CHAPTER – III

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES IN INDIA
UNDER THE BRITISH RULE

INTRODUCTION

Right from the beginning of their relationship with India, the British, who had come as traders and had become rulers and administrators, had influenced the economic, political and educational systems of the country. Their impact on the cultural and social life of India was, however, gradual. It is essential to review the educational policies under the British rule to understand the present and visualize the future. In the light of the very backdrop, the history of the development of free and compulsory education in India has been analysed in the Chapter - V. Hence the present Chapter - III aims to briefly look at educational policies adopted by the British rulers in India from the Charter Act of 1813 to the attainment of Independence in 1947.

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES IN INDIA ADOPTED BY THE BRITISH

Development of education system during the British period was determined by the needs of the colonial powers. If we analyse the development, we will find that the colonial interests of the British always shaped the then educational policies of India.

European trading companies began their commercial activities in India from 1600 A.D. Gradually the Portuguese, the French, the Dutch and the English settled in some parts and commercial centres of India. Among them the English East India Company was ultimately able to establish their rule in India. Till the 19th century, they did not evolve any definite educational policy (Ramana, 2012, p. 81).

One should not suppose that there had been no educational system before the coming of the East India Company. When the British came to India and were gradually establishing themselves in Bengal, they met such a system (Ghosh, 1989:2). F. W. Thomas was of the opinion that “Education is no exotic in India. There is no country where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence” (Thomas, 1891, p. 1).

The modern system of education came to be established in India during the British period at the cost of the traditional indigenous system. Before the British established a new system of education in India both the Hindus and the Muslims had their own systems of education. Both the systems went into oblivion gradually and suffered a set back because of political turmoil and lack of a strong centralised political authority and want of suitable patronage (Purkait, 1992, p.1). Indian education had always been of a classical and spiritual rather of a practical nature. It was communicated through the sacred classical languages of the Hindus and the Muslims, namely Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian (Ghosh, 1989, p.2). The Tols and Madrassas were the highest seminaries of learning meant for the specialists. These institutions were not meant for education of an elementary kind. For primary education, there were in the villages, Patsalas and
Maktabs where the Gurus and Maulavis imparted knowledge of the three “R”s to the boys of the locality. There was no school for the education of the girls though the Zamindars often had their daughters educated at home (Ghosh, 1989, p.3). The indigenous Indian Education started with the advent of the British. The colonial interests of the British shaped the then educational policies of India. In his book, ‘Education in British India’ Arthur Howell says. "Education in India under the British Government was first ignored, then violently and successfully opposed, then conducted on a system now universally admitted to be erroneous and finally placed on its present footing" (1872:3).

The development of education system during the British period was determined by the needs of the colonial powers. However the attitude of the British to education when they came to Bengal was one of the differences, and this was naturally so since India was yet to be a British colony and they were not yet the representatives of the British Crown. They were the employees of a great commercial concern called the East India Company. The Head – quarter of the Company were located at London and consisted of twenty four Directors, who used to manage the affairs of the Company abroad. For each of the British establishments in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, they appointed a Governor. After Regulating Act of 1773, the Governor of Calcutta was called the Governor- General and was given supervisory power over the Governors at Bombay and Madrassa.

The East India Company became a ruling power in Bengal in 1765. Following the example of the contemporary English Government, the Court of Directors refused to take on itself the responsibility for the education of the people of India and decided to leave education to private effort. However, the Indian officers of the East India Company urged the Court of Directors to do something for the oriental learning. Some half-hearted efforts were made by the Company’s Government to foster oriental learning. Warren Hastings, himself an intellectual, set up the Calcutta Madrasa in 1781 for the study and learning of Persian and Arabic. In 1791 the efforts of Jonathan Duncan, the British resident at Benares, bore fruit and a Sanskrit College was opened at Benares for the cultivation of laws, literature and religion of the Hindus. These early attempts for the education of the people in oriental languages met with little success. The historians Grover and Alka (2014) explained the hidden policy of the British East India Company in their attempts of the people in oriental languages that administrative needs of the Company required Indians well-versed in the classic and vernacular languages. In the Judicial Department Indians conversant with Sanskrit, Arabic or Persian were required to sit as assessors with English judges and expound Hindu or Muslim law from Sanskrit or Persian or Arabic books. Besides, the knowledge of Persian and vernaculars was valued in the political department for correspondence with rulers of Indian states. The clerical staff in the revenue and commercial departments had contacts with uneducated masses and for them knowledge of vernaculars was a must (p. 257).
Although the East India Company was established in 1600 A.D., it took no educational activities for nearly one hundred years of its existence (Narullah & Naik, 1943, p. xiv). The development of modern system of education in India ... may be said to have begun with the Charter Act of 1813 which provided through the Section 43 that “a sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India; and that any schools, public lectures, or other institutions, for the purposes aforesaid, which shall be founded at the Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay, or any other part of the British territories in India, in virtue of this Act shall be governed by such regulations as may from time to time be made by the said Governor – General in Council;”(Sharp, 1920, p.22).

The Charter Act of 1813, therefore, forms a turning point in the history of Indian education. With it ...the education of the Indian people was definitely included within the duties of the Company; comparatively large amount was annually secured for educational activities; ... thereby lying the foundation of the modern educational system” (Narullah & Naik, 1943, p. 67).

The Clause 43 of the Charter Act of 1813 assumed more importance when one remembers that in those days education was not a State responsibility in England, and except Scotland, no public money was spent on elementary education, which was left mostly to charity schools, village dames, to private Sunday schools movement started by Robert Raikes and private efforts of individual like Hannah More (Ghosh, 1989, p. 26).

The Charter Act of 1813 constitutes a landmark in the educational history of British India. Its Clause 43 contained the first legislative admission of the right of education in India in the public revenues (Misra, 1989, p. 189). This Act was the first legislative recognition of the right for education (Jayapalan, 2000, p. 81). However, The Charter Act made it obligatory on the part of the East India Company to spread education in India; it laid the foundation of State System of Education in India. For the first time, the British Parliament included in 1813 Charter, a clause under which the Governor-General-in -Council was bound to keep a sum not less than one lakh rupees, for education. This Act renewing the East India Company’s Charter for a twenty year period produced two major changes in Britain's relationship with her colony: one was the assumption of a new responsibility towards native education, and the other was a relaxation of controls over missionary activity in India.

Section 43 of the Charter Act 1813 had only defined the objects of the educational policy, viz. ‘the revival and improvement of literature’, ‘the encouragement of learned natives of India’ and ‘the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India’; but it had no directions regarding the methods to be employed to secure these objects (Nururullah & Naik, 1943, p. 68). Actually the Company had not been given any specific instruction
on this issue. Consequently, the direction of education remained uncertain during the next 22 years on the following issues:

1. **The Medium of Instruction:** It could not be decided whether the medium of instruction should be English or Indian Languages.

2. **Aim of Education of the British Policy:** Whether education should be available to all or should be given to only a selected few.

3. **Type of Knowledge:** Whether to preserve and promote Oriental learning or to introduce Western knowledge, culture and science.

4. **Agency of Education:** Whether the Government should assume direct responsibility of educating the Indians or the Indigenous system of education of the country to continue.

5. **Role of Missionaries:** Whether the missionaries should be given a free hand in their educational practices or should the Company itself shoulder the total responsibility.

The vagueness of the clause 43 of the Charter Act of 1813 intensified the Oriental and Occidental educational controversy in India. One group was of the Orientalists who wanted the promotion of Indian education through the medium of Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian whereas the other group was of Anglicists who were in favour of developing western education in India through the medium of English. This fund was kept unspent till 1823 due to the controversy.

That’s why the recommendations of the Charter Act of 1813 were delayed until 1823 when the Governor General in Council appointed a General Committee of Public Instruction (G.C.P.I.) for the Bengal Presidency to look after the development of education in India. The Committee consisted of ten members and the grant of one lakh of rupees provided by the Charter Act of 1813 was also placed at the disposal of the Committee. A decade before Lord Macaulay arrived in India; the General Committee of Public Instruction was formed in 1823, which was to guide the company on the matter of education. The Orientalists dominated the committee and advocated the promotion of Oriental learning rather than the Anglican one. The Committee of Public Instructions consisted of members with Orientalist attitude till 1824. However, when new members, imbued with the growing liberal influences were recruited, the committee lost its homogeneous character and in 1835 the differences of opinion over the competing aims of oriental and occidental learning began to come to surface. As a result of the Orientalist-Anglicist controversy, the spread of education in India was halted until 1835, when Macaulay’s Resolution provided a somewhat clear picture of the British education policy.

In the words of Kochhar (1982), the General Committee of Public Instruction was guided by two principles:

a) It wanted to win the confidence of the educated and influential classes, by encouraging the learning and literature that they respected.
b) As the funds at the disposal of the Committee were quite inadequate, it would be best to apply the funds to the higher education of the upper classes as distinguished from the general elementary education of the masses. These people were of the opinion that if leaders were educated, their education would naturally ‘filter down’ to the masses (pp. 6-7).

The Charter was eventually renewed in 1833 for another term of 20 years. It did not contain any direct educational clauses but added a Law Member to the Executive Council of the Governor General of Bengal which had hitherto consisted of three members only. The first Law Member to be appointed was Macaulay who came to India in 1834 and turned a new page in the history of educational policy in India (Nururllah & Naik, 1943, p. 97).

The controversy between the Anglicists and the Orientalists did not lend itself to any solution. The differences, which were present almost from the inception of the Committee in 1823, came to a head by about 1834. The Secretary to the General Committee of Public Instruction in his two letters dated the 21st and the 22nd January, 1835 referred the issue to the Governor - General of India in Council. The result was the famous Minute of Lord Macaulay, which attempted to provide a solution to the dilemma posed by the educational clause in the Charter Act of 1813. In his Minute dated the 2nd of February, 1835 Macaulay wrote:

This lakh of rupees is set apart not only for ‘reviving literature in India’, but also ‘for the introduction and promotion of the knowledge of the Sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories’ — words which are alone sufficient to authorize all the changes for which I contend (Sharp and Richey, 1920, Vol.1, pp.107-08).

Macaulay argued that the word “literature” occurring in the Section of 43 of the Charter Act of 1823 could be interpreted to mean English literature, that the epithet of a “learned native of India” could also be applied to a person versed in the philosophy of Locke or the poetry of Milton, and the object of promoting a knowledge of sciences could only be accomplished by the adoption of English as the medium of instruction (Nururllah & Naik, 1943, p. 103).

Macaulay wrote in his Minute, “We must at present do our best to form a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect” (Chand, 2007, p.5). Macaulay rejected the claims of Arabic and Sanskrit as against English because he considered that English is the key to modern knowledge and English is the language sponsored by the ruling class. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East.

In support of English Lord Macaulay said, “It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West ... whoever knows that already access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may also be said that the literature now extent in that language is of greater value than all the literature which three hundred years ago was extent in all
languages of the world” (Sharma & Sharma, 2012:81) This Minute also stated that British government’s main aim was to spread European literature and science among Indians and so all the money granted for education would be spent for that purpose through English medium. His Minute ultimately decided the policy, medium, means and aims of education in India as the then Governor-in General himself was admirer of English Language.

Ultimately Macaulay in his Minutes of 1835 instituted an education policy in support of the British Raj which denigrated Indian languages and knowledge, established the hegemonic influence of English as medium of colonial ‘instruction’ (not education) and used the ploy of limitation of resources to “form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern - a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect ...” (Chennai Declaration, 2012).

**Lord Bentinck’s Resolution of the 7th March 1835**

Lord William Bentinck (1828-1838) endorsed the Minute by writing one line beneath it, “I give entire concurrence to the sentiments expressed in the Minute” He passed the Resolution of March 1835 which was the first declaration of the British Government in the sphere of education in India. The Resolution of March 1835 eventually determined the aim, content and medium of instruction in India. Promotion of Western science and arts was acknowledged as the avowed object of the British Government in India (Chand, 2007:8 and Sharma & Sharma, 2012:84).

On the 7th of March 1835 the following Resolution was issued (Sharp, 1920:130-131):

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

**Second**-But it is not the intention of His Lordship in Council to abolish any College or School of native learning, while the native population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages which it affords, and His Lordship in Council directs that all the existing professors and students at all the institutions under the superintendence of the Committee shall continue to receive their stipends. But his lordship in Council decidedly objects to the practice which has hitherto prevailed of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effect of such a system can be to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning which, in the natural course of things, would be superseded by more useful studies and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student that may hereafter enter at any of these institutions; and that when any professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.
Third-It has come to the knowledge of the Governor-General in Council that a large sum has been expended by the Committee on the printing of Oriental works; his Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

Fourth-His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language; and His Lordship in Council requests the Committee to submit to Government, with all expedition, a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose.

Ultimately Bentinck was greatly influenced by the views of Macaulay. Bentinck’s proclamation gave birth to the following results in Indian education:

- The aims of education in India were determined by the British.
- The promotion of Western arts and sciences was acknowledged as the avowed object.
- The printing of oriental works was to be stopped.
- New grants or stipends to students of oriental institutions were to be stopped in future.
- The medium of education would be English.
- This proclamation promised to supply Government with English educated Indian servants cheap but capable at the same time.

In line with the Bentinck’s Resolution, 1835, in 1844, Lord Hardinge proclaimed that for services in public offices, preference would be given to those who were educated in English schools. It clearly showed that education was imparted with the limited object of preparing pupils to join services. The emphasis was on producing good clerks (Kochhar, 1982:7). This proclamation had also far-reaching consequences. It gave rise to two new castes in a caste – ridden country – English knowing caste and non-English knowing mass of people.

But in the words of Professor S. N. Mukherji, “The Proclamation marks a turning point in the history of education in India. It was the first declaration of the educational policy, which the British Government wanted to adopt in this country ... The barriers of caste, conservatism and religious orthodoxy which had blocked the cultural progress of the country were done away with and new vistas were opened through the study of English for those persons ‘Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect’. This brought about the dawn of a cultural renaissance after centuries of confusion and darkness” (Mukherji,1974: 73-74). I am of the opinion that his analysis was not fully acceptable because Bentinck’s resolution was not at all cultural renaissance but aggression and earlier centuries of India did not belong to dark ages. It may be, however, said that Bentinck’s declaration tried to put an end to the
oriental occidental controversy. This minute influenced British’s educational policy in this country for more than a century. It must be admitted that the new knowledge through Western learning brought India into contact with scientific researches of the West, and developed Indian languages to standards in which a university education became possible.

**Policy of Downward Filtration Theory**

In the beginning of 19th century the British rulers thought that in order to run the British rule in India peacefully, it is essential to make higher classes blind followers of the Government. This they wanted to achieve though educating the higher classes. Filtration theory means, “Education is to be filtered to the common people. Drop by drop, the education should go to the common public so that at due time it may take the form of a vast stream which remained watering desert of the society for long times and high class of people should be educated and common people gain influence from it” (Sharma & Sharma, 2012: 85, Aggarwal, 2008: 90). According to this famous doctrine, “Education was to permeate the masses from above. Drop by drop from the Himalayas of Indian life useful information was to trickle downwards, forming in time a broad and stately stream to irrigate the thirsty plains” (Mayhew, 1928:92).

**Reasons for Adopting Filtration Theory:**

- The British rulers needed educated employees to run the commerce and administration.
- The Government did not receive sufficient funds for educating the masses.
- The educated people educated on British lines through English medium would get higher post in Government services and in return they would use their influence in controlling the masses from going against the Government rule.
- After educating some people, the responsibility of educating the masses could be left to them.

**Background of the Adoption of Filtration Theory:** The Director of the Company in their despatches dated September 29, 1830 had written to Madras Government, “The improvements of education, however, which most effectually contribute to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of a people are those, which concern the education of the higher classes of the persons possessing leisure and natural influence over minds of their countrymen. By raising the standard of education among these classes you would eventually produce a much greater and more beneficial change in the ideas and feelings of the community than you can hope to produce by acting directly on the more numerous class” (Chand, 2007:11 & Aggarwal, 2008: 90). Macaulay is also blamed for supporting the Filtration Theory. Macaulay thought that it was impossible, with the limited means, to educate the masses. So he found it suitable to educate the upper classes only and leave it to them, to spread education among the masses. He mentioned in his Minute, “It would be more suitable to provide higher education to higher classes than to give to elementary education to the mass” (Sharma & Sharma, 2012:85,
Aggarwal, 2008: 90). He again on July 31, 1837 said. “At present we don’t aim at educating directly the common people. We aim at creating a class of persons who among their countrymen distribute some of the knowledge we gave”. Declaring it as government policy, Sir Auckland said, “The government should educate the higher class of the people so that the ‘filtered culture’ reaches to the public” (Sharma & Sharma, 2012:85). The Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal had also approved the same ideal and expressed its ideas in 1839, “Our efforts should be concentrated first on the education of higher and middle class of people” (Chand, 2017:12). Since then this policy was followed up to 1870 and emphasis was laid on the education of the people of higher classes in the society. Thus, Filtration theory fulfilled the aim of Lord Macaulay and the Directors of the Company. This theory decided the education policy of India. The immediate aim of getting educated people to run the various jobs in the administration was fully achieved. It also helped in creating a faithful class of people. But the ultimate aim could not be fulfilled as the educated persons were cut off from the common masses and the Government was unable to provide jobs to all the educated Indians.

Lord William Bentinck, the Governor –General of India appointed William Adam (1789-1868) in 1835 to survey the state of education in Bengal and Bihar and to suggest reforms. Adam submitted three reports (1835-1838). The second part of the Adam’s Third Report provides proposals for the reform of education, especially indigenous. His recommendations were not accepted by the Government. Before he submitted his third Report, Macaulay as the chairman of the Committee had pronounced his verdict. Macaulay was wedded to the Filtration theory and believed firmly in the superiority of western civilization. He observed, “I am little inclined to doubt, however, whether we are at present ripe for any extensive practical measure, which he (Adam) recommends. Our work is to educate the school masters for the generation” (Chand, 2007:19). The Committee regarded Adam’s plan as impractical and accepted the views of Macaulay.

**Wood’s Despatch, 1854**

The Charter Act of the East India Company was to be reviewed in 1853 by the British Parliament. Before doing so, the Court of Directors in England decided to lay down a definite policy in regard to educational matters of India. So the British Parliament appointed a Special Parliamentary Committee to suggest a suitable educational policy for India. The Committee made thoroughly an evaluation of educational policy followed by the Company in India. On the basis of this evaluation, a Despatch – a policy document on education was prepared for the functioning of education system in India. The Despatch was prepared by Traviellian Pairy, Marshman, Wilson, Cameron, Duff etc, who had thorough knowledge of Indian education. The Committee reported that the question of Indian education would not be ignored any longer and its development will not be in any case harmful to British Empire. The suggestions of the Committee were favourably considered by the Board of Directors. As Charles Wood was the President of the Board of Control for India, the despatch was christened as

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“Wood’s Educational Despatch”. It decided the educational policy of the Company Government.

The objective of the Despatch was “not only to produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness but to raise the moral character and to supply with servants”. The function of education was to diffuse European knowledge – arts, philosophy, science and literature. English and vernacular languages of India would be the media for the diffusion of European knowledge. As ‘Filtration Theory’ failed, Wood emphasised useful education for the public. The ultimately purpose of the Despatch was just well-guarded attempt to impose Western knowledge and learning and English language on the Indian people (Sharma & Sharma, 2012:107). According to J. Chand (2007), the Despatch visualised India as a market for the supplier of raw materials to Britain and a consumer market for the purchase of finished goods of Britain’s industries. Thus its vocational policy was lopsided (p.33). However, education under the East India Company ended with the Wood’s Despatch of 1854 as the Company ceased to be a political power in 1858 and the Government of India came directly under the crown.

An immediate outcome of this despatch was the passing of the three University Acts of 1857 establishing universities at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay and creation of an Education Department in each province of British India. But before any further action could be taken the Government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown. Thus the centre of interest in education now shifted from London to Calcutta, parliamentary interest in Indian education was reduced to minimum and the Government of India became the most effective authority to deal with important educational issues (Biswas & Agarwal, 1994:29). This period of about five decades between the Despatch of 1854 and the appointment of the Indian Universities Commission in 1902 is described as the Victorian era in Indian Education. The principal educational events comprised the establishment of the Education Departments, development of the system of grant – in – aid, establishment of universities, extension of collegiate and secondary education, westernization of the content of education etc.

It was the Wood’s Despatch that set the framework for expenditure on formal education in India with the observation that -

The origin of the present system of education which is prevalent in this country today can be traced to the beginning of the 19th century when a controversy had been raging over the issue whether oriental learning and science should be spread through the medium of Sanskrit, Arabic or Persian or Western sciences and literature be spread through English as the medium of instruction. The Government conducted surveys of the then prevalent systems of education with a view to re-organising education to suit the needs of the times. Consequent on Macaulay’s Minute regarding the educational policy of the future, Lord William Bentick’s Government issues a communiqué wherein it was stated “that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and that all
the funds appropriated for the purpose of education alone”’. The Government Resolution, however, stated that provision should be made for the continuance of schools and colleges where indigenous learning was being imparted (Raina, 2010).

**In 1859, Staley, the Secretary of State for India,** passed an order that the Government of India should own responsibility of primary education. Accordingly, the Government of India instructed to levy local taxes for this task. Consequently in 1864 local taxes were levied in various provinces of India for meeting the expenditure on primary education.

**The Indian Education Commission (1882)**

The educational policies during the period of 1854 and 1902 were formulated by two main documents only – the Despatch of 1854 and the Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882. There were reasons that prompted the appointment of the Commission. The Resolution of the Government of India dated February 3, 1882 stated that, “while the Government acknowledged the mastery and comprehensive outline supplied by the Despatch, they deemed it of importance to review the progress made, and to enquire how far the superstructure corresponded with the original design ... Nearly a quarter of a century had since elapsed, and the Governor General in Council believed that the time had now come for instituting a further and more careful investigation in the existing system, and into the results attained by it, than had hitherto been attempted” (Report of The Indian Education Commission, 1882, p.2). For this purpose Lord Ripon appointed the Indian Education Commission by the Resolution of Government of India dated February 3, 1882 under the Chairmanship of William Hunter, a member of Viceroy’s Legislative Council. Within ten months the Commission submitted a report of about 700 pages after hard labour but it could not give any original suggestion or educational ideas. Its report was a revised and enlarged version of Charles Wood’s Despatch of 1854 (Sharma & Sharma, 2012:117). The commission boldly admitted that while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the state, it is desirable, in the present circumstances of the country, to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provisions, extensions, and improvement to be that part of the education system, to which the strenuous efforts of the State should be directed in a still larger measure than heretofore. (Chand, 2007: 37, Mukerji, 1974, p. 145)

The Commission recommended the complete withdrawal Government from direct enterprise and the transfer of all primary schools to the control of local self-government bodies such as municipalities and local boards. Thus it made the Government free from responsibility. With regard to secondary schools and colleges, the Commission was of opinion that the Government should withdraw as early as possible from the direct management of secondary and collegiate education.
The Major Recommendations of the Commission included:

- Encouragement and support to indigenous schools for extending elementary education by declaring elementary education of the masses as the most important priority—area in education to which strenuous government efforts should be directed;

- Freedom to the management committees for choosing vernacular language as a medium of instruction depending on the local needs;

- Establishment of secondary schools by the state, for instruction in English based on the system of grant-in aid, and setting up of primary schools with the support of local people;

- Gradual transfer of all government secondary schools to local native management committees with due consideration of maintenance of standards and quality of education;

- Bifurcation of secondary education into two streams—one leading to the entrance examination of the universities and the other of a more practical character preparing the students for commercial jobs;

For working out the policy, the Commission suggested two important measures.

1) It was considered necessary that Government should not only curtail the activities of its own educational institutions, but should also withdraw from direct enterprise.

2) It stressed the need for organising a proper system of grant-in-aid so that private enterprise might get enough room to expand and to feed upon. In the field of primary education, it suggested Government should completely withdraw itself from direct enterprise and should hand over all the State schools to local boards. But so far as colleges and secondary schools were concerned, the Commission recommended the gradual transfer of government institutions to efficient private bodies. It further stressed that in future, colleges and secondary schools should be established preferably on the footing of a liberal grant-in-aid system and that reorganised private institutions should enjoy the same status and privileges as government institutions (Mukherji, 1974:144).

If we minutely scrutinise the recommendations, we have found the policy of organising a system based on the happy blending of private and public efforts right from the primary to the university stage. However the Report encouraged Indian private enterprise and awakened public enthusiasm for the cause of education for the first time in India. The Imperial Government accepted all the recommendations except those in connection with religious education as it was considered difficult to take any step in this direction. The main results were:
1) The transfer of complete control of primary education to Local Boards and Municipalities;
2) The state policy of not to open more colleges and secondary schools, though the then existing state institutions of higher education were not actually transferred to private bodies; and
3) The recognition of the principle that the missionary enterprise can occupy only a subordinate position in a national system of education.

In pursuance of the recommendation of Indian Education Commission (1882-83), the government considered seriously the ways and means to develop primary education, and technical education at high school stage. The progress of education during the period from 1882-83 to 1901-02 was reviewed during the period of Lord Curzon, then Viceroy of India.

**Lord Curzon’s Educational Policy**

In 1899 Lord Curzon was appointed Governor General of India. In 1901, Lord Curzon convened at Simla an educational conference attended by a few selected educationists and the Provincial Directors of Public Instruction. The Conference adopted 150 resolutions which touched almost every conceivable branch of education. This was followed by the appointment of a Commission under the presidency of Sir Thomas Raleigh on 27 January 1902 “to enquire into the condition and prospects of the Universities in British India” ; to consider and report upon any proposals which have been, or may be, made for improving their constitution and working, and to recommend to the Governor General in Council such measures as may tend to elevate the standard of University teaching, and to promote the advancement of learning” (Government of India, 1902, p.1). Evidently, the Commission was precluded from reporting on primary or secondary education. After an exhaustive inquiry, the Commission submitted its report to the Government of India, and its recommendations were incorporated in the Universities Act of 1904.

In pursuance of the Educational Conference at Simla in 1901 and with a view to giving a clear cut direction to Government’s activities as well as to private enterprise, the Government passed a Resolution on Indian Educational Policy in 1904, popularly known as Lord Curzon’s Educational Policy.

This resolution expressed a grave concern at the defects of education, as it existed, such as pursuing higher education for entering government jobs exclusively, dominance of examination on teaching, too much emphasis on memory training, neglect of the vernaculars and too much emphasis on literary aspects of the curriculum (Chauhan, 2004:32). Special attention was paid to primary education in the Resolution. In view of the importance of primary education as mass education, it was proposed that it should be expanded and should attract more funds from government revenue. The resolution proposed to strengthen secondary education by laying down certain conditions for recognition, funding, and affiliation to the examining universities. The introduction of diversified courses to meet the demands of industrial development was also proposed.
Regarding learning of languages and medium of instruction at school level, the resolution said: As a general rule, a child should not be allowed to learn English language until he has made some progress in the primary stage of education and has received a thorough grounding in his mother tongue. It is equally important that when the teaching of English has begun, it should not be prematurely employed as the medium of instruction in other subjects. The line of division between the use of vernaculars and of English as the medium of instruction should, broadly speaking, be drawn at a minimum age of 13.

The Resolution regarding university education proposed to reconstitute Senates and Syndicates of universities by limiting the number of ex-officio fellows and by reducing the maximum number of senators. The colleges seeking affiliation to the universities would be required to fulfil certain minimum requirements as prescribed by the concerned university. Affiliation would be granted only when the colleges had a regular governing body, qualified teachers, adequate building and equipment, staff quarters, sufficient financial resources and a rational fee policy. Affiliation once granted might not be permanent and might be reviewed through a proper inspection. Important proposals were also made to improve technical, vocational, and commercial education in order to make it more practical and relevant to the local needs of the people of India. Agricultural education was also proposed to be expanded. The need for the training of secondary school teachers was emphasized in order to make school teaching more efficient and non-mechanical (Chauhan, 2004, 34).

The Resolution also detailed the chief characteristics of the System of Education in British India: 1) Getting government job was the aim of education; 2) English was encouraged at the cost of vernacular languages; 3) Technical education was neglected; 4) Method of instruction encouraged memorisation and not developing intellect.

However, this Resolution acknowledged the negligence of the government in providing adequate share of funds for elementary education and agreed with the views of the Report of the Education Commission of 1882 that the active expansion of primary education is one of the active duties of the State. In the words of Professor J. M. Sen (1925), “Although a provision in the East India Act of 1813 empowering the Governor General of India to spend one lakh of rupees each year for the purpose of education was the first legislative admission of the right of education to participate in the public revenues of India, and though the Education Despatch of 1854 issued by the Court of Directors of East India Company (re-affirmed by Lord Staley, the first Secretary of State for India, in his Despatch of 1859) was the first basis for a state educational programme in India, it is in the Indian Educational Policy of 1904 that we find for the first time the Government of India declaring that the rapid spread of primary education is one of the foremost duties of the State” (p. 4).
Government Resolution on Education Policy, 1913

British Government rejected the Gopal Krishna Gokhale’s Bill and refused to recognise the principle of compulsory education for paucity of funds; they promised to extend grants for the widest extension of primary education on a voluntary basis and passed the Resolution on Education Policy on February 21, 1913.

The Resolution advocated three cardinal principles of educational policy:

1) The curricula of primary and secondary schools should be made more practical and useful; 2) Facilities of higher education should be provided in India so that Indian students may not have to go abroad; 3) Instead of increasing the number of existing institutions their standard should be raised (Jain, 2007:7, Biswas & Agarwal, 1994: 41).

The Government Resolution on Educational Policy (1913) also provided for sufficient expansion of lower primary schools with a simultaneous opening of upper primary schools. It proposed to streamline inspection and supervision, appoint trained teachers, subsidize Maktabs and Pathshalas, improve school facilities, and encourage girl’s education. The Resolution also provided for expansion of university education considering the existing 5 universities and 185 colleges as insufficient. The universities were to be relieved of responsibility of granting recognition to high schools, and subjects of industrial importance were to be included in the curriculum.

The First World War which broke out the next year delayed the implementation of many recommendations set out in the Resolution.

Calcutta University Commission (1917-19)

Calcutta University Commission was appointed by the Government of India in 1917 to inquire into the condition and prospects of Calcutta University under the chairmanship of Dr. Michael Sadler, the Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University. The terms and reference included all aspects of secondary, collegiate and university education.

The major recommendations were –

- Those days, the Matriculation Examination, which marked the end of school stage and constituted an entrance examination to the universities, was conducted by the universities. After two years, another public examination was held (also by the universities) which was called Intermediate Examination. This was followed by the First Degree examination. The problem was studied by the commission in depth and the following conclusions were drawn that the Intermediate stage was really a part of the school course and that the students at this stage could be more effectively taught by school methods than by college methods. So the Intermediate Classes of the university were to be transferred to Secondary Institutions;
• The duration of under-graduate courses for the first degree should be increased to three years with a provision of Honours courses;
• A Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education should be established for the purpose of reorganizing High School and Intermediate education on the lines recommended by it and for holding the Matriculation and Intermediate examinations;
• The universities should, thus, be left to their proper sphere, namely, the provision of under-graduate and postgraduate education and holding of examination for the first, second and research degrees;
• The universities should have Departments of Education with provision of teaching "Education" as a subject at B.A. level;
• An Inter-University Board (IUB) should be established to coordinate the work of different Indian universities.

The Commission discussed each and every aspect of Indian education excepting primary education, obviously because of having no connection with the higher education. The recommendations of the Commission introduced a fresh outlook in university education in India and a number of new universities sprang up on the suggested lines. Professor S.N. Mikherji (1974) opined that the suggestion for the creation of a multi-collegiate university on the lines of Oxford or Cambridge in the city of Calcutta was really unique but the Commission did not take into consideration the practical difficulties and complications that the scheme would have evolved. To relieve the degree college and the university from pressure of work and to give a suitable type of education to young students in proper atmosphere was really good. It is universally acknowledged that the Commission has widened the greatest influence on Indian university education for thirty years following its appointment.

If we look at present educational scenario in India, we find some of the important features which Sadler Commission already mentioned in its Report. The beginning of introduction of the New Pattern of Education 10+2+3 in 1975 has been hailed as landmark in the reforms of education in India. It may be recalled that the 12 years of schooling and three years of degree course were recommended by the Sadler Commission (1917-1919). In this sense the Sadler Commission may be said to be forerunner of the present national educational structure.

**Education under Dyarchy (1921 -1937)**

In 1918 Mr. Edwin Montagu, the Secretary of State for India and Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, made thorough inquiries into political problems. In the year 1919, the Government of India passed a resolution known as Government of India Act, 1919, which is otherwise known as Montague-Chelmsford Reform. It was the first time that the British India government had introduced democratic form of government. The provinces of India had been given dyarchy form government or double government rule under transferred subjects and reserved subject. Here subjects mean various administrative functions of the government. Moreover, reserved subjects were given to...
councillors includes law and order, the police, the land revenue, irrigation where transferred subjects were given to Indian minister includes local self-government, education, public health, public works, agriculture, forest and fisheries. This system of governance was later on ended with the introduction of provincial autonomy in 1935.

The main feature of the Government of India Act of 1919 was the introduction of the principle of dyarchy in the provinces. The Provincial Executive was divided into two parts – the Councillors and the Ministers. The Councillors were British, took charge of what was known as “reserved subjects” while the Ministers who were Indians, took responsibility for “Transferred subjects”. Education, a transferred subject, became the direct responsibility of the Indian ministers. These ministers were unable to effect any major changes in education because finance, a reserved subject, was under the control of the English Councillors who were reluctant to give the required amount of money to Indian Ministers. That’s why Indian National Congress launched the Civil Disobedience Movement.

As a result of the Montague –Chelmsford Reforms of 1919, the Department of Education was transferred to the control of popular ministries in the various provinces. The Central Government ceased to take direct interest in educational matters and the Department of Education in the Government of India was amalgamated with other departments. Above all, the Central special grants for education generously sanctioned since 1902 was discontinued. Financial difficulties prevented the provincial governments from taking up ambitious schemes of educational expansion or improvement. During this period expansion of education was mostly made by philanthropic effort. Thus Mont-ford Reforms introduced the first step towards provincial autonomy in the Indian Constitution and Education was made a Transferred Subject. But European education was maintained as a Reserved Subject (Mukherji, 1974: 206).

In the words of the educationists A. Biswas & S.P. Agarwal (1994), the Indians first obtained the control of the Education Department in the Dyarchy System dividing Provincial governments into reserved and transferred departments under the Government of India Act, 1919. But the Indian ministers were not able to obtain the funds essential for a large-scale expansion, qualitative improvement and reorganisation of education. The most important thing that happened under Dyarchy System was the rapid development of mass education and the passing of Compulsory Education Acts in most of the provinces.

Transfer of control of education to Provincial Governments not only isolated them from the Central Government but also them from one another. It also deprived the Government of India of the power of guiding and formulating an educational policy for the whole country, and it was no longer possible for it to act as an advisory and co-ordinating agency on problems of all – India importance (Mukherji, 1974: 207). Beginning in 1918, some form of compulsory schooling was gradually introduced just as education was transferred to the control of provincial governments under elected
Indian ministers. These changes introduced by the 1919 Montague-Chelmsford reforms mark the end of direct colonial responsibility for education.

**Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE), 1921**

The need for a co-ordinating agency in the matter of education was immediately felt by the Central and Provincial Governments. Consequently, the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) was established at the Centre in 1921. The idea that there should be a Central Advisory Board of Education was first put forward by the Calcutta University Commission (1917-19) which felt "that the Government of India can perform an invaluable function by defining the general aims of educational policy, by giving advice and assistance to local governments and to universities" and "by supplying organised information as to the development of educational ideas in the various provinces, and also elsewhere than in India". The chief function of the Board was to offer expert advice on important education matters referred to it. The Educational Commissioner with the Government of India was chairman, and it included a number of eminent educationists, official and non-official, from the provinces. The Board was a body which might have been of real assistance to Ministers in framing a policy suited to advancing India, and to whom complex problems could be submitted for advice (Government of India, 1929:227). But, in 1923, in a time of financial stress, the Board was abolished without even a reference to provincial Governments as to the advisability of its continuance, and the Bureau of Education was closed in pursuance of a policy of retrenchment in order to save a total recurring expenditure of only a few thousand rupees on the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee. The policy of retrenchment was further responsible for combining the Department of Education and Health in the Government of India with the Department of Revenue and Agriculture (Ibid., p. 277). The combined Department was termed the Department of Education, Health and Land. The drawback of such an ill-thought out economy became evident very soon and the CABE was revived in 1935 according to the suggestions of the Hartog Committee, 1929. The first meeting of the reconstituted Board was held in New Delhi on the 19th and the 20th of December of 1935. The Bureau of Education was also revived in 1937 on the recommendations of the CABE. It was again reconstituted and strengthened in 1945 (Mukherji, 1974:207).

**The Hartog Committee, 1929**

The Government of India Act of 1919 devolved considerable responsibility to the provinces. The Act created "Diarchy" or "Rule of Two" leading to greater representation of elected members. In 1921, the Department of Education was transferred to an Indian Minister responsible to Legislature. Being unable to receive sufficient funds from the Government, these ministers could not provide the expected results. The continuous pressure for educational improvement resulted in the appointment of Hartog Committee (May, 1928), after his its chairman, Sir Philip Hartog which made wide-ranging proposals for development of both, general and professional education. The Committee submitted its report in September, 1929.

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The main findings of the Hartog Committee were as follows:

The Committee observed that an increase in number of schools and colleges had led to deterioration of education standards. The Committee was of the opinion that the rapid expansion of education resulted in the dilution of quality and education became largely ineffective and wasteful. It emphasised the national importance of primary education but condemned the policy of hasty expansion or attempt to introduce compulsion in education. The Committee recommended the policy of consolidation and improvements by reducing the large extent of stagnation and wastage. According the Report, “Primary education is ineffective, unless it at least produces literacy. On the average, no child who has not completed a primary course of at least four years will be permanently literate” (Hartog Report, 1919: 48).

The Committee then examined secondary and university education. They were looked upon as designed to produce competent officials. It pointed out the large failure at the matriculation examination as mere wastage. It recommended the introduction of varied curricula in middle vernacular schools and the retention of a large number of pupils in such schools and diversion of more boys to industrial and commercial careers at the end of the middle school stage.

The Committee also criticised the policy of indiscriminate admission at university level which led to lowering of standards. It recommended that “all efforts should be concentrated on improving university work, on confining the university to its proper function of giving good advanced education to students who are fit to receive it, and, in fact, to making the university a more fruitful and less disappointing agency in the life of the community” (Hartog Report, 1929:137).

The main conclusion of the report was that the quantitative increase of education inevitably led to deterioration of quality and lowering of standard. Quantity had been gained at the cost of quality and therefore the immediate need was to improve the quality rather than increase the numbers still further. The Committee regarded that the transfer of power from the Central to Provincial Governments had been too sudden. It pointed out the need of establishing a centralising educational agency at Delhi. In its opinion the transfer of control over primary education to local bodies was not desirable (Mukherji, 1974:213).

The Report of the Hartog Committee more or less shaped the educational policy of British Government during the last decades of its existence in India. Words like Wastage and stagnation have become key words in educational terminology, and a policy of expansion initiated since the beginning of the present period was changed into one for consolidation. The Committee highlighted that a policy of expansion resulted in Wastage and Retention and thus weakened the need for a rapid expansion of primary education irrespective of quality. Briefly speaking, the Report like Macaulay’s filtration theory stopped the progress of the growth of primary education.
Education under Provincial Autonomy

The Act of 1919 made education a subject which was “partly all-India, partly reserved, partly transferred with limitations and partly transferred without limitations” (Ghosh, 2013: 162). But in 1935, the British Parliament passed the Government of India Act. This Act divided all educational activities into two categories only – Federal (Central) and State (Provincial). All matters regarding education of all other categories other than those included in the Federal list fell under State or Provincial Subjects. Besides, the entire administration of the Provinces was transferred to the Executive, which was responsible to the Legislature. Popular Ministers were placed in charge of provincial subjects. Briefly speaking, the whole field of provincial administration was placed under a ministry. This new system of governance, known as Provincial Autonomy, was introduced in 1937. The Congress party came into power in seven provinces of British India. During their short term in office, the Provincial ministers dealt seriously with education. They made an attempt to study Indian education from the national point of view (Kochhar, 1982: 13). The Provincial Government undertook certain bold experiment such as Wardha Scheme. The main principle of the scheme was ‘Learning through Activity’. The Zakir Hossain Committee worked out the details of the scheme and prepared detailed syllabi for a number of crafts. However, the outbreak of the 2nd World War in 1939 and the resignation of Congress ministers in 1940 due to differences that arose between the Congress and the British Government of India over the question of war and peace aims of the Allies led to the postponement of the scheme. During this period, several committees were set up by the Central and Provincial Governments for the purpose of discussing various problems of education in India. The Abbot-Wood Report (1936-1937) pointed out that general education and vocational education were not essentially different branches and that vocational students should have an adequate general education.

Post-War Plan of Educational Development (1944)

During the period between 1940-1946, due to absence of popular ministries, domination of the Indian scene by political problems and the preoccupation of the government with war efforts, the pace of educational progress slowed down. After the end of Second World War, the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) in India published a comprehensive report on the "Post-War Educational Development in India" in the country. This was the first systematic and national level attempt to review the problems of education as a whole. It is also known as Sargent Plan after John Sargent, the then Educational Advisor to the Government of India. Surprisingly, the report is not known after its chairman (Sir Jogindra Singh), but its one of the members of the Committee – John Sargent (the educational advisor to the Government of India). The object of the Plan was to create in India, in a period of not less than forty years, the same standard of educational attainments as had already been admitted in England. It is worth mentioning here that this plan was proposed by the British Government in order to counter the attempts made by leaders of the freedom movement to evolve a National System of Education (such as Wardha Scheme) (Chauhan,2004:37).
It recommended:

- pre-primary education for 3-6 years age group; free, universal and compulsory elementary education for 6-11 years age group; high school education for 11-17 years age group for selected children, and a university course of 3 years after higher secondary; high schools to be of two types (i) academic and (ii) technical and vocational.

- Adequate technical, commercial and arts education with different curricula.

- Abolition of intermediate course.

- Development of adult education and Liquidation of adult illiteracy in 20 years.

- Stress on teachers’ training, physical education, education for the physically and mentally handicapped.

Sargent Plan was one of the most comprehensive schemes of education ever proposed by the British Government after the Despatch of 1854. Through this, the government had proposed a detailed outline of the educational programmes to be undertaken by the government during the following 40 years from 1944 to 1984. As the freedom movement was at its full swing those days, this plan could not be implemented because of political turmoil in the country. With India achieving freedom in 1947, this Plan became only a matter of historical significance (Chauhan, 2004:38). The objective was to create within 40 years, the same level of educational attainment as prevailed in England. Although a bold and comprehensive scheme, it proposed no methodology for implementation. Also, the ideal of England’s achievements may not have suited Indian conditions. However, hardly had the first steps been taken when the British period in the history of Indian education came to an end on 15th August, 1947. The Sargent Scheme envisaged a 40 – year educational reconstruction plan for the country which was reduced to 16 years by the Kher Committee.

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