was the major source of livelihood for that group. This phenomenon had made the entire social structure immobile and individuals as passive and unadventurous.

With the advent of British rule, new forces appeared which started shaking the society from its stability and the individual from its slumber. Primarily these forces were economic. The economic sources brought in their wake the educational, cultural and political forces. The old system
of education tried to stabilise the caste structure but the new system of education, which was started by the English people, and supported by socio-economic considerations, worked in favour of a new social system. Education did not perform this role merely by becoming an instrument of economic aspirations of the people, but also by inculcating new ideas, beliefs, and values in the people. This process continued. By the end of the nineteenth century some new social classes began to appear on the Indian social scene. The following five classes stood out closely:

1. Poor class
2. Lower Middle Class
3. Middle Middle Class
4. Upper Middle Class
5. The Power Elites.

Another feature which was to be noted in the first half of the twentieth century in the social scene in India was that certain new factors, in addition to caste, were playing major role in determining the social status of the individuals. These factors include:

- (i) wealth,
- (ii) land ownership,
- (iii) education,
- (iv) position in Government Service,
- (v) occupation,
- (vi) aspirations.

Needless to go into the details of the structure and texture and texture of each of the newly emerged social classes as stated above, it is suffice to say that while poor class and lower middle classes were in plenty but their educational values were low. This was not only because of their economic status, but also because of the new contacts, some
of them did stimulate people for education. But their financial position did not favour them much in this direction. The middle-middle class was the largest group and perhaps formed the backbone of the Indian social order. It served as a bridge between the upper middle class and the lower middle class. Most of the members of this class belonged to the professional groups. In the field of education, this group was quite advanced and produced some of the best brains in the country. The economic condition of this class was better than the first two classes. This class had high educational values.

Upper middle class was a comparatively much smaller class. This owed its emergence due to the share of Indians in higher services and the result of the English education. On the basis of education, the members of this class had higher positions in both administrative and professional spheres. For these persons, their educational values were high and they stood for higher education. In brief, this class appeared to be the class of Macaulay's dreams.

The power elite class was again a comparatively smaller class. They were economically placed in a sound position. This class mostly consisted of the zamindars and the business magnets. This class enjoyed great social status because being very prosperous, they could influence the politics as well. As such, their educational aspirations were not very high. Nevertheless, this class contributed a great deal in the opening of new schools, and colleges.
A clear cut picture of these classes is available in various language literature particularly various novels of Munshi Prem Chand. 51

As in traditional caste hierarchy, the power elite and the upper middle class were dominated by those who traditionally belonged to higher castes, while the lowest two classes mostly had lower caste people in India. The middle middle class was a mixture of many castes. It was an extra reason why it served as a linking bridge between the upper and the lower classes. The position of the top two classes is confirmed to some extent by B.B. Misra also. 52 Srinivas also pointed out that "there is a certain amount of continuity between the traditional and the new or western elite." 53

There was a constant upward social and economic race which had often been inherent in the process of 'Sanskritization' and 'Westernization' as put forward by Srinivas. 54

In respect to the development of education, this upward mobility was more important. The members of the first three classes were trying to cross into the next higher social class. Since education was the easiest means to achieve this goal, there was more and more demand for university and secondary education. Most of the people set "a university degree as the natural goal of ambition..." 55 Because of this upward social mobility it happened that two members belonged to the same caste and yet they belonged to two different social classes. Cases were not wanting when brothers belonging
to the same family belonged to two different social classes. Individual initiative efforts, luck and aspirations were responsible for such a state of affairs. Education played an important role in the creation of new social classes. It is also interesting to note how the new social classes in turn played an important role in the development of education.

It should be noted that the new class hierarchy did not reflect an exact corresponding hierarchy in educational values. The educational values of the lowest and the highest classes were low, while the values and the aspirational levels of the middle classes were high. On the basis of this it could be safely concluded that the development of education, especially secondary and university, owed much to the three middle classes. The expansion of education at the secondary and university stages, which had been dealt with in Chapter III could not and should not be interpreted without this understanding of the social classes and the upward socio-economic race. The comparative poverty which was present in the development of primary education should again be understood keeping the characteristics of the lowest classes in view.

5.6. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND EDUCATION

The spread of education is generally greatly facilitated in a society which is more or less homogeneous and compact, where people are not divided into clearly demarcated classes and where different social groups, such
as they exist, have an elastic character which permits plenty of freedom for the movement of individuals from one group to another. Unfortunately, the social conditions in India have, all throughout, the modern period, been diametrically opposed to these and, therefore, the spread of education in the past had become a slow and difficult process. To begin with, the Indian society is an extremely heterogeneous affair. This has been largely due to the following fact:

"In the long history of the land, new races, new religions and new civilizations have come in to stay, but the past has not completely died out with the result that the old and the new still continue to live side by side and the whole social picture has become full of wide inequalities of every type. Racially there are Aryans or almost Aryan types along with several aboriginal ones preserved in their almost pristine form. Culturally, there is, at one end the highly intellectual Brahmin with a tradition for learning which goes back for several centuries, while at the other end is the untouchables the social outcast of the past, who is just being initiated into education or a member of aboriginal tribe which still lives an extremely primitive life in some wild tract."56

There are more religions and religious forms in India than in any other nation. The largest group is that of the Hindus. But the Hindu society is extremely heterogeneous and is divided into more than two thousand castes and sub-castes which mostly observe rigid rules. These barriers of caste made social mobility almost non-existent. Socially the Indian society had numerous classes. The remnants of the old priestly orders still survived in the form of religious domination and better socio-economic
status. Several new classes had arisen as a result of the impact of modern industrial and technological advancement, among whom the capitalists or commercial and industrial magnates stood at the top and the poor and miserable industrial labourer stood at the bottom. The British rule, with its attendant administrative, social and economic changes, had either created new classes or increased the ranks of some existing ones. Among these could be mentioned the peasant proprietor, the absentee landlord, the money lender, the landless agricultural labourer, the Government officials and so on. All these were sufficient to prove that Indian society in the first half of the twentieth century was of immense variety and heterogeneity.

It is true that Indian society underwent certain changes due to the impact of the Western civilization that came in with the British rule. A few attempts had also been made to create a more homogeneous, compact and equitable social order. This was very well reflected in the activities of the socio-religious reform movements which tried to awaken India from its slumber and made efforts to improve the status of women, to remove untouchability and other social evils. But on the other hand, forces had been also at work which had tended to increase social inequalities or to accentuate the class differences. The British policy of 'divide and rule,' for example, had largely embittered
the relations between Hindus and Muslims and had aggravated communalism. A careful perusal of the social evolution in the first half of the twentieth century, would show that inspite of several welcome developments, the general progress in respect of removing social injustice and inequalities had been halting and slow, and largely counter-balanced by the growth of the new inequalities and group tensions.

In an unequal social order, as was largely in India, the progress of education was accelerated in two ways: either the upper classes which were educated and economically better off had to organise the education of the masses as a measure of charity or the lower classes had to organise themselves and demand education as their right. But unfortunately both these things were not very effective. Naturally, the development of children could not make much headway.

There were other problems which were peculiar to the Indian situation. The first and foremost of these was the unhappy social status of women and the strong popular prejudices against their education which in some orthodox families still continue to persist. Child-marriages were the rule; in many Hindu communities, widow remarriage was banned and the life of the average widow was made extremely intolerable. The purdah was very common especially among the Muslims. Women had hardly any property rights and their status in respect of marriage and divorce was far inferior
to that of men. Only a few women were literate and as a rule women's education was looked upon at suspiciously and actively discouraged, if not prohibited in toto. Though some legislative measures were passed to improve and bring betterment in the status of the women, yet in majority cases women could not make significant progress. And this to a large extent was due to the social organisation.

Next to women, the social group of the so called untouchable class presented typical impediments to the progress of education. Their problem was previously touched. The mere fact of untouchability created immense social inequalities and difficulties for the spread of education. As a rule, these people were extremely poor and lived at starvation level. A drive to raise their social status was started by the Missionaries and was later on taken up by the British Government. Under the dynamic leadership of Mahatama Gandhiji, it had become a national movement. But inspite of all that had been done, the education of these social groups presented several difficulties and they continue to do so even today, especially in rural areas. Culturally, there were two main obstacles to the progress of education in India. The first was extremely large illiterate adult population. Various investigations have shown that there is a good positive correlation between the standard of adult education and enrolment and attendance in more schools, because an educated or literate parent is willing to send his child regularly to school than an uneducated one. In India, an overwhelming majority of parents were illiterate and consequently not much progress of education
could be achieved in the past.

5.7 IMPACT OF SOCIAL REFORMS OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The social reform movement in India had been closely related to the social structure. The reformers till the inception of the Congress Movement were working in almost scattered isolation. There was no central authority to direct the social reform movement.

The main hurdles in the progress of social reforms were the rigidity of caste system and the low status of women. To these could be added the differences in the Hindu and Muslim social systems.

Reforms had been attempted before 1885 but not much headway could be made. When the educated few and the social reformers founded the Congress, a sort of national forum was created where not only social evils could be discussed but also a national base was provided to foster unity and common action against social evils and for political advancement.

The National Congress was a political consequence of the Indian Renaissance. Practically every President of the National Congress till 1907 laid stress on the fact that the basic task before the organization was social uplift of the masses - 'to resist any attempt to revive the days when any caste or class as such was privileged before the law, when a Brahmin could claim immunity from punishment. The Congress assumed gradually a greater political role mainly
on account of two factors: the Ruler's refusal to concede that the Congress was a sum-total of the people's representation and the lack of appreciation of the de-facto change the Organization had brought about in the society. The Congress, on the other hand, insisted that it was competent to bring about social 'preparedness' for better acceptance of the Government laws, provided the Government its leaders took it into confidence. When it failed there, the drift started turning into hostility on national lines.

A great contribution of the National Congress was an impetus to the growth of middle class which spearheaded the reforms and the movement. The Congress also gave a new philosophy of social ethics and justice. The birth of the Social Conference and other allied societies further strengthened the social base of the Congress. Social work began to be acknowledged and honoured. The Congress provided it respectability. The Congress also gave up the individualism of the past and yielded an inter-disciplinary cooperative movement in social work. Even in great movements like the Civil Disobedience, though the Congress embarked upon it as a method for political emancipation, it never abandoned its social basis. It perhaps continued to believe that no political 'miracle' of freedom could be built upon the quicksand of social slavery."

Under Annie Besant, a great emphasis was given to the social character of the National Congress. Gandhiji maintained
that character in spite of intensive political programmes after 1918. He was also the mentor of modern social welfare. As a social reformer and a social worker, he practised what he preached. He helped in casting aside convention and rigidity. Especially his work to eradicate untouchability helped in strengthening the grass-root base of the Congress. The national front thus created in turn strengthened his hands in the political battle against the British rule.

Too much emphasis had been given in the past in studies on national development to the political factors (ideas) and to economic creed, but not sufficient attention to the social factors responsible for the uplift of the Indian society.

"Long before the birth of the National Congress, as a national body, and its growth for political ends, the social problems and social legislation were instrumental in the growth of nationalism. In fact, the National Congress outgrew, in political form, and for its ideals took cue from the social organizations. Without the active support, nay sustenance, of the social institutions, co-opting the organizational ability of their leaders, and without incorporating the ideals, for which those institutions stood and worked for, the Congress could not have become popular and reached the grass-roots so soon. The Congress thereby not only became a mouth-piece of the social organization, but also could not shed its social character nor abandon its social base altogether."58

A signal contribution of the Indian National Congress was the impetus it gave to the growth of the middle class which spearheaded the reforms and movement. This fact was
also previously alluded to in this Chapter. This splendid awakening thus touched every class, almost every community, and every corner of the country. In 1887 the Social Conference came into being and in various parts (viz. Bombay, Poona, Sind, Ahmedabad) of the country, social reform associations were established. This synchronized with the Age of Consent Bill. The Social Conference held deliberations annually. In 1890, the "Indian Social Reforms" was launched from Bombay and from 1894 it became a weekly journal. The reformers everywhere pleaded that social reform should have precedence over the movement for political emancipation. For example K.T.Telang held that "social reform was easier to bring about than political change, because in social reform one could have British support."59

Another contribution to the Indian National Congress was that it gave a new philosophy of social ethics. The Congress also helped in the growth of the secular liberal tradition. This was different from the earlier work in social reform which was primarily based on religious tenets. The new development was based on intellectual conviction. This new thought was considerably influenced by nationalism and democratic liberalism, emphasized by English educational system which the Congress repeatedly acknowledged, and pursued it to logical conclusion.

For some years the Social Conference continued to be tagged on to the National Congress and Ranade insisted on the continuation of this arrangement. Even when the National
Congress gradually concerned itself with political issues and separated from the Social Conference, the emphasis continued to be placed on social reform, and especially under Gandhiji there was a forceful revival in emphasis on social uplift and the Social Conference continued to be complementary to the National Congress. This gave the Congress a lasting grassroot base. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that both these organizations took cue from the period of Lord Rippon's Viceroyalty. Again, both these organizations were based on the rationalistic, humanistic tradition which gradually established itself in India as an independent force. The leadership of both the organizations or the institutions was largely drawn from this force.

Both depended for their qualitative and quantitative strength on such bodies as the Women's Association of India, the All India Women's Conference, the National Council of Women, and the Servants of Indian Society. The Congress, however, possessed the leadership.

Gradually, the Congress acted as the 'pivot of all the public movements and the mainspring of all the activities, ... at work in the country.' Whether it be the question of sea-voyage, or of the "depressed classes," whether it be the cause of marriage reform or scientific education, the actual working bodies might be different, but the motive impetus generated and manifested was from the social ideology of the Congress. The work of some of the
subsidiary organizations like the Women's Conference and Servants of Indian Society show that there was interdependence and even inter-change of individuals. The social work was no longer a low-grade work nor was the one who rendered it treated as outcaste or isolated. The Congress provided respectability and strength and set an example to social assimilation. To that extent, the Congress gave up individualism of the past and led to an inter-disciplinary cooperative movement on social work.

In brief, the Congress stood for the dignity of the individual and the establishment of social justice. The Congress laid the foundation for a movement with a social base which was a necessity, considering the background of the socio-economic maladies. It also urged the British Government to enact legislation in order to put an end to some of the more glaring social evils. The recognition of the need for social reform by the Congress also induced the British Government to give encouragement to other individual charitable and philanthropic activities which strengthened the social reformation movement.

The impact of some of the national leaders on the social reform movement during the period under study was also great. Gandhiji has been called the mentor of modern social welfare. He was its monitor too. He brought about a transition from Social Reform to Social Welfare. Earlier the activities centred round the elimination of social evils. Henceforth, the focus changed under Gandhiji's leadership. As a social
Gandhiji brought about another change. Earlier, social reformers depended on the Government's benevolence for carrying out their task. Now, social uplift and social reforms were a part of the Congress programme. It was an instrument to secure political emancipation. It weakened the forces which supported castes and classes. National Development was to be based on social justice. It was Congress's commitment to democratic equality. Gandhiji could read the pulse of the nation. To him, political activity and social activities were but two sides of the same coin. His programme was that liberty and growth must be dependent on equality and justice.

By his peculiar appeal Gandhiji reached the masses in a manner not known before. His method was singular and efforts sincere. He in a speech in the Minority Committee of the Round Table Conference, mournfully said: "He would rather see Hinduism die than untouchability live."\(^6\)\(^2\) He brought about a big change in the social status of the down-trodden of the so-called untouchables, and in feminine status. Both by means of social reform and by his political call, he helped in casting aside convention and rigidity and made every one conscious of his or her share in the struggle for emancipation.

To Gandhiji 'no man could be actually so (a victim of the caste system) yet not rise against social injustice.'\(^5\)\(^3\)

The Congress, under Gandhiji, did not fight shy of
the social problems as was the case with some of the Presidents of the Congress in the nineteenth century.

In fact, the emergence of nationalism, in which the Congress played a leading part, was, to an extent, due to the social base of the Congress. After 1920, this was largely the work of Gandhiji:

"Even politically, the Congress emerged as a concrete party only since the time of Gandhi."

Earlier Dadabhai Naoroji (Calcutta, 1886), and Badrul Din Tyabji (Madras, 1887) argued that a National Congress... must leave the adjustment of social reforms and other class questions to individual communal social organizations.

The objection of these leaders, to the inclusion of social reforms in the Congress discussions (and Resolutions), excited applause at the time but seemed a little pallid and artificial now. But Gandhiji's national and social philosophy had convinced all that political advance was so much dependent on the social uplift (and economic betterment) of the masses, and not only no political headway would have been made, even the British Government would have nipped the Congress had it from the start concentrated only on its demand for political association with the Government.
Gandhiji was convinced that the sooner it was recognized that many of the social evils impede of the country's march towards Swaraj, the greater would be the national progress towards the nation's cherished goals. To postpone social reform was not to know the meaning of Swaraj. 66 "... It (removal of untouchability) was a reform not to follow Swaraj but to precede it."67

Similarly, Gandhiji had written, "...so long as the mass of the Hindus consider it a sin to touch a section of their brethren, Swaraj is impossible of attainment."68 Earlier also he had spoken in the similar vein.

"Non-cooperation against the Government means co-operation among the governed, and if the Hindus do not remove the sin of untouchability, there will be no Swaraj whether in one year or in one hundred years... Swaraj is as unattainable without the removal of the sins of untouchability as it is without the Hindu-Muslim unity."69

The work of social reorganizations, therefore, according to Gandhiji, could not be postponed till the achievement of the political goal. According to him with the Congress programme for political reform in full swing, the social problem of the removal of untouchability was to get the highest priority. He wrote:

"Untouchability cannot be given a secondary place on the programme. Without the removal of the taint, Swaraj is a meaningless term. I consider the removal of untouchability as the most powerful factor in the process of attainment of Swaraj."70
Explaining the National character of the Congress
before the Federal Structure Committee of the Second Round
Table Conference, Gandhiji said:

"... It (the Congress) represents no particular
community (it was an answer to Churchill
and Dr. Ambedkar who characterized the
Congress as a Hindu Party), no particular
class, no particular interest. It claims
to represent all Indian interests and all
classes. It is a matter of the greatest
pleasure to me to state that it was conceived
in an English brain... nursed by two great
Parsees... had Musalmans, Christians, Anglo-
Indians, I might say all religions, sects,
creeds, represented upon it more or less fully
... at present we have four Mussalmans as
members of the Working Committee... We have had
women as our Presidents...; and so if we have
no distinctions of class or creed, we have no
distinctions of sex either.

The Congress has from its very commencement taken
up the cause of the so called untouchables'...

There was a time when Congress had at every annual
session as its adjunct, the Social Conference,
to which the late Ranade had dedicated his
energies among his many activities. Headed by
him you will find in the programme of the
Social Conference, reform in connection with
the untouchables taking a prominent place. But
in 1920, the Congress took a large step and
brought the question of removal of untoucha-
bility in a plank on the political reform... made it an important item of the political
programme... the Congress considered the
removal of the scourge of untouchability as an
indispensable condition for the attainment of
full freedom.

...You, and even the Indian members of the Sub-
Committee will perhaps be astonished to find
that today the Congress, through its organiza-
tion, the All India Spinners Association, is
finding work for nearly 50,000 women in nearly
2,000 villages, and these women are possibly
50 per cent Mussalman women. Thousands of them
belong to the so called untouchables class..."71

At the Round Table Conference, Dr. Ambedkar stand was
opposed to that of the Congress, as represented by Gandhiji.
The former had insisted on a separate electorate for the depressed classes. Gandhiji believed "separate electorate to the untouchables would ensure their bondage in perpetuity." Gandhiji's war against 'untouchability' was based on the principle of the "Dignity of Man." One more feature of this war was that Gandhiji used to practise himself whatever he had professed. Prior to Gandhiji's emergence on the political scene of India, though many Congress leaders had emphasised the necessity of social reforms, yet their work was more or less localized. They concentrated on reforms in religion, status of women, the question of inheritance, education, abolition of caste, prohibition of child marriage, promotion of widow remarriage etc. They were also able to stir up the intelligentsia. But their work was confined to local and provincial areas. While the work of Gandhiji aroused the emotions of the masses and Congress became a truly national movement.

Gandhiji was no mere theoretician. He followed a constructive programme. He laid intensive emphasis on social welfare. His success in influencing the masses was rapid and lasting whether it was 'Charkha, Khadi, Harijan Sevak Sangh or Panchayat, Basic education. All became very popular and component part of the Congress principles.

Gandhiji took up the cause of Indian womanhood with such an enthusiasm that the women regarded him 'as half woman' because he had completely identified with them (women).
Women's Indian Association (1917) and All India Women's Conference (1926) have been already referred to. They raised the triple demand of educational advancement, social reform, and equal political rights for women. However, their impact was largely in urban areas although they considerably assisted the Congress in its social objectives.

Under Gandhiji, the Congress introduced the idea of 'emancipation of women' in rural areas, which gave Indian womanhood the much needed confidence and awareness of strength and power. Gandhiji wrote in 1930, "If non-violence is the law of our being, the future is with women...".

In 1931 at Karanchi, the National Congress passed a resolution which, as amended by the All India Congress Committee in August 1931 at Bombay, interalia, provided:

"All citizens are equal before the law, irrespective of caste, creed or sex. No disability attaches to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, caste, creed or sex in regard to public employment, office of power or honour, and in the exercise of any trade or calling."

With the efforts of Mrs. Annie Besant and Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins, Women's Association (Madras) played a significant role in the amelioration of the women folk. This association became the National Council of Women in 1925 and the All India Women's Conference since 1927. Even the Indian National Congress was very much benefited from such organization. Due credit should also be given to Mrs. Besant for the creation of the Central Hindu College, which later became the University at Banaras.
Her friend and associate, Colonel Olcott, a theopist, started in 1894 the first free school for outcaste boys and girls. Five of these were established in Madras.

Her instinct for "Brotherhood and Service" led her to the Scout Movement in India as a means of the country's unification and uplift.

Through her writings in "New India" day after day for over two decades she sounded a clarion call to India to awaken to her destiny and claim her rightful place in the comity of nations.

Mrs. Besant also carried on some social activities, organised propaganda against child-marriage, and in favour of foreign travel, and assisted those Indians who were studying in London to be the paying guests of trustworthy (English) land ladies. She insisted on her followers:

(i) to disregard all restrictions based on caste,
(ii) not to marrying their sons while they were still minors, nor their daughters till they had attained their seventeenth year,
(iii) to educate one's wife and daughters - and other women of one's family - to promote girls' education and to discountenance the seduction of women;
(iv) to ignoring all colour distinctions in social and political life,
(v) to oppose actively any social obstruction of widows who remarry, and
(vi) to promoting union among the workers in the field of spiritual, educational, social and political progress under the leadership and direction of the Indian National Congress.
Thus, Annie Besant, the teacher, the orator, the statesman, and the guide played a vital role in both political and social awakening and strove hard to awaken India from her slumber. Her activities led to another landmark in the National Congress Movement. She regarded herself 'a reformer', 'not a revolutionary' but 'an evolutionary'.

It must, however, be said that the Liberals, though conservative in their political approach, were progressive particularly towards the social problems. They, for instance, regarded the caste system as anti-national. Dr. B.S. Moonje, in 1927, condemned hereditary untouchability in strong terms. He maintained that in the presence of untouchability, the National Congress would fail to wreck the British rule.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya said at Bombay on September 25, 1932:

"That henceforth, among the Hindus, no one shall be regarded as an untouchable by reason of his birth... that it shall be the duty of all Hindu leaders to secure, by every legitimate and peaceful means, an early removal of all social disabilities now imposed by custom upon the so called untouchable classes, including the bar in respect of admission to temples."

In this respect the support given by the All India Mohammadan Education Conference to fight against untouchability was of immense help to the Congress. Mian Fazal-i-Hussain, presiding over the thirty-fifth session (Aligarh, 1922) said:
"The existence of millions of untouchables in this country may or may not be a disgrace to Hinduism, but it is certainly a blot on the fair name of Islam. Hinduism may find shelter under its faith, which considers certain people as untouchables, and the Hindus may plead that their religion does not allow them to take the untouchables within their fold, but can you (he asked the Muslim audience) please the same justification. You know fully well that no human being is or can be untouchable..."

5.8 SOCIAL LEGISLATION AND EDUCATION:

The impact of Indian National Congress could be seen from the following legislative measures which were passed to ameliorate the condition of women and children:

(i) The Bombay Hindu Heirs' Relief Act (1866) laid down that no person who had married a Hindu widow shall merely by reason of such marriage be liable for any of the debts of any prior deceased husband of such widow. This Act thus encouraged widow remarriage.

(ii) The Native Converts Marriage Dissolution Act (1886) directed the husband under certain conditions to furnish the wife with funds to prosecute or to defend a suit and for her maintenance.

In 1888 the Madras High Court held the adoption of a daughter by a dancing girl to be valid (provided it was not for purpose of prostitution).

(iii) In 1891 the Age of Consent Act, was passed and fixed the marriagable age for girls as 12. The Act sought to check "Infant Marriages in India" (and enforced widowhood) control the age of marriage of Hindu girls.
The Indian Penal Code contained provisions aimed at protecting the modesty of women. Kidnapping girls under eighteen years of age was made an offence.

The Criminal Procedure Act (1898) and the Civil Procedure Code (1908) gave further rights to women especially to protect them from coercion.

The Anand Marriage Act (1909) validated marriages solemnised according to Sikh ceremony called 'Anand.'

For children the following Acts were passed:

(i) The Guardians and Wards Acts (1890) enable the court to appoint a guardian of the person or property of a minor where it is satisfied that it would be for the minor's welfare.

(ii) The Reformatory Schools Act (1897) sought to establish or maintain Reformatory Schools with proper living arrangements, training and educational facilities where young offenders were detained till they attain the age of eighteen.

This Act was replaced by the Madras Children Act (1920). It laid down that no child under fourteen years of age can be imprisoned under any circumstances. This Act was also made applicable in the case of young girls. Bengal followed with similar legislation in 1928 and Bombay in 1938.

The National Congress in its session at Lahore (1900) passed a resolution to restrict (or ban) the sale of intoxicants which had already deteriorated moral, material
and physical health especially of the people among the labouring classes. Consequently Juvenile Acts were passed in Mysore in 1911, Punjab in 1918, Bengal in 1919, Assam in 1923, Central Provinces in 1929, which prohibited the sale of tobacco (in some cases Bhang and Ganja were specifically mentioned), in any form in which it can be smoked to any person under sixteen years of age. Juvenile courts were set up for the trial of children and young offenders.

A careful study of the manifold Congress Resolutions would reveal that a majority of them were of a non-political nature. 84

There were three directions, 85 in historical perspective, in which the reform and social work activities, before the advent of Gandhi, expressed themselves, viz.,

(a) activities relating to the area of religious and spiritual tenets;

(b) activities relating to the area of such customary practices as the social and ritualistic; and

(c) activities relating to the area of new problems and needs created by (gradual) urbanization. 86

Some social legislations and their impact on social development were already referred in previous pages. After 1920, some social legislation that had taken place need to be noted.

Owing to the consistent demand of the National Congress a number of legislative Acts were passed which
improved the lot of the Women, children and indirectly their education. A list of these acts along with brief summary is given below:

(i) Pertaining to Women:

(a) Hyderabad in 1937, Mysore and Travancore in 1938 removed all legal obstacles to the marriage of the Hindu widows.

(b) The Hindu women's right to Property Act (1937) enabled the widows to inherit the interest which her husband had in any property.

(c) The child Marriage Restraint Act (1929) restrained the marriage of children, under 18 in case of boys and under 15 in case of females, though the marriage itself is not declared void.

(d) The Succession Act (1925) did not recognize any distinction - a husband surviving his wife has in her property the same rights as she would have in his property if she survives him.

(e) Another very significant step was taken in 1937. The Arya Marriage Validating Act of that year held marriage between two persons who are Arya Samajists valid even though the parties may have belonged to different castes or sub-castes of Hindus or to different religions before the marriage. This is an important act.

(f) The Legal Practitioners (women) Amendment Act (1923) provided that no woman shall be disqualified from being admitted as a legal practitioner by reason only of her sex.
(ii) Pertaining to Children:

(a) The Indian Merchant Shipping Act (1923) barred any boy under 14 years of age from being bound as an apprentice in sea services.

(b) The children pleading of Labour Act (1933), prohibited any agreement written or oral to pledge the labour of a child, even if the child's parents in return for a payment received or to be received allowed it.

(c) The Employment of Children Act (1938) regulated the admission of children to certain employments.

(d) The Borstal Schools Act - Madras and Punjab in 1926, Bombay in 1929, Bengal and Central Provinces in 1938 - provided a special treatment for adolescent (15-21 years of age) offenders.

Due credit must be given to the Indian National Congress which exhibited a sense of belonging and of close association with the people which facilitated the decline of older society and the birth of mass society, based on organized behaviour. Along with political programme, the Congress also provided a social mechanism for initiating social changes and thereby became a vehicle of social (and eronomic) transformation.

5.9 THE ROLE OF SOCIO-RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS / ORGANIZATIONS

During this period, a notable factor which played a vital role in the growth of education was the socio-religio-reform movements in the country. These movements
had their origin because of the contradiction between the old religious outlook, practices and organization, on the one hand, and the new social and economic reality, on the other.

"The Modern society established in India by the British conquest was a capitalist society resting on the principles of individual liberty, freedom of competition, contract and freedom of the individual to own and manipulate property at will. Individualism was its keynote in contrast to the pre-capitalist society which was authoritarian in character, maintained social distinctions based on birth and sex, and subordinated individual to caste and the joint family system. The new society demanded, as the very condition of its development, the abolition of privileges based on birth or sex."88

That is why the early religious reformers tried to preach the principle of individual liberty to the sphere of the religion.

The early religio-reform movements were, however, progressively movements. They were the expression of the first national awakening of the Indian people.

The second notable feature of the religio-reform movements was that their programme was not restricted to the task of merely reforming religion but also extended to the reconstruction of social institutions, social relations and education. This was due to the fact that Indian religion and social structure were organically interwoven. Caste hierarchy, sex inequality, untouchability and social taboos flourished because of the sanction of religion. Social reform, consequently, formed a part of
the programme of all religio-reform movements. These movements thus had an all-embracing programme of religious, educational and even political reform. They fought the caste system and the ban on going to a foreign country as well as polytheism and idolatry.

A brief reference may be made to the principal among these religio-socio movements to illustrate how they helped in the growth of education.

(a) Other Socio-Religious Movements

There were other religio-reform movements of smaller magnitude which also helped in the growth and promotion of education. These movements spread to various groups comparing Hindu society.

Thus, the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal Society having for its programme the reforming of the Hindu religion and dissemination of religious and non-religious education among the Hindus was started in 1902.

(b) The Ahmadiya Movement

The Ahmadiya Movement founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in 1889 was more or less based on liberal principles. It described itself as the standard bearer of Mohomedan renaissance. It based itself, like the Brahmo Samaj, on the principles of a universal religion of all humanity. This movement opposed Jehad or the sacred war against the non-Muslims. It stood for paternal relations among all peoples.
The movement spread western liberal education among the Indian Muslims. It started a network of schools and colleges for that purpose and published periodicals and books both in English and the vernaculars.

(c) The Aligarh Movement

The first national awakening among the Muslims found expression in a movement which aimed at making the Indian Muslims politically conscious and spreading modern education among them. Sir Saiyad Ahmed Khan was the founder of this movement.

The liberal social reform and cultural movement founded by Sir Saiyad Ahmed Khan is known as the Aligarh Movement because it was at Aligarh that the Mahommedan Anglo-Oriental College was established by it in 1875. This College developed into the Aligarh University in 1890. Along with it, an All-India Muslim Educational Conference was also organised.

The Aligarh Movement aimed at spreading the western education among the Muslims without weakening their allegiance to Islam. The religious education reinforced the secular education which was imparted in the educational institutions it started.

The Aligarh Movement aimed at evolving a distinct social and cultural community among the Indian Muslims more or less on modern lines. It condemned polygamy and the social ban on widow remarriage, which though permitted
by Islam, had crept in among some sections of the Muslims who were recent converts from Hinduism.

Sir Syed formulated an educational scheme on the Western model for the Indian Muslims.

The Muslim middle classes enthusiastically responded to the Aligarh Movement. The Aligarh College created a modern Muslim intelligentsia which was imbued with the spirit of political loyalty to the British government and enthusiasm for the western culture. The College aimed at making "the Muslims of India worthy and useful subjects of the British Crown." 89

The founders of the institution described the British rule in India as the most wonderful phenomenon the world had ever seen. 90

As a result of the progressive educational work of the Aligarh Movement, an educated middle class crystallized within the Muslim Community which steadily grew to important dimensions in subsequent period.

(d) The Religious Reform among the Sikhs

Religious reform among the Sikhs had begun at the end of the nineteenth century when the Khalsa College was started at Amritsar. But the reform effort gained momentum only after 1920 when the Akali Movement rose in the Punjab. The main aim of Akali was to purify the management of the Gurudwaras or Sikh Shrines. These Gurudwaras had been heavily endowed with
land and money by devout Sikhs. But they had come to be managed autocratically by corrupt and selfish Mahants. The Sikh masses led by Akalis started in 1921 a powerful Satyagraha against the Mahants and Government which came to their aid. The Akalis soon forced the Government to pass a new Sikh Gurudwaras Act in 1922 which was later amended in 1925.

(e) The Theosophical Movement

By origin, the Theosophical Movement was essentially a foreign movement. It was brought into this country by foreigners, and one of its chief leaders - Mrs. Annie Besant - was also an English woman. Notwithstanding the foreign origin and leadership of the movement, the tremendous nationalist fervour which it displayed was indeed remarkable. The leaders of this movement not only held the ancient Indian culture particularly the spiritual aspect in very high esteem, but also actually advocated its revival in modern times.

In the history of India, the name of Mrs. Annie Besant unmistakably stands out as one of those great personalities whose efforts had gone a long way in shaping her destiny in modern times. She rendered excellent services to India in the sphere of religious and social reforms.

Though an English woman by birth, Mrs. Besant's love for India was extra-ordinary. She regarded India as her motherland.
Mrs. Annie Besant was convinced that the system of education prevailed in India during her time was far from satisfactory, "Modern education in India," she regretted, "has practically confined itself to the training of the mental and intellectual nature, and has ignored the unfolding of the spiritual nature, the evolving and training of the emotional character," and ultimately, the development and training of the physical body to high state of efficiency."\(^9\)

In other words, she thought that the system was not a balanced one, on the one hand, and not truly national, on the other, for it was purely academic and did not arouse in the Indian youth a feeling of patriotism or pride for their native culture.

Mrs. Besant stood for a balanced system of education which could develop all aspects of the child's personality. According to her education was the best agency through which the traditional culture of the land could be rehabilitated. In her ideals of education, she was inspired by the ancient educational ideals of India. She put this idea into her own telling way.

"We need not look, let us not look to the west for power in our education, for lofty purpose in our education, for truth in our education. Let us cease to believe that education of the West is the ideal for the East. Far from it. For some parts of the body, we may well go to the West. But for the soul never."

She further goes to say, "only with an education full of Indian ideals, full of Indian spirit, full of Indian power, full
of Indian unity, full of Indian simplicity, full of Indian purpose, that is, of Indian life, can India be herself."

According to Mrs. Besant, one of the serious defects of the contemporary system was the absence of religious element from it.

Mrs. Annie Besant was not only the first to conceive the idea of a national system of education for India, but she also did wonderful work in order to achieve this ideal in practice. This fact has also been previously referred to. The most solid work done by Mrs. Annie Besant in the field of Indian education was the founding of the Hindu college at Benaras, and the services she rendered to it from 1898 to 1913 bear a clear testimony of her active interest in the advancement of Indian education. The Central Hindu College, in fact, was the beginning of a new movement in the domain of Indian education — a movement which was truly Indian and helped in bringing cultural and national regeneration of the country.

Though this Central Hindu College later on developed into Hindu University, Mrs. Annie Besant and other theosophists had to sever their connections with this institution because they had to face much antagonism from the university authorities due to the fears entertained by them about the association of theosophists with the University. The Theosophists, in 1913, founded another organization, known as the "Theosophical Educational Trust".
to pursue the ideals of education which had proved so successful in the Central Hindu College. The main aim of this Trust was "to establish schools and colleges open to students of every faith, in which religious instruction shall be an integral part of education."  

These schools became very popular with the public. It can be proved by the fact that by the end of 1914-15, these schools were attended by 2,608 students and staffed by 122 teachers. The number grew every year. Such a rapid progress in the work of the Trust evoked widespread admiration, and under its fostering care, the ideals of national education became increasingly popular.

One of the signal contributions of the Theosophical Society in the sphere of national education was the important role it played in the formation and development of the "Society for the Promotion of National Education" (1916-1917). In 1924 this became lukewarm to the educational needs of the country, and it was, therefore, decided by the Theosophical Society that the Trust should again be given the charge of educational institutions. Hence, once again, the Theosophical Educational Trust came to its own and started its work.

The educational activities of the Society could not make much headway during 1924-28. This was owing to the financial stringency faced by the Society; the burden of the monthly expenditure was being borne out by Mrs. Besant practically alone. The situation later on improved a
little but that happened on account of the efforts of Dr. Arundale.

Another important milestone in the educational activities of the Theosophical Society came in 1922 with the formation of Brahmavidyashrama at Adyar. The aim with which it was started was "to provide a meeting-place for the East and the West in its spirit, its scheme of studies and personal."

In 1934 the Society started a new school at Adyar known as the Besant Memorial school.

Unfortunately the death of Mrs. Besant in 1933 did not only close an important effort in the history of the Theosophical Society but also brought to an end the long and magnificent services it had rendered to the cause of Indian education. Dr. Arundale and others, who followed her, were interested in education, but very little constructive work of the type done before could be accomplished by the Society under their leadership.

The above mentioned account of the educational activities of the Theosophical Society in India over such a long span of time bears a clear testimony to the magnificent services rendered by it in this vital field of national life. Its leaders made education one of the chief planks of their constructive programme. They, in fact, worked with a missionary spirit and did considerable work in the educational field.

The society rendered laudable services for the
untouchables. Col. Olcott, the founder President of the Society, concentrated his educational efforts on the uplift of this unfortunate section of the Indian society. Secondly, it gave to the country, for the first time, a clear and explicit concept of National Education. This supported fact is amply by numerous utterances of Mrs. Besant.

The other contributions of the Theosophical Society in the field of education were visible. For example, wedding religion to education — the Central Hindu College was unmistakably a great experiment in this direction... The importance of mother tongue which had been badly neglected, was brought to lime light through the efforts of the leaders of the Theosophical Society. Mrs. Besant openly said, "Nothing so denationalizes a people as the imposition upon them of a foreign tongue, dominating their life and thought." 95

The efforts made by the Theosophists for promoting the study of Sanskrit also constitutes one of their contributions to Indian education. To them, Sanskrit was the key to the treasures of ancient Indian learning and culture.

The leaders of the Theosophical Movement did not only enunciate the principles of a national system of education, but also made significant practical contribution in this field by establishing a large number of institutions.
Thus Theosophical Society, particularly under the inspiring leadership of Mrs. Annie Besant contributed much in the field of education. It was a movement, which being in consonance with the religious and cultural traditions of India, sought to promote a national system of education in the country.

(f) The Arya Samaj Movement and Education

After its foundation in 1875, the Arya Samaj Movement soon gathered momentum. It gave rise to a new kind of militant nationalism in the country. Many provinces of Northern India - the Punjab, United Provinces, Bhopal, Bihar, Rajputana, Gujarat teemed with the followers of the Arya Samaj. The movement spread to other countries like Burma, Africa, Fiji and South America. In the pre-independent India, there were over 10 lakhs of Arya Samajists in Northern India.

The Arya Samaj had made some outstanding contributions in the social field. On account of the manifold social ills which were prevalent in the nineteenth century in the Indian society, the Hindu society was fast degenerating. The Arya Samaj struggled hard to cure the society of this malady and make it socially healthy and culturally strong. Its contribution in the social field was no singular and distinct that even if it had nothing else, it would have a place of a pioneer in the social reformation movement of this period.
During the period under study a number of social evils were eating away the vitality of Hindu Society. Moreover, these evils had religious sanctions and that was why these were accepted by the society at large as matters of divine dispensation. Some of the evils, as identified by social scientists, were: the compulsory performance of Shradha, viz. ceremony to assure the salvation of the dead, compulsory caste dinners for eternal peace of the dead, widely prevalent custom of child marriage, extravagant spending of money to celebrate marriages, the dowry system, the barter system of girls' marriage, rigid caste barriers, large scale observance of untouchability, rigorous ban on foreign and inferior dependent status accorded to women, etc. etc. One is not concerned with all of these social evils in a study of education. Only those ills would be referred to here which proved obstacles to the spread of education among the masses and where the impact of the Arya Samaj Movement was distinct. The first and major contribution of Arya Samaj that it directed its efforts and energy to remove rigid caste barriers and thus inequality in the social structure. This helped and promoted the cause of mass education.

Secondly, the Arya Samaj made sincere efforts to remove untouchability which was a stigma to the Hindu society. The Arya Samaj did not believe in the ideal of hereditary caste system and the distinction of high caste and low caste and of untouchability. Through the 'Sudhi' movement, the Arya Samaj took up its cudgels to root out untouchability among the Hindus. This resulted in some improvement in the
condition for educating the low caste Hindus, including the untouchables. 97

Thirdly, in some orthodox families, crossing the sea outside the country was considered to be a veritable sin, the dire consequences for which was the outcasting of the culprits. This practice was responsible for preventing the education of those students who wanted to carry on higher education abroad. Education particularly suffered because the forces in India that were shaping it had lost their vigour and freshness. No transfusing of new blood and vitality from the outside world was possible because all foreign contact was lost. Indian education especially suffered in the breadth of outlook, variety of practices and richness of curriculum particularly in pure sciences and professional studies and training. This opposition of foreign travel was so great that even stalwarts like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Babu Keshav Chandra Sen, etc. were threatened with obstracism or complete social boycott, when they boarded the ship for England.

"The Arya Samaj condemned this ostrich like attitude of the orthodox Hinduism by pointing out that there was no Vedic sanction for this harmful prohibition and exposing falsehood of the spurious scriptures which were often cited by the Sanatani leaders to validate their stand on the enforced prohibition." 98

Another social ill which had been vehemently attacked by the Arya Samaj was the custom of child marriage and enforced widowhood. This cruel system of child marriage and enforced widowhood prevented the girls from reaping the
benefits of education and from nourishing and developing their natural talents and attitude in other fields of economic, social, political undertakings. In this connection mention must be made of the studies by Das Gupta\(^99\) (India and Bengal), Agha\(^100\) (United Provinces), Murooch\(^101\) (Madras), Naik\(^102\) (Bombay Province) Kirtikar\(^103\) and Mishra\(^104\) (India), Desai\(^105\) (Gujarat). Desai particularly refers to the custom of marrying away girls in Gujarat at the age of ten or thereabout and contracting engagements of boys and girls even before they are actually born.

"A boy can be allowed to grow, beyond 10 or 12 years of age, unmarried but not a girl. If a girl remains unmarried after her maidenhood, heaven would fall on her parents. Therefore, they were forced to give her in marriage to any available bridgegroom - an old man, a man of ill character and reputation, a lame man, a man of indifferent health."\(^106\)

The custom of early child marriage was one of the strong factors that operated against the spread of education of girls. The Arya Samaj vigorously campaigned against both the systems of early child marriage and enforced widowhood and gradually created a more favourable pre-requisite condition for the education of girls. Its struggle against enforced widowhood also was calculated to improve the background setting for the education of girls.

Besides, the Arya Samaj also carried on a relentless fight against so many other social evils and areas of social injustice. This fight was between rationalism versus dogmatism. Some of the areas in this direction were: the
The Arya Samaj staged a veritable revolt against those aspects of the objectives and programme of the Western education which were reducing India to a position of cultural depravation and inferiority. This was a reaction to the thinking which most of the Europeans held that Indians were groping in darkness intellectually, morally, socially, religiously and in literature. The Arya Samaj also protested against the State policy of religious neutrality which deprived many educational institutions to continue the tradition of ancient Indian education in religious education.

Meston eulogises the great achievement of the State policy on education during the nineteenth century. It is difficult to accept the loud claim of this author. It is true that British Government's policy of education gave the country an organised system of education which had a kind of unity, but it robbed the system of its elasticity, dethroned freedom and closed all doors to revive the cultural heritage of India and to build up the character of the sons and daughters of India. It is against this aspect of the State's policy on education that the Arya Samaj protested and tried to change.

Critics have also identified some political undertones in the ideology and programmes of the Arya Samaj. But it was essentially a political, social and religious movement.
But the Arya Samaj has also contributed very significantly to education both directly and indirectly. The social reforms that the Arya Samaj has advocated and worked hard for their accomplishment have a number of educational implications. The ideology and philosophy of the Arya Samaj, too, have a number of educational implications.

The Arya Samaj had developed the DAY schools and colleges and the Gurukulas which did not conform to the dominant British model of educational institutions established by the British officers. Of all the socio-religious renaissance movements in India of the nineteenth century, the verdict of many Indian and foreign scholars has been that the Arya Samaj has contributed the most. Secondly, it was perhaps the only organization of the nineteenth century that had contributed directly in the field of Indian education. During 1875-1925 it made the most effective contribution in development of nationalism and national education.

According to the Arya Samaj, there should be perfect educational opportunity for both the sexes as well as for the high and the low in the religious, social and economic spheres.

"After the death of Swami Dayanand the Arya Samaj took educational work in the right earnest. This work has always been the main plank in Arya Samajee activity; and has now assumed quite respectable proportion."
A careful examination of the fundamental Ten Principles of Arya Samaj would reveal that Arya Samaj had developed, in the nineteenth century, a fresh and refreshing conception of education in contrast to the western concept and practice of education introduced by Lord Macaulay's Minute (1835) and Wood's Despatch (1854).

The Arya Samaj developed different goals of education. Its main focus was on the cultural reclamation of the Indians who were being fast anglicised and westernised and were losing their cultural moorings. In order to attain the nationalist goals, the Arya Samaj turned to the development of educational institutions. The Arya Samaj tried to bring about spiritualist value-oriented character and developed the social side of the rising generation in contrast to materialistic and individualistic trends prevalent in British system of education. The Arya Samaj emphasised teachings of moral and spiritual values. The contribution of Arya Samaj in the spheres of mass education, the education of the depressed classes, women's education, religions education, equality of educational opportunity among the backward classes, etc. etc. cannot be ignored.

"That the Arya Samaj is a mighty movement very few realise. Even those who are in close contact with it are unaware of its potentialities. But the fact remains that from its very birth, it has influenced almost every department of human life in India. There is hardly any political, religious or social movement of the country which does not owe its vital inspiration to the Arya Samaj. And yet there are very few who are prepared to acknowledge it. The Arya Samaj is just like the Earth's gravitation which, though invisible and unpreceptible pervades
all activities and affects all movements.\textsuperscript{111}

The Arya Samaj differed in one major way from the neo socio-religious movements that were strong in the nineteenth century. It set up under its fold a net work of educational institutions in many parts of the country. Education was conceived as a grand instrument to bring about a new social order and social change.

The D.A.V. College, Lahore and later on the D.A.V. institutions at other places in the country differed from the educational institutions which were controlled by State Departments of Education at the school level and \textsuperscript{112} the colleges at the university level. These institutions operated on the trinity of the principles of SELF HELP, SELF SACRIFICE and ECONOMY.\textsuperscript{112} Lala Lajpatrai observes in his study on the 'History of Arya Samaj' that the managers of the Arya Samajist Schools and Colleges were placed under a moral obligation not to seek monetary assistance from the Government.\textsuperscript{113} Pareek gives the following statistics of the educational institutions under the Arya Samaj in 1947.

"In the whole of India in 1947, there were about 3000 Arya Samajs and 1000 in foreign countries. Besides these, there were 200 Sabha and up-Sabhas. The Arya Veer Dal had 540 Branches spread over the country. The number of Arya Kumar Sabha had reached 200.

The number of high or higher secondary schools and colleges conducted by the Arya Samaj was 260. There were 2000 primary and middle schools for boys and girls. There were 60 Gurukulas and Kanya Gurukulas, 200 Sanskrit Vidyalayas, 200 Pathshalas, 300 libraries and reading rooms..."\textsuperscript{114}
Thus the contribution of the Arya Samaj in the spread of education can be considered significant. These educational institutions played no mean a role in creating a climate of social transformation and religious rationality during the British rule. This view is well substantiated by the remarks of Suraj Bhan, the ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University:

"The D.A.V. is the hall-mark of excellence in the educational sphere and stands for a distinctiveness of the institutions which belong to this category."115

About the importance of D.A.V. institutions the following observation of Varma also needs special mention:

"The D.A.V. Institutions have reasons to be proud of the conspicuous service they have rendered in various spheres of social reforms and nation-building in the past. They have, therefore, now to renew their spirit in facing the new challenges confronting our Motherland."116

The Arya Samaj institutions did not cut themselves altogether from the educational programmes of the western model. They have continued to teach the English language, western literature and western sciences. But they have also introduced curricula and other extra curricular and co-curricular programmes which could be considered as indigenous of India. In their emphasis on vocational, technical, professional education, physical education, discipline, pupil-teacher relationship; organizational climate, teachers' morale etc. etc., the Arya Samaj institutions distinctly differed from the educational institutions under the official control.
The Arya Samaj also revived the ancient tradition of the Gurukula system of Education. This system still has a place of pride in Indian education. These Gurukula educational institutions are described by different scholars in different ways. Thackore calls it an indigenous system. Rabindranath Tagore sees in it "an attempt to make education our own." Thacker says it as "an institution blending the Eastern and Western philosophies and cultures." Meston says it as "One of the most wonderful, interesting, and stimulating institutions and calls it as one of the most original and interesting experiments."

The Gurukulas have brought into prominence some of the finest ideals of ancient education and culture like the Brahmcharya for students and other high ideals of simple living and high thinking and inculcating precious qualities of life like self help, hardwork intellectual awakening, social services, ethical and spiritual values.

The Arya Samaj has developed two distinct types of educational institutions, viz., the D.A.V. schools and colleges and the Gurukulas. The Gurukulas are more indigenous than the D.A.V. institutions (which are closer to the Western education). Both these types of institutions disseminated the Vedic teachings and propagated the Vedic ideals. They both imparted education through the medium of Hindi. The teaching of Sanskrit was also done on compulsory basis. But Gurukulas of the British period reflected more truly the spirit of Swami Dayanand and represented more truly his ideology and
teachings. They provided either tuition free education or charged very low tuition fees. They did not opt for Government grant and consequently they tried to be free from Government control and direction. The practice of co-education was also not encouraged in these institutions. The conception of education of the Arya Samaj was religious, social as well as knowledge-oriented.

Educational values propounded by the Arya Samaj included democratic values, ethical, and spiritual values, nationalism, national integration, self-reliance and scientific spirit.

The Arya Samaj recognised the role of education in social transformation. The goal of education, according to Arya Samaj, was religious and moral.

The Arya Samaj introduced, perhaps for the first time, the idea of national education. It is credited with laying the foundation of national education. According to the Arya Samaj, education is to be controlled, shaped and carried on by the Indians.

The revival of ancient system of the Gurukula is a bold and challenging and original contribution of the Arya Samaj.

"The students turned out by the Arya Samajist institutions are more disciplined, more public spirited, intellectually more alert, morally stronger, physically better equipped, and are more national minded and patriotic. They have better values and distinct goals in life than the students of the traditional
types of schools and colleges belonging to the Western model. They have more of an Indian character in them."121

Such was the great impact of the Arya Samaj on social and religious transformation of the Indian society which had their influences on change and expansion of Indian education in the years of British rule in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and in the first half of the present century.

(g) The Ramakrishna Mission Movement

Most truly representative of the religious and spiritual genius of India was the Ramakrishna Mission Movement, which emerged as a force to be reckoned with, in the second half of the 19th century. Behind this great movement of modern times stands such great personality of Sri Ramakrishna - one of the greatest spiritualists the world has ever produced. His disciple Swami Vivekanand also did his best to carry on the work of his great master. It is rightly said that Swami Vivekanand did for the gospel of Sri Ramakrishna what St. Paul had done for the gospel of Christ.122

The Ramakrishna Mission Movement has done a great amount of work in the field of Indian education by establishing and running net-work of educational institutions all over the country. The most outstanding ones among them may be described in brief as follows:
(1) The Ramkrishna Sharda Pitha, Belur (Distt. Howrah): founded in 1941. It is a very big centre of education, having many departments viz. -

   (i) the Vidyamandir: a residential Intermediate College  
   (ii) the Shilpmandir: for technical training,  
   (iii) the Janshikshha Mandir: for adult education;  
   (iv) the Tattwa Mandir: for imparting religious and spiritual education; and (v) the Shikshan Mandir: for training graduate teachers.

(2) The Ramakrishna Vivekanand College, Madras: founded in 1946; it is affiliated for M.A. Degree courses in Economics, Philosophy, Sanskrit and M.Sc. degree in Mathematics, at intermediate-cum-university basis.

(3) The Ramakrishna Sharda Vidyalaya, Madras: founded in 1927; it is a self sufficient centre for women's education, consisting of a high school, a basic training school and a practising model school.

(4) The Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalaya, Periamalickenpalayam (Coimbatore), founded in 1930, it is a leading centre of education in South India, having (i) one basic training school; (ii) one senior basic school; (iii) one B.T. College, (iv) one rural institute, (v) one school extension service (vi) one college for physical education (vii) one school of engineering, and (viii) one social education centre.
(5) The Ramakrishna Vidyapitha Deoghar (U.P) and Purulia founded in 1922; it is a residential high school for boys, run on the model of a Gurukula; stress is laid on the development of an integrated personality through the harmonious development of the body, mind and spirit.

(6) The Ramakrishna Mission Boys Home, Rahra (24 Parganas): founded in 1934; it is mainly a residential educational institution for orphans and poor boys who are provided with all necessities so as to create a home atmosphere for them. The institution has extensive premises and runs two basic schools, a vocational school, a junior technical school, a senior basic school, a multipurpose school and a junior basic training college.

(7) The Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta: founded in 1938; it is a unique experiment seeking to harmonise national and international ideals of education. Its aim is threefold: (a) a proper interpretation of an appraisal of Indian culture (b) promotion of mutual understanding between India and other countries. (c) encouraging the study of the cultural heritage of mankind in a whole, with a view to fostering international understanding.

Besides the above mentioned independent educational institutions, a large number of schools, both for boys and girls, have been run from the British days by the various Ramakrishna Mission Ashramas in different parts.
of the country. The educational activities of these Ashramas are not confined to formal education only; on the other hand, they have also been doing plenty of informal educational work, by way of maintaining libraries and reading rooms, organising occasional lectures, imparting audio-visual education etc. etc.

The above account of the Mission's educational work is clearly indicative of the valuable contribution it has made to Indian education since the British days. Inspired by the motive of social service and imbued with a missionary zeal it has done excellent work in the sphere of national reconstruction, during the present century.

Institutions, set up by the Mission, are of all types and grades, covering the entire gamut of educational field, right from the primary to the university stage, and imparting education not only in academic subjects but in a wide variety of technical and professional courses as well.

A large number of students' homes founded by the Mission constituted a note-worthy contribution of the movement to Indian education. Through this institution, an attempt has been made to revive, in modern times, some of the outstanding features of the Gurukula system as prevalent in ancient India.

It is also worthy of note that the Mission, instead of following a stereo-typed educational pattern, has kept itself admirably abreast of the latest trends in the field of educational organisation. Another outstanding feature
of the educational efforts of the Mission has been that it has tried to make education a tool of social service and community welfare. In the field of women's education, the movement has remained loyal to the traditional ideals of Indian womanhood. Education provided to women in these educational institutions of the Mission has been, therefore, essentially home-making and character forming. It seeks to make them chaste, virtuous and modest women as well as efficient house-wives and worthy mothers.

To sum up, the Ramakrishna Mission Movement has been singularly successful in striking a happy balance between the East and the West in the domain of education. Thus, it contributed much in the field of education during the period under study.

Thus the various socio-religious movements that were operative during the British rule, had strong and rich inputs in the expansion and development of Indian education during the period under study.

5.10 CONCLUSION

In this Chapter, an attempt has been made to show the interaction between education on the one hand and social and sociological determinants on the other. It has been testified that education does not grow in vacuum. It is influenced by the society in which it operates. It also modifies society as an effective instrument of social change. Thus, society and education cannot be studied in isolation. For a full and
meaningful understanding of the growth of education, a thorough knowledge of such social determinants as caste, socio-religious movements, position of women, values, attitudes and beliefs of the people, nature and the size of population, means of transport and communication, impact of technological and industrial advancement, social reforms of the ruling party, social legislation etc. etc. is essential. The study of education in a country like India must also have a relevance with its social organization, emergence of new classes, Depressed classes, Elite groups etc. etc.

In the first half of the twentieth century, the Indian society was fast changing. The tempo of social change was being felt in different spheres. It was during this period that socio-religious reform Movement like the Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna Movement, the Theosophy etc. were active in ameliorating the conditions of the down-trodden and were trying to bring reform in the religious beliefs and customs. On account of intensification of the political movement, the Congress was spreading its activities not only in political sphere but in social field as well. The Congress under the enlightened leadership of Mahatma Gandhi has done commendable work for the uplift of the depressed classes. Women during the period under study were also increasingly participating in political activities. Age-old prejudice against women's education was fast losing ground. Improved means of
transport, communication, use of mass media and increasing social intercourse all have their impact on the growth of education. Last but not the least, new classes were appearing on the social scene of India. This was the outcome of industrial, technological and political advancement of the society. Education was also playing its significant role in improving the society and changing the attitudes of the people even in orthodox Hindus and Muslims alike.

Social and economic factors go hand in hand along with political determinants to influence the growth of education. Earlier the role of political determinants on education and education in shaping the political movement has been examined. In the present Chapter the interaction between social determinants and education has been discussed. In the subsequent Chapter the interaction between economic determinants and education would be attempted.
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41. Ibid., p. 144.


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50. Ibid., p. 178.

51. For details refer to works of Munshi Prem Chand such as
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54. Ibid., Chapters I and II.
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59. Quoted by R.P. Dua, Ibid., p. 56.
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63. Harijan, April 20, 1940.
66. Young India, June 28, 1928.
67. Ibid., January 29, 1921.
68. Ibid., May 4, 1921.
69. Ibid., December 20, 1920.
70. Ibid., November 3, 1921.
72. Young India, November 12, 1931.

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(N.B. The Constitution of Free India incorporated the above in the Chapter on the Fundamental Rights of the Citizens.)

77. See New India, March 14, 1921.

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98. (Km.) Saraswati S. Pandit, Op.Cit., p.47.


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