PART I

INTRODUCTORY
- Plans and Procedures
A history of education that draws freely on reports and similar documents is sometimes in danger of leaving on the reader's mind the impression of being a series of references and quotations. It may be so overladden with extracts that it may make him miss the wood for the trees. A good history of education should be free from this defect. There may be extracts from original sources, but the selections should be judiciously made and carefully integrated into the rest of the subject-matter. Continuity may be said the pivotal point of history.

- Dr. Zakir Husain
1.1. INTRODUCTION

The transformation of Indian society from medieval and traditional to the modern pattern during the one hundred and fifty years of the British rule and the resultant growth of education because of the interplay and intertwining of socio-politic and economic forces constitute a most fascinating theme for study for the students of social sciences and of Indian history. This mighty movement of almost one-fifth of the human race has not only something of the grand and dramatic in it, but has also a vital significance for the future of humanity. The theme was innovative, challenging and enchanting and the present investigator was naturally drawn to it.

This period has witnessed momentous and cyclonic events both in India and in the world. Numerous implicit developments have suddenly become explicit. India has experienced far-reaching changes under the impact of internal
and international socio-economic and political forces. History, during these periods, has been moving with hurricane tempo, though not arbitrarily or capriciously. This study is an attempt to give an all sided and interconnected account of the growth of education in British India during 1921-1947, which is a very significant phenomenon in the evolution of modern India. The earlier periods from the beginning of the British rule upto 1904 and from 1904 to 1921 have been studied by Shukla (1958) and Goel (1968).

The growth of education in India under British rule has been studied in a number of ways. Most of the works available on the history of education deal in a descriptive way the growth and development of education. Most emphasis has been given on factual information. Even the recommendations of various Commissions and Committees refer to the quantitative growth of education in different sectors like primary, secondary and higher education.

The approach adopted in these studies has been described by Shukla as follows:

In other studies on history of education one finds different approaches such as linking educational growth to the rise of new classes in India, taking education as one of the factors of the cultural renaissance and so on.
Recently, a few attempts, like the one by Upreti (1972) and Patel (1975), have been made to understand educational growth in relation to economic, social, political, physical and demographic developments as individual factors. In the present study an attempt has been made to interpret the growth of education in British India during 1921-1947 against the socio-economic and political factors.

1.2. GENERAL METHODS AND APPROACHES USED IN WRITING BOOKS ON HISTORY OF EDUCATION

Attempts to write History of Education in different countries are not very old. Clarity about methodology and approach is not much in evidence. Perhaps no clear History of Education has been achieved. The casual observations show that there are no studies in History of Education where the historical method has been faithfully applied, although the authors of History of Education have invariably followed the approaches of General History. Eccletic approach has also impressed them most, and they with varying degrees of emphasis on different aspects have used it. For example, Butt's and Freeman's "A History of Education in American Culture" (1950) emphasizes the cultural aspects more while using the eclectic approach. Cook and Cook's, "A Sociological Approach to Education" (1950) keeps in view the community background, and class and caste content. Hartford and Ellisford's, "Education in the United States" (1964) emphasises the relation of scientific and technological
progress with education, while using the eclectic approach. On Indian Educational History, Shukla's "Development of Education in British India, (1854-1904)," (1958)\textsuperscript{8}, places increased reliance on economic theory of interpretation, with secondary stress on other theories. Zellner's, "Education in India," (1951)\textsuperscript{9} gives the major importance to political events as a cause of modern education, but nevertheless, describes land forms, climates and produce as other factors which welded great influence on the growth of Indian education. Nurullah and Naik's "History of Education in India during the British Period (1950)\textsuperscript{10} and Mukerji's "History of Education in India" (1957)\textsuperscript{11} and Dayal's Development of Modern Indian Education " (1955)\textsuperscript{12} also make use of the eclectic approach, but show more awareness of national movement, constitutional and administrative factors. Considerable attention has been given to political happenings.

As more and more histories of education are being written all over the world, the understanding about the research approaches and methodology is increasing. Some research approaches which distinctly belong to the field of History of Education are coming to light.

Classification:

Authors of History of Education have viewed the development of education differently. Most of them have seen it as predominantly a reflection and consequence of
social order, and only insignificantly as a cause. But others regard education as a major cause for social order. Although it is very difficult to accept any one view in its entirety, because education sometimes appears as a consequence, and sometimes acts as a cause, yet, according to the first view, education generally follows the dictate of development in their social fields, while according to the second view education leads the developments. Accordingly, if a new terminology is permitted, the research approaches in the History of Education can be broadly divided as:

(i) the external approach
(ii) the internal approach

The External Approach:

In this approach, the dominant idea is that education is the result of politico-economic, socio-cultural, philosophical, psychological and even geographical factors. Although the climate of education as a cause for a new social order is not ignored, yet it is relegated to a position of secondary importance. For example, here the author starts from the outside social order and continuously gives the importance to curriculum, methods of teaching, role of teacher etc. Butt's and Freeman's "A History of Education in American Culture" and Meyer's "An Educational History of the American People" (1957) are good examples of this approach. These two authors discuss
the political, economic, social and religious institutions along with the intellectual, philosophical, psychological and scientific outlooks and then interpret the development of education. While Meyer's approach is not so vast, he, nevertheless, gives due recognition to the fact that educational history moves much slower than social history which, in fact, is the recognition of the same reality. From amongst the British Histories, Barnard's "A Short History of English Education (from 1700 to 1944)" (1944) is another approach of external approach. Indian historians of education, it appears, have not paid due and adequate attention to this aspect of approach in the development of education. Reading them one feels as if some politico-economic or social-cultural circumstances arose and education at once followed suit.

There is one advantage of this approach. This explains "How" and "Why" of the development of education, and as such the drawbacks of the purely surface-view of history are avoided. The History becomes more fruitful, profitable and interesting. But alongwith, there is one major difficulty also which as research workers, one must take note of. It is very difficult to determine the influence of various forces on educational development. There is no reliable yard-stick to measure such influence. As a matter of fact, to establish the very fact of influence is in itself a very tedious and challenging job,
leave alone measuring it. To take a concrete example, Indian authors of history of Indian education have made much of Gokhle's speeches in the Imperial Legislature regarding the introduction of a measure on free and compulsory primary education in India. But it is very difficult to establish such an influence and more difficult to measure it. From the present experience of the country, one knows, the political leaders may make many demands for public, but it depends upon the mood of the government or other considerations whether such demands are conceded or not.

It really appears difficult to accept that Gokhle's speeches modified the thinking of the Government to any appreciable extent.

It is more than clear that, to see the development of education in the light of such a wide background is extremely difficult. But it must be admitted, if we do not want to surrender the desire to know more and further, that the history of education should lose its political value.

The Internal Approach

In this approach, one starts from the education, proper system of education, students' discipline, teacher, methods of teaching, curriculum and other practices of school and then continuously diverge out on to the society. In other words, social developments are seen as following the educational developments. Keay's "Indian Education in
Ancient and Later Times " (1942) generally though inadequately follows this approach. Shukla's Development of Education in British India - 1854 to 1904 at a few places appears to adopt this approach unconsciously.

The difficulty in this approach is again the same, that is, establishing and measuring the influence, although the extent of difficulty is much less. The influence of education on social developments in whatever form they are appeared more apparent.

It should be noted that this distinction between external and internal approach is not one of kind but one of degrees. The difference in the degree of emphasis which is placed on external and internal factors as leading factors determines the approach. Frankly speaking all educational historians follow a mixed approach. Arthur Mayhew's " The Education of India " (1928) is a good example of this mixed and balanced approach. Although at places it gives the impression that it is not history, it is more a commentary on education.

It will not be out of place to mention, and the remarks will be excused, that most of the Indian works on history of education give the impression that the authors were not very much conscious of the approaches they used. Most of them moved in the direction - the available data required them to do.
Another Classification of Research Approach:

Still another classification of research approaches in history of education is:

(i) the Chronological Approach

(ii) the Problem Approach

(iii) the Comparative Approach

(i) The Chronological Approach

In this approach, is given a chronological recital of educational Minutes, Charters, Despatches, Committees and Commissions along with the provisions and recommendations. This approach provides an easy road for the authors to write history and for the reader to understand it. But the main drawback is that this understanding of history always remains inadequate and insufficient. Doubts have been very often expressed and perhaps even more often felt about the practical utility of this approach. It is seldom that one reaches the roots of the causes of particular happenings and consequently profits by the mistakes of the past. As such the very object of the study of history is defeated, since history should tell one what one follows and what one should not follow in the present and future planning and actions. Most of the Indian historians of education follow this approach and as such fail to give any clue about the socio-economic origins and development of educational problems which beset the country in British India or even
today. Curtis's History of Education in Great Britain provides a lot of facts and information through this approach.

(ii) The Problem Approach

To meet the drawback of purely chronological approach, in which the authors discuss periods rather than problems, the problem approach is coming up vast. The recent trend is that all research should be a cheap and fruitful analysis of a small problem rather than a superficial examination of a bigger area spread over a certain period. It is through such analysis that we can understand the origin and growth and true nature of the problem. The trend has its impact on history of education also. In order to make the history of education more valuable, many educationists stress the Problem Approach in the history of education. "Study problem and not periods" is the meaningful slogan. What are the major educational problems which face the country and what are their historical roots? Modern scientific historians continuously seek such problems and try to find their solutions and they find this approach quite profitable both in understanding the past and suggesting some solution to the present problems.

Most of the educational problems of the present day can be traced from the past. Good in his "A History of American Education" (1957) pays quite adequate attention to this approach. Among the Indian authors of history of education, Siqueira (1943) shows some awareness of this approach in his
book "The Education of India, History and Problems" is also a good example of this approach, but only if that work can be cleaned as a work on history of education. Another work which pays adequate attention to educational problems of the country is Mukerji's "Education in India—Today and Tomorrow." But in connection with this work three points must be noted. (i) It does not appear to be a work on history of education; (ii) the author appears more forward-looking than otherwise, as he mostly points out the needs of tomorrow, and (iii) the author chooses the problems, sees and understands the problems, and provides them with solutions as an educational administrator would do rather than as an educational historian would like the readers to understand them. Anyhow, this approach is becoming more popular.

(iii) The Comparative Approach:

The third approach which is becoming quite popular is known as "the Comparative Approach" for the study of Indian History. The history of education of other countries is read not to know them, although this advantage may be there, but primarily to understand one's own history. Such a comparative approach in the history of education has proved to be useful in not only understanding the past educational practices and theories but also in planning for the future.
Through this approach one is always able to avoid the blunders which were committed in other countries. Sometimes a comparison between the educational histories of two districts or two provinces of the same country may prove still better. Julian Sadlor, and Barnard have used this approach very profitably. The Span's Report published in England in 1938 and the Robbin's Report (1963) both provide evidences of the use of this approach. This approach is useful for understanding and writing the history of education. Some Indian authors have introduced this approach at places only to inject more clarity. For example, Nurullah and Naik casually compare the educational development of different provinces in their book. Arthur Mayhew inserts comparisons with Prussia and England. Although this is not very deliberate, but even then the use of the comparative approach even only unconsciously demonstrates the usefulness of this approach.

All said, there is one inherent drawback in this approach. Each system of education develops in a particular culture, and apart from which it cannot be studied and understood. Unless the author has a good appraisal of the culture of different countries, the comparison becomes difficult and often misleading. This makes serious demands on those who use this method. Robert Ulich's work "The Education of Nations - A Comparison in Historical Perspectives (1961)" is a very good example of this approach. Here, the author sees the historical and cultural foundations of
education and then the education of the individual countries. Comparison takes place side by side.

The Combined Approach:

All these approaches have certain advantages. The Chronological Approach brings simplicity, the Problem Approach brings depth and usefulness and the Comparative Approach brings clarity. A combination of the three can make the history of education simple, deep, useful, clear and interesting.

Very often the development of education is concluded with the development of social history. The approaches which are being followed are haphazard. Mostly the research approaches of the general history dominate the educational history also. This field is yet to develop very clear cut approaches of its own. In the present thesis an attempt is made to use different approaches at different places.

1.3. Education as an Inter-Disciplinary Subject

The term 'education' has been interpreted differently by different philosophers. But the importance of education has always been realised by all people at all times. True meaning of education cannot be understood if education is studied for the sake of education. Education has four different bases:
(1) **The philosophical Base**: The philosophical base determines the aims and ideals of education. Education is correlated to life and a definite direction is given.

(2) **The Psychological Base**: The psychological base furnishes the material and the starting point. This refers to the fact that education is a natural process of growth from within.

(3) **The Scientific Base**: The scientific base emphasises the change brought about in human environment by the development of science. Education is related to actual life and experiences of the pupil. It is, therefore, practical.

(4) **The Sociological Base**: Education is a dynamic force which is the means of perpetuating and developing society. The child is to live in the community and for the community.

In the wider sense, education includes development from infancy to maturity. It displays the influence of one's vocation, home-life, friendship, and everything which influences human personality. Thus, education is for life and through life. The ways of people, their laws, the forms of government, arts, achievements, influence help to give a definite shape to education.

Education is an integrated growth, a balanced growth and development of body, mind and spirit. Education is life and life is a chain of continuous growth. This growth of education is the outcome of the interplay and intertwining of various forces such as socio-economic and
political. There is no single factor which could be isolated and specifically mentioned as being responsible for the growth of education at a particular place and particular given period.

Such are some of the approaches to the study of history of education in a given country.

1.4. Major Development in Education a Result of Inter-action and Socio-economic and Political Factors

The story of the growth of education is of great significance from the stand-point of a general study of Indian history. The process of the growth of Indian education has been very complex and many sided. This is due to a number of reasons. The Pre-British Indian society had a social structure quite unique and perhaps without a parallel in history. It sharply differed in its economic base from pre-capitalist medieval societies of European countries. Socially, the Hindus, comprising two-thirds of the population were almost atomized in various castes and sub-castes, a phenomenon peculiar to the Hindu society. Again, Hinduism itself is not a homogenous religion but a conglomeration of religious cults and sects which are further sub-divided into a number of sects. The extreme social and religious division of the Hindus in particular and Indian in general presented a peculiar background to the growth of education.
The present researcher is of firm conviction that during the period under study all the major developments in education in British India were directly or indirectly the outcome of the interaction of socio-economic and political factors. This would be amply shown in the subsequent chapters.

The recent trend in understanding the growth and development of education is to study it in the context of a few major determinants. The determinants usually studied are economic, political and social. All these operate simultaneously and determine the directions and dimensions of growth of education. One thing is certain, that while they operate simultaneously, they do not operate independently of each other. Likewise, they do not act with equal force or intensity. At different phases or stages of the history of a country, they may act with varying measures of emphasis and effect. This can be better explained by developing a theoretical framework on the following lines:

1.5. The Political Theoretical Reference Frame

The political situation in the country has had its inevitable reaction on its educational system.

India during that period was a colony of the Britishers and the growth of education in a colony like India must be studied as per the requirements of the colonising country i.e. Britain. This would require an understanding of the
interplay of these determinants with reference to the colonising country, colony and an interaction between the systems of these two countries. Though it is difficult to isolate any one of these determinants, it is possible to see the inter-relationship between one of these and of education, of course keeping all the other determinants in view.

In the evolution of a national life, all these developments are but hand-maids to one another, and it would be a foolish, if not a futile, to attempt on the part of the people to confine their energies exclusively to the political aspect of the situation leaving all the other fields of necessary activities as barren and uncultivated wastes.

The growth of education is to be interpreted against the background of the policies evolved by the colonial power; the process of colonization; the steps taken to consolidate the political power of the rulers viz., their administrative necessity and political exigency. Similarly, the growth of education cannot be studied fully if one does not take into consideration the growth of new classes coming up in the colony; conflicts and contradictions between rulers on the one side and the new classes on the other. The rulers were not only interested to run and consolidate the then existing system but they were rather keen to make certain about the future stability of their rule. All these had
directly or indirectly their impact on the growth of education.

The impact of political determinants may be seen in the following passage:

The functions of universities under the British rule were intellectual, cultural and political: to connect Indian education to European knowledge; to transmit the cultural values specific to Britain and Europe; and to make available to the Raj a class of clerks, bureaucrats and political collaborators. These functions were so tightly inter-woven that it is difficult to disentangle the university role as an institution for modernizing intellectual activity from the role as an instrument of British cultural and political domination.29

To study political developments in a colony and their impact on the growth of education, emphasis will also be given to the weakening of pre-colonial power-groups, emergence of new power-groups, initial reactions of the groups with regard to the consolidation of their power and their political stability etc. would also be taken into consideration.

Another major reference in this framework is that growth of education is to be studied against the background of conflict of the new classes with the colonial power due to the rising political circumstances, and also aspirational level of the elites and also conflict within the elite groups due to differences in class, caste, and community considerations.

The study of educational policies and developments of education during the period would also be studied against the phase of mass movement and the following factors have
to be taken into consideration:

(i) The nature of the struggle - revolutionary, reformist, violent and so on;

(ii) The scope and extent of mass movement - participation of lower middle classes, workers, peasants, etc., in the political movements;

(iii) Attitude of the colonial power to participation in of different sections of people. The extent to which they are prepared for compromise and at what price? All these should be reflected in the treatment of the political determinants.

(iv) The class character of the leadership,

(v) The state of political consciousness among the masses and their extent of participation in the movement.

The growth of education would also be interpreted against political ideologies of the moderates, radicals, communalism, and the impact of international events like the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia (1917), the Second World War (1939-1945), etc., etc., the type of government envisaged - democracy, socialism, communism, nationalist schools, press propaganda etc.

This would be the reference frame in regard to the political determinants of the growth and development of education in India during 1921-1947.

1.6. The Social Theoretical Reference Frame

"Education does not proceed in a vacuum; its character is determined by the group culture and schools, institutions
created by society to attain certain specific ends."

Education has always been a social process for an individual to become initiated into the culture of a group.

Education and social life impinge on each other in various ways: (a) the former is affected by the latter by reason of inequality in social status of the children; (b) the former affects the latter by giving young people an education which directly or not, will to a greater or lesser extent determine their professional activity.

Thus, it is easy to point out that since education is something that takes place in society, for the society and by the society, this changing nature of cultural aspect is vital.

Society is not static. It is dynamic. It is ever changing. It is in a constant flux. Like any other organism it is ever growing and ever changing.

According to some thinkers, education is a creative force. It must forge ahead. It must supply new ideas that will reconstruct and revitalize the social fabric that prevails. Education must take some initiative and responsibility for social progress.

That education has worked as a creative force in society in the past can be illustrated from history. The Spartan system of education produced a society where members were known for physical fitness, physical strength, military prowess and obedience to state.
If the education is to be dynamic, it must reflect the social growth. 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 institution. As stated earlier, educational reforms cannot be discussed in vacuum, but are the outcome of changed values. Social movements make changes in educational provision, methods, administration and curricula imperative.

The investigator has assumed in his discussion that society is dynamic, it grows and changes. And as such these social changes must not only be reflected in education but also must affect it. Education must supply new ideas to reconstruct it. Education as a force for social regeneration must march hand in hand with the living and creative forces of the social order. Thus, one can see that education and society are inter-linked. While education maintains the continuity of the physical and the social life it conserves social heritage and culture and also reorganises, reconstructs and improves human society. Society also plays a vital role in the development of education. Rather it is the product of a variety of factors that characterize the life of a people. Some of these factors like racial, religious, cultural, economic and political have been responsible for shaping educational pattern in different countries differently.
and those resulting from the size of the family.

Social determinants, thus, affect the growth of education in a number of ways. This is all the more true in a country like India which is a world in miniature. All sorts of people with their peculiar habits, customs, manners, live in this country. In the present study, growth of education would be interpreted against such social determinants as place of women, superstitions, poverty, caste and class considerations, social customs and habits. Also religious practices, illiteracy, growth of population, role of religious organizations, charitable institutions, role of socio-religious movements, social reformers, literature, social hierarchy, aspiration level of the people, social prestige, social evils, family traditions, values and the attitudes of the people towards education will also be examined in the context of their impact on growth and development of education in India during the period under study.

1.7. The Economic Reference Frame

The economic determinants are as important as the political or social determinants in shaping the educational pattern of a country. Even the democratic ideal of education which aims at dispensing equal educational opportunities cannot be realized on account of the disparity in economic status of parents. Even the details of an educational system are affected by the economy that prevails. Likewise the economic changes have increased the importance of vocational aim of education.
The study of education in India under the British rule illustrates this interaction of economic determinants and educational system. It was the economic motive that actuated the desire for the secondary and university education. This was a means to lucrative employment curiously enough, technical education has been spurned in favour of the academic type for the same reason. The economic advantages that accrued to the academic education with its emphasis on English were not found in technical education.

That economic standard of living and the general poverty or richness of a country affects education is evident from the salaries of our primary school teachers and from the type of people who enter the teaching profession. The economic standard of living is also reflected in the equipment of schools, in the type of school buildings and in the utterly inadequate grants-in-aid system.

Education can modify the economic system gradually through a changed curriculum, through an intensive training in citizenship and for right leadership.

The role of education in the economic development of a country has been beautifully described by Radhakamal Mukerjee in the following words:
The phenomenal economic growth in the U.S.A. is now attributed much more to education and advance of knowledge, accounting for 23 percent of the growth of total real national income than to capital accumulation or improvement in employment. Education and advance of knowledge is responsible for 58 percent of the total increase in the real national income between 1907 and 1957.33

Economic determinants are at the root of the growth of education and hence need special mention. As per the theory of economic interpretation of history, as propounded by Karl Marx, the growth of education cannot be understood unless economic determinants are taken cognizance of. Such economic determinants as poverty of the people, low standard of living of the people, economic crisis due to the war, economic depression, inflation, famines, growth of population, transport and communication, tariff policy of the government, availability of material resources, manifostoes of different political parties, self sufficiency in education, problem of unemployment, under-employment, cost of living, economic exploitation, drain theory, depopulation of villages, wastage and stagnation, role of private and government enterprises, grants-in-aid are to be considered.

Such would be the economic frame of reference for the present study.

1.8. The Effects of Interaction of Various Determinants

However, the hypothesis is that the interaction of each of the socio-economic and political determinants is responsible for the growth of education. For a fuller and meaningful
understanding of the growth of education in a particular country the knowledge of various determinants and their interaction is a 'must'. It is true that all determinants may not be very active at all the phases of the development of education. Sometimes one particular determinant is most powerful variable while at other time a combination of two or three determinants shape and mould the development of education.

There may be many points of omission and commission in the major policies issued by the Government of India and also by the Indian leaders but at the same time one cannot ignore the socio-economic and political determinants prevailing in India during the period under study.

It is true that the study of the area of convergence and divergence would provide an insight into the formulation of educational policies but there is no doubt in the statement that a number of variables affect the growth of education. It is impossible to isolate a single variable and study its effects on education in a historical study as the present one is. The inter-relationship between socio-economic and political determinants and their impact on the growth of education as an individual as well as combined factors will be studied, to the possible extent, in the present study.
1.9. Conclusion

This is briefly the introduction and the theoretical reference frame of the present study. An attempt will be made to carry on the study on lines suggested above and within the reference indicated above. It is suggested that most of the published works available on history of education and which are prescribed in universities of India in their graduate and post-graduate courses in education discuss the growth of education in a descriptive manner. More emphasis is given on factual information. To prove this contention a reference is also made to the general methods and approaches which are generally followed in preparing works on history of education. Since education is an inter-disciplinary subject, major developments in education, during the period under study, are the outcome of interaction of socio-economic and political determinants. Within this theoretical reference frame, the relationship between socio-economic and political determinants as individual as well as combined variables and their interaction which help in the growth of education, will be spelt out and interpreted. The present thesis has been written with the firm conviction that the growth of education in British India during 1921-47 was due to the interaction of various determinants. It is for the proper understanding of the growth of education that the foregoing theoretical reference frame was outlined.
In the next Chapter, the plan and procedure which would be followed in the present study will be discussed with special reference to the problem, its scope, its significance and the review of previous studies, various sources used and the method adopted for attempting the present study would also be discussed.
REFERENCES


