

**EDUCATION POLICIES DURING BRITISH PERIOD IN
PUNJAB (1849 TO 1947) : HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE
AND IT'S IMPLEMENTATION**

A Thesis

*Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of
the Degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

HISTORY

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TALWANDI SABO (PUNJAB), INDIA

2023

INTRODUCTION

Education is an important constituent and dimension of knowledge Society as it empowers people with requisite skills and knowledge to access productive employment. The British colonizers were not entirely oblivious of it, though Macaulay's project to educate the 'natives' through English medium was also equally aimed at limiting the expenditure on Education. At the same time, on a larger socio-cultural scale, it aimed at emphasizing existing differences as well as at creating new ones within the colonial society. The transition from the pre-colonial, local systems to a colonial Education system was, however, a multi-dimensional process with many actors playing active roles in it. The pace of knowledge diffusion has increased, particularly over the last century, but the Education system in India even today is basically a legacy of the two centuries of colonial rule, with still limited and uneven access to knowledge. The entry of market and consumerism, which is actively engaged in the process of transforming Education into a marketable commodity, has further added to this unevenness.

The evolution of modern knowledge and Education system of India needs to be situated in the larger context of the encounter between two Civilizations in colonial India - European and Indian - in the background of an overarching cultural hegemony of the colonizers over the colonized societies and cultures of Asia. Studies on the impact of colonialism on culture and society have been predominant in the past two decades with specific focus on colonialism and the economy, society, religion, law, medicine, and so on, as also their sub-categories. They have contributed to the understanding of the transformative interfaces between India and Europe from 1800 onwards. However, what one needs to ensure in such a project is the knowledge of the pre-colonial realities that colonialism encountered. In other words, in order to determine how colonialism changed South Asia we need to know what was being changed in the first place. With respect to scientific knowledge and scholarship, especially for the early modern period, in-depth research is virtually non-existent as it requires a sound knowledge of the classical languages. This is despite the fact that the Mughal era, from the latter half of the sixteenth century onwards, had ushered in a new and dynamic period of intellectual inquiry in many parts of the subcontinent. The rich material, however, for the most part, has remained untapped" - perhaps due to language constraints as one of the most disturbing but little remarked legacies of colonialism and modernization¹. Despite the wealth

¹ Jagdish Chand, *Education in India by British Period*, Oxford Publishers, New Delhi, 1980, p.3.

of culturally and historically significant materials most regional language materials remain untapped. Perhaps the central ideology of British imperialism and its civilizing-modernizing mission, which devalued the late pre-colonial period as an object of study, is also responsible for this stunted development of the intellectual and cultural histories of South Asia."

The recent historiographical trend of delineating history in the vernaculars may be taken as a corrective step towards enhancement of historical knowledge in the context of the Indian subcontinent. There has also been a renewed interest amongst some British scholars to review the imperial records 'more dispassionately', in order to counter the historiography condemning the British as 'cultural and economic imperialists who needlessly exploited the colonies for their own aggrandizement, and to put forward the argument that without a detailed investigation into the socio Educational and attitudinal aspects of the imperialists or the colonial executives on the ground it was not possible to understand what imperialism was. In this fresh zeal to revisit the past, focus is being shifted to the educators and people responsible for spreading Western Education in India and the other British colonies from the erstwhile centrality given to the other types of colonial officers in the administration of the empire.

The universalistic agenda of early liberalism had appealed to the Indian elites as the early 'civilizing' mission of the colonizers was inclusive and the idea of Western and racial discrimination was covert in it. As observed by Metcalf, the liberal enterprise had the effect of disseminating the notions of Indian difference more widely than before, and in fact this ideology of difference continued as a legacy even in independent India. The indigenous elites were attracted by the possibility of bringing cohesive changes to society which the colonial encounter had produced by means of popular schooling, School book Societies, etc. Though by the mid-nineteenth century powerful currents of disillusion had set in, liberal ideals continued to shape British perception of their imperial mission in India till the uprisings of 1857." In course of the nineteenth century, however, the Company's Education policies in India had become more interventionist following its consolidation of political power and a changed perspective towards the colonial civilizing mission. The downward filtration policy, which was opted as the course to transform Indian society, started neglecting the vernacular schools, and it was the flow of Christian missionaries from the second decade of the nineteenth century onwards, together with the activities of native Educational societies that promoted popular Education through new contents and methods of Education."

The Civilizational discourse which was started by James Mill with his critical evaluation of the Indian Civilization at the beginning of nineteenth century was joined by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and R.G. Bhandarkar in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and still later entered a new phase with Gandhi's publication of the *Hind Swaraj* (1910).¹³ Gandhi did not blame the European people but the Civilization which he considered to be the enemy of Indian Civilization, and to counter the claim of Civilizational superiority of the West he glorified the 'Indian' Civilization which was syncretic in nature and not a 'Hindu' Civilization. This legacy of Gandhi was carried forward by many nationalist leaders and it continued to influence several generations in India. Gandhi believed that colonial policies had uprooted the culturally meaningful and socially integrative indigenous Education from its base,¹⁵ Rabindranath Tagore too emphasized the portrayal of India as a symbol of unity amidst diversity, although he had difference of ideas on many other issues with Gandhi. In fact, from Gandhi and Tagore onwards India's assimilative Civilization received a central place in nationalist thinking.

The national Education movement also resulted in the generation of a large and influential literature by personalities like Aurobindo Ghosh, B.G. Tilak, Annie Besant, Lajpat Rai and others who emphasized the centrality of Indian culture and Civilization in the Education process." The middle-class Indians expressed their new hopes and vision through periodicals, pamphlets and other contemporary publications. Their larger vision included growth of technical and medical Education, scientific research and agricultural experiments, and institutional dissemination of knowledge. This 'new vision' was unitary in a broad 'National' sense, but ridden with discourses, and controversies and differences of opinion clouded over the national' goals in Education. Despite this, however, all educated members of the Civil Society influenced the Civilizational discourse or interface and carried the Education in Indian schools and higher institutions beyond classrooms. In the process of nation building, appeal to Civilizational unity and continuity was found to be both necessary and effective for combating the notions of Indian differences².

The quest for a techno-scientific knowledge in the last two decades of the nineteenth century had brought in people belonging to different walks of life people who realized that the limitations of being - colonized also meant that no scientific curriculum was introduced in schools and colleges with practical applications in mind. As contended by Deepak Kumar in

² R. K. Sharma and R. N. Sharma, *History of Education In India*, Kasturi Lal Publishers, Jalandhar 1989, p5.

his essay, the science interlocutors therefore questioned the purpose of scientific knowledge as disseminated through a mechanized Educational system which failed to adopt a holistic' view of Education. They blamed the failure on the 'distorted' influence of colonial system and its bureaucracy and some of them boycotted the Westernization of Education, which they equated with commercialization while others were ready derivation, but not commercialization of Education.

The era following Independence was one of mixed economy and politics in spite of Nehru's initial leanings towards planned development on the Soviet pattern. In this period, despite attempts by scientists like S.S. Bhatnagar and Homi Bhaba, a composite structure combining pure and applied sciences did not emerge, rather the appeal for pure sciences continued unabated. However, despite this colonial legacy, the nation of a definite link between science and technology assigned a greater responsibility and authority to the State for coordinating the two, thereby putting greater emphasis on institutions than on individual ideas³.

Western imperialism had generated a reaction against certain sciences, which were seen as 'un-Islamic' by the orthodox in the Muslim community.²⁰ Situating the article in the context of the resurgence of political Islam in recent times, which is marked by a call for the Islamization of Sciences', Irfan Habib deals with the aspect of reconciliation of modern science with Islam in the nineteenth century through an in-depth analysis of the ideas and experiments of Syed Ahmad Khan and Jamaluddin Afghani, two very prominent nineteenth-century intellectuals and reformers. Whereas both believed that science had been central to early Islam from the eighth to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, they had serious differences on the way in which science was to be reconciled with Islam. Syed Ahmad was a revivalist and a Reconstructionist who tried to freshly interpret the Quran to assimilate modern scientific knowledge. On the other hand, Afghani, in the Indian context, was known to be a pragmatist and an anti-imperialist to the extent that despite his faith in modern science he did not approve of imitating the West blindly.

The issue of reconciliation of science with Islam in nineteenth-century India is not separable from the broader issue of locating the place of modern science within colonial societies, particularly when the recipient countries like India had centuries' old Civilizational and knowledge base. Here, there was a similarity between the early nineteenth-century

³ *Ibid*, p7.

critical assimilation of modern science by Western-Educated Hindu middle class intelligentsia and the late nineteenth-century attempts of Muslim intellectuals in reconciling science with Islam, in that both the religious streams engaged with modern scientific knowledge from the vantage point of their own political and cultural contexts, not always in isolation from each other!" In this late awakening of the Muslim intellectuals Syed Ahmad became a reformist and protagonist of Western Education and science from being a religious scholar. The compelling force behind his transformation was the political repercussions of the uprisings of 1857 on the Muslim community, which turned him into the most radical modernizer of Islam in the nineteenth century. So much so that he broke away from tradition to propose a reinterpretation of the Quran to remove the apparent contradictions, although he never tried to interpret the Quran as a book of science. To his over-enthusiastic modernist zeal the distinction between imperialism and progress was very marginal⁴.

In contrast, Jamaluddin Afghani was a pragmatist and a cautious advocate of modernity, though at the same time critical of the orthodoxy of the Ulema for not adopting modern science and technology. In the Indian context he advocated anti-imperialism over pan-Islamism, which gets reflected in his writings while in India where he emphasized nationalistic ideas and his attempts at reconciling science with Islam in India. He was convinced that of all religions Islam was closest to science and knowledge and as such there was no need for its reinterpretation. However, despite a difference of approach both the intellectuals were promoters of modern science and knowledge, and as attempted in the article by Habib, the points of convergence and divergence of their ideas lay in their respective political and social contexts.

Education had been an important tool in the hands of the colonizers for demonstrating racial supremacy, since native character was taken to be 'deficient in colonial constructions, character formation was projected as the main purpose, with the contents taking a secondary place in Education. The result was the growth of a system imparting literary rather than scientific and technical knowledge. A need for the latter was felt only with the construction projects of buildings, roads, bridges and railways.

The Bengali intelligentsia was the first group in modern India to interact with the British system of law and governance, and most of all Western Education. To start with, Western Education was perceived as a vehicle for professional mobility by the middle-class

⁴ *Ibid*, p.9

Hindus. But the initial expectations of the class were followed by disillusion when the Bengali middle class realized that professional opportunities were too restricted for them. Still they believed in a cultural synthesis of the Western and the Indian, which gave them the best of both worlds. Nigel Crook has made relevant observations about British political power being accompanied by the control, transmission and reproduction of knowledge; the system of Education that developed therefore was also geared towards preservation and reproduction of colonial authority among the indigenous people in the colonies⁵.

Engineering Education was introduced with the specific objective of meeting the needs and requirements of the government, and it went hand in hand with the expansion of activities of the Public Works Department, particularly civil engineering. The other branches, like mechanical, electrical and mining engineering got importance only in the 1930s. Interestingly, institutionalization of engineering Education started and crystallized in India before it did in England and its academic structure helped provide models for replication in England - a reverse flow from the periphery to the center which is barely noticed in the diffusion historiography of Education. 24 Indian Education responded to economic and political pressures from both the colonized and the colonizer, which were often contradictory. But despite Indian aspirations engineering Education remained confined to lower levels of training, in a similar fashion as the literary Education with its focus on training clerks and pleaders. Therefore, Education - particularly technical Education - became a political issue in the second half of the nineteenth century in the wake of Indian nationalism, as many Indian leaders believed that India must have a strong base in scientific-technical Education for the required industrial development. The issue of diffusion of scientific and technical Education in colonial India was entrenched in the discourse of colonial power and domination, which created powerful hierarchies as the sustainability of the empire itself depended on the strength of such a hierarchical structure. The Bengali intelligentsia on its part welcomed such moves and became advocates of technical Education. Their approach of a cultural synthesis of Western and Indian knowledge systems and emphasis on technical Education saw a notable expansion of medical, engineering and scientific Education in Bengal.

However, the intelligentsia was resentful of the preferential treatment meted out to the Europeans on the issue of employment and this in turn resulted in a close connection between scientific research and nationalism, manifest in the institutions set-up by intellectuals like Mahendralal Sircar or by the efforts of Dina Nath Sen. The partition of Bengal in 1905 also

⁵ K. K. Sharma, *Contemporary India and Education*, Kishan Press, Mathura, 1999, p.21

added political stimulus to the zeal. The National Council of Education, started in 1905, was intended to be a 'National' university free of European control with equal emphasis on literary, Scientific and technical Education. This was followed by the setting up of the Bengal Technical Institute in 1906 by P.N. Bose and others which aimed at providing industrial Education to Indians that was ignored by the Calcutta University and the Director of Public Instructions. In this phase of institutionalization of technical Education by the nationalists, Japan and Germany were taken as role models and their main objective was development of science-based industries without the evils of Western industrialization. Scientists like M.L. Sircar, P.N. Bose, J.C. Bose and P.C. Ray played a catalytic role in this movement from the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Sarkar's paper delineates this process with the help of contemporary publications, especially Bengali journals.⁶

Developments in the field of scientific knowledge, emergence of market economy and day-to-day requirement of the colonial Government had affected the traditional position of Sanskrit learning in Mithila. This is brought out in the paper by I.K. Chaudhary, which deals with the state of Sanskrit learning in Mithila under the British rule, with special reference to the episode of its freak revival in the face of Anglicization of Indian Education. Chaudhary explains the structure and the stream of learning in Mithila and the patronage for learning by the Darbhanga raj. Chaudhary says that the stoppage of aid to the tools, where Sanskrit was taught and which did not teach vernacular led to the imposition of vernacular and the decline of Sanskrit. The colonial government not only withdrew support but also encouraged the policy of discouraging the grant of rent-free lands to endowments which were crucial for the sustaining of the teachers of the tools. This kind of policy affected the working of Sanskrit Pathshalas and Madrasas together. The Zamindars and rich cultivators were no more in position to discharge a part of their social obligation.

The Christian missionaries were ideal missionaries in the field of religion in modern history. Towards the fulfilment of missionary interest, they made prominent use of Education. By Education the Christian knowledge and principles were presented to the audience of prospective converts in an arranged capsule of instruction. The essay by Joseph Bara examines how the missionary idea and object was pursued and nuanced in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century colonial India. It takes the case of missionary college Education, which dealt with advanced instruction and more sophisticated presentation of Christianity to a select audience of higher mental level. Such Education was supposed to

⁶ Jagdish Chand, *Education In India By British Period*, Oxford Publishers, New Delhi, 1980, p.9.

foster deeper spiritual formation in the recipients and the converts so obtained would be pillars of the upcoming church.⁷

With that in view, the Christian colleges addressed the upper classes of the Indian Society. It was hoped that the latter, being the social leaders, would lead the large masses to Christianity. This projection was, however, mired in complications. Firstly, the attitude of the upper-class Indians was not always constant. Sometimes criticism of Indian religion and culture that the missionaries practiced to prepare way for the spread of Christianity was accepted or tolerated. At times criticism ignited reaction against missionary operations. The missionaries also did not find the colonialists a reliable ally. In the nineteenth century, they were largely seen as disturbers of peace by playing with the fire of sensitive subjects like local religion and culture. And later, the colonial state even suspected many Christian colleges as centers of 'sedition. Taking into account such uneven cultural terrain, the essay describes how the missionary idea and the object of Christian college was buoyed in colonial India between 1818, when the first institution, the Serampore College, was started and 1910, when the Christian colleges encountered Indian nationalism and responded to nationalistic quizzing for the first time. The essay takes different models to describe the trend of the missionary idea.

The first phase, c. 1818-30, describes how the Serampore College was launched by the British Baptists, the Serampore 'Trio' (William Carey) by an note of severe criticism of Hindu system and making use of the vernacular languages. The thrust of the college was to raise local missionary as a helping hand for a large missionary enterprise to demolish local faith structures and pave way for the spread of Christianity. The subject of the second phase, from 1830 to 1850, was the effort of the Scottish missionary Alexander Duff, who established the General Assembly's Institution at Calcutta (1830) to impart Christian teachings through English Education. A diehard Anglicist, he had complete faith in the efficacy of the English Education in stirring spiritual change in the recipients.

From the mid-nineteenth century, English mania and degree culture in higher Indian Education and Indian social reform movements thwarted the above missionary objects. This heralded a third phase of the missionary idea of Christian college⁸.

⁷ Dr. J. S. Walia, *Development Educational System in India*, Rayan Press, New Delhi, 1999, p.12.

⁸ *Ibid*, p.15.

The last phase of the essay begins from the late nineteenth century, when nationalistic developments challenged the Christian colleges as the arrowhead of Western culture and imperialism. The monopoly of missionary colleges on quality Western Education was eroded by many local efforts. Further, the Indian nationalism imposed upon the missionaries to orient the missionary church as national church and turn attention to the lower-class Christians, By the opening years of the twentieth century, the chain of these and related other events instilled in the missionary mind a sense of 'Christian community' and forced the missionaries to review the existing evangelization agenda of the Christian colleges. Many missionary leaders were unhappy with the amorphous composition of the Christian community and neglect of the chances of individual conversion and of training Christian leadership in the Christian colleges. Christian community interests thus dominated the missionary thinking on the idea of the Christian college.

Narrowing the canvas down to the actual sites of learning, the paper by Dilip Chavan studies the development of two famous Educational institutions in western India, the Sanskrit Pathshala in Pune and Elphinstone Institute in Bombay, which were established in the early decades of the nineteenth century with the professed aims of cultivating Sanskrit and dissemination of British Education, respectively. By comparing these two institutes this article aims to study the differentiation in language policy of the colonial government and the shifts in its patronage. Arguing on the lines of various scholars, Chavan, a observant says that the establishment of the Sanskrit college was not an Orientalist structure for improving and encouraging the Hindu learning system but also for power of consolidation. Realizing the volatile base of British Empire and the greatly institutionalized structure of patronage to Sanskrit studying in Pune during the Peshwa regime, Mountstuart Elphinstone followed up a policy of conciliation by establishing the Sanskrit college. It was not long before there was demand for English language in the Sanskrit college both from the utilitarian's who sought functional Education through any medium and also from some sections of Brahmins who were aware by the fact that their arrival in the portal of employment was possible only by English Education. Later the Sanskrit college turned into a modern institute in which Sanskrit, English vernacular and vernacular departments. Thus, the earlier social elite emerged as an informed and linguistically modernized class of intelligentsia which mediated

between the colonial state and the colonized subjects and thereby consolidated its hegemonic position in the caste society.⁹

Unlike Pune where English was introduced by the state, in Bombay the demand came from society itself leading to the establishment of the Elphinstone College. There was a huge demand for English in Bombay as people hoped that skilled in English would help them either in their business pursuits and qualify them for government sector employment. From the study of these two institutes Chavan infers that given the socio-cultural conditions the language policy was predetermined to be selective which lead to a differentiated language policy, resulting in the uneven distribution of English Education. In fact, this differentiated language policy exhibits the brilliance with which the colonial rulers dealt with early predicaments like the dominant castes' urge to continue their hegemonic position. The thread of commonality underlying the seemingly contradictory policy and the variety of ideological trends which surface above the commonality were the different expressions of the ideology of the empire, benefiting both the empire and its indigenous allies.

Expansion of Indian universities truly gathered momentum in the wake of Indian Independence, and co-incised with as well as was inspired from expansion of universities in the developed world including the United States of America. From the time the first modern universities came into existence in the mid-nineteenth century, till the early part of the twentieth century, the universities in India were like 'islands in a country the vast majority of whose population went without the benefit of elementary Education and even literacy:²⁵ The articulation of demand for a university in the Assam Valley since the late nineteenth century and consequently, the establishment of the Gauhati University in 1948 were seen as much as a fulfilment of economic and cultural, and therefore, regional need, as Educational by the people of Assam. Situated in the larger context of linguistic and ethno-cultural identity, the essay by Nandita Khadria traces the roots of the demand for higher Education in Assam through an analysis of the articulations of the educated middle class in the first half of the twentieth century. Here the issue of demand for educational institutions was entangled with many others, overshadowing the multi-ethnic, multi-lingual society of Assam. When neighboring Bengal was critically re viewing the quality of general as well as scientific and technical Education its inhabitants received, the entire north-east region lacked a single institution for higher Education - being dependent over three quarters of a century on the Calcutta University for higher Education. The first two colleges in the region were set-up in

⁹ B. L. Grover, *A New Look at Modern Indian History*, Rawat Publishers, Jaipur, 1990, p.23.

1891 (M.C. College, Sylhet) and 1901 (Cotton College, Gauhati) with classes up to the First Arts standard of the University. Despite representations from individuals and associations, the higher educational institutions in Assam continued to be controlled from Bengal. By 1921 the two colleges were ranked among the best in the university, with Cotton College being the only college outside Calcutta offering instructions beyond honors degree, but Assam still did not have any representation in the governing body of the university, and the Government of India Act of 1935 further passed the control of secondary and university Education of Assam to the Bengal legislature.

Interestingly, it was the long association and impact of Bengal renaissance and development in modern Education that contributed substantially to the growth of Assamese aspirations for regeneration of its own language, literature and culture, and development of institutions of higher learning facilitating this. Representations of demand for higher Education in Assam go back to 1860s, which had resulted in the opening of four Secondary Schools. By the end of the nineteenth century there was an increase in private English schools which led to a strong demand for colleges. The government managed to stall this demand by offering fellowships to students of the region at the Calcutta University, but when the fellowships started getting channelized to medical and engineering Education exclusively, the Assamese intelligentsia like M.C. Barua and others freshly articulated the demand for a local college. This was supported by Sir Henry Cotton, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, and was followed by the establishment of Cotton College in 1901¹⁰.

The issue of higher Education was also embroiled in the larger political issue of partition of Bengal and of joining Assam with the region of East Bengal for administrative purposes, which further marginalized the Educational institutions in Assam both from the perspectives of comparability and language. Associations as well as Assamese students' forums in Calcutta expressed their anxieties over the developments, following the tradition of using the public platform of Rajmels of Assam. Student activists and later on renowned personalities like K.K. Handiqui, Lakshminath Bezbarua and Padmanath Gohain Barua stressed on the need for improving the quality of Education along with its expansion. The national movement in its Swadeshi form also influenced the Assam Students Association. Members of the Assam Association, though more modern than the Assamese Chhatra Sanmilian, debated upon the issues. But it was the students' efforts that soon created a strong

¹⁰ Suresh Chandra Ghosh, *The History of Education in Modern India 1757-2012*, Bansal Publishers, New Delhi, 2014, p. 46.

public opinion for the establishment of a separate university in Assam. The Assamese students at Calcutta in the early twentieth century were a progressive lot and much influenced by L.N. Bezbarua - the editor of the journal *Banki*. They had the platforms of associations and newspapers and journals to voice their demands and aspirations under the able leadership of educated Assamese like Chandra Prasad Agarwala, Madhab Bezbarua and Jyoti Prasad Agarwala, all of whom articulated their demand for a University in Assam¹¹.

Language and culture were such significant issues in this context that they occupied the primary attention of the Assamese intelligentsia in this period. Their aspirations were articulated in terms of an immediate desire to escape from the control of the Calcutta University by having a university of their own at Gauhati - essentially to promote the study and stimulation of Assamese literature and culture, but also to be more selective and practical than the Calcutta University by combining the unitary and affiliating systems. The courses were to meet not only the requirements of the services and professions, but also the cultural and economic needs and aspirations of the people of the valley. The intelligentsia was also aware that on the academic front the university must face and deal with the question of educated unemployment, be relieved of the organizational and coordinating role of an intermediary, and set a high standard for itself and maintain it. These were unanimous voices across divergent groups, and when it came to their perception of the regional Educational and economic needs their voices matched with one another. Who are the marginalized groups or communities whose Education needs special care and commitment? The poor, the low-income groups, the socially backward communities and women are some of the categories whose historical experiences, travails and need for Education are discussed in the second part of this volume. One such less privileged group was the children of traditional artisanal families.¹² The essay by Bidisha Dhar examines the problems of this neglected group for whose training industrial Schools were specifically designed. Dhar's study of the Lucknow Industrial School is relevant since here the traditional weaver castes were hard hit by the Industrial Revolution in Europe and the subsequent competition from machine-made textile products, and were forced to abandon their traditional livelihood. More than the concern for rehabilitation of the uprooted artisans, the colonial imperative was to construct railways and improve roads, dockyards, etc., to connect the cotton-producing district with the metropolis for supply of raw cotton. It was as a result of the dual need for skilled workers and pacifying

¹¹ *Ibid*, p.49.

¹² J. S. Walia, *Development Educational System in India*, Rayan Press, New Delhi, 1999, p.68.

nationalist opinions that the technical schools were promoted by the colonial state in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Far from being passive followers of the imperial schemes, however, the trainees from artisanal families had their own aspirations of upward mobility in the profession. While they were imparted manual training through the curriculum, most of them wanted to learn drawing and English at an advanced level so as to be able to understand drawings as well as written orders and instructions of English-speaking supervisors at railway workshops and other such workplaces. The clash of interest between the provider and the recipient of Education is visible in this context of technical Education in this period and is the main focus of Dhar's article. The artisan was willing to give up his traditional occupation only so long as the industrial school provided a springboard for him to achieve upward social mobility, and at the same time enabled him to retain his independent identity as a draughtsman. The artisans had to accept their fate in most cases, but individual attempts had continued for changing it.

There were 45 industrial schools with less than 1,500 students in 1886, which were run mainly by missionaries and, the PWD division of the railways as reformatory institutions and some of them were affiliated to technical schools or engineering colleges. Because of its locational importance the North-West Province Oudh saw a growth of engineering and technical training institutions under the Allahabad University as well as a rearranged system of examination at the matriculation level. Through this more students could seek admission in the mechanical engineering course or workshop instructions at Roorkee. It was also planned that the Roorkee College of Engineering would offer preparatory training courses in various technical skills in addition to the existing civil engineering and irrigation courses, and a separate industrial school set-up under the Roorkee College of Engineering for the purpose. The Lucknow Industrial School was associated to the Technical School, Lahore, which was also a training institution for apprenticeship in railways and other large workshops. Though reserved for the artisans mainly, some seats were open for other industrial communities in the city. A very strong contender in the post-1870s phase of promotion of technical Education was the group of low-skilled European workers, who competed with Eurasians and Indians for lower-paid subordinate posts in the railways and related industries through the schemes of free training for them in technical institutions. Dhar links this to the issue of racial discrimination as the imperial policy clearly favored training these 'Denigrate European/English young men technically so as to enable them to maintain their racial

supremacy over their Indian counterparts¹³. The general colonial perception regarding the comprehensive and analytical skills of the local Europeans, Eurasians and artisanal clan of Indians was also low enough to keep the curriculum to its basics. This in turn restricted the aspiration of upward mobility of Indian artisanal groups and led to their alleged 'aversion' to manual Education. It also reflected in the falling attendance and withdrawal of students from the courses. The situation improved only at the turn of the century when technical schools affiliated to the Roorkee College were offered additional grants to facilitate better instructions as well as fellowships so as to prepare them for entry into mechanical apprentice classes offered at the institution. It was only after the railways offered employment to the pass-outs of the Lucknow Industrial School that the enrolment and stability increased in the institution and it became ready for promotion to a mechanical engineering college in 1918. The Lucknow Industrial, School has undergone many travails to survive and it became a success by the turn of the century when it got affiliated to Roorkee College of Engineering. However, not all professional Education experiments were successes. The next essay by Savitri Das Sinha looks into one such short-lived experiment of Vernacular Medical Education (VME) during the nineteenth century, where Western medicine was taught through Indian languages. Her article primarily looks at VME through the eyes of the Indian Medical Gazette (IMG) which has been in regular publication since its inception in 1866 to date. Though it was a medical journal edited by the Indian Medical Service personnel, it had many non-medical contributors and was a reflector of social and medical conditions.

Aspects of women's Education, ranging in scope from training of teachers, women's Education in the princely state of Mysore, Education of Muslim women as part of the greater Aligarh movement, to women's access to medical Education - extending from early nineteenth century to the Indian Independence - are the focus of the articles dealing with women's Education in this volume. Contemporary historians have increasingly concerned themselves with the processes involved in the making of institutions and the discourses around them. Recent Research Studies have also focused on the wider conceptual issues related to the notion of gender and creation of an ideal Indian woman. While Bengal had set the precedence of reform movement as a tool to respond to challenges posed by colonial rule, the movement soon spread to other parts of the country and in northern India it was led by the Arya Samaj.²⁹ Studies have also highlighted the debates on women's Education in the late

¹³ N. Jayapalan, *Social and Cultural History Of India since 1556*, Oxford university Press, New Delhi, 1978.p.90

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries - on what sort of Education women should receive and the attitudes of social reformers towards women's Education. There were some reformers who emphasized on the enlightening aspect of Education whereas others viewed Education as a continuation -as reproducing rather than fundamentally challenging social inequality. Though the social reformers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries stressed on the need for Education as the first step towards women's enlightenment and empowerment, their patronage was also defined by an attempt towards identifying certain common standards of social behavior and cultural norms.

From 1854 onwards, concern for 'female Education' became one of the anxieties of the colonial administration as a result of the recognition given by the Wood's Despatch which linked it to the Educational and moral tone' of the people. Particularly for women its significance lay in the gap between a premature imposition of Western professionalism and the existing tradition of female Education of indigenous origin. Tim Allende's essay points out how, though uneven, there existed some indigenous girls' Schools of mixed clientele, attended by low-caste girls along with the elites who usually preferred to educate their women more exclusively. By virtue of there being strong collaborations between Europeans and Orientalists in Bombay and the NWP the native societies started Schools for Education of girls by engrafting Western knowledge on Indian language by 1820s. In this tradition many more girls even attended boys' schools and crossed the barrier for women's Education more easily. This was further strengthened by educating girls in the village circle Halkabandi Schools earmarked for boys by enthusiastic administrators like Henry Reid, the DPI. This in turn was catalytic in opening more girls' Schools in the area. The Victorian moral norms of family, character and respectability, introduced through the Western Educational models in Bengal in the 1820s, led to the growth of women's Education in India both for elites and the backward. In its turn this created a demand for more female teachers and was instrumental in the introduction of the Lancaster model of Education by the intervention of Mary Carpenter, a follower of the Unitarian ideology.¹⁴

Carpenter's ideas echoed that of the new Colonial mentalities of the Raj, and in this scheme training of female teachers, even for the indigenous schools, was to be modeled on European experience. As another imperative of the Raj to promote Education and employment of the Eurasian children it was also decided, by late 1850s, to channelize Eurasian girls towards training as teachers of good moral character. Thus, Carpenter's ideas

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p.101.

were supported by the state for the rest of the century, though it soon appeared to be a much more expensive system than employing female indigenous teachers in place of the European superintendents and headmistresses, and most of Carpenter's teacher training schools were closed down on economic as well as ethical grounds. The issue of training Eurasian women was much more complex due to its definitional as well as social complexities, but it did engage colonial preoccupation, and combined with other similar preoccupations it diverted the state attention from the more urgent need of focusing on the lower order of schooling first. Funding for Indian girls' schooling was scarcer and most funding for female schooling went to Eurasian children over Indian, which was not the case with the Philippines under the American or the Koreans under Japanese control.

Outside the state sphere, however, were women like Eleanor McDougall, in-charge of the Women's College in Madras from 1914 for almost a quarter of a century, who not only developed a degree and a diploma course each for teacher training in 1923 but also infused in the trainees an ethic of service to the poor and needy girls of south India. Allende's essay also touches upon the development of a new Hindu female ethic with strong cultural traditions of responsible motherhood in the household and combining it with public action or social service to combat illiteracy, child marriage and other evils of society. Some women activists also developed their own sense of sisterhood for the same issues across caste and religion and independent of the Nationalist forums, which they saw as male domains. Still others encouraged female professional Education and used their higher Education for furthering social reform.¹⁵

In the inter-war period, the All-India Women's Conference stressed on the importance of physical and moral Education in the Indian context, and the radical Hindu feminists, while remaining within the religious fold, were driven by male rigidity to pursue a separate social agenda. There were attempts at reform by individual women converts and leading activists with Western professionalism, however, these were rejected by the broader women's reform movement of the early twentieth century in the radical Sawdeshi environment. Girls' Education had become a social issue in their campaigns. Between 1921 and 1931 Educational institutions for women and the enrolments in them had increased substantially helped by some generous funding from private sources. Simultaneously, the racial boundaries regarding enrolment in European, Eurasian schools vis-à-vis schools for Indians too blurred, and this

¹⁵ A. S. Thakur, *Development System Of Educational System in India*, Meenakshi Prakashan, Jaipur, 1999, p.32.

ushered in greater Indian schoolgirl participation in Education. Despite the dominance of Western stereotypical thinking, the Indian national movement developed a different role for Indian women and this was reflected in the post-Independent Nehruvian policy of assuming a direct responsibility in providing equal opportunity for women in professional Education by offering them far greater access to it and with a professional ethic far more suited to the needs of the country.

Education of Indian Muslim women in the wider context of women's Education in a highly differentiated social structure of India holds an important place and is probed at length by Gulfishan Khan. Her essay elucidates how the English-educated Muslim elite in their confrontation with ideological and institutional challenges of colonialism and nationalism redefined their cultural identity and reconstructed the social position of Muslim women. Following the course of Shaikh Abdullah's life and activities, it chalks out the complex process of intellectual influence on social change. Khan focuses on Abdullah's ideas which broadly echoed the themes articulated by nineteenth-century social reformers and the intellectuals associated with the Aligarh movement. But Abdullah's uniqueness lay in his focus on Education - in particular women's Education - as the route to social advancement of the country and a prelude to emancipation of women.¹⁶

In a comparative analysis the article brings in the contributions of Syed Ahmad Khan towards Muslim women's Education in a harmonious patriarchal set-up, with family stability as the first priority. Sir Syed believed that the deteriorating position of Muslim women was a direct result of the colonial ascendancy and the declining social and economic status of Muslim women at home in traditional ways. Shaikh Abdullah on the other hand, showed a better understanding of the development and progress of feminist issues through his Western Education and exposure to the English print media, though in his endeavor to bring the liberal notions of equality and emancipation of women he sought to provide an Islamic model. He translated the intellectual debates of the Aligarh movement relating to women's Education into a Social reality. Empowering women with literacy and Education and their integration into public life remains a unique contribution of Abdullah to the Islamic feminist thought, and in his contribution to the modern Islamic feminist ideology he was as influenced by the reformist movements of other Islamic countries as by the pluralistic discursive context of India. As pointed out in the essay by Khan, perhaps this was a legacy of his being born in a

¹⁶ C. P. S. Chauhan, *Modern Indian Education Policies, Progress and Programs*, B.R Publishing House, New Delhi, 1990, p.110

Brahmin family and having later embraced the faith of Islam due to its appeal of the philosophy of egalitarianism. It was therefore his pledge to appeal to the conscience of the Muslims to grant women the status granted by Islam but denied by social practice. Abdullah founded the Women's College at Aligarh Muslim University, and the main focus of his reformist agenda was progress in higher Education for Muslim women, which he expressed through essays, articles, pamphlets and biographical reminiscences. Shaikh Abdullah firmly believed that there was no inherent difference in the intellectual capacity of men and women and argued in favor of teaching them the same subjects. He also argued that knowledge was universal in nature and did not follow regional distinctions like Eastern, Orientalist and Anglicism.¹⁷

Despite acknowledging the need for enhancing women's health care facilities the colonial government's emphasis and research fund allocation was more on areas like tropical medicine. In comparison, the maternity and health welfare infrastructure was poor and the institutes particularly set up for training professionals in these had to struggle for survival at every stage of their development¹⁸. Women's access to medical Education and research on women-specific diseases and obstetric care are two important issues in medical Education in India dealt in the essay by Ch. Radha Gayathri.³⁴ Maternal and child welfare care had drawn attention only as late as the post-Second World War period, when the approach changed from a moral to a social issue basis with particular emphasis put on antenatal care, and schools were opened for training women as health visitors and midwives. It was a movement that spread all over India and support from provincial governments sustained the training schools. The demand for trained medical professionals and hospitals, however, far outnumbered its supply, and it were the welfare centers that provided viable alternatives for such needs. On the curative field, training of medical professionals also had a male bias. Despite this, institutions providing medical Education to women grew by 1920 as a result of demand for women doctors. Women's access to medical Education further eased after this, but the demand continued to exceed the supply substantially.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

We have substantial primary and secondary sources concerning the Education Policy of British. Undoubtedly, sufficient literature has been produced by various writers and scholars. Their Prominent descriptions are as following:

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p.113.

¹⁸ J.M.Sen, *History of Elementary Education in India*, Rawat Publishers, Jaipur, 2000, p.114.

1.'Education in India during British Period' by Jagdish Chand contains Macaulay's Minute (1853), Wood's Despatch (1854) and Indian Education Commission (1882), Lord Curzon's Educational Policy and National Education Movement, Growth of National Consciousness: National Education Movement, Gokhale's Bill, Government Resolution on Education and Sadler Commission (1917-1919), Government of India Act (1935) and Wardha Scheme of Education (1937), Sargent Report (1944)¹⁹.

2. History of Education in India' by R.N. Sharma and R.K. Sharma: The book track the History of Education in India since ancient Vedic, Post-Vedic and Buddhist period to the Islamic, British period and Education in India today. It describes the activities and policies of Educational Committees and Commissions. The book describes the expansion of Education system in India during 1835-1853; 1854-1882; 1882-1900; 1900-1920; 1921-1937; 1921-1944; 1939-1953 and in this times. It discusses the development and problems of Education in Primary and Secondary and better Education and also suggests remedies²⁰.

3.'Contemporary India and Education' by Dr. Ms Sachdeva, K.K. Sharma and Chanchal Kumar: Life of these days and Education of the current times are big challenges which need be tackled intelligently and more so with honesty and sincerity. Who will do this? Surely, the people of free India. *NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TEACHER EDUCATION* and as per K.U.K. two year B.Ed. syllabus has come to the fore and hence there's a programme of overhauling teacher Education. Let us all join our hands and leave no stone unturned in this sphere of our working. The current B.Ed. Syllabus of teacher training programme outlined by NCTE, the paper titled 'Contemporary India and Education' is well thought of suggested programme on the thought of which the faculties have prepared their syllabus. The present book on the topic has been prepared with the combined efforts of the authors so on achieve the goals right earnestly. The book has been written in simple, easy and understandable language and it covers the prescribed syllabus fully²¹.

4.'Development of Educational System in India' by Dr. J.S. Walia: This book contains- 1) Education in Ancient India: Education in Vedic Period (Vedic Education). 2) Education in Ancient India: Education in Brahmanic Period (Brahmanic Education). 3) Education in India: Buddhist Period (Buddhist Education). 4) Education Medieval Period (Education in Medieval India: Muslim Education). 5) The Charter Act 1813. 6) Macaulay's Minute and Bentinck's

¹⁹ Jagdish Chand, *Education In India By British Period*, Oxford Publishers, New Delhi, 1980

²⁰ R. K. Sharma and R. N. Sharma, *History of Education In India*, Kasturi Lal Publishers, Jalandhar, 1989.

²¹ K. K. Sharma, *Contemporary India and Education*, Kishan Press, Mathura, 1999,

Resolution of 1835. 7) Adam's Report (1835-38) and its Recommendations. 8) Wood's Despatch of 1854: Recommendations Importance and Limitations. 9) Indian Education Commission or Hunter Commission (1882). 10) Lord Curzon's Educational Policy.²²

5. 'A New Look at Modern Indian History' by B.L. Grover: It is one of the best-selling books on the M3. 'Contemporary India and Education' by Dr. Ms Sachdeva, K.K. Sharma and Chanchal Kumar: Life of these days and Education of the current times are big challenges which need be tackled intelligently and more so with honesty and sincerity. Who will do this? Surely, the people of free India. NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TEACHER EDUCATION and as per K.U.K. two year B.Ed. syllabus has come to the fore and hence there's a programme of overhauling teacher Education. Let us all join our hands and leave no stone unturned in this sphere of our working. The current B.Ed. Syllabus of teacher training programme outlined by NCTE, the paper titled 'Contemporary India and Education' is well thought of suggested programme on the thought of which the facilities have prepared their syllabi. The present book on the topic has been prepared with the combined efforts of the authors so on achieve the goals right earnestly. The book has been written in simple, easy and understandable language and it covers the prescribed syllabus full. Modern Indian History covering the time line from 1707 to the modern times. The book covers the entire gamut during a unique style- it mentions not only factual data about various topics but also provides information about different interpretations put forth by historians, with an integrated analysis²³.

6. 'The History of Education in Modern India 1757-2012' by Suresh Chandra Ghosh: It presents an overview of the Education system in India from its colonial beginnings through Independence till the present day. It examines crucial issues that have shaped India's Education system, just like the introduction of English Education, the Education Despatch of 1854, the genesis of Curzon's university reform of 1899 and 1905, and the Education policy of post-independence India²⁴.

7. 'Social and Cultural History of India Since 1556' by N. Jayapalan: It deals with all aspects of Social and Cultural History of India Since 1556 in detail and in a simple lucid manner. The first five chapters make a quick survey of the social and cultural history of India from Mughals to the 19th century. The next five chapters affect Indian Islam, growth of latest

²² Dr. J. S. Walia, *Development Educational System in India*, Rayan Press, New Delhi, 1999.

²³ N. Jayapalan, *Social and Cultural History Of India since 1556*, Oxford university Press, New Delhi, 1978.

²⁴ A. S. Thakur, *Development System Of Educational System in India*, Meenakshi Prakashan, Jaipur, 1999.

India, regeneration of Indian society, the freedom struggle and March of free India. Overwhelming stress has been laid on social and cultural affairs throughout this book. An attempt has been made to explain how men and women lived and thought and the way their lives influenced by the good figures that have passed were of human history. The descriptions are brief and accurate. The chapter on 'The Freedom Struggle' takes readers back again to British India where the extreme struggles were at length fought out during British period with its far-reaching results for good and ill.

8. 'Development of Educational System in India' by A.S. Thakur and Sandeep Berwal:

The book traces the development of Education from the Vedic, Buddhist and medieval times to the present centuries. The Educational development during the colonial period have been analyzed for their contributions and limitations. The impact of reports by commissions and committees within the post-independence era has been evaluated with a view to identifying the evolution of a system of Education. The book presents a panoramic view of Education developments of centuries together.

9. 'Modern Indian Education: Policies, Progress and Problems' by C P S Chauhan:

This book is a well-documented record of the historical development of Indian Education after independence covering all its aspects. It is a unique addition to the existing literature on the subject²⁵.

10. 'History of Education Policymaking India' by R.V. Vaidyanatha Ayyar:

This book documents the history of Education policymaking in India from 1947 to 2016. It provides a nuanced understanding of policy developments from the inception of the Indian Education Commission (1882) to developments within the field of Education during British era, and consequently the post-independence period. The book is especially aimed toward covering most major developments post 1980s and placing them within the context of existing political, economic, and social developments. It focuses on the systemic changes caused within the Education system as a neighborhood of the interconnected global trends of expanding democratization, rise of personal Education, globalization, and therefore the birth of the knowledge economy. A comprehensive study of the organization of Education in our country, this book brings together the role of the state, private actors, central and state governments in furthering Educational policy objectives. This book thus develops new insights into the processes and politics of policymaking within the shifting policy

²⁵ C. P. S. Chauhan, *Modern Indian Education Policies, Progress and Programs*, B.R Publishing House, New Delhi, 1990.

environment in India²⁶.

11. 'History of Elementary Education in India' by J M Sen: Times Educational Supplement (London) "By providing a careful summary and comparison of the Primary Education Acts of the various Indian Provinces this little book meets a real need. In his Introduction Mr. E.F. Oaten, the then Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, expresses the hope that the book, from the pen of one who made a special study of the subject both in England and India, will assist towards a practical solution of the problem of overcoming mass illiteracy that has hitherto baffled everybody". (London, May, 1925) The statement "A useful and hand summary of the attempts made of late to stimulate primary Education. Mr. Sen. has done a useful piece of work and all who part in public affairs, and particularly all who are interested in local government, should possess a copy. When they know exactly what has been tried they will be better equipped for further wrestling with the problems²⁷".

12. Education In Punjab 1985- The book is published by Director public information, Chandigarh, This book in the form of statistical tablets is used by director of public instructions Punjab at Chandigarh in the year 1994 entitled Education in Punjab. The data of book has been collected, compiled and analyzed in the statistical branch of the Education department and member have taken interest in preparing book so that Educationalist, planners and research scholars in the field of Education²⁸.

13. A History Of Growth And Development Of Western Education In Punjab, 1846-1884: The book is published by H.R MEHTA (Patiala; 1971).He gives in detail the story of the development of western Education in the Punjab. The problems that faced the British in 1849 were varied²⁹.

SCOPE

Development of Education system during British period decided by the requirements of the colonial powers. If we analyze the event, we'll find that the colonial interests of British always shaped the then educational policies of India.

European trading companies started activities in India from 1600 A.D. Gradually the

²⁶ R.V.Vaidyanatha Ayyar, *History of Education Policy making India*, B.R.Publishing House, New Delhi, 2018.

²⁷ J. M. Sen, *History of Elementary Education in India*, Rawat Publishers, Jaipur, 2000.

²⁸ Mohinder Singh, *Education in Punjab*, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 2001.

²⁹ H. R. Mehta, *A History of Growth and Development of Western Education in India*, Hans Lal Press, Patiala, 1971.

Portuguese, the French, the Dutch and therefore the English settled in some parts and commercial centers of India. Among them East India Company was ultimately ready to establish their rule over India. Till the 19th century, they didn't evolve any definite Educational policy.

The British were more successful within the introduction of recent Education. For the primary 60 years of its dominion in India the East India Company- a trading, profit-making concern- took little interest within the Education of its subjects.

The sequential development of Education system during the British Period in India is as follows:

1813 Act & the Education

1. Charles Grant and William Wilberforce gripped the East India Company to supply up its non-invention policy and move for spreading Education through English along with others show teach western literature and preach Christianity. Consequently British Parliament added a section in 1813 charter that Governor-General-in-Council but one lakh for Education and allowed the Christian Missionaries to spread their religious ideas in India.
2. Act had its own value because it had been first instance that East India Company acknowledged for the encouragement of Education in India.
3. With the attempts of R.R.M Roy, the Calcutta College was established for Western Education. And also three Sanskrit colleges were found at Calcutta.

General Committee of Public Instruction, 1823

1. The committee was found to take care the event progress of Education in India which was dominated by Oriental lists who were the great supporters of Oriental learning rather than the Anglican.

Lord Macaulay's Education Policy, 1835

1. This policy was a try to form that system of Education which educates only upper class of society through English.
2. English language become court language and Persian was abolished as court language.
3. The printings of English books were made free and available at low price.
4. The English Education gets more fund as compare to oriental learning.

5. Agriculture Institute was established at Pusa (Bihar).

Wood's Despatch, 1854

1. It's considered the "Magna Carta of English Education in India" and contained broad plan for spreading Education in India.
2. It shapes the responsibility of State for the spread of Education to the people.
3. It suggested the hierarchy Education level- at bottom, vernacular primary school; at district, Anglo-vernacular High Schools and affiliated college, and affiliated universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras Presidency.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aims and objectives of this present study are as mentioned below:

1. To look at the varied educational policies introduced by Britishers in Punjab.
2. To understand the issues behind the introduction of these policies in Punjab.
3. To know the problems faced during the implementation of those policies and the therefore the behind these problems.
4. To work out the impacts made by these policies on every aspect of the society and a private.
5. To determine the impacts made by these policies on British government.
6. To look at the importance of those educational policies on contemporary times.
7. To look at the required changes needed in these policies with the change of your time.

NEED FOR STUDY

India had traditional system of Education and knowledge before the approaching of Britishers to India. Religion was the nucleus of Indian Education and knowledge domain had little place in it. British government introduced many policies which brought major and significant changes within the society. The changes brought by these policies have greatly helped in shaping this state of Indian society.

This study holds importance since it tells about the aim for introduction of those policies. Many laws framed by Britishers are still in power in its original form with certain amendments. This study unfurls the layers to introduction of British Education policies, their implementation and therefore reason they still exist in Indian society.

Chapterization

Chapter-1

Historical Background

Before coming of British, the Education policy of India was supported religion and non-secular Gurus taught about *Shastras* and other religious text. Knowledge domain wasn't a part of Indian Education before the British came to India. Indian Education system has always been a discriminatory practice in India. The Brahmin class retained its monopoly over Education and did not allow anyone to achieve knowledge.

Chapter-2

British and their strategies behind introducing Education in Punjab

British introduced western Education in India after realizing the necessity of the hour. British had own hidden motives behind this move and it never meant to uplift the Indian community. Therefore, they only wanted Indians to figure work for them at lower posts since they needed educated employees to try to do their work.

Chapter-3

Education policies during British period

This chapter will affect enumeration of various Education policies and their implementation. Like- The Charter Act of 1813, General Committee of Public Instruction 1823, Lord Macaulay's Education Policy 1835, etc.

Chapter-4

Social challenges during the implementation of Education policies

The implementation of British Education policies in India was in itself a task. Social and non-secular barrier came in its way of smooth implementation. As discussed above, the normal way of Education in India was religious in nature. Hence, the indigenous people weren't able to accept the scientific mode of Education. Moreover, they also felt that this practice results in interference in their religious sentiments. Another important factor was illiteracy of individuals which came within the way of implementation.

Chapter-5

Positive and Negative Impact of Education Policies on Punjab

The implementation of Education policies made combined impact. These policies led to drastic changes within the society. They helped exposed the evils of spiritual practices and made people conscious of their rights which ultimately aided the independence of the

country. One among the main achievements to be counted are- abolition of *Sati* practice, child marriage, practice of widow remarriage and improvement the position of women in society. But these policies also brought along certain negative impacts. These policies were looked upon as evil in nature by the locals since it greatly interfered in their religious customs and rituals. Also the arrival of Christianity on Indian soil was biggest bone of contention.

CONCLUSION

The present study involves the research of Indian Education policy during British period which involves its implementation also its analysis. This study begins with introduction of historical background which tells about the sooner times before coming of British to India. Then talking about the Education policies and its implementation and also the issues faced during the implementation of its policies. Also the impacts made by these policies, holistically. At the present we'd like to revise the policies which were introduced by British and exist in its original form. It's essential that we should always standardize them as per contemporary times.

CHAPTER-1

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Education is that the mirror of any contemporary society in the maximum amounts because the two are intrinsically related. Education is that the process of development which consists of the passage of person from infancy to maturity and the method whereby it adapts himself gradually in various ways to his physical, social, and spiritual environment. The word education has been described in various ways. Education may be a process of development from cradle to the grave, a never-ending, continuous process of never-ending continuous development. In wider sense, education is experiential. According to Mahatma Gandhi 'By education I mean an all-round drawing out of the best in child and man-body, man and soul'. Education could also be a purposeful conscious or unconscious deliberate or spontaneous psychological and scientific process which brings about all round development of the individual to its fullest extent within the best of his social interest in such a way how that he enjoys maximum happiness and prosperity. Education is integral to the socio-economic development of a replacement social order which can have new aspirations, goals and as human resource development isn't possible without education and as human resource is that the basis of economic process and prosperity, education is integral. Education is not exotic to India and no other country found where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence. 'At no period of its history India has been altogether unenlightened country. Inscriptions on stone and copper, the palm-leaf records of the temples and in later days all alike indicate not only the overall knowledge, but also the common use of the art of writing. Education may be a pre-requisite for progress and development of a society. The term development implies change, movement, progress, growth and the achievement of potential. The education system advocated from the vedas and was called vedic system of education which insisted on a code of conduct both for the student and the teacher and placed the kid under the care and direction of teacher. Vedas are representatives of the Indian society and culture. Vedic people had simple and pure living. Vedas are within the sort of the shrutis, and are four in number: Rig-Veda consisting hymns, samveda consisting of sacred chants: yajurveda consisting of invocation and sacrifice. Atharva veda is a collection of sacred formulae and verses, In the vedic period, education had an idealistic form, in which the teachers laid stress upon worship of God, formation of character, development of personality, greater of an aptitude for the development of culture, nation and society. Social refinement and cultural sophistication of society is indicated by the

status that it accords to its women population. History of social education is the story of women's emancipation and empowerment. It was an index of a really progressive and dynamic order which afforded equal opportunities to women with none gender bias.

The history of Islam enters around Mohammad born around 570AD, as he discontented with polytheism and came to believe in one god, Allah complete acceptance of the teachings and guidance of Allah as recorded in Quran is that religion of Islam. Islam preaches faith within the oneness and sovereignty of Allah, which makes man aware of the meaningfulness of universe and of his place in it. The holy Quran was revealed to Prophet Mohammed at intervals over a period of twenty-three years, partly while at mecca and partly while at medina. Mecca-medina are really the mecca of pilgrimage, undertaken by devout Muslims all over the world every year, and is known as haj and ziarat. During the Muslim period, education developed so slowly that no notable characteristic of it ever merged. Minor rulers had established educational institutions for the satisfaction of their own interest. Muslim rulers took an interest in education and so they provided aid to makhtabs and madrasas in the form of jagirs or landed property scholars were given places of eminence in the courts of king. During Muslim period, special stress was laid on the teaching of Arabic and Persian which were the media of education by Muslim rulers. There were many organizations during the Muslim system of education. One of them was *Bismillah*. Education began with the performance of the ritual referred to as '*Bismillah*' which was performed at the age of 4 years, 4 months and 4 days. It was almost like the upnayan ceremony of the vedic period and therefore the *pabbaja* ritual of the Buddhist period. On this day, the child was adorned with new clothes and sent to his teacher, the *maulvi* where the latter inaugurated the child's education with a recitation from the Quran. The syllabus of education in the Muslim period included such subjects as the holy Quran, the biography of Hazrat Mohammad, the history and the law of Islam, Arabic and Persian, grammar, literature, logic, philosophy, law, astrology, history, geography, agriculture, unani system of medicine, etc. there was provision for teaching Sanskrit to Hindu children. During the Muslim period, relations between students and teachers were not cordial, but there were no doubts about sincerity and purity. ¹

In Muslim period Arabic and Persian were the media of education however, after the growth of Urdu, education began to be imparted through this language. The stream of Muslim education continued to flow in India for a period of almost 500 years. The history of Muslim

¹ History of indian education system,y.k singh,2005, pp54,55,Aph publishers

education has been the history of a system of state and a social organization extending over 700years.

Development of education has traversed through an extended journey amidst a spread of socio-political ideologies and aspirations, successfully delivering an academic system with a stamp of sophistication, depth, vibrancy and relevance, strong and dynamic with vigor and clean.

East India Company came to India for exploring business possibilities but it ultimately thought to determine its own empire within the country. They wanted to prove that they wanted the welfare of the people. They wanted to prove that they might control the affairs of the government far better than the Nawab. They paid attention to education so as to point out that they were really curious about the general public welfare. They continued the government grants to educational institutions, though they didn't think it knowing introduce any change within the educational found out. Able scholars, both Hindu and Muslims, continued to receive financial supports which they were already enjoying.

The English people wanted to win the sympathy and support of influential Hindu and Muslim people. The higher-class section of the Muslim population demanded the establishment of madrasa for higher education. During the period from 1813-1833 education was expanded. The responsibility for expanding education fell on the company. It was asked to spend at least one lakh rupees per year on education. The company had not given any specific instruction in this issue.it could not be decided whether the medium of instruction should be English or Indian languages. There were many developed languages in the country such as Hindu, Urdu, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, Kannad ,and many others.

In order to carve out a path to be followed by the company one group wanted to form Indian languages as the medium of instruction. It included such big English officers as Munroe, the governor of madras and mount Elphinstone, the governor Bombay, the second group included such important figures as warren Hastings and minto. This group wanted Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian as medium of instruction. Third group consisted of some young Englishmen and Raja Ram Mohan Roy who wanted to form English as the medium of instruction. The group believed that education through the English medium alone could to make the native literature and culture richer. The Christian missionaries were in favor of the English as the medium of instruction this was what a couple of English officers, missionaries

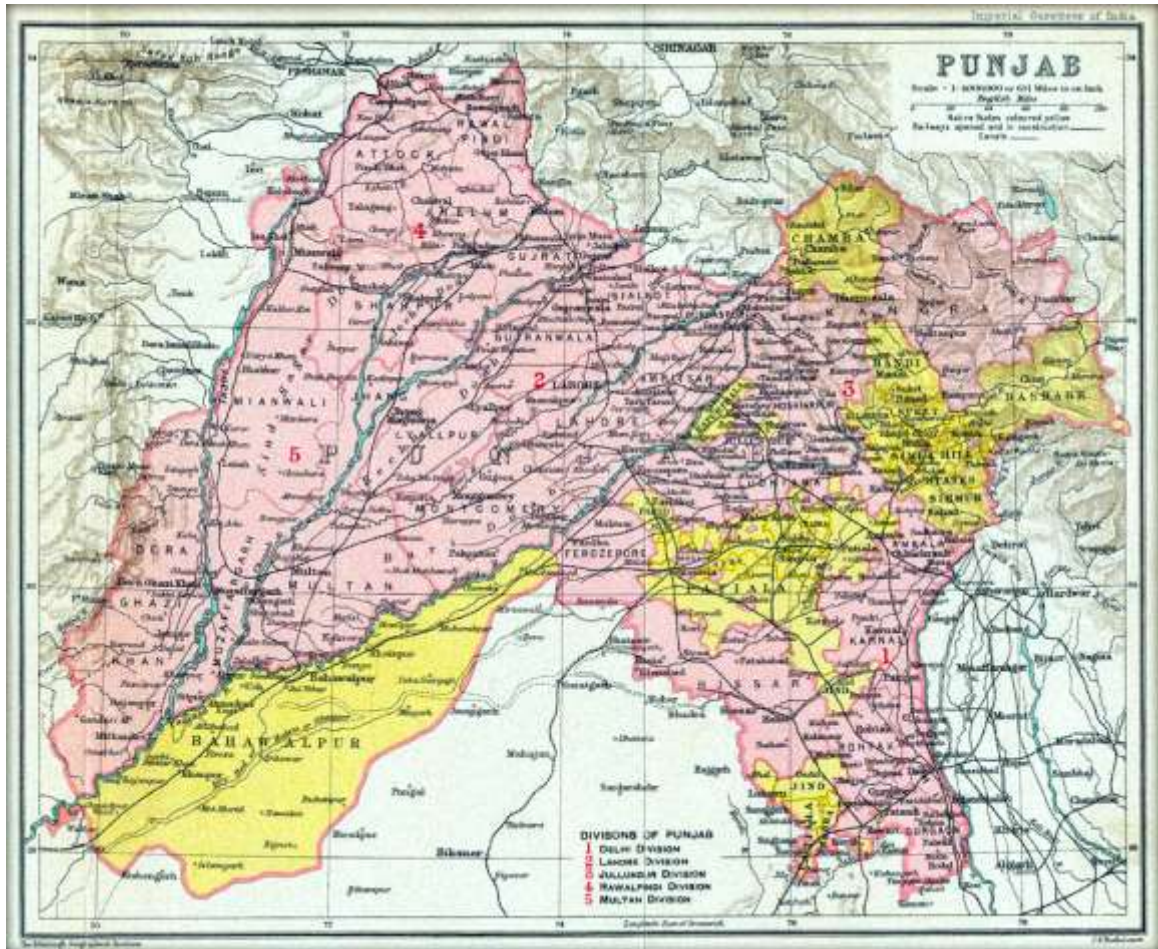
and Raja Ram Mohan Roy wanted English was made the medium of instruction due to the support in Bengal and in another company provinces. This decision gave a superb set back to the event of Indian languages and literatures.

The evils results of English as the medium of instruction soon came upon the surface. It created such a group of persons who were Indians in birth and complexion, but mentally regarding themselves as Englishmen. These Indians became the connecting link between the English rulers and the general public to be ruled over. They became more interested in safeguarding the Interest of the English people at the cost of the interest of Indians. The missionaries also got a good opportunity to preach and convert in the garb of spreading education. They gave incentives of excellent services and good education for converting Indians to their own faith.

There is considerable evidence of the existence of widespread system of education in all parts of the country prior to the establishment of British rule. It may be useful here to note that the data available in respect of different part of India varies from nature.

An education system in India, say Ramsay MacDonald' is as old as Hindu ritual and originally connected with it, and thus lifetime of student was the first stage within the great pilgrimage to his being's accomplishment. The reaction of teacher and people was as close and tender as that of the father and son; the young man who sought instruction was praised and he found schools and teachers available. In time, science, mathematics, logic, philosophy and other ways to knowledge were differentiated and studied, colleges were opened, names was made but with the breakup of Indian government after Aurangzeb misery and anarchy submerged education; and it sank to such a low level that it ceased to have any influence of the country, still the tradition survived and if it cannot be said that education flourished, schools existed in large numbers. The attitude of British rulers within the start was to travel away the traditional models of instruction undisturbed and to continue the support which they had been accustomed to receive from the Indian rulers.

There were many changes came in Indian education system. In various languages education is provided in India as per once mother tongue one can opt for preferred language. Second language is acting as the tool to gain deeper understanding of language and to use it effectively. In this thesis we will briefly read about the historical background of Punjab and its education system. Education systems in Punjab before the coming of British were different. The British throws huge impact on the Punjab.



Map of Punjab before 1947 (British India)

Punjab was a province of British India. The region was originally called *sapta Sindhu*, the land of the seven rivers flowing into the ocean. The Sanskrit name for the region, as mentioned in the Ramayana and Mahabharata for instance was *Panchananda* which suggest “land of the five rivers and it had been translated to Persians Punjab after the Muslim Conquests.²

The later name Punjab is a Compound of two Persian words Panj (five) and (water).³ The province was a triangular tract of Country of which the Indus River and its tributary the sultry formed two sides up to can Flounce, the base of the triangle in the north being the lower Himalayan range between those two rivers along the northern border, Himalayan ranges divided it from Kashmir and Tibet on the west it was separated from the North-west frontier province by the Indus, of area Ghazi khan District, which was divided from Baluchistan by the Suleiman range. To the south lay Sindh and Raj Putana while on the east

² J.S Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, volume 2-3 cambridge university press, 8 oct 1998 p. 257

³ *Punjab encyclopedia of Britannica*

the rivers Jumna and Tans separated it from the united province⁴ (i) In total Punjab had an area of proximately.357,000 km square about the same size as modern day Germany, being one of the largest provinces of the British Raj. In 1894, the east India company defected the Sikh empire at the battle of Gujarat bringing to an end the second Anglo-Sikh war following the victory the last India company annexed the Punjab on April-2 ,1894 and incorporated it within British India. In 1858, under the terms of Queen's Victoria, the Punjab, along with the rest of British India, came Under the direct rule of British crown Delhi territory was transferred from the North-western provinces to the Punjab.

The beginning of the 20 th century saw increasing unrest within the Punjab conditions within the Chenab colony; alongside land reforms like the Punjab land Alienation act, 1900 and the condensation Bill, 1906 contributed to the 1907 Punjab unrest. The unrest was unlike any previous agitation within the province because the government had for the primary time aggrieved an outsized portion of the agricultural population. Mass Demonstration was organized, headed by Lala Lajpat Rai, a leader of the Hindu revivalist Sect Arya Samaj.

The struggle of Indian Independence witnessed competing and conflicting interest in the Punjab. The Punjab was a religious electric Province, comprising three major groups, Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs.

The various forms of education in the Punjab are synchronous with the establishment in the province of Hinduism. As regard Hindus, their education began when the Kshatriya King confined himself to rule and war and relinquished legislation to the Brahman, to strengthen the reason for his existence the latter made the four stages, of students, teaching the Vedas. The system of education which was in vogue at that region briefly stated. There were various types of institutions where the people of different communities received their education. These can be classified as Pathshala, Match and Gurmukhi schools which were more or less Hindu, Muslim and Sikh institutions respectively. There institution was chiefly or entirely devoted to the spread of religious teaching.⁵

Asceticism and meditation, into which his life was divided, obligatory on himself, together with a moral and ceremonial code for more stringent and minute than on the remaining castes, and which indeed would have been intolerable to any class not diming at spiritual and intellectual domination teaching was, therefore, the link which connected the

⁴ Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, *History of the united Panjab*, volume 3, Atlantic publishers Dist, 1 Jan 1996, p. 157

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 40.

Brahmin with other castes and at the same time scoured his preservation and as cendaney. It was accordingly, his aim was to make education neither too cheap' or to inaccessible, and punished as the Sudra was if he presumed to dictate in law or religion to the extent of exclusion from the instruction in these subjects he was willingly admitted to all other secular teaching, provided he bare himself with humility indeed, the necessities and relations of life often compelled the Brahman to enlarge his circle of disciples, whilst an ascetic from any caste or even outcaste could raise himself to the practice of virtue. These considerations are very important in dealing with the subjects of education among Hindu.⁶

To start with, the moral obligations are in a somewhat descending scale as the caste is lower, so that in dealing with a Hindu educational question, it is essential to ascertain the nature, tradition and aims of the caste that either raises it or which it affects. Then it should never be forgotten that the caste system is intended to create a pride in the discharge and perfection of the hereditary profession, so that whilst humility is thought to the caste above one's own the limits and duties of one's own caste have a divine sanction against transgression from all outsiders, whether higher or lower in Hindu society.⁷ Thus even the sweeper the mentor or prince has his prototype in the house of god finally, it should always be remembered that every Hindu movement, notably that of Buddha Nanak and in modern times that of the education natives, has one great aim- the throwing of the intellectual yoke of Brahmin with the two reformer at had the further objects of first making all classes equal by a high standard of practical morality and secondary, of popularizing the education which the Brahmin doled out through the medium of Sanskrit, by rendering its treasures into the vulgar tongue. Thus , the Sikhs transplanted into a diskette party Punjabi and party Hindi in the widest sense of the later term, many of the books and the ideas till then clothed into a Sanskrit garb Among the so called natives the acquisition of for instance, the entrance, first Arts and B.A certificates is often a marketable commodity which inter alia raises the dowry that they can ask from the high caste teaching is an obligations which cannot be paid for and which if imported for payment can only be excused on the ground of Augusta resdami.⁸ The effects therefore, of khattris, kayaths, suds and other to acquiere the language of their rulers, whether Persian or English is first a tradition of their castes and secure a monody of appointment which may give them both political power and social prestige over those higher

⁶ www.anthro.mnsu.edu/cultural/oldworld/mudest/punajbi.html, 12/7/2010.

⁷ Chhaju, Ram, *Western Education and its Social impact on Punjab 1849-1904*, Chandisarb. Panjab University, 1992, p. 10

⁸ *Ibid*, p, 28

than themselves in the Indian scale. The bulk, however of the Hindu population is well content with the wise and elastic domination of the Brahmin and is ever ready to respond to appeals on behalf of Sanskrit learning. India made Sanskrit teaching by members of all castes and classes.⁹ These endowments were chiefly land and were either held separately or in connection with temples so much is this still that in some parts of India in order to avoid a division of ancestral property among all the members of a family it is often consecrated to a temple, of which the eldest an of the donor is constituted the hereditary custodian. The Hindu village community also dealt with the soil as the caste did with person, including that of the teacher in other words just as the highest instruction in religion was generally confined to the Brahmin caste whilst secular learning was, practically thrown open to all, So the allotment of the soil belonging to the village community proceeded on the assumption that both the priest and the secular teacher had right to a share it. Nothing can more mark the decline of the Punjab.¹⁰ As for the places of instruction, whether in town or villages, the great object of the Hindu legislator of bringing teacher and pupils into a personal relations of respect on the side and of affection on the other was every-where carried out to minute details which seemed to participate every possible circumstance.¹¹

The larger proportion of school were; therefore held in the houses of most liberal patron or were vested with a religious or popular sanction by being attached to or held in temples the enclosures to the nuts of fakirs and in the chapels of village halls above all was the efforts of both wealthy individuals and of communities directed towards the emancipation of all teacher, especially those of religion from worldly cares on the tacit or express assumption of their imparting instruction gratuitously for nothing so degrades education in the native mind, except in what may be called the worldly castes of khatris, kayats, Sudhra and others who were benefiting by English education as they formerly flocked to the Muhammad and they perso-kuranie schools as the imposition of a regular fee.¹² We find that the most of the education given by Brahmins, certainly to members of their own caste was gratuitous as it indeed still is whilst in innumerable instances, now unfortunately reduced to an ascertainable number the teacher both fed and instructed by the people. The enumeration for instance of the books which were thought in Sanskrit schools does not means that they were taught in all the schools but these books ought to taught where they are available which with the exception of

⁹ S.Ram, Sharma, women's education in Ancient and Muslim period, new delhi : Discovery publisher house, 1996, p. 20

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p.38

¹¹ Mohinder Singh, (Ed) *History and culture of Punjab*, New Delhi, Atlantic publication, 1988. P. 242

¹² Charanjit Kaur, education in Punjab New Delhi, intellectual publishing house, 1992, P. 225

the Rig-Veda and one or two other books only taught at the Lahore oriental college is generally the case we must remember that the country is in a state of educational despondency that in many places official influence has been brought to bear to drive away or to suppress the indigenous schools that the religious feeling has received a great shock first owing to the annexation of the province by non-believers and secondary by the influence of a foreign rule and of a secular education.

However, we still find that 80,000 people receive their education in indigenous schools in spite of all discouragement during these years of the repressive action of the educational Department and that in all the tradition of teaching are not yet dead and can be easily revived and utilized.¹³

It is our personal opinion that the Hindu ideal did not look upon secular education as something part from and quite independent of religion and religious education for them the latter formed the natural complement to the former which in its turn was a preliminary acquisition essential for a religious education. According to the Vedas from which the earliest Aryan educational system drawn its inspiration science did not militate against religion in into the parallel to the persecution of roger bacon or Galileo does not exist. The various advanced arts and science eg. the science of war of music medicine and of mechanics or engineering were not treated as things a part from religion but as parts of religious system they were the UP Vedas the class of writing subordinate to the Vedas known respectively as the Dhanur Vedas Gandharve veda, Ayur-veda and Sthapatya veda, emanating, in order, from the yajur, samveda, Rigveda and Athervana Vedas.

Mohammad who's ideal of life and polity was pre-dominantly theocratic laid stress chiefly upon the study of the teaching of the prophet. For a Sikh as a member of the ruling class education in addition to what the Hindu schools might give him access to meant the study of the Granth as well as learning to ride and being a warrior although it may be remarked in passing that the ordinary Sikh child was adverse to learning the Multiplication table an illustration of the law regard in which commercial classes and commercial education were held by ruling class.¹⁴ The different institutions answered to the aims briefly sketched above Pathshalas, Koran schools, and Gurmukhi schools were respectively Hindu Muslim and Sikh institution chiefly devoted to the propagation of religious teaching Elementary

¹³ Chhaju, Ram, western education and its impacts on Punjab 1849-1909, Chandigarh. Punjab university, 1992, P. 11.

¹⁴ Karuna, chanana (ed.), *Socialization Education and Women*, Hyderabad orient Longman publisher, 1988, P. 68

Knowledge of Shastaras was imparted or Mantras learnt the koran was repeated and learnt chiefly by rote and sadism Pand Nama recited Gurmukhi was character was taught and practice in the study of the Granth. The chat salsa i.e Mahajani and lande schools ministered to the wants of the trading community. In these schools the Padha (Hindu) or the main Muslim taught his young people mental arithmetic, learning to count mentally and how to keep business correspondence and Behi-Khata. This skill at accounts while not much mental discipline can be claimed for it was few years afterwards the objects much praise a part of British authorities that came in contact with the village accountant¹⁵

Persian had been the official language in both Muhammadan and Sikh times. It had been indeed the language of literate. The necessary instruction was provided by maktabas, Persian Koran schools and Persian schools. The teachers was almost invariably Muhammandan but as these were primarily meant for intelligentsia and in maximum amount as Persian had a particular value in terms of livelihood and Government employment, Hindu attached them as freely as Muhammadans. Writing was taught and standard Persian works especially saadis Gulistan and Bostan which formed the themes of study were much enjoyed. It went to be mentioned that Persian schools were considered by the British authorities a couple of years later to be the foremost genuinely e institution within the county schools were generally attached to mosques temples or dharmasala and the same contribution of land or money often supported both the institution.¹⁶ They were also held in the huts of fakirs or at the houses of liberal persons. Occasionally the accountant engaged by a wealthy Zamindar in a village in order to teach his sons taught also other boys of the village. As regarded education an advanced character there is not much to relate. The atmosphere of chaos and insecurity that had generally been the progress of learning let alone higher learning in fact the education to be found in the Punjab a part from religious instruction was strictly of a practical or utilitarian character. However the inspiring influence of traditional reverence for learning was still there and the aim of education as the mean of culture was not entirely lost sight of those selected few of course, aspiring to knowledge for its own sake could still find teachers and institutions to help them.¹⁷

¹⁵ Amrit Walia, *Development of education and social political change in Punjab 1882-1947*, Jalandhar ABS Publication, 2005, p.177.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p.178

¹⁷ Swarn, Pratap, '*Changing trend in Women education in development of women education by N.B. Sen* (ed), New Delhi, New Book society publisher, 1969, p. 27

Philosophy, astronomy, astrology, even medicine, was taught in Hindu secular schools of various kinds the Muhammandan Madrassas – religions and secular taught Theology, Fiqah, Astronomy and the yunani system of medicine. The Sikh seats of learning- e.g. Amritsar Akalbunga, Damdma Dharmsala in Raipur- testified to the ardors for Jhana (divine Knowledge) evinced by their people. The teachers were generally men of eminence make; they not only imported free education, but provided their disciples with shelter food, and clothing. While under instruction the people were not as expected to make any presents to their teacher, through personal service on their part was here as in the case of scholars of Junior grades, considered to be a mark of grace and was freely given and accepted.¹⁸ The education imported to females was almost cutely of a religious or semi-religious character. The Punjabi was not opposed to female education but, considering the home to be the only proper sphere for woman, he was content, if she could recite the Koran, Read the Granth or study the Ramayana or Bhagwad-Gita at home. Muhammadan girls generally read the Koran at the Mosque school along with the young boys there; Sikh girls attended Dharam salas; while Hindu girls mostly received their education at home. The teacher was called the Mullah, the bhai or the family priest, though female teachers-Hindu, Muslim and sikh were also to be found.¹⁹

According to A.S Altekar in the vedic period “In the higher sections of society the sacred initiation of girls was common and they went through a regular course of education. Some attained destination in the realm of theology and Philosophy and considerable number of women, followed a teaching career” According to Vedas, women should have opportunity to attain Knowledge of the Vedas from all the four corners. (Atharvdo) women have been called Updeshtri of Knowledge and this indicates women as teachers (Rigveda). The education givens to boys and girls was different, in kind and degree. Education for boys prepared them for life outside the home, predominantly for teaching, battle trading and for girls was different, in kind and degree. Education for boys prepared them for life outside the home, predominantly for teaching, battle trading and for girls a life within the home, principally for beautifying, nourishing, fostering, for being a perpetual fountain of tenderness and happiness.²⁰ The Brahman girls were given more book education, while the Kshatriyas-girls were provided training in active exercises, the vaishya girls, in economic matters,

¹⁸ G.W, Leitner, *History of indigenous education in Punjab*, New Delhi, oup, 1968, p. 17

¹⁹ *Ibid*, P. 18

²⁰ H.R. Mehta, *A History of the Growth and Development of western education in Punjab*, Patiala, Punjabi University Press, 1971, p. 13

though in each case less than her brother and within the home itself. During the later Vedic period the situation began to change. The undesirability of the birth of daughter's became more evident. Women education came to be limited to domestic and vocational studies only, by which they become housewives. In the post Vedic period after 300 B.C drastic deterioration took place in the position of women. In the Vedic period the girls were married at about the age of 17 or 18. During the 8th and 9th century AD the marriage age of girls was lowered than 9 and 12. This gave practically a death blow to any education worth the name. No doubt two or three years were still available when some primary education have been imparted but both the girls and their parents used to devote their attention during this period, more to the problem of marriage than to the education.²¹ In this period higher education of girls was confined to royal, official rich and well to do families and to the class of dancing girls. To the degradation of women lasted till the beginnings of the 12th century A.D. The Aryans were busy in conflicts that required the birth of more boys. The birth of a girl was no longer welcomed in the society and her access to education also become limited. Decline in her status became visible education was theoretically must for every man and women in the Muslim society. The traditional education pattern which was largely religious in orientation included initiation of children in the reading of holy book secular education was imparted in two ways, either at home or school Muslim whether in the permanent empire of Delhi or in its dependencies, encouraged female education. It was observed that girls belonged to noble families were educated privately in homes on that time.²² There was absence of general female education. In the region of Akbar regular education was given to ladies of the imperial harems. There also existed separate maktabas for female education but usually they studied in co-education schools, at the primary level, when sexual consciousness had not yet awakened. Later girls were segregated and given education, at home Girls were taught literature, elementary arithmetic and religious scripture. The girls were also educated in domestic science.²³

The position of Hindu women had undergone a change. A sense of insecurity increased and consequently Hindu women in northern India also lost their social status. It was a common saying in medieval India, that man was a fool that took the advice of women. A

²¹ *Ibid*, p. 15

²² *Ibid*, p. 17

²³ Amrit Wali, *Development of education and social, political change in Punjab 1882-1947 Jalandhar*, ABS publication, 2005, p. 178

woman was mainly confined to the house. A good wife was expected to dedicate herself spiritual as well as physically to her husband.²⁴

Only a fraction of the total Girls population now received education, felt the need to give them a place of honor. In *ASSA di war* Guru Nanak asked why denigrates women that give birth to king and all. The Guru has given a unique position to women Sikh baptism is meant for both men and women. The first report of the board of Administration in the Punjab pointed out that female education which was almost unknown to other parts of India was to be found in all parts of Punjab. There were also female teachers who were drawn from all the communities, Hindu – Muslim and Sikh. It appeared from the evidence that public schools for girls were found only in big places or in mosques. The education of girls however, was mostly carried on at home and described as domestic education.²⁵ The Punjabi's had a glimpse of western education during the later year of Ranjit Singh region.²⁶

Sikhs were conservative democrats in religion and politics. The Sikhs educational system aimed at educating the masses and destroying the monopoly of learning and social or religious ascendancy of only one caste.²⁷ According to Laitner they had four plat forms where all matters concerning their faith were disuse. There was also a Sikh parliament in which men or women took part and the Diwan or a general was the head of the parliament. Sikh had a meaning of themselves they had a community of learners and disciples.²⁸ The observation of latner's throw light on educational system of Sikhs according to Leinter, The crucial test of a good Sikh is good conduct, and the mass education of that community is aimed at by its free access to every kind of learning within its reach, and making the power of interpretation and explanation of the mysteries of Sanskrit and other philosophies or science the most important Qualification of Gyani Guru Granth was the holy book of the Sikh and they worshipped it. The *Adi Granth* was a source of information to the student of Indian language, religious and customs and in was an invariable book various medieval language of India many manuscripts, written in Gurmukhi on different subjects were scattered all over the Punjab. Some these were related also with science and religion.²⁹ There was some eminent Sikh scholar Baba Amin Das was a very good poet who had left 200 books of Punjabi poetry

²⁴ S.P, Aggarwal and J.C. Aggarwal, *Women's Education in India*, New Delhi, concept publication, 1992, PP. 44-46

²⁵ *Punjab Records, 1854*, cited in H.R Mehta,

²⁶ V.N. Datte, *Amritsar past and present (1967)*, p. 154

²⁷ G.W. Leitner, *History of the indigenous education the Punjab since Annexation and in 1882* (Calcutta, 1882) p. 80

²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 82

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 84

based on religion. He was also the author of vaidak system of medicine. Bhai Bud Singh was another scholar that had translated some important Sanskrit works into Gurmukhi Bhai Sant Singh Gyani and Bhai Bishan Singh were very good teachers and poets, Bhai Ganga Ram was great grammarians and Vedantist who had translated Sanskrit grammar and philosophy into Gurmukhi.³⁰ Hashim Shah was a very famous mathematician and Arabic Scholar. Sardar Lehna Singh Majithia was not only a mathematician and engineer but also a very good translator. He translated Euclid from Arabic into Punjabi men that knew Arabic or Persian were not rare but those who knew both Arabic and Persian were certainly rare in number.³¹ The Sikh educational system assumed that a man who did not know how to write or read could not become a Sikh schools were housed in Gurdwara Gurmukhi, Grammar, pingal, History, Arithmetic and the compulsory subjects.³² In higher education people studied many other subjects like NYANA system logic and Vedanta which were available in translated from Multiplication tables were not compulsory for an ordinary Sikh child, but were generally learnt by sons of Lambardars and Patwaris.³³

Nighantu (drugs) Samgharas (prescription and pathology) and the Nidana causes of diseases and diagnosis) were studied by those who wanted to become medical practitioner. These books were written in Gurmukhi, Astrology was not included in Sikh teaching.³⁴ In the Sikh system of teaching, women also got education; they had the right to express their opinion. The schools were co-educational and girls and boys both received their education. The teacher was authorized by the parents to inflict corporal punishment of naughty boys for misconduct at schools and home. The remuneration of the teacher was within the sort of land contributions to his fraternity, endowment of Dharamshalas and presents from their parents. Amritsar, Damdama, Akalbanga and Dharmshala in Raipur were the chief centers of Sikh learning. In Amritsar (Harmandir sahib) scientific discussions among Punjabi Poets and Pandits were held.³⁵ The main objects behind those discussions were to spread every kind of knowledge within reach of all classes. The teachers not only imparted free education to their people but also gave them food, shelter and clothes. According to laitner, numbers of books were taught in schools of the Punjab. The different languages of books were taught in the school of Punjab. Due to various cultures the different types of people exist in the Punjab.

³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 86

³¹ H.R. Mehta, *op.cit*, p. 17

³² R.C. Majumder (ed) *History and culture of Indian people*, vol. IX, Part II Bombay, 1965 P. 65

³³ Syed Nurullah and J.P. Naik, *History of education in India*, (Mcmillan 1943) Pp. 153-3

³⁴ *Ibid*, P. 155

³⁵ T.N. Siqueira, *The education of India* (Oxford university press) 1943, p. 23

The people belong to different community had their own languages so the books were also used different in languages like Gurmukhi, Hindi and Urdu.³⁶ Towards the end of eighteenth century, some Englishmen had begun to feel that the east India Company should accept the responsibility for education of Indians. Some of the company's officials in India also raised their voice in favor of the education of Indian people.³⁷ In the next chapter of thesis we will read about the changes came in the education after 18th century in Punjab

³⁶ B.D. Srivastava, *The Development of Modern India Education*, New Delhi, 1963. p. 48

³⁷ *Ibid*, P. 50

CHAPTER-2

BRITISH AND THEIR STRATEGIES BEHIND INTRODUCING EDUCATION IN PUNJAB

There was a time before independence (1947), when two India's were found- one was the India Controlled by the Indian Princes and the other was the India Controlled by British Raj. Since our knowledge about the educational development in India under the Princes is still fuzzy till 1947 delineate the history of education in British India.

In last few decades there have been changes both in the concepts of education of the history. While education has increasingly become a major social, political and economic issue since the fairly recent emergence of the countries in the third world, comprehensive changes have taken place in the understanding of history, with slogans like 'the new history' being bandied around in academic circles. Some of the areas of history which are most affected by these changes are local history, comparative history, political history, social al history, and intellectual and cultural history.

In local history, adequate attention is now paid not only to a study of institutions or personal cities but of structures and processes, and to the discovery of continuities and discontinuities across the centuries without dividing the past into convenient periods. As the scope of local history broadens out, it ceases to involve an exercise of illustrating what is already known about national history from local examples and becomes rather a means of reconstructing national history afresh from local materials. As a sequel to the rediscovery of the variety of experience embedded in local, regional and national sub- cultures, a new approach to what was common between and what was distinctive to different societies. What is also becoming more useful in the rebuilding of local history is a quantitative approach. AS Schumpeter put it, 'we need statistics not only for explaining things but in orders to know precisely what there is to be explained'. The analysis of bodies of data which were often collected for strictly limited immediate purposes of the historian can in itself stimulate the asking of new questions. In political history attention is now moving from particular pieces of legislation- though these are still studies within a different frame, to cumulative administrative processes, to the making of critical decisions and to the changing scale and role of organization. It involves less concentration on the landmarks and more on the interplay of people and problems. Similarly, in social history attempt is now made to use concepts derived from sociology, anthropology and psychology to study the history from

below. The new social history directs attention to people whose names never figured in the older history books, who were deprived or neglected in their own time and whose participation in government was minimal or non-existent, and people whose attitudes towards, 'authority' could be deferential or passive and hostile.

The new approaches to history reveal current preoccupations, made possible by the availability of new materials and techniques, although techniques including oral interviews are, of course instrumental and depend for their success on the quality of the questions asked. Most important of all, the new approaches represent a new balance between specialization and generalization- the old barriers between the different sub –branches of history are breaking down and new efforts at synthesis are being made, making possible the emergence of the 'total history', as advocated by Lucien Febvre of the *Ecole des Annales*.

In studying the history of education each of these new approaches is to be explored carefully. For history of education is no longer regarded as a matter of 'acts and facts' as the conception of education has broadened considerably in recent years-education being no longer just a matter of formal schooling, but of all the many influences which go to shape a person's character and intellect. The history of education is therefore concerned, not merely with institutions such as schools, colleges and universities, but with the social forces which have affected the quality of life, and with the ideas which have affected the quality of life, practitioners of education in the past. Education is thus an adjunct to the historical process besides being one of the chief factors conditioning people's outlooks and aspirations. Briefly, therefore the study of the history of the society – social history broadly interpreted through the politics, the economics and the religion of the society concerned.

The history of education, one may be led to believe that education had been unknown to India and the education system in India was the creation of the East India Company and the British Crown. This is far from correct. 'There is no country.' So wrote F.W Thomas in his *The History and prospect of British Education in India in 1891* where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence. From the simple poets of the Vedic age to the Bengali philosopher of the present day there has been an uninterrupted succession of teachers and scholars.¹

What was the nature of this Indian Education as it existed when the British came? Indian Education had always been, since the Vedic age, of a classical and spiritual rather than

¹ J.W. Kaye, *The Administration of the East India Company*, Oxford Press, London, 1853, p. 15

of a practical nature. However, this description is mainly applicable to higher education which was generally literary, philosophical and religious. It was communicated through the sacred classical languages of the Hindus and the Muslims, namely Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. The subjects taught were the scriptures, grammar, logic and the classics which included codes of law and such scientific works as had come down to them from early times. While the Indian writers had been prolific in their production of philosophical and literary works, they paid little attention to the development of science which, though it had made some remarkable progress in early days, had now fallen in disgrace.

How was this learning imparted? Learning among the Hindus had been the monopoly of the high, especially of the priestly castes. The learned Brahmins gathered students from various parts of the country and in the homely atmosphere of their *Tols* and *Chatuspathis* as these were known in Bengal and Bihar, imparted knowledge. Life in those places was pure and simple. The teachers not only received no fees but provided free board and lodging for their students. The course of studies extended from fifteen to twenty years and the hours of study were long and severe. There were also larger education establishments in the various religious centers, the most famous of which in the Ganges valley were *Naida*, *Tirhut* and *Benaras*. These were conducted by learned pandits, who were liberally patronized by the rulers and the aristocracy and were men of high character and immense learning called *Madrasas*. They were less spiritual and smaller in number than the Hindu seats of learning and were meant chiefly for the training of law officers. Besides laws, instruction was also given in these institutions in scriptures, literature, grammar, penmanship, logic, rhetoric, natural philosophy and arithmetic and average duration of the study was ten to twelve years. One interesting feature was that the Hindus could also attend those seminaries meant primarily for the Muslims.

However, these institutions were not meant for education of an elementary kind. They were the highest seminaries of learning meant for the specialists. For primary education, there were in the villages *pathsalas* and *maktabs* where the gurus and the *maulavies* imparted a knowledge of the three 'R's to the boys of the locality. These schools were not paying concerns and had to depend on the generosity of the people. Instruction in these schools was given in the vernacular. The aristocracy did not send their children to these schools but preferred to educate them at home. There was no school for the education of the girls though the zamindars often had their daughters educated at home. The majority of the Indians were

unwilling to educate their girls on account of social prejudice and superstitions, while the lower classes could not afford it.

From a series of surveys carried out in elementary education by the officials of the east India company between 1822 and 1838 we can fairly assume that elementary education was quite popular in the villages of British India. In a minute of 10 march 1826 Thomas Munro, the Governor of the Madras presidency, observed that there were 12,498 schools with 1,88,60 people in the whole province out of a total population 1,28,50,941, while a survey conducted in Bombay presidency by order of the Bombay governor, mountstuart elphinstone in 1829 showed the existence of 1,705 schools with 35,153 people in a population of 46,81,735. In the Bengal presidency the survey was conducted by a missionary, William Adam, appointed by the Governor- General, lord William Bentick, to report on the state of elementary education in the province. Adam submitted three reports between 1835-1838- he estimated that at the beginning of the nineteenth century there were 1,00,000 schools in Bengal and Bihar or roughly two schools for every three villages. Assuming the population of these two provinces to be 4, 00, 00,000 there would be a village school for every 400 persons. He did not find any school for girls and as girls formed one half of the school going population, Adam concluded that there was one elementary school, for every 32 boys². William ward, a Baptist missionary based at serampore, observed in his *A VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY OF THE HINDUS* that'' almost all villages possess schools for teaching, reading, writing and elementary arithmetic''. Malcom noted in his memories of central India that every village with about a hundred houses had a school-master who taught '' the children of the banians or shopkeepers and those of such cultivators, as choose.''

Village schools served a very useful purpose- they fulfilled the needs and requirements of the villagers, the petty Zamindar, the bania and the well -to-do farmer. The curriculum consisted of reading, writing, and arithmetic (both written and oral). There was no printed books and locally made slates and pencils were the only equipment the people needed. The hours of instruction and the days of working were adjusted to local requirements. There was no regular period of admission- anyone could join the school at any time and leave it when he had acquired all that desired to know. Such schools which were often without any buildings of their own were held sometimes in the home of a teacher or a patron, in a mosque or a temple and not infrequently under the shade of trees. The number of people could vary

² A.B. Keith, *Constitutional History of India*, Oxford press, London, 1937, pp. 80-82.

from one to twenty but in bigger schools the senior people were appointed to teach the junior ones. This system attracted the attention of the madras chaplain, Dr. A. Bell, who introduced it in England as a cheap and efficient method of educating the poor and later it came to be known as the Monitorial or Madras system in England. The teachers for these schools, like their students, came from all classes including the depressed classes as Adam's analysis of castes shows and were paid either in cash or in kind according to the ability of the parents of the students. However, these schools which had shown wonderful adaptability to local environment and existed for centuries through a variety of economic conditions or political vicissitudes showed signs of decay at the coming of the British Raj.

One factor which contributed to it was the gradual destruction of village crafts and industries and the growing impoverishment of the people following a series of economic reforms including the permanent settlement in the Bengal presidency in the late eighteenth century.

It was the classical aspect of Indian education that first attracted the attention of a few high officials of the east India Company, after the company had stood forth as the Dewan in 1765 in the Bengal presidency. Such officials though few in number had spent most of their career in India, they were not only able to survive the Indian climate but develop a taste for many things Indian. Foremost among them was Warren Hastings who came to India in the service of the East India Company as a writer in 1751 and by 1722 rose to be the Governor of Fort- William in Bengal. Hastings developed a great love for Indo-Persian culture. With his encouragement as Governor – General of Bengal, Nathaniel Halled wrote 'A CODE OF GENTOO LAWS IN 1776 AND BENGAL GRAMMER in 1778 and in 1779. Hastings purchased a site and laid the foundation of the Madrassa on his own account and asked the court of directors to assign" the rents of one or more villages" near Calcutta as an endowment for the Institution. The directors later sanctioned this and reimbursed Hastings³.

Another high official of the east India Company who was greatly attracted to higher learning in India was William Jones. Unlike Hastings, Jones had not spent many years in India to develop a love for Indo- Persian culture. As a matter of fact, he was already an accomplished Persian scholar, whose GRAMMER OF THE PERSIAN LANGUAGE and translation of the work of Persian poets published in 1771 and 1773 had won him a European reputation, when he came to India as a judge of the Supreme Court established by the

³ A. Howell, *Education in British India*, Shudhi Press, Calcutta, 1872, p. 45.

Regulating Act of 1773 at Calcutta. He now applied his own enthusiasm to the organization of scholarly efforts of many” he could not achieve his ambition of knowing India. “Better than any other European ever knew it” as he later told Lord Althorp. He had been elected a fellow of the Royal Society in London in 1773 and had set out to create a similar learned society in Calcutta with the “enquiry into the history and antiquities, arts, science and literature of Asia” as its aim. THE “Asiatic Society” of Bengal which was formed on 15 January 1784 to pursue this aim gave a great fillip to ancient learning in India by discovering, editing and publishing rare Sanskrit manuscripts, besides bringing out the journal, Asiatick Researches, containing scholarly contributions in oriental learning. Jones himself developed a greater taste for Sanskrit learning and used to spend “three months every year” in Nadia, a pre- eminent centre for Sanskrit learning in Bengal, described by a contributor to the Calcutta Review in 1872 as the Oxford of the province and used to converse fluently in Sanskrit with the Brahmins during his stay there.

Sanskrit learning in the Bengal presidency received further impetus when in 1792 Jonathan Duncan, the resident at Benaras obtained the permission of Cornwallis, the Governor- General, to establish a Sanskrit college at Benaras, for preserving and cultivating the laws, literatures and scriptures of the Hindus. In this college as in the Calcutta Madrassa, the students were not only taught gratis, but were also given stipends. Eight years later when Wellesley, the Governor- General, set up the Fort William college at Calcutta to train the servants of the East India company since 1765, he included courses on oriental learning including Sanskrit and Persian and appointed pandits or oriental experts to teach them⁴.

These examples of patronization of the classical learning by a few high officials of the East India Company do not in any way indicate the attitude of the company towards education in India.

For, both the Calcutta Madrassa and the Benares Sanskrit College were individual enterprises for preservation of ancient Indian culture and were attempts at reconciling the feelings of the two major communities in India, while inclusion of oriental learning in the courses at Fort William was an administrative expediency. Nor do these measures represent the attitude of the vast body of the employees of the East India Company in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras towards education in India. Those who came to Bengal and elsewhere in India were just teenagers of good and influential connections, with a good hand and knowledge of

⁴ L. H. Jenks, *The Migration of British Capital to 1875*, Keith Publishers, New York, 1927, p. 32.

commercial arithmetic and book keeping. Since the employees were paid very lowly by the company, they had to take to various irregularities to increase their earnings. For most of them the major concern was to make money and to enjoy it at home after retirement. Many who were able to survive the climate of Bengal madras and Bombay did return with a good fortune, purchases landed estates and became members of parliament as well as of the court of directors and thus became an important factor in influencing the policy of the East India Company. yet, these measures in classical learning particularly the creation of the “ Asiatick society” initiated by a few high officials of the east India company had their impact later in raising a group of dedicated oriental scholars who profoundly influenced the East India Company’s policy towards education when it happened to have one in the second decade of the next century⁵.

Among those who were able to retire to a successful life in England after a career in India, Charles Grant shines as a bright Star. The reason why Grant is singled out here for a special mention is because of his contributions to the development of a modern education system in India. Charles Grant ‘s contribution to British rule in India has been investigated a few decades ago by professor A.T Embree but Educationists in India generally tend to overlook his role in the introduction of western education in India. We shall presently see that he was the first Englishman, at least four decades before Macaulay, to argue for the introduction of English education with a view to introducing Christianity in India. Grant was no missionary-so why did he want to proselytize the Indians? Grant who had come to India in 1767, acquired an immense fortune, and led a hectic life till 1786 when through family mishaps and close contact with the chaplain David Brown and the civilian George Udny, underwent a great change. He was appalled at the degeneration of the Indian Society following the break -up of the Mughal Empire in the late eighteenth century.

What was the state of the society in India as Grant saw it? In India, religion has always been a very strong spiritual force which binds the people together but at the time of Grant it had sunk into the grossest form of superstition. Every stone and every tree had acquired the importance of a deity and every phenomenon of nature was taken as a manifestation of the divine will. People had begun the practice of throwing children into the sea for propitiating the gods and of swinging the devotees in iron hooks during certain religious festivals. Social life was degraded. Many abuses, some of the most gruesome nature, had crept into the society. Infanticide was widely practiced in Central India, especially

⁵ Ibid, p.39.

among the Rajputs. The custom of sati or self-immolation of widows was widely prevalent and was looked upon as a sacred act. Caste, once based upon the functions of individuals, had become a rigid system which kept its various branches in water-tight compartments, although the members had ceased to adhere to the functions originally assigned to them. Only the Brahmins had maintained their monopoly of priestly position. This had naturally led to grave abuses because it had given birth to precedence over all other considerations and had consigned to the most degraded state of existence, some of the low caste people like the pariahs and untouchables, mere contact with one of whom was sufficient to make one lose one's caste. The aristocracy which had been hit most by the political instability had degraded themselves in debauchery and dissipation. Kulinism, originally intended to maintain the purity of blood line of the higher classes, had degenerated into child marriage and polygamy. Where the higher castes had sunk to such low levels, the women could not have been expected to have a better fate.⁶ Married at quite an early age they got little, if any, opportunity of acquiring education and were kept in seclusion or purdah. Grant felt that these abuses of the Indian society could be removed by the introduction of Christianity. So in 1790 when he returned home, he worked for it with greater vigor since the time for the renewal of the Company's Charter was drawing near, thus providing for an opportunity of bringing the case for evangelization of India before the Parliament, and thereby also forcing the hands of the Directors who did not allow the missionaries to come to India for proselytization. However, the idea had to be dropped when King George III, having been apprised of the scheme, was reluctant to support it chiefly in consequence of the alarming progress of the French Revolution and the proneness of the period to movements subversive of the established order of things. Wilberforce, MP for York, with whom Grant had been in contact before he came to London in 1790, then advised Grant to produce a paper showing a plan for the diffusion of knowledge in India rather than for the propagation of Christianity. Grant picked the suggestion and wrote: *Observations on the State of Society among Particularly in the Respect of Morais* In his tries which Grant wrote in 1792 and published at Lande in 1797. He changed the Hindus with dishonesty, corrupt-to mutual hatred and distrust and described their customs such as barbarous, and the Muslims with haughtiness, perfidy, licentiousness and lawlessness and asserted that the intercourse of the two communities had led to the further debasement of both because each had imbibed the vices of the other. Grant Hamed the East India Company for viewing those grave evils with apathy and contended that it was under no obligation to

⁶ C.H. Heimsath, *Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform*, Hawrah press, Calcutta, 1964, p 56

protect the creed of the Hindus which was monstrous and "subversive of the first principles of reason, morality and religion" As a remedy to all these evils, Grant suggested a supersession religions bus principle", namely, through the dissemination of the science and literature of Europe, "a key which would at once open a world of new ideas to them. Grant stated that the long intercourse between the Indians and the Europeans in Bengal rendered it feasible to use English as the medium of instruction. Moreover, he said, knowledge of the English Language would immediately place the whole range of European knowledge within their reach, while translation of English books into the Indian languages would take a long time and would be less efficacious. Grant also urged the substitution of English for Persian as the official language because that would induce the Indians to learn it. He urged the establishment of English schools under teachers of good moral character and hoping that very soon the pupils taught in these schools would themselves become the teachers of English to their countrymen. In conclusion, he triumphantly asserted, "the true cure of darkness is light. The Hindu, because they are ignorant and their errors have never been fairly laid before them

“Grant’s observations were reflections of the two forces at home, one unplanned, the other purposeful--the Industrial Revolution and the Evangelical Movement--in putting forward new social values. The Industrial Revolution created a new class of men with power and authority to set beside the old aristocratic, landowning leadership, where the latter had depended upon inheritance in a fixed hierarchical society and had set an example of grand, even extravagant living, the new men rose by personal effort, by hard work and by frugality. A new economic order developed a new code of social values and behavior in answers to its unspoken need. Contemporaneously, a religious revival affected England which though it had its starting point in Vital Religion, in personal conversion also served to promote such social virtues as frugality, sobriety and industry. Among the lower orders of society it was Methodism which inspired the civilization, the industry and sobriety of great numbers of the labouring part of the country."Among the upper classes the impulses was provided by the evangelicals and by such persons as Hannah More They numbered in their ranks men such as Milner of Queen's College or Simeon of King's College, Cambridge, the merchant Zachary Macaulay, Wilberforce, Henry Thornton the banker and James Stephen, the lawyer, men of the class from which many of the Company's servants were drawn. In 1793 Wilberforce and Hannah More gathered round Joseph Venn, the Rector of Clapham and were there joined by Charles Grant, by Sir John Shore, Stephen, Thornton, Macaulay and others. These Claphamities were, perhaps, social conservatives; they were radical in their determination to secure a reformation of manners and a new righteousness in the upper ranks of society When

Henry Dundas, President of the Board of Control set up in 1784 by Pitt's India Act to supervise the activities of the Court of Directors, was shown Grant's manuscript containing his observations, he asked his Secretary, William Cabell, to write a note on it. Cabell emphasized the political advantages that could be derived from developing an education policy based on Grant's Observations. He mentioned that a common language would draw the ruler and the ruled into closer contact and the introduction of European education would lead to the removal of many abuses from which the people were suffering due to their "false system of beliefs and a total want of right instruction among them. "However, when the subject was debated upon on the occasion of the renewal of the Company's Charter, the Attorney General and the Solicitor General grouped the clauses into a Bill explicitly slotting that the real end sought was to send missionaries and school masters to India for the ultimate conversion of Indians. And this was fully detrimental to the trading interests of the Company dominated by men with long experience in India who considered that any such move would result in political unrest in that country. They condemned the Bill and through some of their connections in both the House of Parliament majored to defeat it and thus were lost Charles Grant's unique opportunity to become a pioneer in the introduction of Western education in India.

The failure of Grant's plan of introducing Western education in India to facilitate conversion of Indians into Christianity did not mean an end to his effort to send evangelists to India. This he did indirectly. It was customary, this time, for the Chairman of the Court of Directors to select Chaplains for Europeans in India, and Grant who subsequently came to hold the Chair, availed himself of this opportunity of sending out ardent evangelists like Buchanan and Henry Martin. There were also some among the retired officials of the East India Company who shared Grant's views on the introduction of Western education as a step towards proselytization for the political benefits that it would accrue.⁷ For example, Sir John Shore after his retirement from the governor generalship of Bengal observed: "Until our subjects there (India) shall be animated with us by a community of religious faith, we shall never consider our dominion as secure against the effects of external attack or internal commotion. "During the decade that followed the Charter Act of 1793, the evangelicals in England focused their attention towards finding some means of avoiding the restrictions imposed on the passage of missionaries to India by the terms of the Act. William Carey, a Baptist Missionary and a shoemaker by profession was sent to India in 1793 in a Danish ship

⁷ J. P Naik, *The Development of Educational Service*, Kunti Publishers, New Delhi, 1977,p 89

by the London Baptist Missionary Society and his example was followed in 1799 by two other missionaries who came in an American ship and settled down in Serampore, a Danish colony, not far away from Calcutta which was the headquarters of the East India Company in India. Carey had settled down with the help of George Udny in Dinajpore where he opened a free boarding school for poor children who were given instructions in Sanskrit, Persian and Bengali as well as in the doctrines of Christianity. In 1800, Carey joined Marshman and Ward in Serampore. With the help of a paper manufactory and the printing press which soon began to receive large commissions from the Company's establishments in Bengal, they carried on their work for the dissemination of education and propagation of Christianity among the people of Bengal. As decided by Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773, the Charter Act of the East India Company was to be renewed every twenty years. Accordingly, when the term of the Company's Charter was due to expire in 1813; the missionaries were determined to make this occasion another trial of strength in Parliament with the Directors. In February 1812, a committee was formed consisting of Wilberforce, Grant, Thornton, Stephen and Babington to arrange Britain. Soon there was dissension among the missionaries, their various religious organizations in England but Wilberforce managed to keep them together. He perceived due to the jealousy of the dissenters of the Church of England and the Church of Scotland to take the lead of the non-conformists and himself along with Grant interviewed Liverpool, the Prime Minister, who put them off with some vague promises. Moreover, Buckinghamshire, the President of the Board of Control and Castlereagh appeared cold and hostile and refused to countenance any change of the existing system.

The reluctance on the part of Castlereagh and Buckinghamshire was, however, related to the opposition of the Directors of the East India Company, who produced an imposing amount of evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons against the despatch of missionaries to India by important people who had long experiences of India and were esteemed highly by their countrymen⁸. All emphasized the unfavorable political consequences that would follow the episcopal establishment in India. Malcolm's observations were representative of the views of the East India Company officials who deposed before the Committee. While admitting the blessings which Christianity would bestow on Indians, he warned the Committee that its introduction into India would have the most dangerous consequences for the stability of the empire which depended on the "general division of the great communities and their sub-division into various castes and tribes because all these

⁸ *Ibid*, p 78

elements would then be united in a opposition to any scheme which they might think would leader their conversion. It was at this stage, that Zachary Macaulay, encouraged Wilberforce, organized a campaign calling on the missionaries to send petitions to the Parliament for the unrestricted despatch of missionaries to India. As a result between February and June 1813, no less than 837 petitions were presented. The extraordinary effort produced almost immediate effect. Liver pool and Buckinghamshire told Wilberforce that they were willing establish a bishopric in India and to authorize the Board of Control to grant licenses to missionaries to proceed to India. In the House of Lords, the missionary question was not discussed at all, and none took the slightest notice of the vast body of evidence which the Directors of the East India Company had produced against them.

The new Act renewing the Company's privileges for a further period of twenty years was passed on 21 July 1813. An episcopate with archdeacons was set up in India and Board of Control was authorized to grant licenses to missionaries to proceed there. The question of dissemination of education among Indians was also taken up into consideration and a Clause to this effect was introduced in Parliament by a former Advocate General in Calcutta and was passed after a slight modification⁹. This Clause(43rd) empowered the Governor-General to appropriate "a Sum less than one lac of rupees in each year out of the surplus territorial revenues" for 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. A. Richter, in his *History of Missions in India*, has suggested that the Clause 43 which spoke of the revival and improvement of literature and of the encouragement of the learned natives of India was created as "a reliable counterpoise, a protecting break-water against the threatened deluge of missionary enterprise "enshrined in the Charter Act of 1813. It is possible that the supporters of this Clause were influenced by the Orientalists in Calcutta who had been agitating for some time past for more funds for the maintenance of the Calcutta Madrassa and the Benares Sanskrit College, and for the revival and improvement of classical learning of India. In March 1811, Minto, Governor-General of India between 1806 and 1813, had sent home a minute which definitely represented and endorsed the views of the Orientalists in India. In that minute, Minto spoke about the decay and the neglect of Indian classical learning and taught persons which could be traced to "the want of that encouragement which was formally afforded to it by princess, chieftains and opulent individuals under the native governments.

⁹ R. Govinda, *Indian Education Report*, New Delhi, 2002, p.30

The thought that the civil society in India could only be minuscule minority disturbs neither the ideas nor the terminology we have examined. The perception of the usefulness of education as an aid to social order and peace by virtue of being a morally uplifting influence remained remarkably aloof from demographic and social reality. Trevelyan, writing in 1838, went so far as to predict that the educated classes, a small minority' then, would in time become the majority. For the colonial officers of the first half of the nineteenth century, the empire had not yet been translated into palpable demographic and geographical reality. This was to occur in the latter part of the century, particularly after 1857. The sense of reality that comes from geographical surveys and censuses was a late development. It occurred too late to influence the vocabulary in which the colonial vision of education had found expression. By then it had become clear that the civil society' could only be a small network of men of property (respectable natives'), civil servants and professionals (mainly in law and medicine). The fact that education and its effects could not possibly go beyond this small part of the population did little to alter the discourse which continued to echo the eighteenth-century English equation between good governance and improvement of public morality. The persistence of this discourse calls for an explanation, and we can find one in the manner in which colonial conditions distorted eighteenth-century educational ideas. We have seen that the concept of 'order' was central to colonial policy in all areas of administration, including education. This concept was rooted in the liberal belief that the state's role is mainly to maintain congenial conditions for the enhancement of pleasure of the man who had the means to enjoy himself). Emanating from this belief, 'order' stood for the state's contribution to the bourgeoisie's pleasure. The state was supposed to make these arrangements for education. The arrangement would consist, on the one hand, of a scheme of moral education of the masses, and on the other hand, of a different sort of provision for the intellectual and aesthetic enrichment of the propertied classes. The moral education of the children of ordinary people would emphasize religious and quasi-religious literary learning aimed at imparting virtues such as obedience, modesty, rule-governed behavior and acceptance of one's station in society. The education of upper-class children would provide for the learning of classical languages and literature, and the skills related to reflection and inquiry. The framework of a dual role for education became somewhat distorted under colonial conditions. Here, the moral improvement of the masses could not be pursued in any substantial sense due to the weight of the rhetoric of financial constraint. The colonial state was, after all, no welfare agency. It

existed to facilitate and expand exploitative trade¹⁰. Funding a programme of mass education was beyond its purview even if charitable souls like Munro passionately supported it. At the same time, the colonial state needed people within the colonized society on whom it could depend. It was important that these trustworthy people be influential in the native community, since the administrative apparatus was much too small to ensure order without the collaboration of such influential people. But although this collaborating class had men of property within it, the liberal notion of a mainly intellectual and aesthetic education could not apply to their children. They too, after all, were part worthy. So 'mass education became a programme which owing to colony and hence needed moral uplift-ment in order to become financially restrained expansion could only reach the upper class but it remained an essentially moral programme as was appropriate for a colony. Literature, political philosophy, history, and later on science, were to be treated in it as morally beneficial influences.

The 1844 report of the Board of Education for the Bombay Press of contemporary English thought-utilitarianism and evangelicism, the first represented a crystallization of the line of thought that Minto was following, sharpened by the faith in scientific reasoning brought about by the Industrial Revolution. The second current was not an altogether new development either but it had by now virtually reversed the earlier English perception of India. Whereas many eighteenth-century liberals in England perceived India as a developed civilization, Victorian liberal opinion depicted India as a sort of sad, sleeping beauty that needed charity and the touch of a new life

The Bombay report of 1844 says: The object of Government we take to be perfectly distinct and intelligible, namely, to make as vigorous an impression upon the Asiatic mind as possible, to rouse it from the torpor into which it has subsided for some hundred years past, and to place it in a condition for receiving and digesting the results of progress and civilization European has been the fruitful mother of vice, in a great degree by the Ignorance in all ages undue development given to the passions in minds where intellectual enjoyment can find no entry, but mainly by the temptation and facility, which it affords to the crafty and designing of preying upon the ignorant masses. One of the main duties of Government modern times is to protect one class of its subjects, the weak, the unwary, the helpless, in one word the large majority, from the unprincipled few, and the remedy, acknowledged to be the most available one, is to inspire the bulk of the population with the desire, and to afford them

¹⁰ David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance*, Berkeley Press, Los Angeles, 1969, p. 90

the means of acquiring as much exact knowledge as possible on the various subjects ¹¹.The problem of immoral behavior is squarely equated with that of ignorance. This understanding gave to many nineteenth-century rationalists a strong hope of seeing the utopia of an enlightened humanity built within a foreseeable future. The state's role in this vision was that of a protector of the 'ignorant masses who personified the Asiatic' mind portrayed by James Mill in his popular history of India, enemies of the state's paternalistic role were considered to be few in number, personified in practitioners of obscurantist forms of knowledge. These forms of knowledge and their hold on ignorant people were both characteristics of the Asiatic mind as Victorian intellectuals and administrators had come to understand it. The means by which the state could subdue its enemies, in this perception, was education of the masses in 'exact forms of knowledge. These exact forms represented the West's scientific tradition if the masses could be prepared to accept it as the guiding light of conduct, the state's role in transforming the Asiatic mind would be largely fulfilled¹². Education was thus perceived as the chief agency for accomplishing the great moral agenda of colonialism. Irrespective of the success of the colonial government in educating the masses, the rhetoric of education would provide the legitimation that the colonial enterprise always needed, especially in the moral climate of Victorian England.

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the function of education in undermining traditional structures of dominance had become well established. It is true that developments in certain region expressed this tendency far more sharply than in other regions on the whole, the role of education in disturbing traditional social hierarchies was more clearly expressed in south than in north.

In Kerala, the struggle of downtrodden groups like the Izhavas owed considerably to their educational attainments under Christian missionaries. Pullapilly makes the point that the izhavas' fight for civil rights and justice presupposed a certain amount of social consciousness and educational preparation. The same thing could be said of several non-Brahmin prasant castes and some of the untouchable castes of the areas in present-day Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh.

In Maharashtra, the work of the Satyashodhak Samaj established by Phule led to the demand for educational facilities among oppressed caste groups in his submission to the

¹¹ A. B. Keith, *Constitutional History of India*, oxford press, London, 1937,p 134.

¹² J. C. Aggarwal, *Landmarks in the History of Modern Indian Education*, Ramlal publishers, New Delhi, 1984,p.67.

Hunter Commission, Phule wrote: 'Upon what grounds is it asserted that the best way to advance the moral and intellectual welfare of the people is to raise the standard of instruction of the higher classes?' (Quoted in Keer 1964;169.) While it is true that the recognition of education as an agency of material and social benefits triggered a competition in the caste hierarchy, the upper castes nevertheless maintained a strong hold over educational facilities, especially facilities for higher education. The small civil society of the educated remained in all parts of British India largely confined to the higher castes. There was a trickle from below, but it was too small to alter the character of the civil society. It is thus worth¹³ asking which of the two roles of education was more influential in shaping the cultural and political life of India at the turn of the century--the role of strengthening group solidarity among the educated or the role of disturbing traditional hierarchies. The first is rarely acknowledged, whereas the second has been highly overestimated. In his Elementary Education Bill speech in 1911, Gokhale had mentioned that only 1.9 per cent of India's total population was attending elementary schools. One can hardly overemphasize the group-forming force of an experience as narrowly spread as education was in colonial India. Education did facilitate limited upward mobility among lower caste groups in certain regions of British India. This role of Education was significant though, it was confined to those regions where cultural resources for an egalitarian social movement already existed to support and enhance the effects that access to education triggered in conjunction with the implications of competitive opportunity for employment, new modes of transport and ultimately, the beginning of representational politics.

When education is celebrated for its historic role in social change, its complex interplay with other factors tends to get underplayed. Also, the identity-forming role that education played, creating the consciousness among the educated that they were new elite, is overlooked.

The egalitarian effects education had in colonial India need to be carefully balanced against this contrary function.

Whether it was the case of the higher castes using education to this contrary function to renovate their repertoire of skills, or the alternative case in some areas of middle and lower castes using education to move up, we notice that the major social function of education was to differentiate its beneficiaries from the larger population. It did so by serving as a new

¹³ A.N Basu, *Education in Modern India*, Shudhi Press, Calcutta, 1947, p 60

cultural property Certificates, marksheets and medals were the manifest possessions that this property brought, and people cherished and displayed them avidly. Names of students who had passed Matriculate and higher examinations appeared division-wise in newspapers. Locating one's own name or that of someone from the village became a dramatic social event as several memoirs indicate. But more important were the possessions that education gave in terms of new capacities, particularly the capacity to read and write English and to quote from English literature. The fact that someone could read a letter written in English or compose an application distinguished him from other ordinary people. It gave the educated man a rare distinction, considering how small a proportion of the Indian population came into the orbit of English education.¹⁴

Command over the colonizer's language, eligibility for state employment and status were the components of the educated Indian's new identity which have been widely acknowledged by historians. What has been ignored was the sense that the educated citizen had of being morally superior to the uneducated masses. This sense obviously arose out of the identification that he felt with the English, but the argument that supported it was different. The moral superiority that the English felt over Indians had two bases—the stereotypes of Indian culture and society, such as the ones projected in James Mill's volumes of Indian history, and the fact of having succeeded in subduing India's native powers. Evangelical as well as utilitarian writings had portrayed Indians as a degraded people, in need of moral reform but these writings attributed India's depraved to remediable causes, later in the century the Victorian attitude was quite different it ascribed India's degradation to racial climatic and other such incurable resources, compare to this attitude, moral superiority of the educated Indian in the later 19th century and afterwards had more racial props to support it. A prominent philosophical school that provided the rationale for moral superiority was that of evolutionism.

Spencer's theory of evolution served educated Indians two levels. At one level, it answered the search for causes of India's defeat Bharatendu in Hindi and Bankim in Bengali were among the many creative minds who were making this search and giving it expression through their literary writings. Evolution as it gave a purpose to history; it explained a modern idiom why the English had to come to India and were propagating their system of administration, law and knowledge here. At another level, Spencer's theory provided the hope that a small body of people could influence and reform the much larger society surrounding

¹⁴ G.D Bearce, *British Attitudes towards India*, Oxford Press, London, 1784-1858, p. 145.

it. Spencer had argued that while each individual is developing, the society of which he is an insignificant unit is developing too (Kazamias 1966: 69).

This organic role of the individual offered great consolation to the educated Indian who was part of a miniscule minority of the total Indian society. It gave him reason to believe that so small a section of society could be an effective agency for influencing the rest. In his presidential address to the students gathered at a conference in Bihar in 1910, Sachchidananda Sinha echoed Spencer's theory when he said that 'unity can only be the direct result, not the negation of a full-developed Individualism of each organic part of the whole organism' (Sinha 1910).

Evolutionism thus provided the educated Indian with a rationale to perceive himself as a shaping influence on the larger society¹⁵. We find this rationale in the writings and speeches of such eminent Indians as Bankim, Vivekananda and Sri Aurobindo in Bengal, Ranade and Gokhale in Maharashtra and Lajpat Rai in Punjab.

One wonders whether these men reflected a widespread mode of thought or whether they expressed a special, individual urge. Public personalities they were no doubt, but we have reason to accept that their sense of having a moral responsibility to transform the traditional social orders was typical. It is not just eminent people like them who expressed the feeling of being morally responsible for the upliftment of the masses. Less-known people, who were not involved at any point in public action, voiced the same perception.

The prize-winning essay in a contest organized by a House of Commons member after his visit to India to study the aspirations of educated Indians uses a landscape metaphor to convey the distance between the educated few and the masses¹⁶.

What the educated classes are thinking today, the masses will be thinking tomorrow. Just as the mountain-tops catch the light of the rising sun first, and then the plains, and lastly the valleys-so the light of knowledge must first shine on those whom Nature has placed in a higher sphere than the rest, and then extend itself to the labourer in the field and the artisan in the work-shop (Mody 1928: 60).

It was the self-perception of a colonial elite. Although educated Indians were not the ruling powers of the colonial order, they were a dominant group within the colonized society.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 190.

¹⁶ Surendernath Banerjea, *Anation in Making*, Bashi publications, Calcutta, 1925, p 78.

They aspired to share power and the privileges of office with the English administrators, although this aspiration was mostly expressed in the vocabulary of request. Two salient characteristics of an elite's self-perception were present in the educated Indian's personality—a sense of moral superiority and the urge to assign to oneself the task of transforming a given social order. Group feeling, which need not always graduate into solidarity, originates in the first characteristic; and the driving energy commonly associated with elites originates in the second. It was group feeling which resulted in the formation of associations of educated Indians in all three presidencies of colonized India during the nineteenth century, especially in the later years when the system of education was well established. These associations are often described as precursors of modern political consciousness, as expressed in the Congress which was formed in 1885.

Two common features of these associations were the prominence of social reform terminology in the description of their objectives and a ready inclination to associate with or to challenge other organizations (Seal 1968). The first tendency gradually evolved into a vision which encouraged the second tendency. The vision represented in many cases a blending of economic interest and concerns with cultural aspirations. Education provided the point and the means of this blending. Since, it symbolized the possibility of universal upliftment. It provided the vocabulary in which the aspirations of the colonial citizen could be expressed as an invocation to the masses rather than merely as an appeal to the colonial masters¹⁷. This aspect of education enabled many nineteenth-century associations to spread across geographical and cultural boundaries. Education became the symbol of a new kind of secular ethnicity. It was a secular ethnicity because it was based on western knowledge. The 'truth' of this knowledge was above the kind of controversies in which the 'truth' of several branches of indigenous Indian knowledge were caught. The feeling of being in possession of the same knowledge as the colonizer helped the educated Indian to identify with the latter's role in relation to the masses. However, the secular element in the personality of educated Indians could not protect many of them from the lure of religious revivalism. As we shall see later, the commitment to India's moral upliftment provided impetus to a search for self-identity.

The urge to transform the social order found expression in different forms, depending on the specific intellectual and cultural exposure that individuals received during their personal development. In some, such as Vivekananda and later Aurobindo, the urge found

¹⁷ Abbe Dubois, *A view of Hindoo Manners*, Oxford press, London, 1987, p 321.

expression in a vocabulary of spiritual evolution. In others, like Ranade, Gokhale and Lajpat Rai, it was conveyed through a vocabulary of political evolution. Religious and social revivalism, as expressed in Tilak's politics, was a third expression. These variations were later transmuted into a composite vocabulary of social upliftment of the downtrodden castes. By Gandhi, in all these variations, we find the recognition of education as an instrument of moral upliftment. Obviously, in this usage 'education' did not refer to the prevailing system of education. Indian leaders sought to establish the role of education in idealistic terms. In many cases, most clearly according to Gandhi, education became the practice and central metaphor of the leader's own life. Gandhi posted his pedagogical role against his political role in a dramatic manner throughout his life. For others, education became a means of helping the masses reclaim their self-identity from colonial masters¹⁸. Change in self-identity implied a previous step, that of enlightenment and amelioration of character.

If we observe the relationship within which Indian intellectuals and social reformers of later nineteenth century performed their pedagogical role vis-a-vis the masses, we will recognize that it was not different from the relationship which the English had established in the early years of the nineteenth century. It was a paternalistic relationship built upon the grand theorizations of the Victorian age concerning the causes of the decline of some nations and the rise of others. The panoramic view of history and society, which shaped several major schools of nineteenth-century European social philosophy, had been passed onto the early generations of Indian university graduates through college syllabi and textbooks and the speeches made by professors and administrators. At one level, this view implied an acceptance of racial differences between nations: at another, it carried a sense of moral obligation on the part of 'superior nations. This view legitimized imperialism in the name of the destiny of humankind. Indeed, it portrayed imperialism as an agency of change in societies such as India which were supposed to be static (Nisbet 1976). Within a society, it assigned to the economically and culturally dominant classes the role of a moral teacher vis-à-vis the larger population.

In his 1862 convocation address at the University of Bombay, Bartle Frere, the Governor of Bombay, said to Indian graduates: The character of your whole people is to a great extent in your hands. This attitude of paternalism was imbibed and expressed by Indian social leaders. Its mode of expression varied according to the cultural experience of

¹⁸ J.W. Kaye, *The Administration of the East India Company*, Oxford press, London, 1853, p. 200.

colonialism in different regions. For instance, it was more copiously expressed by leaders of the Bombay region than by their Bengali counterparts¹⁹.

One of the key processes involved in educational change concerns the question: what is worth teaching English administrators of the mid-nineteenth century answered it in terms of their perception of what Indian society lacked. They saw it as their job to change the indigenous system of education into one that would match the aims of the empire. We have already distinguished between the aims of the empire and its practical needs. It is not difficult to identify the practical needs-subordinate officers and clerks, for example-and to note the components of school and college curriculum which matched these needs. This aspect of the history of colonial education has been thoroughly covered by earlier research. But useful though this coverage is, it need not have led to the confusion one finds so widespread in Indian educational discourse between the needs of the empire and its aims. This confusion is at the base of the popular belief that the aim of colonial education was to produce clerks. If one shares this belief, one would see no need to produce clerks. If one shares this belief, one would see no need to probe mid-nineteenth-century colonial perceptions of what is worth teaching.

If we choose to avoid probing this question in the context of mid- nineteenth-century choices made by English administrators, we are likely to remain incapable of pursuing a chain of problems that are relevant to educational inquiry in India to this day. The chain starts with the problem: 'why is there a wide gap between an Indian child's life at school and that at home?' That the question is a valid one can be ascertained by a visit to any one of the million primary schools in the country. The school's daily curriculum has no reference to the children's life outside the school. The teacher is, of course, free to make such a reference, and some teachers occasionally do.

But the curriculum makes no such demand from the teacher. On the contrary curriculum policy permits the teacher to teach all the school subjects without establishing any link between the child's life and social milieu on the one hand and the knowledge content of the syllabus on the other This hiatus between the curriculum and the learner's social milieu is part of the colonial and pre-colonial legacies of our education system. The middle of the nineteenth century seems to be a particularly useful period to study from this perspective.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 201.

Especially since the epistemological basis of contemporary education took shape during this period. We are referring to the years following the famous Despatch of 1854²⁰.

That there was a conflict between the indigenous system of education and the colonial system is accepted by many researchers who have looked at this formative period of Indian education. The economic aspect of this conflict is clear. It relates to the fact that indigenous village school lost its economic base once educational provision, howsoever meagre, was begun to be made by the colonial state in the indigenous tradition, the teacher was remunerated by the community he served. Under the new system, he became a paid servant of the colonial government. This switching over of the teacher from the charge of the local population to that of the government triggered a process of estrangement of the school from community. Once the state's interest in running schools was established, locally available financial support began to dry up, permitting the state to bring all aspects of school education under his direct control.

State control of schools had significant implications for Curriculum and teachers. We will focus here on the implications it had for curriculum and examine the implications for teachers in the

We need to keep in mind the colonial nature of the state. In the context of curriculum, colonial perceptions and understanding of Indian society shaped the state's policy on what ought to be taught in schools

We need to examine more closely how some of these perceptions were translated into a specific policy on curriculum. For this purpose, we will analyse the reports prepared by William D. Arnold during his tenure as Punjab's first Director of Public instruction. The two reports he wrote during his brief term of two years in office provide us with useful and highly interesting case material to examine colonial policy in the construction of curriculum.

William D. Arnold was appointed Director of Public Instruction in Punjab in 1856 and he died in early 1859. Arnold's appointment to this post at the young age of 28 might have owed to his special interest in education and to the fact that he was Thomas Arnold's! son.

His special interest in education is reflected in the two reports (Richey 1922) he wrote during his tenure as Director, which covered a crucial time in Punjab's social and educational

²⁰ Aparna Basu, *The Growth of Education and Political Development in India*, Ghai publishers, Delhi, 1974, p 43.

history. Punjab had become a British province in 1849, and by 1854 the English officials working in Punjab had prepared a scheme for initiating an education system there along the lines evolved earlier in the north-western provinces. This is when the Educational Despatch of the Company's Directors arrived with a detailed plan of work to be undertaken in education. The reports Arnold wrote during 1857 and 1858 are, therefore, significant documents of colonial policy in education at an important juncture.

These reports are also important in a broader context, representing as they do the emerging Victorian view of India and the role of the English empire in it (Edwardes 1958; Hutchins 1967). By the mid-nineteenth century, the older kind of officer, who took India as he found it and lived here to gain pleasure and wealth, had retired from the scene. The young officers who now came to India carried a new attitude, that of an imperial sense of moral responsibility towards it. Moral superiority and a self-assured perception of what is to be done' were characteristic of this new generation whose task consisted of more detailed planning and decision making in the various branches of the colonial state's activities. The broader outline of colonial policy in education had already been laid down only the details had to be worked out. This is where Arnold confronted the problems posed by the conflict between indigenous tradition of school learning and what appeared to him as the obvious steps his office must take.²¹

In his second report, written in 1858, Arnold acknowledged that the efforts his office was making to initiate a new kind of education had met with considerable resistance and suspicion. He felt that what he had noticed was a clash of beliefs about the meaning of education. We found a population, he said, 'with their own idea of the meaning of education, and to that idea thoroughly attached and to whom our idea of education, being inconsistent with their own as thoroughly distasteful; as to an Asiatic everything is distasteful which is new'. We need to examine carefully the points of 'inconsistency' between the two ideas Arnold mentioned in his report. But before we do that, it is important to note that Arnold took recourse to a stereotype to explain the initial Indian response in Punjab to English educational efforts. Instead of relating the negative response to unfamiliarity with the new system, he attributed it to what he believed was a racial characteristics of Asiatic people²². The impact of

²¹ William Adam, *Three Reports on the state of Education in Bengal and Behar*, Durga publications, Calcutta, 1868, p. 78.

²² R. Govinda, *Indian education Report*, New Delhi, 2002, p.56.

James Mill's reflections on India and of other early 19th century writings of that type is obvious.

The points of 'inconsistency' Arnold noticed between the Indian and the English concepts of Education can be placed in two categories. In the first category we will include his observations concerning language and reading or literacy, and in the second category will place his observations concerning science, including geography and mathematics. In the context of language education, Arnold made two basic points. One is that he found people capable of read. The other point is that he found education in a 'common vernacular' like Urdu- which his office decided to introduce in schools in place of Persian- was utterly inconsistent with people's idea of erudition and learning. Both these points relate to the perception of literacy and that of its functions in a culture. It appears plausible that Arnold's perceptions he found prevalent in the Punjab of his time, and it might be interesting to analyses his observations in the light of this difference.

With regard to reading, Arnold records his observation of the system he found in existence in a long winding sentence.

We found a whole population agreed together that to read fluently and if possible, to say by heart a series of Persian works of which the meaning was not understood by the vast majority, and of which the meaning when understood was for the most part little calculated to edify the minority, constituted education.

As if he realized that the sentence could be read as being somewhat sarcastic, he wrote in the next sentence: 'I do not wish to speak too contemptuously of the Persian schools of Instruction: I have no right to do so.

In the long sentence, which this one was supposed to balance, Arnold was making two points-one, that reading was not regarded as a means to derive meaning or to interpret; and two, that when meaning was derived, it was not for edification or any kind of personal or moral improvement. In other words, he was saying that the prevailing perception of reading was that of a process of sounding out the text without relating to it. In Arnold's view, this was hardly worthy of being called education. Unless a text meant some-thing to the reader and better still, exercised an influence on the reader, particularly on the moral or spiritual aspect of his personality, it could hardly be said to have served any educational purpose²³.

²³ *Ibid*, p. 121.

This view of reading which Arnold articulated was a product of the Reformation. It was then that the printing press and the spread of literacy made it possible for people at large to distinguish between a religious text as a sacred symbol and the interpretations of a text.

The period that divided the old world of received' texts from the future that consisted of individual interpretations was the seventeenth century. For a man of Arnold's generation, the post-Reformation perception of texts and reading was something that could be assumed to be universally applicable and true (Twentieth-century anthropology that ascertained the role of ritual in oral societies, as it applied to the role of texts in social organization, was yet far off.) In the middle of the nineteenth century, an officer of the East India Company serving as a Director of Public Instruction would have had every reason to see text reading which was dissociated from the expectation of moral benefit in a contemptuous manner as of no educational consequence.

The colonial government labeled its education system as 'moderns Labeling which survives to this day. The modern aspect of English education in India was supposed to refer to the awakening of reason that post-Renaissance western thought and science represented Reason was the panacea with which colonial rule hoped to cure Indians of their slavery to passions and custom. In the new curriculum for schools, reason was signified by the presence of facts both about nature and the past. The significance of these facts depended on comprehension or meaningful learning, and this is what pedagogy failed to ensure in colonial India. As soon as the colonial system of education got entrenched with its codified procedures for the recruitment of teachers, its elaborate machinery for inspection and its norms of evaluation for the award of scholarships and certificates, a new pedagogical culture arose and speedily grew to nibble away the system's object of promoting the acceptance of facts' and reason the mainstay of its modernity Textbook culture is a suitable name for this phenomenon.²⁴

The basic norm of this culture was to treat the prescribed textbook as the de facto curriculum, rather than as an aid. The teacher taught the text by elucidating it by asking children to copy and memorize that were based on it. As we shall see in the next chapter the teacher's poor status and powerlessness vis-à-vis the rank and file of inspectors above him contributed to the perception of the textbook as a sacred icon of required knowledge.

²⁴ A. Howell, *Education in British India*, Shudi press, Calcutta, p.257.

The textbook was 'prescribed by the government and teacher training institutions worked hard to make the teacher thoroughly familiar with it. Memorization of the written word was a part of the tradition of learning in India. The tradition now acquired a new validity and focus under the auspices of a text book-centered curriculum and examination. To the English administration, examinations- like textbooks- were a means of norm maintenance. As Shukla (1978) has pointed out, colonial policy used written examinations to evolve a bureaucratic, centralized system of education.

The official function of the examination system was to evolve uniform standards of promotion, scholarships and employment. This function had a social significance inasmuch as it enhanced the public image of colonial rule as being based on principles and impartial procedure.

The secrecy maintained over every step, from these of papers to the final announcement of the result, gave a dramatic expression to the image of the colonial government as a structure that could be trusted. The teacher, however could not be trusted and hence was not permitted to examine his own students.

An early report by Kert (1852) record that when the first uniform code of rules was prepared for government institutions in Bengal, the 'class-books' on which candidates for scholarship were to be examined were specified. A little later in 1845, an even greater narrowing of the syllabus was implemented by fixing not just the particular textbooks but the exact portions of each which were to be studied for the next scholarship examination. From then onwards the teacher knew the precise spatial limits within the textbook beyond which he did not need to go.²⁵

Once the colonial administration had established an education system by the mid-nineteenth century, the teacher could no longer decide on his own or on the basis of convention what to teach and how to teach. Tradition lost its hold when prescribed syllabi and textbooks came into being. The syllabus and textbooks determined not only what had to be taught, but also the time within which the teaching had to be completed. This meant that the teacher could no longer pace his pedagogy to suit his pupils. Yet another aspect of the change was the concept of impersonal examinations. The teacher's satisfaction was no longer the criterion for termination of studentship: the new criterion was the student's performance at

²⁵ M.N Das, *Studies in the Economic and social development of Modern India*, Ghai publishers, Calcutta, 1959, p.87.

a test taken or designed by someone other than the teacher. It could be an inspector, or in the case of senior classes, a teacher from another institution who was appointed as an 'examiner'.

The material basis and status of the vocation of teaching went through a drastic change with the establishment of the colonial system. Whereas earlier the teacher was supported by the local community, he now became a functionary of the state, working for a salary.

Teaching became part of government service, and a teaching job now carried with it considerable clerical work, such as maintaining records of admission, attendance, examination and expenditure.

On top of these routine responsibilities, a teacher could be assigned other kinds of duties, such as acting as a dispenser of postal material, assisting in census work. distributing textbooks, and so on.

In the years following the 1854 Despatch senior education officers were recruited from the prestigious Covenanted Civil Service. This practice did not last long, for Covenanted officers preferred being revenue officers or judges to serving in the education department (Government of India 1976)²⁶. A specialized Indian Education Service was recommended by the Public Service Commission of 1886, and ten years later the Superior Education Service was created with two divisions the Indian Education Service with English personnel, and the Provincial Educational Service staffed by Indians.

The gap between the earnings, status and power of a teacher of young children and a member of the bureaucracy was obviously enormous.

The 1854 Despatch referred to England's experience in the despatch, appears to us to be capable of easy adaptation to India view which equated the problems of the colony with those of England. Another expression of the mood of this period occurs that part of the despatch where the need to improve the teacher working in indigenous institutions is discussed. According to the dispatch they should not be superseded for this might provoke the hostility of this class of persons whose influence is so great over the minds of the lower classes (ibid 384). If they too could be courage to attend Normal schools, this would serve to both in prove the fledgling education system and quell the urges of social unrest. The Court of Directors which wrote the despatch mentioned its plans for teacher training in the same breath in which

²⁶ William Adam, *Three Reports on the state of Education in Bengal and Behar*, Ghai press Calcutta, 1868, p 145.

it talked of medical and engineering education. The practical purpose of these specialized trainings apart the symbolic aim was to exhibit that "industry and ability were rewarded under English rule. The plan to Start Normal Schools was initiated during the following years. But none of the hopes that the 1854 Despatch had expressed materialized.

We need not probe the historical records in order to get an idea of the aspect of strategies of British in Education system. The ethos and methods of Indian institutions have remained remarkably stable over the last 100 years.

CHAPTER-3

EDUCATION POLICIES DURING BRITISH PERIOD

The history of education is a popular subject in the west but unfortunately its study in India is grossly neglected or left to a small and scattered group of education, some of whom are unaware of the broad trends of historical scholarship. There has hardly been any serious reach in the subject and the few books that we have here on the story of education are largely based on government of India records and reports. These books present a huge mass of facts and figures without an in-depth analysis of the cause and effect relationship in the developments or changes that appear on the surface of education in India. One factor contributing to this deficiency in the existing literature is obviously the failure of authors to consult sources other than official publications. Government accounts of educational developments in the country come handy in H. Sharp and J. Richey's *Selections from Educational Records of the Government of India*, compiled in two parts covering the period from 1787 to 1859. From 1859 onwards we have the annual reports of *Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India*, and from 1886 onwards the *quinine Reviews of Education*, dealing with the progress of education every five years published as a follow up of the discussion on the Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882. While voluminous reports and recommendations of the various commissions and committees are meticulously studied, private papers of the officials of the East India Company till 1857 and of the British crown after 1857, concerned with the educational developments in India are absolutely overlooked. Similarly overlooked are the contemporary memoirs letters and diaries as well as the contemporary newspapers and proceedings of the Indian National Congress since 1885, which throw a flood of light on Indian reaction to changes in education under the British Raj.

Among the sources thus neglected, the most important are the private papers. The private papers of the British officials highlight the real issues and motives behind changes in education and a careful study of them certainly illuminates many dark comers in the history of education in modern India. Notwithstanding the gaps in the existing literature there are two developments which make one feel optimistic about the future of this discipline in India. First, the waves of "new history" have reached the shores of India and many historians are becoming interested in a critical study of the subject. Secondly, following the recent recommendations of the UGC's committee on curriculum development programmes in education, a course on the reading, writing and arithmetic (both written and oral)¹.

¹ J.P Naik, *The Development of Educational Service*, Ghai Publishers, New Delhi, 1977, Pp 23-26.

There were no printed books and the locally made slates and pencils were the only equipment the pupils needed. The hours of instruction and the days of working were adjusted to local requirements. There was no regular period of admission-a pupil. Could join the school at any time and leave it when he had acquired all that he desired to know. Such schools which were often without any buildings of their own were held sometimes in the home of a teacher or a patron, in a mosque or a temple, and not infrequently under the shade of trees. The number of pupils could vary from one to twenty but in bigger schools the senior pupils were appointed to teach the junior ones. This system attracted the attention of the Madras Chaplain, Dr. A. Bell, who introduced it in England as a cheap and efficient method of educating the poor and later it came to be known as the Monitorial or Madras System in England. The teachers for these schools, like their students, came from all classes including the depressed classes as Adam's analysis of castes shows and were paid either in cash or in kind according to the ability of the parents of the pupils. However, these schools which had shown wonderful adaptability to local environment and existed for centuries through a variety of economic conditions or political vicissitudes showed signs of decay at the coming of the British Raj. One factor which contributed to it was the gradual destruction of village crafts and industries and the growing impoverishment of the people following a series of economic reforms including the Permanent Settlement in the Bengal Presidency in the late eighteenth century.

British Interest in Oriental Education

It was the classical aspect of Indian education that first attracted the attention of a few high officials of the East India Company after the Company had stood forth as the Dewan in 1765 in the Bengal Presidency. Such officials though few in number had spent most of their career in India-they were not only able to survive the Indian climate but develop a taste for many things Indian.

Foremost among them was Warren Hastings who came to India in the service of the East India Company as a Writer in 1751 and by 1772 rose to be the Governor of Fort-William in Bengal. Hastings developed a great love for Indo-Persian Culture With his encouragement as Governor-General of Bengal, Nathaniel influencing the policy of the East India Company.

Charles Grant's Plan Among those who were able to retire to a successful life in England after a career in India, Charles Grant shines as a bright star. The reason why Grant is singled out here for a special mention is because of his contributions to the development of a modern education system in India. Charles Grant's contributions to British rule in India has been investigated a few decades ago by Professor AT Embee but educationists in India

generally tend to overlook his role in the introduction of Western education in India. We shall presently see that was the first Englishman, at least four decades before Macaulay, to argue for the introduction of English education with a view to introducing Christianity in India. Grant was no missionary so why did he want to proselytize the Indians? Grant who had come to India in 1767, acquired an immense fortune, and led a hectic life till 1786 when through family mishaps and close contact with the Chaplain David Brown and the Civilian George Udny, underwent a great change. He was appalled at the degeneration of the Indian society following the breakup of the Mughal Empire in the late eighteenth century.

What was the state of the society in India as Grant saw it? In India, religion has always been a very strong spiritual force which binds the people together but at the time of Grant it had sunk into the grossest form of superstition. Every stone and every tree had acquired the importance of a deity and every phenomenon of nature was taken as a manifestation of the divine will. People had begun the practice of throwing children into the sea for propitiating the gods and of swinging the devotees in iron hooks during certain religious festivals. Overzealous devotees also practiced various kinds of self-tortures such as *Dhanias* in order to atone for their sins. The degenerated Brahmans had begun to impose their self-motivated interpretation of the scriptures upon the credulous simplicity of ignorant people, who looked upon their words as *aw* which no one could contradict. Social life was degraded. Many abuses, some of the most gruesome nature, had crept into the society. Infanticide was widely practised in Central India, especially among the Rajput. The custom of *sati* or self-immolation of widows was widely prevalent and was looked upon as a sacred act. Caste, once based upon the functions of individuals, had become a rigid system which kept its various branches in water-tight compartments, although the members had ceased to adhere to the functions originally assigned to them. Only the Brahmins had maintained their monopoly of priestly position. This had naturally led to grave abuses because it had given birth precedence over all other consideration and had consigned to the most degraded state of existence, some of the low caste people like the pariahs and untouchables, mere contact with one of whom was sufficient to make one lose one's caste. The aristocracy which had been hit most by the political instability, had degraded themselves in debauchery and dissipation. *Kulinism*, originally intended to maintain the purity of blood line of the higher classes, had degenerated into child marriage and polygamy. Where the higher castes had sunk to such low levels, the women could not have been expected to have a better fate. Married at quite an

early age they got little, if any, opportunity of acquiring education and were kept in seclusion or purdah.²

Grant felt that these abuses of the Indian society could be removed by the introduction of Christianity. So in 1790 when he returned home, he worked for it with greater vigor since the time for the renewal of the Company's Charter was drawing near, thus providing for an opportunity of bringing the case for evangelization of India before the Parliament, and thereby also forcing the hands of the Directors who did not allow the missionaries to come to India for proselytization. However, the idea had to be dropped when King George III, having been apprised of the scheme, was reluctant to support it chiefly in consequence of the alarming progress of the French Revolution and the proneness of the period to movement's subversive of the established order of things Wilberforce, MP for York, with whom Grant had been in contact before he came to London in 1790, then advised Grant to produce a paper showing a plan for the diffusion of knowledge in India, rather than for the propagation of Christianity. Grant picked up the suggestion and wrote: Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly in the respect of Morals and on the means of improving it. Grant suggested a "healing principle", namely, the supersessions of the existing religions by Christianity through the dissemination of the science and literature of Europe, "a key which would at once open world of new ideas to them. Grant stated that the long intercourse between the Indians and the Europeans in Bengal rendered in feasible to use English as the medium of instruction. Moreover, he said a knowledge of the English Language would immediately place the whole range of European knowledge within their reach, while translation of English book into the Indian languages would take a long time and would be less efficacious Grant also urged the substitution of English for Persian as the official language because that would induce the Indians to learn it³. He urged the establishment of English schools under teachers of good moral character", hoping that very soon the pupils taught in these schools would themselves become the teachers of English to their countrymen. In conclusion, he triumphantly asserted, "the true cure of darkness is light. The Hindus, because they are ignorant and their errors have never been fairly laid before them."

Grant's observations were reflections of the two forces at home, one unplanned, the other purposeful--the Industrial Revolution and the Evangelical Movement--in putting

² Aparna Basu, *The Growth of Education and political development in India*, Kanha publishers, New Delhi, 1974, p 87.

³ *Ibid*, p34.

forward new social values. The Industrial Revolution created a new class of men with power and authority to set beside the old aristocratic, landowning leadership, where the latter had depended upon inheritance in a fixed hierarchical society and had set an example of grand, even extravagant living the new men rose by personal effort, by hard work and by frugality. A new economic order developed a new code of social values and behavior in answer to its unspoken need. Contemporaneously, a religious revival affected England which though it had its starting point in vital Religion, in personal conversion, also served to promote such social virtues as frugality, sobriety and industry.

When Henry Dundas, President of the Board of Control set up in 1784 by Mite's India Act to supervise the activities of the Court of Directors, was shown Grant's manuscript containing his observations, he asked his Secretary, William Cabell, to write a note on it. Cabell emphasized the political advantages that could be derived from developing an education policy based on Grant's Observation's. He mentioned that a common language would draw the ruler and the ruled into closer contact and the introduction of European education would lead to the removal of many abuses from which the people were suffering due to their "false system of beliefs and a total want of right instruction among them." However, when the subject was debated upon on the occasion of the renewal of the Company's Charter, the Attorney-General and the Solicitor General grouped the clauses into a Bill explicitly stating that the real end sought was to send missionaries and school masters to India for the ultimate conversion of Indians. And this was fully detrimental to the trading interests of the Company dominated by men with long experience in India who considered that any such move would result in political unrest in that country. They condemned the Bill and through some of their connections in both the Houses of parliament maneuvered to defeat it. And thus was lost Charles Grant's unique opportunity to become a pioneer in the introduction of western education in India. The Role of the Evangelist

The failure of Grant's plan of introducing Western education in India to facilitate conversion of Indians into Christianity did not mean an end to his effort to send evangelists to India. This, he did indirectly. It was customary, at this time, for the Chairman of the Court of Directors to select Chaplains for Europeans in India, and Grant who subsequently came to hold the Chair, availed himself of this opportunity of sending out ardent evangelists like Buchanan and Henry Martin. There were also some among the retired officials of the East India Company who shared Grant's

Views on the introduction of Western education as a step towards proselytization for the political benefits that it would accrue. For example, Sir John Shore after his retirement

from the govern generalship of Bengal observed: "Until our subjects there (India) shall be animated with us by a community of religious faith, we shall never consider our dominion as secure against the effects of external attack or internal commotion⁴.

During the decade that followed the Charter Act of 1793, the evangelicals in England focused their attention towards finding some means of avoiding the restrictions imposed on the passage of missionaries to India by the terms of the Act. William Carey, a Baptist Missionary and a shoemaker by profession was sent to India in 1793 in a Danish ship by the London Baptist Missionary Society and his example was followed in 1799 by two other missionaries who came in an American ship and settled down in Serampore, a Danish colony, not far away from Calcutta which was the headquarters of the East India Company in India. Carey had settled down with the help of George Udny in Dinajpore where he opened a free boarding school for poor children who were given instructions in Sanskrit, Persian and Bengali as well as in the doctrines of Christianity. In 1800, Carey joined Marshman and Ward in Serampore. With the help of a paper manufactory, and the printing press which soon began to receive large commissions from the Company's establishments in Bengal, they carried on their work for the dissemination of education and propagation of Christianity among the people of Bengal

As decided by Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773, the Charter Act of the East India Company was to be renewed every twenty years. Accordingly, when the term of the Company's Charter was due to expire in 1813, the missionaries were determined to make this occasion another trial of strength in Parliament with the Directors. In February 1812, a committee was formed consisting of Wilberforce, Grant, Thomson, Stephen and Babington to arrange an interview on behalf of the various religious organizations in Britain. Soon there was dissension among the missionaries themselves due to the jealousy of the dissenters of the Church of England but Wilberforce managed to keep them together. He persuaded the Church of Scotland to take the lead of the non-conformists and himself along with Grant interviewed Liverpool, the Prime Minister, who put them off with some vague promises. Moreover, Buckinghamshire, the President of the Board of Control and Castlereagh appeared cold and hostile and refused to countenance any change of the existing system⁵.

The reluctance on the part of Castlereagh and Buckinghamshire was, however, related to the opposition of the Directors of the East India Company, who produced an imposing amount of evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons against the despatch of

⁴ G.D Bearce, *British Attitudes towards India*, Oxford publishers, London, 1961, p 46.

⁵ A.N Basu, *Education in Modern India*, Bashi publishers, Calcutta, 1947, p 20.

missionaries to India by important people who had long experiences of India and were esteemed highly by their countrymen. All emphasized the unfavorable political consequences that would follow the episcopal establishment in India. Malcolm's observations were representative of the views of the East India Company officials who deposed before the Committee. While admitting the blessings which Christianity would bestow on Indians, he warned the Committee that its introduction into India would have the most dangerous consequences for the stability

The empire which depended on the "general division of the go communities and their sub-division into various castes and tribes because all these elements would then be united in a general opposition to any scheme which they might think would lead their conversion.

It was at this stage, that Zachary Macaulay, encouraged Wilberforce, organized a campaign calling on the missionary! To send petitions to the Parliament for the unrestrained dispatch of missionaries to India.

Charter Act of 1813

The new Act renewing the Company's privileges for a further period of twenty years was passed on 21 July 1813. An episcopate with archdeacons was set up in India and Board of Controls authorised to grant licenses to missionaries to proceed there. The question of dissemination of education among Indians was also taken up into consideration and a Clause to this effect was introduced in Parliament by a former Advocate General in Calcutta and was passed after a slight modification. This Clause (43rd) empowered the Governor-General to appropriate "a sum of not

less than one lac of rupees" in each year out of the surplus territorial revenues" for 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. J. A. Richter, in his History of Missions in India, has suggested that the Clause 43 which spoke of the revival and improvement of literature and of the encouragement of the learned natives of India was created as "a reliable counterpoise, a protecting break water against the threatened deluge of missionary enterprise" enshrined in the Charter Act of 1813. It is possible that the supporters of this Clause were influenced by the Orientalists in Calcutta who had been agitating for some time past for more funds for the maintenance of the Calcutta Madrasa and the Benares Sanskrit College, and for the revival and improvement of classical learning of India. In March 1811, Minto, Governor-General of India between 1806 and 1813, had sent home a minute which definitely represented and endorsed the views of the Orientalists in India. In that minute, Minto spoke about the decay

and the neglect of Indian classical learning and taught persons which could be traced to the want of that encouragement which was formerly afforded to it by princes, chieftains and opulent individuals under the native governments. It is seriously to be lamented," he had observed that a nation particularly distinguished for its love and successful cultivation of letters in other parts of the empire should have failed to extend its fostering care to the literature of the Hindu's, and to aid in opening to the learned in Europe the repositories of that literature."

While it is clear from the debates in the House of Commons and the House of Lords that by 'sciences' it was meant Western sciences, Clause 43 was otherwise quite vague. First, it is not clear what would be the maximum amount of expenditure on education and secondly, how to ascertain in the absence of a proper financial Machinery, the surplus in the territorial revenues. Since the Governor-General was the administrative head of the Presidency of Fort William only, the whole of the grant was likely to be appropriated for Bengal alone. Yet the Clause was important, in spite of its vagueness, in laying down for the first time that the dissemination of education among the people should be one of the tasks of the British Raj in India. It assumed more importance when one remembers that in those days education was not a state responsibility even in England, and except in Scotland, no public money was spent on elementary education, which was left mostly to the charity schools, the village dames, the private Sunday school movement started by Robert Raikes and the personal efforts of individuals like Hannah More, "the bishop in petticoat" as she was then known to her contemporaries⁶.

An Estimate of the Part played by Bentinck and Macaulay in the introduction of English Education in India:

In India Thomas Babington Macaulay is fully credited with the introduction of English education officially though the necessary order on the subject was issued by Bentinck, the Governor General of India, on 7 March 1835, after going through a long historical minute written by the former on 2 February 1835 at the latter's request. Needless to say, in issuing this order on English education, Bentinck put his own political career in India at enormous risk. For, according to the rules of the East India Company the Governor General in India could not initiate any important action without first obtaining the approval of its executive body, the Court of Directors in London. Since Bentinck took the decision within a few weeks of receiving the papers from the General Committee of Public Instruction, it was clear that

⁶ K.K Chatterjee, *English Education in India*, Lotus publications, Delhi, 1976, p 28

the Governor General did not have the necessary time to obtain the required sanction of the Court of Directors. In those days of steamship navigation, a despatch from Calcutta used to take not less than three months to reach London. This simple fact does not need the scholarship of a Spear or a Ballhatchet to prove or disprove that Bentinck acted without the authority of the East India Company in London. Writing on the subject more than a hundred years later in *The Education of India* Arthur Mayhew argued that Bentinck took the decision without reading. Macaulay's minute and was solely motivated by Macaulay's threat to resign. Such an argument is contrary to the image of Bentinck that has emerged through recent researches as a true child of his age.

Bentinck who came to India as the Governor-General in July 1828 was a firm believer in utilitarian principles. In a farewell dinner at Grote's house in December 1827 just on the eve of his departure for India, he had said to James Mill; 'I am going to British India but I shall not be Governor-General. It is you that will be Governor-General.' A man of great energy, vigour and action he utilized the long period of peace enjoyed by his Government to tackle every problem that his administration faced in India- he was the person who made sati illegal in 1829 and took steps to stop other social evils like Thugi and infanticide. He also persuaded young Indians to learn English language by throwing open subordinate positions in judicial and revenue branches to them. In a letter to the General committee of public instruction on 26 June 1829 he observed; 'it is the wish and admitted policy of the British Government to render its own language gradually and eventually the language of public business throughout the country, and practical degree of encouragement to the execution of this project'. As a mark of respect to the wishes of Governor-General, the General committee of public instruction added English classes to the Benaras Sanskrit College in 1830 thereby providing for English classes in all the important oriental institutions in Calcutta, Delhi and Benaras⁷.

One reason why Bentinck was so keen on introducing English education was because he considered it not only to be a "cure for the kind of social evils that he had to deal with at the very beginning of his administration in India but also a key to the improvement of the country. In this respect he fully shared with James Mill the view that Indian society was decadent and the key to its regeneration lay in the introduction of Western knowledge and science. In a letter to Mancy on 1 June 1834, he explained: "General education is my panacea for the regeneration of India. The ground must be prepared and the jungle cleared away

⁷ A.T Embree, *Charles Grant and British Rule in India*, Oxford Press, London, 1962, p. 56.

before the human mind can receive, with any prospect of real' benefit, the seeds of improvement... You will anticipate my entire dissent from those who think it better that the natives should remain in ignorance. I cannot regard the advantage of ignorance to the governors or the governed. If our rule is bad as I believe it to be, let the natives have the means through knowledge, to represent their grievances and to obtain redress If their own habits, morals or way of thinking are inconsistent with their own happiness and improvement, let them have the means provided by our greater intelligence of discovering their errors. I approve, therefore, of every plan by which the human mind can be instructed and of course elevated... Such a plan came through Macaulay's minute of 2 February 1835 as an expert advice on the subject and Bentinck immediately acted on it. Macaulay, whose interest in consolidating the British empire by the proportion of English laws and English culture began quite early in life when he grew up as the son of Zachary Macaulay in the circle of the Clapham evangelists and gave evidence of it in his Parliamentary speech on 10 July 183 on the occasion of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, held similar views on the subject with Bentinck. And it will not be unreasonable to surmise that there had been earlier discussions on it either at the time when they were together in the Ootacamund in the Nilgiris in the summer of 1834 or at the time when Macaulay was appointed by Bentinck as President of the General Committee of Public Instruction in December 1834 at a time when the Committee was seized with the controversy on the future education policy of India. Assuming there had been no such occasions, it was still possible for Macaulay to know the Governor-General's mind through CE Trevelyan, a staunch Anglicist and a great favorite among Bentinck's officials, who was also married to Macaulay's sister. The threat of resignation held out by Macaulay if his recommendations on English education were not accepted was not a threat meant for Bentinck but a subtle challenge thrown to the opponents of English education in India⁸.

The reason why Bentinck issued the order without obtaining the approval of the Court of Directors was because of the fact that following the return of the Tory Party to power in England Bentinck was contemplating his retirement as Governor-General of India by the end of March 1835. He did not want to leave the fate of a subject so dear to his heart to his successor and took immediate steps to decide on it on 7 March 1835. And he did so at a price--he earned the displeasure of the Court of Directors to such an extent that back home he withdrew from the affairs of the Company and led a secluded life. The Court of Directors

⁸ *Ibid*, p 59.

on the other hand, almost decided to reverse the order of 7 March 1835 by sending a despatch to Calcutta-the draft of the despatch was almost ready by October 1836 but was never sent as Hob house, the President of the Board of Control, did not accept the draft despatch sent to him by Carnac, Chairman of the Court of Directors, under pressure from Auckland, the Governor-General of India. Macaulay's minute became a secretarial sensation from the

Very moment of its composition on 2 February 1835. It shot him to further prominence in England and in India.

Significance of Bentinck's Decision

Bentinck's order of 7 March 1835 not only opened Europe's India but India to Europe and signaled the advent of far reaching socio-economic and political changes in India in a none too distant future and as said earlier, it became a milestone in the history of India. As a matter of fact, Bentinck's decision of March 1835 contained within it the seeds of another development besides the promotion of Western education which he could have hardly foreseen at that moment. It was the development of vernacular languages which Bentinck's Resolution did

not mention and the Orientalists who lost the battle with the Anglicists soon began to argue that European education could best be filtered to the masses only through vernacular education and began to clamor for financial support for its promotion. In a sense, therefore, Bentinck's decision of 7 March 1835 while cutting at the financial roots for Oriental learning, paved the way not only for the emergence of English as the most powerful language in British India but also for the development of vernacular languages which the missionaries had been popularizing along with English in their schools while propagating the Gospel among Indians since 1813⁹.

Orientalists supported Petitions against Bentinck's Resolution of 7 March 1835

The Resolution of 7 March 1835 could not finally settle the disputes regarding the nature of education to be imparted to the Indians. Macaulay's minute, though kept a secret, had somehow leaked out, and "in three days a petition was got up and signed

By no less than 30,000 people, on behalf of the Madrasa and another by the Hindus for the Sanskrit College." The Muslim petition written in Persian drew the attention of the government to the fact that it was its duty to encourage the learning of the people and warned it against the danger of vexing their spirit, stating that it was "necessary for the

⁹ J. Ghosh, *Higher Education in Bengal under British Rule*, Bhoosh Publications, Calcutta, 1926, p 43.

Government to enlist the goodwill and support of the Mussalmans, as it was through them and from them that the Government had got their Indian territories." In this the Orientalists were supported by a large number of Indians, both Hindus and Muslims who, though they had been in favor of English education before, now thought that the exclusive patronage of English education would be the first step towards the ultimate Anglicization and conversion of the people. Moreover, however much they might have been anxious for English education, they were never in the least ready to see a patronage and support withdrawn from their own literature and Science, Hence, they ceaselessly petitioned the government Praying that the Resolution be modified.

The government, however, declared that the instruction Imparted there would be adapted to future needs and expressed surprise at the needless alarm excited. It informed the Muslim so long as the Muslims resort to it for educational purposes, and petitioners that the Madrassa would be kept in its existing footing that no one while he conducts himself with propriety will at any time be deprived of any stipend." The government also assured the students of the Sanskrit College on 8 April 1835, in reply to their petition, that the pecuniary grants would be continued to the present incumbents, although no new grants could be made future.

Macnaughten's Minute on 24 March 1835;

In a long minute of 24 March 1835, Macnaughten supported by H. Shakespeare and James Prinsep restated the Orientalist cause and declared that the falling off in the number of students was no criterion for the abolition of professorships and scholarships, because such a diminution might be of a temporary nature and if this criterion were adopted, it should apply to the English classes as well. He also pointed out that the government's reply to Muslims was inconsistent with the tenor of the Resolution of 2 March 1835, and observed that in spite of the government's intention to abolish stipends they had been re-instituted at the Calcutta Medical College. Macnaughten further advocated the importance of using Indian languages as the medium of education in order to conciliate the orthodox section of Indians and declared, "the grand object...to be kept in view in giving instruction in the English language is not so much that few who make themselves masters of its invaluable treasures should be enlightened, but that through their means the light should be diffused over the whole surface of the society." He therefore advised the government to approach the Directors for further grants with which schools and colleges should be established at all the large stations for both English and Oriental education, whereby a knowledge of the literature and science of Europe could be gradually engrafted upon Indians. However, the government had no intention of

reopening the question. Unable to persuade the government, Macnaughten resigned his membership of the General Committee of Public Instruction. His step was followed by James Prinsep who had supported Macnaughten. H.T. Prinsep, however, refused to let the matter drop here and carried on his agitation. Entirely concurring with Macnaughten in a minute of 20 May 1835, he bitterly accused Macaulay and Bentick of not allowing any reply to Macaulay's arguments to appear on record. He ended by indicating the late Governor-General with making nominations, before his departure, to the general committee in order to ensure a majority for the Anglicists. The Government, now under the administration of Metcalfe, simply decided to send a copy of the minute to the Directors¹⁰.

The general committee of public instructions considered Adam's scheme for the improvement of vernacular Education

Towards the end of 1838, the Committee took into consideration the three Reports of William Adam who was appointed by Bentick in January to enquire into the state of vernacular education in Bengal Bihar and Orissa. Adam had submitted his first report in 1835, second in 1836 and the third on 10 April 1838 giving a complete statistic of the number of schools in south Bihar Tirhoot, Beerbhom, Burdwan and Murshidabad till 1838. In the last 119 pages of the third report, Adam submitted his scheme for the improvement of vernacular education. Adam considered it impossible to introduce compulsory education and also rejected the idea of instituting model schools on a graded system, beginning from the village schools and ending with the Government Zilla Schools. In order therefore, to encourage education without compulsion he recommended a plan of "payment by results."

According to this system, rewards were to be given on results of examinations. The teachers were to be the first ones to be examined. For the examination of these teachers Adam suggested the appointment of examiners well-versed in European as well as Indian educational systems. All the teachers appearing for examination were to receive travelling allowances and the successful ones were to be given certificates of distinction made eligible to enter Normal Schools, and finally appointed Inspectors and Examiners. Adam also suggested that each teacher should be allowed to recommend some of his pupils for examination and those students who would distinguish themselves in the highest class should become eligible for filling vacancies in the English School of the district. From this close investigation Adam had realized that want of discipline greatly handicapped the progress of the vernacular schools. To rectify this he suggested three methods, namely, written directions,

¹⁰ A. Howell, *Education in British India*, Bhashi Publications, Calcutta, 1872, p 65.

practical examples in the examination of the teachers and their students and the precept and example combined in the Normal Schools. Adam also proposed the use of the vernacular classes of the English Seminaries as Normal Schools. As a final reward, Adam suggested the endowment of each teacher suitably qualified under this system, after being recommended by two-thirds of the landowners, tenants and house-holders of the village to which he belonged by a grant of land of an annual value exceeding half the average annual income of vernacular teacher of the district. Adam rejected the idea of introducing moral text-books. Adam also proposed that the landowners and others should form a 'village school Association', which might develop as a nucleus for the purposes of Municipal government, village police, local improvement and statistical knowledge' but he declared that before putting the scheme into operation the government should take a census and make an educational survey of the districts selected for the purpose. The committee found Adam's scheme of improving and extending the indigenous village schools impracticable and too expensive and opposed to the idea of filtrating education from the upper and middle classes to the masses¹¹.

The general committee of public instruction was replaced by a council of Education In 1841 the general committee of public instruction tightened its control over the local authorities in education, but itself soon underwent radical transformations. The increase of the activities of the committee as well as of its funds, led the government to consider the possibility of bringing educational matters more directly under its control. The government therefore assumed in 1842 directly the general and financial business of the committee which was later replaced by a council of education whose main function was to be to advise the government on all matters relating to education. A newly appointed Deputy Secretary in the General Department was to act as the ex-officio Secretary of the Council of Education but the government changed its decision soon and appointed a Special Secretary to the Council. F.J Mount was selected for this appointment. While all schools and colleges in the Upper Provinces were transferred to the Government of Agra, the Council of Education was allowed to control all the institutions in Bengal. In 1812-43 the Council of Education drew the government's attention to the necessity of providing for proper inspection and supervision of the various institutions under government, and in 1844 an Inspector was appointed whose main functions included: (a) providing the means of diffusing a high standard of moral and intellectual education through English, (b) helping the students to acquire sufficient mastery of the vernaculars in order to enable them to communicate properly to the people the

¹¹ K.K Datta, *A Social History of Modern India*, Kasturi publications, New Delhi, 1975, p. 67.

knowledge they acquired in the Central Colleges (c) extending the means of instruction in the districts by establishing vernacular schools, or improving the existing ones and preparing a complete series of vernacular text books, and finally,(d) introducing a uniform and systematic course of study in all government institutions.

The appointment of an Inspector and the transfer of the institutions in the Upper Provinces to Agra Government were the only important measures sanctioned by Ellenborough's Government for the development of education in Bengal. He was much too occupied, during his short tenure of office, with the war in Afganistan and was glad to leave educational matters alone.

Educational developments under Harding's

A great change came with the arrival of Harding's as the Governor- General of India. Although distracted by war with the Sikhs, the last great political opponent of the company in India, Hardings was able to devote a great deal of attention to educational matters and to initiate reforms and innovations of far-reaching importance. Auckland, in his minute of November 1839, had drawn attention to the importance of raising a trained body of teachers and the Committee had suggested a plan for the purpose. But nothing was done till 1847 when the Council's plan for a Normal School for training the future teachers was sanctioned and a school, which was also to act as a Normal School, was opened in Bowbazar in Calcutta but the school had to be closed within two years when it did not fulfil the expectations of the authorities mainly for want of funds.¹²

Higher Education

Higher education, however, advanced with rapid strides during Harding's time Auckland had proposed to establish a comprehensive system of combined English and vernacular education comprising the formation of Zillah Schools and Central College.

In April 1815 Beadon drew a plan for its implementation providing for the establishment of five Central Colleges at Krishna Moorshidabad, Chittagong, Bhaugelpore and Cuttack and suggested that for recruitment of students for these colleges, schools should be established in every district in subordinate connection with these colleges which would attract the students by offer of scholarships. Harding who was keen on throwing open the public offices to educated Indians--not only to induce them to take advantage of educational institutions but also to raise a body of subordinate officials at a reasonably moderate cost-

¹² S.C. Ghosh, *The Social Condition of the British community in Bengal*, 1978, p. 76.

readily sanctioned the scheme, which was later approved by the Court of Directors in August 1847.

Plan for a University in the Bengal Presidency

In 1814-45 the Council of Education drew the government's attention to the necessity of establishing a university with faculties of Arts, Law and Civil Engineering and on 25 October 1845 C.H. Cameron, the President of the Council of Education, decided that "the present advanced state of education in Bengal Presidency renders it not only expedient and advisable, but a matter of strict justice and necessity to confer upon the successful students some mark of distinction, by which they may be recognized as persons of liberal education and enlightened minds, capable of entering upon the active duties of life." A plan to establish a

Central University on the model of London University set 1836, which would grant degrees in Arts, Science, Law, Medicine and Civil Engineering, and which would be "incorporated by a special Act of the Legislative Council of India and endowed with the privileges enjoyed by all Chartered Universities in Great Britain and Ireland" was forwarded in 1846 to the Government of Bengal with the request that royal assent should be profound for the scheme. The government

The government, although it did not altogether think that the time for such a measure had come wanted the scheme to receive the favorable attention of authorities at home one of the main reasons which induced the government to favor the establishment of a university was "the great and increasing difficulty of providing suitable tests for the selection of candidates for public employment in May 1846 the Governor General recommended the scheme to the Court of Directors, but he admitted to them that the government would have to bear the initial expenses. Nevertheless, he hoped that the Directors would sanction the scheme in their despatch of 22 September 18, the Court Director's refused their sanction without advancing any reason for the rejection of the plan for the university Summing up the two most important developments in education during the decade after Bentinck's Resolution of March 1835 were, first, the final settlement of the Anglo-Oriental controversy by Auckland and second, indications of the lines along which future educational developments in the country were to take shape¹³.

¹³ M.L Laired, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal*, oxford press, London, 1972, p 81

Dalhousie's Educational Efforts

The age of Dalhousie is the most significant age in the history of education in modern India. For the foundations of a modern system of education were actually laid during the administration of Dalhousie as the Governor General of India between 1848 and 1856. It will be seen that the Education Despatch of 1854, popularly, and perhaps incorrectly, known as Wood's Despatch, which laid the foundations of this system did really emerge out of the various experiments and steps taken in education by Dalhousie's predecessors and by Dalhousie himself till 1853. We shall study this chapter under four heads: First, the educational experiments of Dalhousie till 1853, second, the making of the Education Despatch of 1854; third, the main provisions of the Education Despatch of 1854 and finally, the implementation of the Education Despatch of 1854 and its later endorsement¹⁴.

Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control, was requested to frame a General Scheme of Education for British India

A study of the Wood Papers at the India Office Library, London simultaneously with a study of the Dalhousie Papers at the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, reveals that Charles Wood, the President of the Board of Control, was requested by the Court of Directors to frame a general scheme of education applicable to whole of British India in a "proposed P.C."-a practice ultimately leading to the formation of a despatch to India. The occasion for this arose from the discussions that took place in Parliament relating to the Act for the future Government of India when interest was shown expressed on the subject of education and strong desire for its extension and improvement. "With a views to give effect to these feelings and wishes", the East India House supplied Wood with all the necessary materials to frame comprehensive policy on education but told him that for this purpose it was not necessary that the system hitherto acted on differing greatly as it does in detail in the several Presidencies, she undergo any great or violent change, but rather than the object should be sought by an extension of that system, in some directions, and by the use and encouragement of those Educational Establishments, unconnected with Government which have been much favor with the general community, but which have the received no countenance or support from the state." In that connection the East India House which had already received by November 1853 Dalhousie's proposal for extension of Thomason's system of vernacular education to the rest of the north western provinces, Bengal and the Punjab, drew Wood's attention to it: with regard to the village schools the plan already acted on with success in the

¹⁴ S.C Ghosh, *Dalhousie in India 1848-56*, Pustak publishers, 1975, p. 32

N.W Provinces and in Bombay assisting and encouraging in the efforts of the people themselves for the improvement of existing schools should be adhered to: and there seems no reason to doubt that this mode of proceeding will be found adequate to the end in views.¹⁵

The Education Dispatch Of 1854

The Education Despatch of 1854 is divided into 100 paragraphs and occupies in print some 29 pages in J. Richey's *Selections from Educational Records 1840-59* (Part 2) first brought out in 1922.

Objects of a General System of Education: What are the factors that led the East India House or the Court of Directors to frame a comprehensive education policy for the whole of British India? The introductory paragraphs of the Despatch provide the answer: "Among many subjects of importance, none can have a stronger claim to our attention than that of education. It is one of our most sacred duties, to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge, and which India may, under Providence, derive from her connexion with England.... We have, moreover, always looked upon the encouragement of education peculiarly important, because calculated not only to produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character to those who partake of its advantages, and so to supply you with servants to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust.... Nor, while the character of England is deeply concerned in the success of our efforts for the promotion of education, are her material interests altogether unaffected by the advance of European knowledge in India. This knowledge will teach the natives of India the marvelous results of the employment of labor and capital, rouse them to emulate us in the development of the vast resources of their country, guide them in their efforts, and gradually, but certainly, confer upon them all the advantages which accompany the healthy increase of wealth and commerce; and at the same time secure to us a large and more certain supply of many articles necessary for our manufacturers and extensively consumed by all classes of our population as well as an almost inexhaustible demand for the produce of British labor."

Nature of Education and Medium of Instruction

What was to be the nature of education the Despatch wanted to impart to the Indians? It "emphatically declared that the nature of education was to be the "improved arts, sciences, and literature of Europe and categorically stated that the eastern systems abound with

¹⁵ K.K Chatterjee, *English Education In India*, Pustak publications, Delhi, 1976, p. 37

grievous errors. Since the Oriental institutions were valuable for "historical and antiquarian purposes and since the cultivation of the Oriental language was necessary for the study of Hindu and Muslim laws and for the improvement of the vernaculars, the authorities had no desire to abolish them. On the other hand, the authorities suggested that they should be

improved and rendered useful. The medium of higher education was to be English, but it was not to be substituted for the vernaculars. As the Despatch pointed out "it is indispensable that in any general system of education, the study of them should be assiduously attended to, and any acquaintance with improved European knowledge which is to be communicated to the great mass of the people whose circumstances prevent them from acquiring a higher order of education, and who cannot be expected to overcome the difficulties of a foreign language can only be conveyed to them through one or other of these vernacular languages" The Despatch thus abandoned the filtration policy of 1835, The Despatch emphasized that vernacular should be cultivated in the Anglo-Vernacular colleges and English in the Vernacular and Oriental institutions with a view to that general diffusion of European knowledge which is the main object of education in India¹⁶.

Department of Education

The Despatch replaced the provincial boards and councils of education by creating departments of public instruction in each of the five provinces into which the territory of the Company were divided at that time--Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab. This department was to be headed by an important officer called the Director of Public Instruction who was to be assisted by an adequate number of inspectors with the special responsibility of reporting on the state of inspected schools and colleges. The Director was required to submit to the government an annual report on the progress of education in his province¹⁷.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EDUCATION DESPATCH OF 1854 AND ITS ENDORSEMENT IN 1859

Dalhousie, however, did not allow his personal feelings to stand in the way of the implementation of the provisions of the Despatch, which opened an era of Anglo-Vernacular educational approach in the history of Indian education. He realized that it contained, a scheme of education for all India, far wider and more comprehensive than the Local or the Supreme Government would have ventured to suggest it left nothing to be desired." In January 1855 Dalhousie laid the proposals for working out the Despatch of 1854 before his

¹⁶ T.N Dhar, *Education and Employment in India*, Bashi publications, Calcutta, 1976, p 58

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p60.

Council and by February, he was able to report to Wood about the launching of the scheme. He expressed his hope that if he lived, he would see the whole organized and in complete operation (so far as this can be affected at once)" And he did not hope in vain. By the end of 1855 a distinct department for the superintendence of education was constituted and a Director of Public Instruction had been appointed in each of the five provinces with inspectors and others appointed in each of them. Provisional rules for regulating grants-in-aid had been sanctioned for the guidance of the local governments. And finally. A committee had been appointed for the purpose of framing a scheme for the establishment of universities at the presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. By the time Dalhousie retired from India in March 1856 it was still engaged on that difficult task.

The Hunter Commission

A careful perusal of the developments in education in British India his since 1855 reveals that many of these were not in accordance with the provisions of the Education Despatch of 1854. Contrary expectations of the Despatch the government did not only withdraw from the field of education but also failed to build up a system of mass education through grants-in-aid. As a matter of fact, elementary education was much neglected at the expense of secondary and higher education. All these were certainly grounds for a review of the educational developments in the country in 1855 but the matter was actually hastened by the Christian Missionaries.

The Christian missionaries were particularly sore when they found that they could no longer reach the masses through education system built upon grants-in-aid. They were further irked by the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 following the Revolt of 1857 which assured the Indian people of the British Raj interference in religious matters. The government officials who

Adopted an unsympathetic attitude to mission schools and allowed a line of direct competition by creating rival schools further to their difficulties¹⁸.

The missionaries therefore started an agitation both in India and in England complaining that, (a) the educational administration in India was not carried out in accordance with the provision of the Education Despatch of 1854 which had recommended withdrawal of government from the field of education, b) that the government officials were competing with missionary educational endeavor to such an extent that the mission schools were now threatened with extinction and c) that the secular education imparted in

¹⁸ G.D. Bearce, *British Attitudes towards India*, Oxford press, London, 1954, p. 156.

government institutions was Godless. In England they formed 'the general council of education in India' which included among its members important personalities such as Lord Lawrence, and Lord Halifax. When Lord Ripon's name was announced as the viceroy of India in 1882, a delegation of this council waited upon him and requested him to institute an enquiry into the state of Indian Education. Ripon observed The Despatch lays down clearly and forcibly the board lines of the true educational policy for India, and upon these lines it will be my desire to work. It will be my duty when I get out to India to examine all such matters carefully in the light of the information which will then be at my disposal, but I do not think I shall be guilty of any indiscretion if I tell you even now how much I sympathize with your desire to promote the extension of elementary education among the poorer classes. This has been a special object of interest for many years in England, it will not be less in India."

Appointment of Hunter Commission

In February 1882 Ripon appointed the first Indian Education Commission with William Hunter, a member of his Executive Council, as its chairman. Among its 20 members, Indians were represented by Anand Mohan Bose, Bhudev Mukherjee, Syed Mahmud and K.T. Telung, and the missionaries by Rev. Dr. Miller of Madras. B.L. Rice, the Mysore Director of Public Instruction, was appointed its secretary. The Commission was asked to enquire particularly into the manner in which effect had been given to the principles of the Despatch of 1854 and to suggest such measures as it might think desirable with a view to the further carrying out of the policy therein laid down." The Commission was also asked to keep the enquiry into the primary education in the forefront, partly because of an agitation alleging its neglect in India, and partly because a national system of compulsory elementary education was built up in England two years ago with the passing of the Elementary Education Act in 1891. The Commission was further asked to enquire into the position of government institutions in a national system of education, the position of the missionary institutions in it and the attitude of government towards private enterprise The Commission was also asked to offer suggestions on secondary education European and university education being excluded from the purview of the commission.

The Commission submitted its Report

The Commission first started at Calcutta for nearly seven weeks and there after toured India for eight months examining witness and collecting materials and finally submitted its voluminous report of more than 600 folio pages and resolutions in 1883. The most notable part of the Commission's recommendations was that it feed the government from the

responsibilities of mass education by entrusting these to the local boards and suggested, gradual transfer of government colleges and secondary schools efficient private bodies. Indians were thus required to raise funds for their own education and their efforts were to be assisted by a liberal grants-in-aid system. In this context the Commission reviewed the system of grants-in-aid prevalent in different provinces--the Salary Grant System of Madras, the Payment by Results System of Bombay and the Fixed Period System of Northern and Central India--and suggested that each state should be left free to adopt any system which would best suit its local conditions. There was to be no discrimination between government and non-government institutions while applying the rules of grants in-aid to them. The commission supported the indigenous system of education which had been waning for want of patronage. The commission recommended that they should be developed, patronized and assisted to fill a useful position in the state system of national education¹⁹.

The Age of Curzon is the one of the important part of Education history of British Raj. Curzon's university reform became the pivot upon which his other reforms in education revolved. The most important fall out of his reform of the Indian universities was the first official announcement of the future education policy of the Government of India to reduce the tension created among the educated Indians by the process of his university reform.

Curzon's University Reform

Curzon revealed his Plan for University Reform to Hamilton Curzon gave top priority to his reforms of higher education from the very beginning of his term as the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in January 1899. He allowed himself sufficient time to study the university question and took one important step when he appointed his friend, Raleigh, as the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, then the largest among the five existing universities in India. In August 1901, he wrote to Hamilton: "I think it very likely that in the case of the universities for the reform of which we shall almost inevitably be compelled to resort to legislation, I shall have to appoint a small preliminary commission to go round and take evidence at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and allow the instructed M.As and B.As who swarm at these capitals to have their say in advance. Such a situation as the present with a Chancellor and a Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University in the persons of myself and Raleigh who are both Fellows of an Oxford College and strongly imbued with the university feeling is probably not likely to occur again for a long time in India. It would be a pity not to take advantage of it to carry out reforms which everyone admits to be essentials, which

¹⁹ Surendernath Banerjea, *A Nation in Making*, Panthak publishers, Mathura, 1925, p 201.

nobody hitherto has dared to touch, but which I think that I have the strength of position to carry through. I left alone to develop upon the present lines the Indian universities will ere long develop into nurseries of discontented characters and stunted brains. There are many, many indeed who say, that the effect has already been produced.’

Curzon’s Minute on university Reform on 23 February 1901 By 23 February 1910 curzon’s scheme for university reform was ready when he recorded an extremely long minute on the Subject, revealing his tremendous capabilities for hard work, for which he had a great reputation at oxford, and for which he almost impaired his health in India just as Dalhousie had actually done before him. The main thrust of his arguments in the minute was that, legislation was necessary to extend the functions of the Indian universities from examination to teaching, regulate the number, tenure and qualifications of the fellows as well as to maintain a proper balance between Europeans and Indians, officials and non-officials, and between the various faculties or professions, curtail power of the boards of studies which prescribed text books for the colleges as well as regulate the courses of instruction of the candidates reading for the university examination, and finally, to revoke the university degrees in cases where the holder had been convicted by a criminal court. After listing the areas legislation to tighten control over the universities, Curzon felt that the plate was still not full; there are doubtless other subjects affecting the case for against legislation which have not occurred to me, or of which am ignorant.... There also remains the question as to the competence of the Government of India to reform (either by legislation or by executive action) the University of Calcutta without reference to the case of the Universities of Madras and Bombay; even if the competence be indisputable, the expedience or desire Ability of the same." It was, therefore, necessary to consult a body of expert opinions and six months after he had drafted the proposals for the university reform, he summoned a conference at Shimla to look for the light at the end of the tunnel. The first educationalist conference in India, stated on 2 September 1901, was attended by the vice-chancellors of the universities of Calcutta, Bombay and madras the north –western provinces and the Punjab, inspector-general of education in the central provinces, principal of the schools of Arts in Madras, Reporter on Economic products to the Government and finally Curzon and the members of the Indian people.²⁰

²⁰ S.C .Ghosh, *Education Policy in India since warren Hastings*, Calcutta, 1989, p 93.

Appointment of Indian University commission;

In a telegram to Hamilton on 13 January 1902 Curzon proposed to appoint six persons as permanent members of the commission including Raleigh who was to be the chairman. The others were Hewett, Pedler, Bourne, Mackichan and syed H.Bilgram the last being the only Indian representative. When the appointment of the commission was made public after obtaining Hamilton's approval , the absence of a Hindu among the six permanent commissioners created a great stir since the Hindus have' the largest interest in the educational problems that were to be considered.'

Appointment of the Director – General of Education

While announcing the appointment of the Indian university commission, Curzon also made an appointment to the newly created post of director- general of Education, discussed at the conference at Shimla and latter approved by Hamilton. Orange, who had two first classes from Winchester and oxford and was then working in the department of Education as an Examiner in the white Hall, was appointed to the post on the recommendations of saddler who was first offered the post but declined to accept it.

The Indian university Act

The Indian universities Act Introduced radical changes into the five existing universities at Calcutta, Bombay Madras, Lahore and Allahabad. Among these were, an enlargement of the functions of the university; reduction in the size of the university senates; introduction of the principles of election; statutory recognition of the syndicates where university teachers were to be given an adequate representation; stricter conditions for the affiliation of colleges to a university; definition of the territorial limits of the universities; provision for a grant of Rs 5 lakh a year for five years for implementing these changes to the five Indians universities and finally powers to the government to make additions and alterations while approving of the regulations passed by the Senates.

Curzon's university reform not only provided comprehension document on the Government of India's education policy but also activated Indian intellectuals' attempt at generating a parallel system of education, called national education, which received a shot in the booster when the movement against Curzon's partition of Bengal started in 1905. National education became one of the issues on which the Swadeshi Movement which grew out of the Anti-Partition Movement was built up and in 1906 it was also one of the issues on which the

Moderates and the Extremists failed to agree-leading to a split the following year of the Indian National Congress at Surat²¹.

The Government of India Act of 1919

The year which saw the Calcutta University Commission submit its report also saw the passing of the Government of India Act 1919 by the British Parliament. Based on the reform proposal Of Montagu, the Secretary of State, and Chelmsford, the Viceroy, first announced in the house of commons on 20 August 1917 by Montagu against the background of the Home Rule Movement in India led by B.G. Tilak and Annie Besant, the Act set up a Council of State and a Legislative Assembly with elected majorities but no control over the ministers at the Centre. It introduced dyarchy in the Provinces where departments with less political weight and little funds like education, health, agriculture and local bodies were transferred to ministers responsible to the Provincial Legislatures. Officials were given control of more vital department like law and order or finance, and the Provincial Governors like the Viceroy at the Centre were given powers to veto plus certificates procedure of pushing through rejected Bills. Revenue resources were divided between the Centre and the Provinces and Despite some criticism of the separate electorates made in the report in 1918, the Act of 1919 not only retained communal representation and reservations first announced in the Act of 1909 to appease the demand of the Muslim League formed in 1906 but also extended them by conceding the Justice Party demands for on-Brahmin reservations in madras.

National Education

The Non-Co-operation Resolution passed by the Nagpur congress in 1920 advised the gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by government, and in place of such schools and colleges, the establishment of national schools and colleges in the various provinces" encouraged. Within a short period of time national schools and colleges were established throughout the country at Ahmedabad Benares, Calcutta, Lahore, Patna and Poona. The courses offered by these schools and colleges did not differ much from those offered by government-controlled institutions, though the medium of instruction was invariably the mother tongue and the object was to breed a race of Indians to provide leadership to the national movement with a national outlook.

Among the national universities thrown by the national education movement during this period were the Jamia Millia Islamia, the Viswa Bharati and the Gurukul which now adorn the scene of our higher education in the country. A section of the Muslim community opened

²¹ *Ibid*, p.132.

a number of Azad Schools in Uttar Pradesh and led by Maulana Mohammad Ali in 1920 established the Jamia Millia Islamia or Muslim National University at Aligarh. The university which preferred "the hardships and ordeals of an honorable independence to the enervating security of a permanent grant which would frustrate its noblest ambitions" was transferred to

Delhi in 1925. In 1921 Tagore founded the Viswa-Bharati without any financial support from the government, with the object of understanding the diverse cultures of the East and the West and building up a platform for world fellowship, peace and harmony.

The Gurukul University which grew out of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha in the Punjab in 1902 was shifted in 1924 to Kangri where it continued to conduct its work in "sylvan solitude free from the educational influence of city life."²²

Appointment of the Hartog Committee as an Auxiliary Committee of the Simon Commission

On 8 November 1927, the British Government announced the appointment of a Commission to enquire into, and report on the working of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms as a basis for further action. As per the provision of the Act of 1919, the first such enquiry was to be held after ten years in 1929 when British elections would be held. Since there was a growing probability that the Labor Party would return to power, it was considered better to forestall the Labor Government by advancing the date by two years. The Commission was to consist of seven British Members of Parliament, including Attlee, under Sir John Simon. The Simon Commission was also asked to submit a report on education and for this purpose an Auxiliary Committee with Philip Hartog as President was formed. Hartog was a former member of the Calcutta University Commission under Sadler as well as an ex Vice Chancellor of the newly formed Dacca University²³.

The Government of India Act of 1935

The British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, summoned the third and final session of the Round Table Conference at London on 17 November which lasted till the end of December 1932. It was largely a small gathering of 46 delegates compared to the

Second session in 1931 which was attended by 112 delegates including Gandhi. This time the Congress which was then staging Civil Disobedience Movement in India did not attend the session. The Conference was followed by the issue of a White Paper in

March 1933 and setting up of a Joint Select Committee of Parliament under Linlithgow with a provision merely for consulting Indians. Quite naturally and expectedly, many of the

²² A.R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, Kunti Publications, Bombay, 1948, p 176.

²³ *Ibid*, p 180.

admittedly restricted concessions offered in 1930-31 under pressure of Civil Disobedience Movement were now reduced through this process and in August 1935, the Government of India Act emerged after a long and tortuous process which started eight years earlier with the appointment of the Simon Commission in 1927²⁴.

When India achieved her independence, newly emergent nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America were preoccupied with the task of renovating their educational structures to suit national needs and national aspirations.

²⁴ A.Howell, *Education in British India*, Bhosh publications, Calcutta, 1980, p 261.

CHAPTER-4

SOCIAL CHALLENGES DURING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF EDUCATION POLICIES

Education is a course of illumination and strengthening by which the people can get a superior personal satisfaction. Today, schooling is worldwide and a multipurpose social help, which should remunerate human genius, responsibility and opportunity. The current day instruction is focused on the development of body, psyche, mind and soul. Kids are humankind's most prominent resource. Consequently, another vision of human significance should be ingrained in them. Numerous youngsters leave our country in quest for advanced education. Subsequently we should invite current information dependent on age old culture. It's obviously true that information should be obtained and enhanced by a deep-rooted relearning and holding framework and it should be supported in our schooling framework. English language is acknowledged as a connection language with worldwide importance and furthermore the most spread language on the planet. In India it is presently an Official language notwithstanding Hindi. Understudies at the school level need to obtain better capability in English alongside the learning of different subjects like Mathematics and Science. The understudies need to have a channel of speaking with different schools, universities and Institutions for which the information on English assumes a significant part.

English language additionally assumes a critical part directly at the school levels where a youngster tastes the pleasantness of the abstract language and fosters an interest in it and teaches the propensity for book perusing. In a time of globalization and modernization English language learning empowers in moving the distinction of a kid into a character. English has turned into the associating language in India and showing English is a significant area in the education field.

The English were credited for altering the scholarly existence of India through the presentation of a Western System of Education in the subcontinent. The English arrangement of current instruction and the western thoughts assumed a critical part in the creation of the social and instructive history of India. R.C. Majumdar states: If we have to choose one single factor which helped more than others in bringing about the great transformation in India in the 19th century, we can without any hesitation point to the English higher education.¹

¹ R.C. Majumdar, ed., *The History and Culture of the Indian People* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1965) p.31

For a comprehension of the improvement of the western instruction in India, exertion must be made to contact the verifiable angles to make the investigation simpler. The East India Company which came to India in 1600 AD barely gave any thoughtfulness regarding the Indian training. Since it was basically worried about the advancement of business interests, it was not anticipated from them to make any genuine strides for the training of individuals of India. However, Naik and Nurullah bring up: For the recruitment of Indians for the propagation of the Gospel among their countrymen and for imparting to these missionaries such education, at the company's expense, as would enable them to carry out effectively the purposes for which they were enlisted.²

Education perpetually mirrors the thoughts of the general public. With each change in the socio-political example, the association and destinations of schooling additionally, typically changes. So, in the design, content and technique for the entire arrangement of schooling in India had some resulting changes.

The East India Company till 1813 scarcely had any interest in the field of training. Toward the start of the nineteenth century, before the Government turned out to be genuinely worried about the matter, training in India was at low ebb. It ought to be conceded that in its initial days in India, the British Raj did very little for advancing the cause of knowledge.

In any case, there was a steady advancement towards arranging an instructive plan for India. In a manner a partner official language, English intentionally or unconsciously plays had an instrumental impact in keeping up with the variety of India's language scene on the grounds that the presence of English has implied that it has not been important to choose any one Indian language as a public language. Indeed, the states which used to revitalize to trademarks, for example, angriji hatao (eliminate English) are presently enthusiastically presenting English in the principal year of tutoring.

English today is very nearly a mandatory second language. When denied areas of the general public presently see the language as an instrument for progress. The new information on a sanctuary for English language in a town in the Hindi heartland (Pandey 2011) tells the thing.³

² J. P. Naik and Nurullah S., *A Students History of Education -in India 1800- 1973*, Sixth Revised Edition (New Delhi: Macmillan Company, 1974) p.33

³ https://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/70656/11/11_chapter%205.pdf

Pre-British Period

While examining schooling strategy in Pre-British India, an endeavor has been made to break down educational policies from the start of old period to the appearance of British. Since the start of Indian civilisation till contemporary occasions people with significant influence have coordinated the course of instruction yet it was distinctly with the coming of present-day times that a logical methodology started to be embraced in figuring education arrangements.

There are no accessible scholarly hotspots for getting a credible comprehension of education policies in old India. Literary sources of 1000 A.D. and onwards give a sensibly sufficient information on the approaches that represented the old training framework in India, the noticeable sources being the Rig Veda, the Aranyakas, the Upanishads, the Epics and the Puranas (Scharfe 2002).⁴

The Aryans reached India in II B.C. These Aryans were quick to make a critical endeavor in detailing educational policies in India. The Aryans had unmistakably characterized the idea of their educational framework and the locals who were alluded to as 'Dasyus' needed to cling to the standards that the Aryans had set down (Keay 1972).⁵

Old Indian scholars viewed education as an instrument which puts an oblivious individual on the way of a savvy, reformist, good and righteous course of life. Children in old India were needed to contemplate the subjects not just according to the perspective of making themselves equipped for taking care of life, but on the other hand were needed to consider them essentially according to the perspective of taking part in examination and work towards making a high-level assemblage of information nearby. Therefore, when understudies arrived at the situation with learned people, they were incredibly regarded and loved. In the old time frame a pride of spot was concurred to schooling that essentially drew its motivation from religion (Scharfe 2002).⁶

After the Vedic time frame, there grew enormous realms of amazing lords who needed to foster a high-level course of life in the general public. They looked into advancing the interests of advanced education by giving rich gifts and grounds to learned researchers. Also, more critically these rulers ordered arrangements to rethink and remake the training

⁴ Scharfe, Hartmut. 2002. *Education in Ancient India*, Brill Academic Publishers. New Delhi.

⁵ Keay, F.E. 1972. *A History of Education in India*, Oxford University Press. Delhi.

⁶ *Supra note 4*

framework in India. The significant colleges in antiquated India were Nalanda and Taxila were known for their educational grants (Scharfe 2002).⁷

There was a long battle between Buddhism and Brahmanism during the time of 400 BCE to 1000 CE to acquire conspicuousness in deciphering the worldly knowledge. While Buddhism was more individuals driven Brahminism attempted to build up hierarchies. Fundamentally, Buddhist schooling was unique and not founded on Vedic examination and the instructors were not Brahmin. The mode of education of Buddhism was more progressive and in view of balance and opened up the entryways of information to all castes. Most of Buddhist Monks lived in Viharas and they were spread in enormous numbers all through India. Bit by bit for a long time these Viharas were generally spread through pan India. These Viharas had become habitats for information and higher learning. The main Buddhist focus of learning was at Nalanda. Numerous foreign voyagers like Fa-Hien (399 – 414 A. D.), Hiuen-Tsang (636 - 646 A. D.) and Itsing (675 A. D.) had visited the Nalanda University as well as remained there all together 4 to get a genuine information on Buddhism. At Nalanda University understudies were given offices like free instruction, boarding and housing.

During the Mughal time frame the rulers didn't put forth any huge attempts to universalise the current education system, however attempted to spread Islamic schooling in India'. Any Muslim could procure schooling at a 'Madrasa' and all advanced education was bestowed in Arabic by Moulvis. Muslim educational organizations were recognized as 'Maktaba' – an elementary school frequently connected to a mosque or run in private houses and 'Madrasa' – schools for higher education commonly appended to monasteries. The Maktabas and Madrasas were first restricted to Muslims, however later, Hindus and Muslims had started to concentrate on each other's dialects. This prompted the development of another language called 'Urdu'. Both the Hindu just as Muslim educational foundations in pre-British India gave a more noteworthy push to religion than other issues (Yechuri 1986).⁸

In the old time frame the significant target of instruction was religion. There were no critical endeavors made to universalize schooling and incorporate individuals from various gatherings. Specifically for a long-time schooling kept on being consumed by a couple of gatherings, with 'caste' and 'sexual orientation' deciding both admittance to and use of

⁷ *Ibid*,

⁸ Yechuri, Sitaram. 1986, *Educational Development in India. Social Scientist. No. 153-154, Vol.14, No. 2 & 3.*

educational opportunities.⁹

The British followed a strategy of non-impedance in the social, religious and cultural arena of Indians till 1813 AD. Their thinking was to foster incomplete modernisation, or otherwise, a 'colonial modernisation.' The ruling components of the British were imperialistic and shady, which was installed with a recent trend of imperial qualities after 1813 AD.

The British East India Company came as brokers and became rulers and heads, had affected the financial and political frameworks of the country. During British period, colonial India followed the concept of non-obstruction in the social, religious and cultural life of the individual Indian till 1813 AD. After, 1813, British began the excursion of changing Indian culture and social climate and this was occurred because of the rise of groundbreaking ideas and thought by means of French Revolution, Industrial Revolution, and Intellectual Revolution.

- 1. French Revolution** added the flavour of liberty, equality and fraternity in the society but in the same way, it gave British administrator to tighten the forces of democracy and nationalism.
- 2. Intellectual Revolution** influences the society through attitude, mind, manners and morals. Through this, British wanted to develop colonial modernisation.
- 3. Industrial Revolution** gave the birth of the industrial capitalism that made India a big market. Hence, the British wanted to develop Indian society as modern as to capture the world market as well as Indian.

They began another flood of thought by comparing at Indian writings through logic, humanism, and principle of progress. All in all, we can say they began lecturing the predominance of western idea. They attempted to generate feeling of inadequacy by saying Indian text are needed with a supernatural conviction in reason and logical mentality. In the wake of making unrest among Indians with regards to their text and culture, they infused western education by rejecting the conventional schooling in India. It is imperative that for what reason British were equipped for creating superiority complex on Indians. Due to Indians were partitioned over cast and creed, the British were competent to foster the superiority complex against Indians.

⁹ http://epgp.inflibnet.ac.in/epgpdata/uploads/epgp_content/S000033SO/P000300/M013097/ET/145258955205ET.pdf

Role of Christian Missionaries

The British Christian preachers affected the belief system of fellow Indians. They began spreading the superiority of Christianity among Indians. These preachers needed to soak up the western idea with the goal that Indians would uphold the imperialist law and order. They accept that business and the entrepreneur support holding out the desire to them that the Christian believers would be better clients of their merchandise.

Role of Western Education

At first, British East India Company was not worried about the improvement of the educational framework on the grounds that their great rationale was trade and profit-making. To take control in India, they wanted to teach a little segment of upper and working classes to make a class "Indian in blood and colour yet English in taste" who might go about as mediators between the Government and the masses. Thus, they thought of various acts and reforms like General Committee of Public Instruction, 1823; Lord Macaulay's Education Policy, 1835; and finally Wood's Dispatch, 1854 which is considered as the "Magna Carta of English Education in India" and contained complete arrangement for spreading education in India.

Rise of Indian Intellectuals

The British Policy of impedance resulted in the ascent of Indian minds like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidhyasagar, and BM Malabari and so forth. They began transforming the Indian culture from social malice and promoted the prevalence of the Indian text and culture. A portion of the historians think that rise of intellectuals was one of the explanation of 1857 revolts.

In nutshell, the British strategy of reluctant modernisation was bit by bit vanishing after 1858 AD. They began supporting present day standards of freedom, fairness and equity however in the mean time they likewise encouraged the problems of casteism and communalism. They needed to adjust Indians in incomplete modernisation with the goal that they support colonial modernisation.

In nutshell, the British policy of hesitant modernisation was gradually disappearing after 1858 AD. They started advocating modern principles of liberty, equality and justice but meanwhile they also encouraged casteism and communalism. They wanted to attune Indians in partial modernisation so that they support colonial modernisation.

The following advances and measures were taken by the British for the improvement of Education in India. The sequential advancement of Education during the British Period in India is examined beneath:

1813 & the Education

1. Charles Grant and William Wilberforce, who was a missionary activist, constrained the East India Company to surrender its non-intervention strategy and clear a path for spreading schooling through English to learn western education and preach Christianity.
2. Act had its own significance since it was the main case that British East India Company recognized for the advancement of schooling in India.
3. With the endeavors of R.R.M Roy, the Calcutta College was set up for conferring Western schooling. Likewise, three Sanskrit schools were also set up at Calcutta.

1. General Committee of Public Instruction, 1823

This committee was framed to take care of the improvement of education in India which was overwhelmed by Orientalists who were the extraordinary ally of Oriental adapting instead of the Anglicans. Thus, they made central tension on the British East India Company to advance Western Education. Therefore, the spread of instruction in India got digressive between Orientalist-Anglicist and Macaulay's goal run over with a reasonable image of the British schooling framework.

2. Lord Macaulay's Education Policy, 1835

1. This policy was an attempt to create a system of education that educates only the upper strata of society through English.
2. Persian was abolished as the court language and English become the court language.
3. Printings of English books were made free and available at a very low price.
4. English education was allotted more funds as compared to oriental learning.
5. In 1849, JED Bethune founded Bethune School.
6. Agriculture Institute was established at Pusa (Bihar)
7. Engineering Institute was established at Roorkee.

Bombay Plan: A plan for the economic development of India

Wood's Dispatch, 1854

1. It is considered as the “Magna Carta of English Education in India” and contained a comprehensive plan for spreading education in India.
2. It states the responsibility of the State for the spread of education to the masses.
3. It recommended the hierarchy education level- At the bottom, vernacular primary school; at district, Anglo-vernacular High Schools and affiliated college, and affiliated universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras Presidency.
4. Recommended English as a medium of instruction for higher studies and vernacular at school level

Hunter Commission (1882-83)

1. It was formed to evaluate the achievements of Wood Dispatch of 1854 under W.W Hunter in 1882.
2. It underlined the state’s role in the extension and improvement of primary education and secondary education.
3. It underlined the transfer of control to district and municipal boards.
4. It recommended two division of secondary education- Literary up to university; Vocational for commercial career.

Sadler Commission

1. It was formed to study on the problems Calcutta University and their recommendations were applicable to other universities also.
2. Their observations were as follows:
 - I. 12-year school course
 - II. 3-years degree after the intermediate stage
 - III. Centralised functioning of universities, unitary residential-teaching autonomous body.
 - IV. Recommended extended facilities for applied scientific and technological education, teacher’s training, and female education.

Hence, we can say the British education system were influence by the aspiration of Christian Missionaries. It was injected to ensure a cheap supply of educated Indians to increase a number of subordinate posts in administration and in British business concern. That’s why the emphasis on English as a medium of instruction and also glorified British conquerors and their administration.

Historical Background

The historical background for this chapter incorporates an assessment of the predominant discussion inside the colonial government regarding how the education of British India ought to start. From the onset of 1800s, few officials had a belief that the organization of the East India Company ought to disparage educational establishments that imparted guidance in the local dialects of the subcontinent as they had since the most recent twenty years of the eighteenth century. The "Orientalist" authorities continued to advance the customary knowledge of the subcontinent, however not in every case only for reasons of cultural appreciation. As Peter Robb observes, usually the British upheld the idea of aboriginal education as an approach to support Indians in their own culture so they could propel knowledge of India and utilize the same to administer all the more successfully.¹⁰

For various reasons, number of people in the colonial administration accepted that the British government in India had an obligation to advance Western education through an English mode of guidance.¹¹ A large number of these "Anglicists" accepted that a British education would fill in as a method for evangelizing to the local populace. Others liked the utilitarian advantage of a high society Indian populace that could talk and peruse English to serve their colonial masters all the more viably in the advancing government administration. In 1835, Thomas Babington Macaulay, the main Law Member of the Governor General's Council, proclaimed his Minute upon Indian Education, and the council settled on a choice to give official approval to Western education model. Sanjay Seth suggests that this eventually has prompted the significance of educated Indians all throughout the planet today. This paper will give more examination of the exchange between the religious and cultural practices of Indians and the problems faced for the implementation of educational policies.¹²

Seth also describes how the spread of Western educational ideas was an inconsistent process because of the pluralistic nature of Indian culture and its educational traditions.¹³ Western education that emphasized European sciences and languages attempted to bring about a change in this culture, but it was also changed by the culture in many different ways. The period of 50 years following the promulgation of Macaulay's reforms in 1835 was a

¹⁰ Peter Robb, *A History of India* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 137.

¹¹ Zastoupil and Moir, *The Great Indian Education Debate*.

¹² Sanjay Seth, *Subject Lessons: The Western Education of Colonial India* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 31.

¹³ *Ibid*, 13

remarkable episode of growth in Indian education—especially in terms of Western institutions. The **English Education Act 1835** was a legislative Act of the Council of India, gave effect to a decision in 1835 by Lord William Bentinck, then Governor-General of the British East India Company, to reallocate funds it was required by the British Parliament to spend on education and literature in India. Previously, they had given limited support to traditional Muslim and Hindu education and the publication of literature in the then traditional languages of learning in India (Sanskrit and Persian); henceforward they were to support establishments teaching a Western curriculum with English as the language of instruction. Together with other measures promoting English as the language of administration and of the higher law courts (instead of Persian, as under the Mughal Empire), this led eventually to English becoming one of the languages of India, rather than simply the native tongue of its foreign rulers.

In discussions leading up to the Act Thomas Babington Macaulay produced his famous Memorandum on (Indian) Education which was scathing on the inferiority (as he saw it) of native (particularly Hindu) culture and learning. He argued that Western learning was superior, and currently could only be taught through the medium of English. There was therefore a need to produce—by English-language higher education—"a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect" who could in their turn develop the tools to transmit Western learning in the vernacular languages of India. Among Macaulay's recommendations were the immediate stopping of the printing by the East India Company of Arabic and Sanskrit books and that the Company should not continue to support traditional education beyond "the Sanskrit College at Benares and the Mahometan College at Delhi" (which he considered adequate to maintain traditional learning).

The act itself, however, took a less negative attitude to traditional education and was soon succeeded by further measures based upon the provision of adequate funding for both approaches. Vernacular language education, however, continued to receive little funding, although it had not been much supported before 1835 in any case.¹⁴

To remove all doubt, however, Macaulay produced and circulated a Minute on the subject. Macaulay argued that support for the publication of books in Sanskrit and Arabic

¹⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/English_Education_Act_1835

should be withdrawn, support for traditional education should be reduced to funding for the Madrassa at Delhi and the Hindu College at Benares, but students should no longer be paid to study at these establishments. The money released by these steps should instead go to fund education in Western subjects, with English as the language of instruction. He summarised his argument To sum up what I have said, I think it is clear that we are not fettered by the Act of Parliament of 1813; that we are not fettered by any pledge expressed or implied; that we are free to employ our funds as we choose; that we ought to employ them in teaching what is best worth knowing; that English is better worth knowing than Sanskrit or Arabic; that the natives are desirous to be taught English, and are not desirous to be taught Sanskrit or Arabic; that neither as the languages of law, nor as the languages of religion, have the Sanskrit and Arabic any peculiar claim to our engagement; that it is possible to make natives of this country thoroughly good English scholars, and that to this end our efforts ought to be directed.

Macaulay's comparison of Arabic and Sanskrit literature to what was available in English is forceful, colourful, and nowadays often quoted against him.

I have conversed both here and at home with men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern tongues. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. Honours might be roughly even in works of the imagination, such as poetry, but when we pass from works of imagination to works in which facts are recorded, and general principles investigated, the superiority of the Europeans becomes absolutely immeasurable."

He returned to the comparison later: Whoever knows [English] has ready 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 be safely said, that the literature now extant in that language is of far greater value than all the literature which three hundred years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together. The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages, by which, by universal confession, there are not books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own; whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, whenever they differ from those of Europe, differ for the worse; and whether, when we can patronise sound Philosophy and true History, we shall countenance, at

the public expense, medical doctrines, which would disgrace an English farrier, --Astronomy, which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school,--History, abounding with kings thirty feet high, and reigns thirty thousand years long,--and Geography, made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter.

Mass education would be (in the fullness of time) by the class of Anglicised Indians the new policy should produce, and by the means of vernacular dialects: In one point I fully agree with the gentlemen to whose general views I am opposed. I feel with them, that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.¹⁵

Prior to this point, the British founded a number of colleges in India. Hindu College and Fort William College in Calcutta taught in English and in Native languages respectively. The British founded universities in the three most important centers of British colonial administration in 1857.¹⁶ The Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras were modeled after and intended to function like the universities of England— specifically the University of London, but also those of Oxford and Cambridge. Over the next thirty years, other institutions would join these in the higher educational landscape of the subcontinent. These included the Darul Uloom Deoband in 1866, the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College in 1875, Punjab University in 1882, and the University of Allahabad in 1887. In order to prepare students for these Western-style universities, British philanthropists and reformers also founded elite secondary schools across the country. The campuses of La Martinière College in Calcutta and Lucknow provided an education in the English language with emphasis on European standards of math and science.¹⁷ When Richard Bourke, 6th Earl of Mayo, founded Mayo College in Rajasthan, he wanted it to be an Indian version of England's Eton College. In addition to these universities and elite schools, there were mission schools founded that

¹⁵ *Ibid*

¹⁶ Suresh Chandra Ghosh, *The History of Education in Modern India: 1757-1998* (Hyderabad, IND: Orient Longman, 2000).

¹⁷ Chandan Mitra, *Constant Glory: La Martinière Saga 1836-1986* (Calcutta, IN: Oxford University Press, 1987), 31.

served Western children as well as both Anglo-Indians and Eurasians—British children born in India and the bi-cultural children of Europeans and South Asians.¹⁸ The fact that many of these educational institutions, of all types, survive today is a testament to the fact that they did not simply import British ideals, but became “Indianized” to some extent.¹⁹

Robert Yelle notes that Orientalists and Anglicists held many of the same assumptions regarding the use of Indian languages.²⁰ Thus, though the English Education Act Officially Anglicized the system of education in 1835, there were still many efforts to continue the work of the previous generations. By the end of the decade, funding had even been partially restored for Oriental education. In addition to the Western schools described above, this period was a time of concurrent growth in the traditional, “nativist” realm of education. Even from the time of the first Governor-General of India, Warren Hastings, there had been a move to support Indian knowledge by promoting Oriental education with the addition of some instruction in English and European methods. Until the 1880s—the period under consideration in this dissertation—there were attempts to retain a distinctly Indian system of education. In many instances, these Indian systems mirrored divisions along religious lines. For example, at this time, the Arya Samaj began founding its Dayanand Anglo-Vedic schools. This group believed in the infallible authority of the Vedas—the oldest Hindu scriptures—and instructed pupils at the schools in Sanskrit and Hindi. At the same time, many in the Muslim community resisted the colonial system of schooling by establishing and supporting *maktabs* analogous to elementary schools—and *madrasas*— for more advanced education.²¹

This chapter explores the interplay between the British colonial structure for education as laid out in its educational policy documents and the problems faced for their implementation. The shifts in education policy in British India under both Company and Crown rule were connected to shifts in inter-religious relations. The educational structures under consideration primarily include the formal school established and run by the British authorities for Indian students. They also include non-formal yet organized efforts to instill

¹⁸ Herbert A. Stark, *Hostages to India, or, The Life Story of the Anglo-Indian Race* (Calcutta, India: Gosto Behary Dass, 1926).

¹⁹ Robert A. Yelle, *The Language of Disenchantment: Protestant Literalism and Colonial Discourse in British India* (London, GBR: Oxford University Press, 2013), 71-77.

²⁰ *Ibid*, 73.

²¹ Nita Kumar, *Lessons from Schools: The History of Education in Benaras* (New Delhi, IND: Sage Publications, 2000), 133.

Western ideals on Indians and informal yet meaningful educational experiences of Indians in their daily interactions with the British.²²

The constant play of the Hindu majority in India against the sizable Muslim minority does provide an interesting backdrop for a discussion of colonial education policy. By the 1880s, the Hindu and Muslim communities had been advocating for generation for a return to indigenous educational systems. This dissertation examines the ways in which these competing systems, educating the people of India in Indian languages divided the people of India along religious grounds. Of course, a pattern of separation persisted until colonial India split into the nations of Pakistan and India in 1947. If the British tried to use Hindu and Muslim educational institutions such as *gurukuls* and *madrasas* in an attempt to control—or at least more effectively govern the Indian populace, the success of this strategy is certainly debatable. It is a simplification to say that the British sought to divide and conquer their colonial subjects, but it is a useful point at which to begin the analysis of educational policy during this period.

Given the eventual role that religious differences would play in the partition of India in 1947, this topic warrants further discussion. During this period from 1880 to 1890, many of the men who would become the founding fathers of independent India and Pakistan were beginning their formal educations.²³ Historians of education are increasingly exploring the way that people's educations both formal and informal “shape” them, and looking at those who led this Independence movement at the turn of the twentieth century is telling in considering the effect that religious schools had on the colonial system.²⁴ Some of these leaders had been educated in these very religious schools. It was not simply the Western-established Christian schools that were sowing the seeds of liberal government in these minds. It was Muslim, Hindu, and Sikh schools founded by Indians for Indians. Many of these men and women went on to further their education in England or elsewhere in the West, but it was their education in India that shaped them first. Indeed, as these men began to exercise political and social control within British India, the colonial administration in the interwar period began to reconsider some of its policies of division.

²² Eileen H. Tamura, *Value Messages Collide with Reality: Joseph Kurihara and the Power of Informal Education*, *History of Education Quarterly* 50, no. 1 (2010), 2.

²³ For example, *Mohandas Gandhi first enrolled in the local Gujarati school in his district in January 1879 and Lala Lajpat Rai began his secondary studies in Lahore in 1881*, See Ramachandra

²⁴ Tamura, *Value Messages Collide with Reality*, 2.

The fact that these leaders presided over the partition of British India into the nations of India and Pakistan means that understanding the educational policies of this time are important for understanding the geopolitical relationships in South Asia today. For example, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founding father of independent Pakistan was educated at government-funded schools in Bombay before attending the Christian Missionary Society High School in Karachi.²⁵ He also spent time studying at the Sindh-Madrassa-tul-Islam in Karachi, which was a founded to teach students modern Western knowledge in Sindhi with traditional values similar to the schools founded in Lahore and Aligarh at the time. The location of Lahore at the crux of the partition debate 60 years was not a coincidence. The educational policies imposed on and developed for the people of Northern India were important determining factors in the history of South Asia.²⁶

The analysis of these periodical sources and the educational policy documents shows both how the colonizers attempted to educate their subjects in India as well as the ways that these attempts actually looked in the colony. It provides a new lens through which to view these colonial actions. It also allows for some understanding of the way that Hindu and Muslim educational institutions and the policies that created them were used in an attempt to construct colonial subjects in India. The other important consideration is how successful these efforts were.

British Educational Policies and their Implementation

RELIGIOUS HINDU- In exploring the history of religion and education in colonial India, it is reasonable to start with the experience of Hindu groups on the subcontinent. Indeed, scholars have claimed that Indian nationalists in the late colonial period who attempted to develop a secular society met with resistance because such secularism was at odds with the Indian people.²⁷ Some consider Hinduism and the training of Indians in Hindu philosophy and practice to be an integral part of the Indian experience. Even before the period under consideration in this dissertation, education was an important consideration for the Hindu population of India. Central to this understanding of Hinduism and education was the development of the *gurukul*.

²⁵ Akbar S. Ahmed, Jinnah, *Pakistan and Islamic Identity: The Search for Saladin* (London, GBR: Routledge, 1997), 26.

²⁶ https://ecommons.luc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3580&context=luc_diss

²⁷ Partha Chatterjee, *Religious Minorities and the Secular State: Reflections on an Indian Impasse*, *Public Culture* 8, no. 1 (1995), 11-39.

The traditional gurukul had long existed in the Indian subcontinent. The institution has its origins in the Vedic period beginning around 1750 BCE. By the time that the British had gained control of the subcontinent, the gurukul as a formal educational institution had begun to die out.²⁸ After this shift away from the ancient gurukul, various Hindu groups in and around Calcutta began agitating for the creation of an institution that would cater to their upper-caste sensibilities. The result was Hindu College, founded in Calcutta in 1816.²⁹ In this case, the college provided instruction not just in Bengali and Sanskrit, but in English, as well. Some began to fear that the colonial experiment was completely ruining the strong Aryan tradition of education represented by the gurukul.

During the period leading up to the Hunter Commission of 1882, the Hindus of Northern India actually seemed to be more eager to embrace Western education than their Muslim counterparts were.³⁰ By the 1920s, however, the Hindu reform movement Arya Samaj and the Indian National Congress in the United Provinces began to promote revived gurukuls as a way to bring Indian youth into the growing independence movement.³¹ This was a concerted effort to break from the Western models of education that these Hindu Nationalists felt the colonial authorities imposed on them from the time of Macaulay's *Minute on Indian Education*.³²

One later attempt to establish an educational system that fully embraced Hindu religious life was the Arya Mahila (Aryan Woman) school in colonial Benaras. Founded in 1926, by a devotee of the Arya Samaj and its leaders, the institution was housed on a large campus which eventually comprised "sections for nursery, primary, secondary, intermediate, and B.A." education. Vidya Devi, the founder of the institution was very much a Hindu traditionalist who opposed the inheritance of property by women and supported the burning of widows on funeral pyres. Hinduism also greatly influenced her educational vision for Arya Mahila. Though schooled in the 1880s and 1890s, she did not completely trust Western

²⁸ Francesca Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere, 1920-1940* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1997), 113.

²⁹ Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1989), 43.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 43-44.

³¹ William Gould, *Hindu Nationalism and the Language of Politics in Late Colonial India* (London, GBR: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 147.

³² Harald Fischer-Tiné, *From Brahmacharya to 'Conscious Race Culture': Victorian Discourses of 'Science' and Hindu Traditions in Early Indian Nationalism*, In *Beyond Representation: Colonial and Postcolonial Constructions of Indian Identity*, edited by Crispin Bates, 241-270 (London, GBR: Oxford University Press, 2006), 243.

scientific and social institutions and demanded that Hindu ritual infuse every aspect of her school. These ritual included fire sacrifice, worship, and chanting at even minor school functions on campus. Her school flourished for a time, but Vidya Devi was never completely content with her ability to close the institution off from Western control. Even her experiment in holistic cradle-to-grave Hindu education found it difficult to eschew the established government curriculum completely. Vidya Devi only offered the desired subjects of Sanskrit and Vedic literature in addition to the government-approved Algebra and Geometry courses, which she despised.

Central to this entire “Hindu education” experiment in the late colonial period is the question of “what was to be seen as the center of a ‘Hindu national culture.’ In the Arya Samaj’s gurukuls and other Vedic institutions of learning, there was a strong emphasis on “Sanskritic Hinduism, Vedic culture ... [and the] Mahabarata and Ramayana stories.” This philosophical stand gave social preference to high-caste Hindus and geographic preference to Aryan North India. The colonial education experiment could thus be seen as a uniting force on the subcontinent not just in terms of linguistic unification, but also in terms of social and geographic unification by opposing the traditional system. Implementing a colonial educational system across the subcontinent gave less power to the Sanskritic, Vedic tradition that supported as Vidya Devi did the more unsavory aspects of Hindu culture.

ISLAM- Though a comparatively recent addition to the Indian educational landscape, Islam also both shaped and was shaped by the colonial administration of education on the subcontinent. Gauri Viswanathan notes that in the mid-nineteenth century, there was a growing division between the place of Hindus and Muslims in colonial education for a number of reasons. She explains that Hindus were much more likely to avail themselves of Western educational opportunities than Muslims were. This opposition to Western education was felt in the ranks of the colonial administration where, by 1871 there were only 92 Muslims holding government appointments in Lower Bengal versus 681 Hindus. In some ways, this was a legacy of the more thoroughly developed educational traditions in and the political realities of the Mughal Empire prior to the ascendancy of the British in the nineteenth century. The most important educational institutions through which the Muslim community resisted the colonial system of schooling were the *maktabs* and the *madrasas*. These institutions were most prevalent in the Bengal presidency and the United Provinces. In fact, Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of Bengal, sanctioned the creation of a

madrassa in Calcutta as early as the 1790s to instruct young Muslims “students in Mahamadan law and other sciences.”

Two of the most lasting educational institutions that sprang from this period in the teaching of India’s Muslim community were the Darul Uloom Deoband and the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College in Aligarh. Following the defeat of the Indian Rebellion of 1857, some in the Muslim community of Northern India banded together in the town of Deoband to preserve Indian Islamic culture and to educate their children in Islamic studies. This madrasa was established with the understanding that it would remain free from political control and maintain its religious instruction. In Aligarh, however, the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College was also privately established along the lines of a Muslim madrasa, but was expected to provide an additional focus on the English language and western science.

OPPOSITION BY PRESS- The opponents of educational policy in the Northern region of British India also prominently presented their concerns in the media. As early as the 1840s, members of the Indian press were making it clear that they did not approve of the way that East India Company officials had implemented educational policy in the country. During its relatively short time in publication, the editors of the Benares Recorder expressed concern that many schools in Indian lacked books that would appeal “to the present state of the Native mind in Hindoostan” and that there had long been a dearth of materials “of a scientific, historical and moral nature” for students. Similarly, the paper lamented the use of rote memorization in Indian colleges, rather than “drawing out the powers of the mind for the exercise of judgment.”

Much of the commentary written in the press of Northern India expressed unease about the ways that the crown had implemented educational policy. Just as the opinions of those supporting policies differed dependent on whether the North-Western Provinces and Oudh were being considered rather than Punjab, so it was among those opposed to the policy. Using Lahore and Aligarh as points of reference for which to discuss these two areas, it is clear that many people were unhappy with education for Indians and stated that the population was not being well-served by existing policies.

Throughout the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, a number of commentators expressed concern for the fact that educational policies had reduced the overall number of students enrolled in Indian schools. In fact, the administration’s statisticians reported a

decrease in total enrolment in government schools of 25% within this region for the two years to 1881. Because this was such an unprecedented decrease, some reporters and editors worried whether institutions would survive. Early in 1881, a report on education in Northern India from *The Tribune* expressed worry that “the fate of the Agra College [was] trembling in the balance” and argued that “the educated classes in the North-Western Provinces should exert their best to avert the doom with which it [was] threatened.” Indeed, some made comparisons to other Indian territories. These were searching for some explanation as to why the people of the North-Western Territories and Oudh were not clamouring for education. Those in Bengal or Bihar had done fought for educational opportunity, but not those in the North-Western Territories and Oudh.

Community leaders understood education as a vitally important aspect of communal and national development in these media outlets. According to an 1886 editorial in *The Aligarh Institute Gazette*, one of the greatest tasks “that has hitherto lain before the reformers of the Indian Mahomedans has been to teach the community that their only means of progress is by education.” The *Gazette* went on to discuss the ways that the Bengalis of Calcutta and the Parsis of Bombay had been successful and overtaken the Muslim community in a number of indicators precisely because they had worked toward obtaining an education for their young people. It was this broad understanding of the importance of education in the Indian context that led to much of the opposition that critics voiced over educational policies in this period. The concern regarding educational policies carried over into specific educational domains such as elementary and higher education.

The India of the 1880s was a diverse place. There was a variety of ethnic and linguistic groups with unique ideas about how their needs could best be served. In Northern India, the main divisions were religious in the North-Western Province and Punjab. Many saw education, though, as a way to bridge the divide between the two dominant religious communities. As *The Tribune* put described the situation in 1884 there are in India about 200 millions of Hindus and about 50 millions of Mahomedans, ... Religious prejudices are the great stumbling block in the way of brotherly feeling between the two mighty sections of the people; but liberal thought and liberal training have been at work, and we have already seen many apostles among the Hindus who have made it the mission of their life to teach the development of that feeling.

Whether it was to address the fears of one community that they were being discriminated against, to encourage a community to raise itself up through schooling, or advocating cooperation between communities, education and religious communal interests were often featured in the newspapers of this period.

Running through many issues of North Indian newspapers during this period was a concern raised by groups that a religious community faced discrimination in the domain of education. For example, many within the Muslim community of Punjab were complaining that the distribution of patronage positions in government was unfair. Sir Charles Turner, a member of the Council of India and previously a judge in Madras noted in *The Tribune* in 1884 that many felt “the Government did not show due consideration for their claims or give them their fair share of the administration.” Many leaders in the Muslim community understood that much of this perceived shortfall in patronage had to do with the language skills of Muslims, but some were concerned that religious discrimination was a factor. Some of these commentators were concerned that even if administration equalized the educational situation and if Muslims had the same educational opportunities as Hindus in the 1880s, it would take at least a quarter of a century for Muslim youth to reach the levels of other Indians in terms of employment and culture.

The concerns that Indians had with regard to religious discrimination were often followed by a call to action imploring students to pull themselves and their communities up by their bootstraps. This was especially evident in the pages of the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*. In 1886, Theodore Beck, the principal of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, wrote of the Muslim community in Northern India. He lamented the terrible decline in the state of Muslim society and culture from the time of the Mughals. He implied that this decline was the result of laziness among individuals in the Muslim community, but also of preferential treatment for the Parsi community in Bombay and the Hindu community in Bengal. In considering why Hindu Bengalis had been able to occupy such high and powerful offices relative to the Muslims, he specifically pointed to education, asking “if we ask why the Mahomedans have sunk so low, why there are so few in Government employment, how they grow poorer every day, is it not because they have neglected education?” His prescription was “therefore, for Mahomedans ... to form their own schools” Many commentators saw education as an integral part of any program to raise a religious community out of poverty. A report from the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* in 1888 noted that the percentage of Muslims in the

school population in India roughly equal to the percentage of Muslims in the country as a whole. Rather than embrace this as a sign that the condition of Muslim schooling was improving, some were concerned that this statistic gave an overly optimistic impression of Muslim education. The author believed lower caste Hindus should not have been included in the calculations because these groups had absolutely no chance of participating in the formal education system. If these had been removed from the figures, then Hindus would have been vastly over-represented in educational institutions because they would have been a smaller proportion of the population. In noting that nearly 20 times as many of the Hindu students in Northern India were pursuing higher education compared to Muslim students, the author reiterated Beck's call for more Muslim schools.

Beck and those of a similar mind were not simply advocating schools for Muslim students, but Muslim schools. Aligarh Institute Gazette suggested in 1886 that in these institutions, school leaders should make provisions for teaching students from the Qur'an and mosques be constructed to allow students places to pray. Two years later, the Gazette noted that this focus on the religious aspects of community life was seen as one of the primary ways to build up the Muslim community in Northern India. It had also been advocated by The Civil and Military Gazette as a way to improve the position of non-Muslim groups in the region. Some saw the Muslim worldview as an antidote to the backward social practices of the Hindu majority specifically with regard to women and those of lower castes. Perhaps it was a result of this advocacy of such schools focused on religious instruction and the opposition to Hindu social mores, but The Tribune noted some in the majority community who worried about the subversive effects of education a large Muslim minority. A report from 1886 expressed concern that the polytheistic Hindu community was at a disadvantage in dealing with British colonial education administration dominated by Christians. The monotheistic Muslim community was thought to have the advantage in this regard.

A converse historical argument was made by the Muslim community for why they had not done better under the British. A lengthy editorial treatise appeared in the Aligarh Institute Gazette in 1888 describing how Hindus had a long history of being subjugated by different races of people notably the Muslim Mughal Empire. The Muslim community was seen as having a long history of freedom and was not thought to be able to cope with subjugation at the hands of the British as the Hindus had.

Whatever the reason for the perceived ability or inability of Muslims to cope with the colonial administration more effectively, the Hindu community was also interested in using education as a means of gaining and retaining a position of prestige. As mentioned earlier, many praised the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College on its founding in Lahore in 1886. However, The Tribune expressed worries within both the Hindu and Muslim communities that this would be a sectarian institution. These were reasonable reservations since the institution was set up specifically to teach Sanskrit literature and the Vedas. This description of the Anglo-Vedic College, though, ends with a call for cooperation between the communities of Northern India. During the 1880s, this seems to have been the most common topic of discussion in the press of the region.

In spite of many concerns from both Hindus and Muslims about sectarian education raised in the press of Northern India, much was made during this period of presenting a united front of Hindu and Muslim Indians in matters of education. The Tribune filled its pages with advocacy for this sort of unity. In an 1881 report, The Tribune noted that someone corresponding with them “had insinuated that [the newspaper] was inimically disposed towards its Mahomedan countrymen, but the editors assured readers that “nothing could be more untrue than this insinuation.” The author was clear that the editorial staff of the paper had few convictions stronger than any others did concerning the strengthening of the country. If India was to recover any greatness that it had had, “it *must* be through a *complete union* between her Hindoo and Mahomedan” communities. This rhetoric continued on the pages of the paper when, three years later, an editorial expressed “desirability of establishing more friendly relations between the Hindus and Mahomedans.” Indeed, the editors saw the division of educational institutions for the Hindu and Muslim communities as part of a larger plot to divide and conquer the Indian people. They wrote that many in the Muslim community could not see through these motives, saying in 1886 that “divide and rule” is the policy to which the bureaucracy has committed itself. It is so jealous of its rights and privileges that it naturally leaves no stone unturned to create dissensions and ill-feelings among the various races and classes of India. There can be no doubt that this is the best course which the bureaucracy can adopt for preserving its rights and privileges intact.... The Mahomedans may rest assured that the moment they attach the rights and privileges of the bureaucracy, and demand the fulfilment of the solemn pledges made to them ... in the matter of their education, the attitude of Anglo-Indian officialdom towards them will undergo a thorough change.

This article ended with an exhortation for both Hindus and Muslims to band “together, and demand a just and fair recognition of the claims of the people of India as a body.”

An editorial in *The Tribune* from 1887 noted that in places like Bengal to the East where the Muslim and Hindu communities had united in education and other social concerns the British had provided more resources to both. Thus, many saw intercommunal cooperation in the realm of education as beneficial to all of the native people of India. Similarly, the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* made calls to bridge the divide between the Shia and Sunni portions of the Muslim community in the North-Western Province. Later in the same 1886 edition, the *Gazette* called for greater unity between all “natives of India” including “all Hindus, Mahomedans, Native Christians, Eurasians, and Europeans whose parents were domiciled in India.” Education was certainly a key part of these calls for greater unity. The *Civil and Military Gazette* recommended that that “an attempt be made to prepare a moral text-book, based upon the fundamental principles of natural religion, such as may be taught in all Government and non-Government colleges.” It also called on all institutions to lecture students on the duties of men and citizens. These were a “religious and moral element without which any scheme of advanced education would be necessarily so defective.”³³

Amid the rising nationalism of the latter part of the 19th century, Indians became more and more critical of the domination of Western learning as imposed by the British rulers and demanded, instead, more attention to Indian languages and culture. The Indian National Congress, several Muslim associations, and other groups raised their voices against the British system of education. British authorities were not, however, altogether blind to the needs of the country. When Baron Curzon of Kedleston arrived as viceroy in 1898, his determination to improve education was immediately translated into an order for a close survey of the entire field of education. It revealed: “Four out of five villages are without a school. Three boys out of four grow up without any education and only one girl out of forty attends any kind of school.” Education had advanced, but it had not penetrated the country as the British had earlier expected.

Curzon applied himself to the task of putting matters in order. He disapproved of the doctrine of state withdrawal and instead considered it necessary for the government to maintain a few institutions of every type as models for private enterprise to imitate. He also

³³ https://ecommons.luc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3580&context=luc_diss

abandoned the existing policy of educational laissez-faire and introduced a stricter control over private schools through a vigilant policy of inspection and control. Such a policy aroused bitter feelings among some educated Indians, since it was believed that Curzon was bent on bringing the entire system of education under government control.

The main battle, however, was fought over the universities. With Eton and Balliol in mind, Baron Curzon set up the Indian Universities Commission of 1902 to bring about a better order in higher education. The commission made a number of important recommendations namely, to limit the size of the university senates, to entrust teaching in addition to examining powers to universities, to insist on a high educational standard from affiliated colleges, to grant additional state aids to universities, to improve courses of studies, to abolish second-grade colleges, and to fix a minimum rate of fees in the affiliated colleges. The report was severely criticized, and the last two recommendations had to be dropped. Legislation in regard to the other proposals was passed despite bitter opposition in the legislature and the press.

The conflict resulted less from educational differences than from political opinions on centralization. In one part of the country, violent agitation had already started on the question of the partition of Bengal. In another, the patriot Bal Gangadhar Tilak declared: "Swaraj [self-rule] is our birthright." Thus, Baron Curzon's educational reforms were considered sinister in their intentions, and his alleged bureaucratic attitude was resented. In another, the patriot Bal Gangadhar Tilak declared: "Swaraj [self-rule] is our birthright." Thus, Baron Curzon's educational reforms were considered sinister in their intentions, and his alleged bureaucratic attitude was resented.

The administrative policy of Baron Curzon also gave rise to the first organized movement for national education. This effort was part of the swadeshi movement, which called for national independence and the boycotting of foreign goods. A body known as the National Council of Education established a national college and a technical institution (the present Jadavpur University) in Calcutta (Kolkata) and 51 national schools in Bengal. These schools sought to teach a trade in addition to ordinary subjects of the matriculation syllabus. The movement received a great impetus, because the Calcutta Congress (1906) resolved that the time had arrived for organizing a national system of education. With the slackening of the swadeshi movement, however, most of the national schools were eventually closed. The

effect of the movement was nevertheless noticeable elsewhere: Rabindranath Tagore started his famous school in West Bengal near Bolpur in 1901; the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha established *gurukulas* at Vrindaban and Haridwar; and the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League at their sessions in Allahabad and Nagpur, respectively, passed resolutions in favour of free and compulsory primary education.

In 1905 Baron Curzon left India. In order to pacify the general public, his successors modified his policy to some extent, but the main program was resolutely enforced. Although Indian public opinion continued its opposition, the reforms of Baron Curzon brought order into education. Universities were reconstituted and organized, and they undertook teaching instead of merely conducting examinations for degrees. Colleges were no longer left to their own devices but were regularly visited by inspectors appointed by the universities. The government also became vigilant and introduced a better system for inspecting and granting recognition to private schools; the slipshod system of elementary education was also improved. The number of colleges and secondary schools continued to increase as the demand for higher education developed.

In 1917 the government appointed the Sadler Commission to inquire into the “conditions and prospects of the University of Calcutta,” an inquiry that was in reality nationwide in scope. Covering a wide field, the commission recommended the formation of a board with full powers to control secondary and intermediate education; the institution of intermediate colleges with two-year courses; the provision of a three-year degree course after the intermediate stage; the institution of teaching and unitary universities; the organization of postgraduate studies and honours courses; and a greater emphasis on the study of sciences, on tutorial systems, and on research work. The government of India issued a resolution in January 1920 summarizing the report of the commission. Since then all legislation of any importance on higher education in any part of India has embodied some of the recommendations of the commission.

Meanwhile, World War I had ended, and the new Indian constitution in 1921 made education a “transferred” subject (that is, transferred from British to Indian control), entrusting it almost entirely to the care of the provinces. In each province, educational policy and administration passed into the hands of a minister of education, responsible to the provincial legislature and ultimately to the people. Although European-style education was

still maintained as a “reserved” subject and was not placed under the control of the Indian minister of education, this anomaly was corrected by the Government of India Act of 1935, which removed the distinction between transferred and reserved subjects and introduced a complete provincial autonomy over education.

Generally, the new constitution of 1921 was considered inadequate by the Indian National Congress. In protest, Mahatma Gandhi launched the non-cooperation movement, the campaign to boycott English institutions and products. National schools were established throughout the country, and *vidyapeeths* (“national universities”) were set up at selected centres. The courses of study in these institutions did not differ much from those in recognized schools, but Hindi was studied as an all-India language in place of English, and the mother tongue was used as the medium of instruction. These institutions functioned for a short time only and disappeared with the suppression of the noncooperation movement. The Congress’ struggle for self-rule, however, became more vigorous, and with it spread the national movement toward education to suit national needs. The Government of India Act of 1935 further strengthened the position of the provincial ministers of education, since the Congress was in power in major provinces. The developmental program of provincial governments included the spread of primary education, the introduction of adult education, a stress on vocational education, and an emphasis on the education of girls and underprivileged people. The importance of English was reduced, and Indian languages, both as subjects of study and as media of instruction, began to receive greater attention.³⁴

Educational policy had become a matter of intense concern for the colonial administration by the time of the Hunter Commission in 1882. This chapter has shown the reactions of the communities surrounding two important institutions of higher education and provided insights into how members of two related religious and ethnic communities viewed their own roles in the development and enactment of educational policies. In the era of genteel newspaper printing in India from the 1870s, the social and cultural elite of Northern India shared their opinions on colonial education policy in the region.

The political discourse seen in the pages of the Aligarh Institute Gazette and The Tribune mirrors the discussions surrounding the foundations of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College and Punjab University. In a number of instances, the educational leaders of

³⁴ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/education/education-after-world-war-ii>

these institutions showed general support for policies implemented in the region. Others expressed their opposition to colonial educational policy—with special attention given to higher education policy, Punjab University, and Gottlieb Leitner. In all of these cases, the discussions mirrored the divisions in religious and linguistic communities in the region.

As described above, support for educational policy decisions in colonial India at this time was generally not very spirited. In many instances, the reactions more closely resembled indifference. There was broad appreciation of the work that the British were doing to improve education in Northern India though some worried that the Anglicists were intent on destroying Indian language and culture and that the Orientalists were setting Indians up for subservient status in the colonial regime. These concerns led to some of the opposition to educational policy in colonial India.

Much of the commentary written in the press of Northern India expressed unease about the ways that the crown had implemented educational policy. Many people were unhappy with education for Indians and stated that the existing policies did not serve the population well. Though community leaders understood education as a vitally important aspect of communal and national development in these media outlets, they worried that it was not being used effectively by all groups in the subcontinent. This specifically manifested itself in a concern for the state of higher education in Northern India to the point where *The Tribune* colonial higher education policy an “eye-sore” in 1881. There were a number of reasons for this distrustful attitude towards higher education in India. Some described the lack of employment opportunities for graduates, while some were critical of the unpractical nature of a classical higher education. Whatever the reason, the media made clear that they knew how best to approach the issue of education in the North-Western Province and Punjab.

There was also a strong opposition to Punjab University and Gottlieb Leitner. The editors of *The Tribune* were confident that their view represented the position of the vast majority of people in the province. As Punjab University College began to gain more prominence and resemble a traditional university, opposition to it became even fiercer. If any notable commentator was willing to come out in support of the university, *The Tribune* was quick to respond with an editorial rebuttal describing the shortcomings of the institution. Even new statutes published in 1884 did little to ease worries over Punjab University.

The issue of educational policy and its relation to linguistic and religious communities, however, was much more complicated than Leitner's opponents admitted it was. They stated that the only true literature in India was written in the classical languages of Sanskrit and Persian, which were not used in daily life and considered dead. Thus, English was often presented as the only logical choice for the medium of instruction in a proper education. Concerns over religion and education in colonial India directly influenced the concern over the linguistic issues, though. Because Hindi and Urdu were so closely associated with the Hindu and Muslim communities across Northern India, support for a certain linguistic course of action in education was seen as support for a religious education policy.

Specifically, there were problems with the implementation of higher education policy. These problems were seen to manifest principally in the linguistic and religious domains of educational policy. In the end, many in Northern India maintained that the best course of action for the country as a whole and for its non-British inhabitants was to unite and work towards the greater good of India regardless of differences in race, religion, or language. In short, any attempt to divide the people of the subcontinent to create colonial subjects was made difficult by the unity of the people.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the educational policies of the British colonial administration seem to have pursued a plan of action that sought to divide and rule the Indian people. The British did not simply wait passively as diverse Indian communities fought each other. Instead, they put in place educational policies intended to divide through the finance of education, by sowing seeds of distrust, and by attempting to limit interactions. Some policies attempted to divide the people along class or caste lines and some attempted to divide along linguistic or communal lines.

The Indian popular press noticed these policies. It was clear to some editorial boards that during this period, the government provided funding for some groups at the expense of others. ³ Some saw education policy as an attempt to divide the communities of Northern India into parallel tracks along religious and linguistic lines. As part of this policy package, however, the Anglicist members of the educational administration attempted to suppress Indian culture by introducing English education more widely. The Hindu and Muslim religious and linguistic communities across Northern India seem to have seen these systems taking form during the period from 1880 to 1890. The leaders of these communities were able to discuss these observations in the media during this decade. Among their more prescient

remarks were those noting that the British had given the Indian community access to a great unifying force that would bring a disparate and diverse nation together with one identity. In attempting to construct religious difference through its educational policies, the British administration had unified the subcontinent.

EDUCATION AND POLICY OF 'DIVIDE AND RULE'- From the beginning of the nineteenth century, educational administrators made funding decisions that benefited certain groups more than others. The East India Company Act 1813 is one example of the power of the purse used to benefit one group—in this case “the learned natives of India.” This funding was obviously not specifically designed to divide the people along religious or linguistic lines. However, it would help to divide along lines of class or caste. Giving extra resources to those studying the classical languages of India would provide support to the upper classes of Indian society. Rather than giving instruction in the vernacular languages of Hindustani or Bengali, this funding provided instruction in Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit—languages that were the domain of the elite and wealthy Indian subjects of the British. Similarly, when Thomas Macauley published his Minute of Indian Education in 1835, a number of places were funded through scholarships and bursaries in classical Indian schools and madrassas. The resolution that William Bentinck eventually approved based on Macauley’s recommendations abolished these government-funded places. The government had, in essence imposed penalties on those who wished to study the classical languages of the country rather than English. Such policies both of bribing and of penalizing Indian colonial subjects continued throughout the nineteenth century.

Such policies certainly did not go unnoticed by the population at large during the period from 1880 to 1890. The editors of *The Civil and Military Gazette* mentioned proposed changes in funding that promised great expenditure for “special classes” of people including the Muslim minority of Lahore. In the same way, the editors of *The Tribune* believed that distribution of funds to institutions providing education in the vernacular languages of India were, in fact, an attempt to keep the country in destitute poverty. Rather than providing funding for academic work in Hindi and Urdu that they deemed useless, the editorial board suggested that imparting vocational and technical knowledge on Indians had “become a matter not only of duty but of necessity, and every patriotic endeavour should be directed towards effecting it.” Such a view was echoed on the pages of the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* later that year. The editors also raised the same concerns when they lamented that the

Zoroastrian, Parsi and Hindu Bengali communities of Northern India had been the recipients of largesse from the British government at the expense of the Muslim community. They made clear that “the great task that has hitherto lain before the reformers of the Indian Mahommedans has been to teach the community that their only means of progress is by education,” and that the community had failed in that regard partly because they had not received the same level of funding as the other groups.

Another method for dividing the actors in a divide and rule scenario is the sowing of seeds of distrust. There is evidence of this strategy in the educational policies adopted by the British colonial administration throughout the nineteenth century. For example, the recommendations made by the Hunter Commission specifically called for special educational rules to be applied to different subsets of people in India including the sons of native chiefs and noblemen, Muslims, members of aboriginal tribes, and students from low castes. Prior to this, the administration policy implemented in 1854 called for competitive grants-in-aid for schools that were successful. In order to reduce the strain on the government’s educational budget, many understood that it would be impossible for it to provide an education for all the people of the subcontinent. The implication was that a zero sum game would result in fewer resources for one group if a different group was successful. In cases such as this, “the divide and conquer tactic operates not by altering the players’ incentives, but by affecting their beliefs” about what will happen.

The media sources of Northern India during the 1880s noted a number of instances in which such distrust was evident between linguistic and religious communities concerning educational policy. To *The Tribune*, it was clear that the costs of facilitating two schools with different languages of instruction would be too great for many districts and residents of districts with majority Muslim populations would need to apply pressure to be certain that those districts preserved Muslim schools teaching in Urdu and Arabic. They later questioned policies that limited the number of government employment positions that were available. There was concern that the Muslim and Hindu communities in Northern India were in direct competition with each other for the limited number of jobs related to the administration of government and that this competition was directly related to educational funding for the two communities.

Similarly, *The Civil and Military Gazette* was concerned that the educational policies implemented in Punjab in the 1880s were intended to sow discord among the communities of

the province. Also speaking of the Hunter Commission of 1882, the Gazette was alarmed that the Commission considered including a clause in the final report stating, "Parents can take their children out of schools if the only school in a village has a religious focus that goes against their own." They saw this as an attempt to divide the communities of Punjab along linguistic and religious lines. In The Tribune's general antipathy towards Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner and his educational pursuits in Punjab, the editors also saw an effort to separate higher education into parallel tracks with different purposes. Comparing Leitner's Punjab University College to the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College in Aligarh, they noted that the former had been a failure in terms of either promoting the diffusion of European Science in India or sparking a renaissance in studying classical Indian languages. By 1885, they noted that the leaders of the college in Lahore were "no longer the *soi disant* educators of the people but duly accredited agents of Government entrusted with the advancement of their best interests." The editors were concerned that the university in Lahore would use its government-subsidized, substandard curriculum to compete with the private institutions that they saw as more rigorous. This would, in turn, divide the population along a number of lines.

Colonial educational policy throughout the nineteenth century attempted to limit the frequency and duration of interactions for native Indians in a number of ways. Thomas Macauley's Minute on Indian Education explicitly sought to divide students in the Indian population based on class and caste. These policies continued up until the Hunter Commission of 1882 when it recommended separate educational institutions for various classes of people. As mentioned previously, these included the sons of native chiefs, the sons of noblemen, Muslims, members of aboriginal tribes and students from low castes. The local leaders of India's native communities were certainly concerned about what they perceived as a division from a limit to the frequency and duration of interaction. This was generally seen as taking the form of religious and linguistic separation, as when the editors of The Tribune noted that as English education advances the animosity between the [Hindus and Muslims] increases. That it is worse in Delhi, which has been English territory for a longer time than in Lucknow. That it is worse among those who have learnt English in the colleges than among the old fashioned *Taluqdars* and the villagers. That in Bundekhand, where society is very old-fashioned, the Rajas are quite Islamized in their customs and thoughts; while in Calcutta, where English influence has been longest, the anti-Muhamadan feeling reaches its greatest height, and the object of the Hindu community seems to be to root out Islamic influences that

have been instilled into it for centuries and to fix the idea of their society as what they suppose it to have been in prehistoric times.

The editors of *The Tribune* were not alone in suspecting that the British colonial administration was attempting to separate and control the people of Northern India. In the same way, the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* was concerned that the colonizers were using a lack of access to education to keep Muslim youth unemployed and unlikely to interact with the Hindu majority. They also believed that circumventing the educational policies of the British administration was the only way to achieve political and cultural success after the founding of the Indian National Congress which they saw as a power grab by the Hindu majority. A number of colonial leaders throughout the nineteenth century advocated education in the vernacular languages of the subcontinent. The main arguments in favor of limiting English instruction during the nineteenth century were primarily practical concerns. The Orientalists in the colonial administration beginning at the time of Macaulay's Minute in 1835 first believed that an English education could only really be useful to a very few Indian residents of the presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. Outside of these and a few other towns that were growing in importance as centers of trade, the Orientalists felt that there was little practical value in learning English. The daily interactions of Indians would continue to take place in the vernacular languages of their region or community. The Orientalists thought it best to provide instruction in these languages to avoid wasting the money of the colonial administration and the time of Indian students. Another argument made in favor of retaining vernacular instruction throughout India was the seeming incompatibility of English with the dominant languages of the subcontinent. This, too, was a concern about the practical use of English. Many understood that the native people of India would want to continue studying their own literature and culture, but many Orientalists believed that "English was utterly discordant with any Indian language and could not convey the secret charms of... oriental literature."

The other main concern of many Orientalists during the nineteenth century was that the introduction of English language instruction in any large scale would only succeed in dividing the Indian people along lines of class. Because English had little practical use for those outside of the major cities of India and because it was seen as poorly suited to transmitting the cultural heritage of the majority of the Indian people, "English would be the language of a few persons having leisure and opportunity and would not percolate to the

masses.” The concern, then, was that it would become the language of an upper class “that was nourished on the provisions of a permanent settlement, or of a middle class that depended for sustenance on government jobs. To the teeming millions of the poor class English would ever remain an alien tongue.”

In advocating education in the vernacular languages of the subcontinent, the Orientalists were attempting to avoid disunity along class lines. They did not want to increase the power of forces dividing the people of India into haves and have-nots. At the same time they were perhaps inadvertently attempting to divide the people by obstructing their means of communication in a unified language. English could have been the lingua franca that united the country linguistically, but was eschewed in order to promote the Orientalist view of unity.

In their own view, the Anglicists advocated the adoption of English language instruction throughout India for noble reasons. They felt that the best way to rescue the Indian people was to provide them with the tools of European science and mathematics and the only way to do this was through the medium of European languages. They did not feel that Indian vernacular languages could adequately express the ideas and principles that had been used to make Europe and the United Kingdom the world’s super power. When writing about the need for English medium instruction in Northern India, *The Tribune* alleged that attempting to teach “proper” science and mathematics in Indian vernacular languages would leave students in “an almost impenetrable darkness.”

In addition to this concern for how to teach practical sciences and mathematics, there were some among the Anglicists who wanted to implement English language instruction in order to “reach the great mass of the population” with British ideals and values. These men believed that English was uniquely suited to bring culture to the world it had a long and storied literature and was still the language of the streets. The classical languages of Sanskrit and Persian had extensive literary traditions, but were not spoken in the quotidian life of Delhi and Lahore in the late-nineteenth century. Similarly, Hindustani and Bengali were spoken across Northern India at the time but at least according to the Anglicists did not have extensive literary traditions that were ripe for study. One of the main problems that the editors of *The Tribune* had with Gottlieb Leitner’s educational institutions in Lahore was that they did not recognize this understanding. They repeatedly admonished Leitner’s “sham Orientalism” for focusing on vernacular teaching and not giving enough attention to classical literature either Indian or European.

If the British colonial administration saw the meaning and purpose of education as a tool for levelling, observing, and surveilling their Indian subjects, they believed that the promise of education along a Western model in India was the creation and exploitation of divisions within the subcontinent's dominant communities. As described earlier, there is some debate over when two distinct, self-identifying religious communities appeared on the subcontinent. Whether or not the "large-scale conflicts between Hindus and Muslims began under colonial rule" and "communal violence was itself a British construct," it is clear that the British hoped to magnify and exploit the differences that were apparent by the late nineteenth century. In some instances, the continued existence of a British presence in India was justified by explaining that only the British could protect the people of the subcontinent from divisive conflicts between the two communities. The efforts of the British to ossify what they saw as the true violent past of the Indian subcontinent fits well with Cohn's conception of the museological tendency to control colonial knowledge. The British education policy was designed to create conflicts between these communities, the social and political confrontation throughout the colonial period extended to in independent India used communal tension to control knowledge and power among the Muslim feudal elites the high-caste Hindu elites. For them the promise of Western education in India was a divided population decades later. The British colonial apparatus controlled the resources of the subcontinent and used communal tension to control knowledge and power among the Muslim feudal elites the high-caste Hindu elites. For them the promise of Western education in India was a divided population.

If this was what the British believed that Western education promised to achieve in India, many of the native leaders of the subcontinent saw the same as a threat to their identity as Indians. By the 1880s, many newspapers of Northern India were providing commentary on the issue of language and education in the region and they were critical of formal education along Western lines. The closure of the Indian language department at the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College in 1886 was lamented by *The Aligarh Institute Gazette*. The fact that only four students had been enrolled in the program, was seen as testament to the fact that Indian linguistic and cultural identity was being driven away by British educational policy. Conceding that many in Northern Indian had admitted that native forms of knowledge had ceased to be of much practical value, they hoped that Arabic and the vernacular languages of India would continue to be taught at the college. Knowing that those who supported Western education in English professed progressive ideals, the *Gazette* also addressed concerns of

some that an English medium of instruction would promote a sense of entitlement among the people of the country. In educating the native elite of Northern India, whether Hindu or Muslim, the Aligarh Institute Gazette, feared that school leavers would see themselves as having a right to employment in government positions. The paper argued that, far from “forming a class of people who are opposed to government,” those Indians educated in English were engaged in many different activities in which they earned their livelihood and were more connected to the colonial administration and less likely to develop animosity towards the British. Thus, far from seeing their goal of an educational establishment that produced the leaders the patriots and practical men of India’s future, some began to fear the threat of Western education as a cadre of entitled graduates who looked out for themselves and their vested interests. The author of this piece in the Aligarh Institute Gazette makes it clear throughout his work that the British and their Indian subjects perceived and knew the world in fundamentally different ways. It was the remaking of these distinctly Indian ways of knowing that allowed the British to take control of the subcontinent. It allowed the British to divide the people of India in ways that made them easier to rule.

The British attempted to use the investigative modalities described by Cohn to impose themselves on their colonial subjects. By dictating the ways that knowledge could be produced and managing ways of knowing, the British were able to further their imperial mission in India. This was not a process forced on India without any acquiescence, however. As Cohn described, Indians were far from passive as they “increasingly became drawn into the process of transformation of their own traditions and modes of thought.” He describes how, “the authoritative control that the British tried to exercise over new social and material technologies was taken over by Indians and put to purposes which led to the ultimate erosion of British authority.” As the British attempted to tighten their grip on their Indian subjects by erasing their culture with English education in the nineteenth century, they provided those same subjects with the tools that they needed to bring about their independence in the twentieth century.

CHAPTER-5

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE IMPACT OF EDUCATION POLICIES ON PUNJAB

In the course of the nineteenth century India underwent a remarkable transformation. There were social and religious reform movements, a literary renaissance, an awakening of patriotic feelings and a sense of nationality. Political ideas and associations developed which contributed to the emergence of Indian nationalism. English education was a crucial factor in socializing and communicating political ideas.

The decision to introduce English education in India was a momentous step taken by the British raj and the year 1835 can be regarded as an important landmark in modern Indian history. Throughout the non-Western world in recent centuries, the process of modernization has been accelerated by contact and conflict with the West. The introduction of English education was one of a series of acts which collectively opened the doors of the West to the East. In every sphere of modern Indian life, though the influence of tradition persists, the impact of the West can also be traced. Much of the organization of the democratic state, its secular character, the structure of its institutions, and the political principles underlying them are all largely European in inspiration. Similarly, the social reforms in Hindu society, the movements for the emancipation of women and for the removal of untouchability reflect Western influence to a considerable extent.

The negative alienating effects of English education are fairly obvious. The education system by building up an educated elite and neglecting popular education helped to preserve and strengthen the barrier between the upper classes and the masses. The use of English raised the class barrier even higher. The low rate of literacy, the method of teaching, neglect of training of teachers, contempt for manual work, emphasis on a literary education and neglect of technical education which was inevitable in a colonial context, and the creation of a gulf between an elite educated in English and the masses all these constituted formidable obstacles in the path of development. The precise pattern of learning from the West depended on the degree of political independence. In Japan and to a much more limited extent in Ottoman Turkey and the Egypt of Mohammad Ali, modernizing efforts were first made in the army, administration and economic life. It is tempting to speculate on the kind of Western learning India would have borrowed had she been independent.

Initially the raj depend on the support and consent of the English educated intelligentsia. But during the latter half of the nineteenth century this class turned to nationalist politics.

Official British interest in education dates from the early years of the nineteenth century. From the time of Lytton's viceroyalty both Calcutta and London began to feel uneasy about the political implications of the movement which their predecessors had set under way. But it was not until the time of Lord Curzon that any serious administrative effort was made to halt this drift and correct these implications. Accordingly, it is the inception of Curzon's viceroyalty in 1898 which the present work takes as its starting point. Curzon's successors continued his efforts to control the education system and attempts in this direction lasted till 1920 when under the system of Diarchy introduced by the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms, education became a 'transferred' subject in the hands of Indian ministers. The years 1898 to 1920 thus form a logical period for examining what government wanted to do in the field of education and for assessing how far its policies were successful.

Between 1898 and 1920 there were four Viceroys, but Curzon's administration has received the greatest attention because he was the originator of the new policy. His successors were never able to give the same time to education and did not fundamentally alter his policy. Moreover, they lacked Curzon's energy, vision and drive. Again, Calcutta University and Bengal are dealt with in more detail, because Bengal was the problem province during these years. The government of India was also more concerned about the university in the capital of which the Viceroy was the Chancellor.

During the period there were three principal agencies for the spread of Western education. They consisted of the schools and colleges created by the government, by Christian missionaries and by private Indian enterprise. Roman Catholic missions had been operating in South India since the sixteenth century. Protestant missions had made a small beginning in the eighteenth century, but their activities expanded rapidly after a ban on missionary activity was removed in 1813. The pioneering work in the field of education: of men like William Carey, Henry Martyn or Schwartz cannot be overestimated. In the days when the East India Company was unwilling to accept a direct responsibility for the education of the Indian people, the Christian missions came forward and established some of the earliest modern schools and colleges. Later on the Company did accept the responsibility for education, but the extension of direct government effort was so slow before 1854 that the

needs were largely met by missionary institutions. Christian colleges were among the first to bring Western ideas of education to India, thus preparing the way for many of the cultural and political events which were to follow. But after the report of the Indian Education Commission of 1882, the missions generally gave up plans for extension and decided to concentrate on the efficient maintenance of a few institutions. The impetus behind their effort had slackened by the end of the nineteenth century and during the years under consideration the demand for Western education was increasingly satisfied by the efforts of private individuals. To begin with the missionary educational institutions had some differences with the East India Company, but during the years 1898-1920 they rarely came into conflict with the Education Department. The influence which they exercised upon the development of education was of the highest value and importance. Nevertheless, a study of missionary schools and colleges has not been included here because they posed no problem for the government at this time.

Private Indian enterprise in education had also begun its operation early in the nineteenth century, but it was during the last quarter of the century that private charity, public spirit and educational aspirations combined to cover much of the three presidencies with a network of schools and colleges largely beyond the reach of the government. Since it was at this time that the government began to associate English education with unrest, and since it was precisely in these institutions that education came closest to disaffection, it was they who bore the brunt of the new education policy.

The aim of this chapter has not been to give a complete history of Indian education or of Indian politics. Three themes are interwoven. The first is official education policy and its transformation towards the end of the nineteenth century. A detailed examination of education policy emphasizes the importance attached to the subject both by officials and by Indian politicians. It shows that education was regarded as a subject of crucial importance, invaluable as an ally, terrible as an enemy. It also reveals the amount of time and effort involved in formulating policies and the difficulties of implementing them. Even a Viceroy as powerful and autocratic as Curzon could not carry his educational reforms to a successful conclusion. There were educational and political reasons why education should have been taken in hand, but efforts to do so proved ineffective. The educational history of this period cannot, however, be merely based on official documents and files. Government policy is only one side of the story. Any realistic study of this nature must be concerned not only with the educators but also with the educated. The second theme is, therefore, the growth of English

education. Though India was administratively a single unit, there were regional variations which cannot be ignored. This makes it necessary to move from an all-India standpoint to a consideration of the nature and spread of education in different provinces. Here a selection has to be made. Obviously, the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay must be studied, since here British rule had the longest history and here too the impact of British policies had been the deepest. As a contrast to these long-established bases, a study has been made of the growth of education in the United Provinces as an interesting specimen region in central India which came under British rule at a comparatively late date. The third aim is to explore the extent to which education was a determinant of political activity. There was obviously some connection between the growth of modern nationalism and the rate of social change. There were many changes came in the Indian society by education. Many social evils demolished by the education in society.

The Western educated elite was not the only one in the field. There was a traditional social elite which overlapped it, because these groups were the first to see that the new education could help them to keep their old pre-eminence. There was a traditional political elite also, such as the Zamindars and taluqdars. Below these levels, the richer and middle peasantry were politically important. Thus, there were elites and sub-elites of various kinds¹.

In the years under consideration the nationalist movement was dominated by the Western educated elite and it is with this group, particularly in Bengal and Maharashtra, that this study is mainly concerned. Political development was not uniform all over the country and this had something to do with the uneven rates of educational growth. There were different rates of growth in one region as compared with another and also between one groups in a region as compared with another. An analysis of the differential rates of growth of education among various regions, communities, castes and linguistic groups throws light on some questions which are of great importance in the history of the sub-continent during the first half of this century.

The term education is believed to be derived from a word "educare", which refers to the bringing up of children, both physically and mentally. In accordance with this usage, education is defined in a very broad manner denoting a group process by which culture is transmitted from generation to generation. T. Lynn Smith defines education "as a process whereby the socially approved part of the cultural heritage is transmitted from one generation

¹ J. Richte, *History of Missions in India*, Oxford publishers, London, 1908, pp.321-324.

to the following one and whereby newly acquired knowledge is diffused among the members of society".

In the primitive communities the transmission of cultural heritage was mainly a function performed by the institution of family. It was within the family that the child was introduced to the world of social reality. The child learnt various elements of culture and the routine activities of everyday life under the guidance of elderly family members. The institution of family still continues to be one of the major educational agencies of modern society. However, modern human society differs in a marked way from the simpler society of the past in a number of ways. One such important difference is that the modern human society is characterized by functional specialization. This functional specialization is evident in all aspects of modern life and particularly in the institutional frame-work of society. In present times different institutions have their separate and distinct functions. In the primitive communities the institution of family. Performed a variety of functions including the training of children in different skills, trades and occupations. On the other hand, in the present day communities the educational institutions are entrusted with the task of imparting formal education to the younger members of the society. The schools and colleges are responsible for the physical, mental and intellectual development of children and training them for specialized trades and professions. In present times the term education, therefore, refers to formal schooling. In the present study the term education has been used in this narrower but specific sense to denote the formal training imparted in schools and colleges.

Max Weber has classified educational system into three Major types as follows: --

(I) the attempt to call forth and to test allegedly inherent traits of the individual, to allow them to be unfold, to be realized. This is generally characteristic of charismatically sanctioned institutions and status groups.

(ii) By rote learning and moral exhortation, by drill and imposed habituation, the attempt to stereotype the individual into line with traditional routines, which is generally characteristic of traditionalist societies.

(iii) The attempt rationally to transmit to the individual certain traits, to train him for specific skills by challenging him to think and act independently which is generally characteristic of educational spheres of rational bureaucratic organizations.

In present times the third category of Weber's classification is the prevalent type of educational system. In modern education the principal aim is to develop rational faculties of human beings so that they can have independent thinking and their actions are not governed by any stereotype norms or principles. This type of training helps the individual to challenge the dogmatic beliefs and to inculcate rational thinking. The encouragement of rational and independent thinking, consequently, affects the behavior of the individuals, as thought and behavior are closely interrelated. Education can be regarded as influencing both the thought and behavior-patterns of the individuals, and when there are changes in the behavior-patterns of individual members of various social groups, the social structural elements of a community are bound to have a significant impact².

Broadly speaking, education has two important functions viz., the conservative and creative. In its conservative function, education helps in the transmission of cultural values and socially approved behavior-patterns to the younger members of the society. This function of education has been and still continues to be of paramount importance. However, the modern human society is characterized by social dynamism. These days the factors of innovation and change are much more prominent than they were in the older society. Therefore, modern education has an added function, that is, to inculcate new ideas and thought patterns along with the transmission of established cultural and social values. Modern education does not permit an individual to become a dogmatic believer; it makes him a rational human being capable of challenging the past values and creating new ones. To provide for change is the creative function of education. This does not mean that the two functions of education, that is, the conservative and creative are antithetical to one another. Rather, these two functions are reconciled in modern education. As W. E. Hocking has put it beautifully when he states that, "the educational purpose is to communicate the type and provide for growth beyond the type".

An attempt has been made in the present study to find out the impact of the "creative" function of education on the social structure of some village communities. Education is one of the most important factors which have a bearing on the thought patterns and the personality structure of individuals. It is held by social psychologists that changes in the personality structure of individuals precede changes in the social structure of a community. The ultimate units of any social structure are individuals and unless their thought-patterns undergo a modification. No social change is possible. So, the first stage in the present

² A.Mayhew, *Christianity and the Government of India*, Hexon publishers, London, 1929, p.20.

research problem is to investigate the impact of education on the attitudes of the rural people, followed by a similar investigation regarding the elements of social structure of some selected rural communities.³

II. Theoretical Framework:

The thought-patterns of an individual are manifested in the change of attitudes. It is now considered essential to point out the role of education in bringing about a change in the attitudes of rural people. It is generally believed that in order to understand the network of social relations and the group processes in a community, it is necessary to explore, in the first place, the attitudes of its inhabitants.

Attitudes may be broadly viewed as specific responses to particular objects. These responses determine the likes and dis likes and the differential values which a person attaches to different objects or phenomena. They have, therefore, a significant role in regulating the behavior-patterns of the individuals. Farris defines an attitude as "a tendency to act". The attitude is regarded as determining the general character of the act. In this sense an attitude is an indicator of a future act. However, we cannot predict all types of behavior only with reference to the attitudes. Attitudes can only be regarded as predispositions to act. What will be the actual course of action will de pend upon a variety of other factors. This does not mean that the importance of the study of attitudes for any behavioral or interactional science can be overlooked. The concept of attitudes helps us in understanding the direction of behavior and action. A change in behavior is usually preceded by a change in the thought patterns of an individual. Attitudes are a significant part of thought patterns, and so a change in them has been discussed prior to the analysis of the change in the elements of social structure⁴.

Attitudes have a cognitive aspect, besides others like motivational, emotional or perceptual. The cognitive aspect refers to the apprehension or knowledge regarding a particular object or phenomena. The development of attitudes is, therefore, directly related to learning and experience. Man, always strives to understand the physical and social realities which surround him. As Bartlett has pointed out, "It is fitting to speak of every human cognitive reaction-perceiving, imagining, thinking and reasoning as an effort after meaning." In this quest for meaning. Education has a significant role. The world acquires meaning for an individual only when he becomes capable of perceiving this reality. His apprehension and

³ *Ibid*, p. 25.

⁴ *Ibid*, p.34.

knowledge of the external reality depends to a large extent on the training, socialization and education which he receives. Consequently, the development of particular attitudes of an individual is closely connected with the educational process.

The term education has been given a specific connotation in the present study to mean only formal education which is imparted through such educational institutions like schools and colleges. The training and education which one receives in these institutions go a long way in the development of one's attitudes. Education helps in the development of rational powers of man, so that he can fully understand the physical and the social environment in a scientific sense. The development of rational attitudes leads to a conflict situation. The newly acquired attitudes come in conflict with the already existing attitudes which may not be necessarily rational. This results in two polar types of attitudes which may be termed as traditional and modern. However, this does not mean that an individual will have all traditional or all modern attitudes. He may have traditional attitudes regarding some elements and modern attitudes regarding others. As Leon Festinger has pointed out, this may result in cognitive dissonance. This state of dissonance produces psychological discomfort and so an individual strives for an attitudinal balance. (Consonance in the words of Festinger). In the process of achieving this attitudinal consonance, an individual will be required to alter some of his previous attitudes, so that there is bound to be a change in his total attitudinal system. This change in the case of Indian rural communities can be viewed as a shift from traditional to modern attitudes. Tradition may be briefly defined as "the way things always have been done." The traditional attitudes are in consonance with tradition. Modernization, on the other hand, refers to "a process denoting a movement from a traditional or quasi-traditional order to certain desired types of technology and associated forms of social structure, value-orientations, motivations and norms". But this does not mean that modernization negates all traditional aspects. No society can completely break with the past⁵.

The modern view refers to the exploration of new ways of doing things with the help of scientific methods. It includes the use of rational powers to have a better conformity of ends and means. In this sense modernization can include even some aspects of tradition which are in conformity with the rational and scientific requirements. The basic requirement of a modern attitude is that it is never dogmatic. That is why, even while dealing with the traditional aspects it cannot afford to be dogmatic. Those traditional principles and practices which can be proved to be rational in terms of modern scientific principles have to be

⁵ A. Howell, *Education in British India*, Shudhi press, Calcutta, 1872, p.29

included in the modern outlook. Others have to be discarded. We cannot say that tradition and modernity are two extremes which cannot be reconciled. As Shils has remarked, "No good purpose is served by making it appear as if there is an unbridgeable gap between traditional society and modern society or even the more recent variant of the latter 'Mass Society'?" The traditional society is not by any means entirely traditional, modern society is by no means free of tradition"s.

The specific question of the relation between tradition and modernity involves the consideration of those elements of tradition which are not in conformity with modernity and which are inconsistent with modern view of life. Here, we are concerned with analyzing the extent to which those elements of tradition which are inconsistent with modernity are being rejected by the rural people. One of the assumptions of the present study is that most of the traditional patterns which are undergoing a change can be attributed to the effect of some exogenous factors.

An attempt has been made to bring out the role of one such factor, viz., education, in this regard. Education is an external and a comparatively new factor in the social structure of Indian villages, and as such it is bound to affect the existing structure. But before its influence on the social structure is studied, it is considered essential to study the changing attitudes of the people.

Attitudes towards selected social institutions: The analysis of attitudes has been made with reference to four institutions, that is, joint family, religion, marriage and education. Three opinion-statements have been included with respect to these institutions and the positive and negative responses to them have been taken to represent the tradition and modernity dimensions. The Guttman scale-pattern has been applied for the measurement of the attitudes and it has been found that these scales have a reproducibility of 90 to 95 per cent. The scale-scores ranged from 0 to 3 representing the traditional-modernity dimension in that order. In order to find out the relationship between education and attitudes towards the above-mentioned institutions, the attitude scores have been correlated with the educational backgrounds of the respondents, and the chi-square test has been applied to find out the significance of relationship.

The British educational policies had a great influence on the Society hence it creates many pros and cons in the India. In December 1898 when Curzon landed at Bombay as the twenty fourth Governor-General of British India, the unique experiment of educating the

people through a foreign medium had been going on for nearly seventy years. Pondering upon the struggles, the ambitions, the achievements, the errors, the hopes¹ of so many years of English education in India, Curzon declared that if he could frame 'a good education policy, it would not be a bad season's work.'" Among the ten questions to which he wanted to give immediate attention, education was second in importance. He gave such high priority to educational reform because he was convinced that the system had become 'strangely deficient in central authority and government control'. The Viceroy believed that education was of vital importance and was 'perhaps the most clamant necessity of all' in India. Because here education was required not primarily as the instrument of culture or the source of learning, but as the key to employment, the condition of all national advance and prosperity and the sole stepping stone for every class of the community to higher things. It is a social and political' even more than an intellectual demand. The man in India who has grasped the educational problem has got nearer to the heart of things than any of his comrades and he who can offer to us the right educational prescription is the true physician of the State⁶."

The educational system introduced in 1835 was probably the largest single Westernizing agency in nineteenth century India. In 1837 English replaced Persian as the official language and in 1844 Lord Hardinge's administration announced that those educated in English would be preferred in all appointments to office. The result was a very rapid increase in the demand for English education. As the government alone could not satisfy the demand, private schools outside its sphere of control were bound to grow and their growth was precipitated by the policy declaration of 1854. At the time of the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company in 1853 the House of Commons appointed a Select Committee which 'made a thorough inquiry into educational developments in India. The result was Wood's Despatch, so called after Sir Charles Wood, the then President of the Board of Control. Wood's Despatch looked forward to a time when the government would no longer have to maintain a system of education. Government colleges and schools were now reinforced by private institutions by means of the grants-in-aid system. In 1859 and again in 1864 the Secretary of State reaffirmed that the aim of the system of grants-in-aid was to stimulate the efforts of private institutions and local committees, and a feature of the growth during the thirty years after the Des patch was a large increase in the number of schools under private management. In 1854 schools teaching English were just under way, and their

⁶ *Ibid*, p.39.

development by grants-in-aid which were to be distributed by the new Departments of Public Instruction, now became the official policy⁷.

In the 1880s the Hunter Commission once again urged the government to gradually withdraw from direct support and management of educational institutions, especially those of the higher order. The arguments in favor of withdrawal were based on considerations of economy, in the hope that it would stimulate private effort to fresh exertions and introduce a greater variety in the type of higher education. In its resolution appointing the Commission, the government said that it would: Offer every encouragement to native gentlemen to come forward and aid, even more extensively than before, in the establishment of schools opened on grants-in aid system.

It is chiefly in this way that the native community will be able to my of education which is an essential conditioning of the Governor General-in-Council a healthy symptom that all the youth of the country should be cast, as it were, in the same Government education mould. Rather it is desirable that each section of the people should be in a position to secure that description of education which is most consonant to its feelings and suited to its wants.

This recommendation was accepted by the government which decided to maintain henceforth only a few schools as models to private enterprise. If the aim of this policy was to discourage the growth of higher education, it failed miserably; but if its purpose was really to encourage Indian private effort, the policy succeeded beyond all the hopes of the government. In 1882 there were 63 English arts colleges; in 1902 there were 140; the number of pupils increased from 5,442 to 17,148. The number of English secondary schools which were unaided increased during these years from 2,133 to 5,097 and the number of pupils in them from 1,49,233 to 4,22,187.¹ The increase was most marked in the unaided colleges and schools privately managed by Indians. There were only 11 such colleges with 716 students in 1882; by 1902 there were 53 unaided colleges with 5,803 pupils in them. The number of unaided secondary schools nearly doubled in these twenty years and the number of pupils increased more than threefold.

Higher education had not only expanded but had also developed some serious defects. It was evident that in many colleges and schools the quality of teaching was poor, textbooks and equipment were inadequate and standards low; an excessive emphasis on examinations dominated high school, and university teaching encouraged cramming and parrot learning.

⁷ T. Raleigh, *Lord Curzon in India*, Oxford press, London, 1907, p. 234.

Reform thus seemed necessary from purely educational considerations. Lord Curzon felt that Indian education was in a mess and must be 'lifted from this furrow' before it was finally 'dragged down and choked in the mire'.

It was in the time of Lord Dufferin that higher education came to be regarded as the root cause of the growing unrest in the country. Confidential and semi-confidential circulars were issued to local authorities to curtail government grants to universities and colleges.

British officials in India saw a direct link between English education and the rise of nationalism. They viewed the Indian National Congress and its leaders as a microscopic minority created by the Indian universities and cut off from the rest of the population, Curzon believed that the first and foremost cause of political unrest in India was the education we have given to the people of the country'. Thus, his object in attacking the education system was not merely to make it more efficient. It is not a "ludicrous travesty of his real intentions to say that his education reforms were also politically motivated. As the educated class became more vocal in their criticism, earlier doubts about the wisdom of launching English education in India were reinforced and gave new point to an awareness of its dangers in an Indian setting. Did it not produce men who were 'ill-regulated, averse from discipline, and in some cases actually disloyal'? As the government had moved out of the field of higher education, Indians had moved in, and control of education was handed over by the government its critics⁸.

The year 1897, the last year of Lord Elgin's viceroyalty, had been full of troubles and of all these troubles the plague had given the government and the people the most anxiety. The Bombay government took measures to combat this calamity and in Poona British soldiers were employed to see that the orders were strictly followed. Some of them were guilty of excesses and harassed the people. Tilak bitterly attacked the government's plague measures and the general state of public excitement and anger resulted in the murder of Mr Rand, the Collector and Plague Officer of Poona, and his associate, Lt. Ayerst, on 22 June 1897. The murderers, Damodar and Balkrishna Chapekar, were subsequently tried and executed. Tilak was also accused of preaching sedition and was sentenced to eighteen month's rigorous imprisonment.

Lord Sandhurst, the Governor of Bombay, sent the official documents relating to the Poona murders to the Secretary of State, Lord George Hamilton, who found it 'impossible to

⁸ *Indian Education commission Report 1883-34*, vol-4, p.432.

dissociate their ideas and their hatred of England from the course of education and training through which they have passed'. To Curzon he wrote: You never. I am sure, undertook a task which was more necessary than that of looking into the control of education in India. It is almost, if not quite, the first duty of an autocratic Government, and in this, as in many other things, we have been terribly misled by false analogies derived from the English practice. To my shame I must confess that it is only within the last three or four years that I have fully realized this: but recent events in Bombay Presidency, and the facts which those events made me acquainted with for the first time, have, I hope, opened my eyes.

Sir Charles Olivet, a member of the Bombay Council, had impressed upon the Secretary of State the need for much tighter control over education, so Bombay was asked by London to make a thorough inquiry to ascertain whether the educational facilities provided in its schools were being used to propagate hostility to the established order. If so, it was time to review a system which had allowed 'such perversion of its beneficent purpose⁹'.

The gradual adoption and extension of Western ideas of agitation and organization, Hamilton believed, was the great future danger to British rule, and as education drove deeper, the British in India would come under more 'subtle and continuous' attacks. It was the spread of education, a free press and selection by competition for public services and the civil courts which had undermined the autocratic foundations of British rule and dragged it into a 'shifting and unstable quagmire of sham Radicalism and anti-English feeling'.³ Western education grafted upon 'Asiatic mentality and fanaticism' had so upset the mental balance of some of its recipients as to make them ruthless and senseless perpetrators of murder'. The murderers of Rand and Ayerst were well-educated, while Curzon Wyllie had been shot by an Oxford graduate. But it was too late now to lament Macaulay's decision to introduce English education; to go back on this policy would 'invalidate our claim to the Government of India'. So the India Office felt that the best that could be done in the situation was to tighten control and slow down the educational juggernaut. It hoped that there would be less disloyalty as a result and improvement in teaching standards would be a satisfactory by-product. Curzon was sincere when he told the Shimla Conference in 1901 that he desired with an honesty of purpose that is not open to question to place the education system. Upon a sounder and firmer basis, but he was being a little disingenuous when he claimed that, this was the only motive behind the new education policy. In fact, Hamilton congratulated him upon so tact fully omitting any reference to political considerations: 'I admire the skill with which you

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 436.

absolutely ignored in your address the political dangers of the present system and based the necessity of reforms upon educational grounds alone."

Curzon's viceroyalty thus marked a turning point in government education policy. He formally abandoned the doctrine that the state should not interfere in education. Instead he was for a policy where the state could have the initiative and control a planned system from the center. He believed that the government would have to reassert that responsibility which there had been a tendency to abdicate'.

Curzon set about the task of framing a new education policy with his characteristic energy and drive. He was a man with a clear and vigorous mind, a tremendous capacity for hard work and a sense of dedication to duty. His watchword was efficiency and he worked ceaselessly to give India the framework of a modern administration. In 1901 he summoned all the Directors of Public Instruction to a conference at Shimla. It was not a purely official conference, since Dr Miller of Madras Christian College was invited, but no Indian educationists were included and this the educated Indians deeply resented and regarded as a deliberate insult. Curzon was criticized by nationalist leaders as well as the Indian press for not having invited any Indian to the Shimla Conference and for having kept its proceedings secret. The Viceroy delivered a long opening speech surveying the entire field of education and calling attention to the defects which needed reform. The Conference sat for fifteen days and embodied its conclusions in a series of 156 resolutions. Each one of which Curzon himself had a hand in drafting. He presided for six hours a day for sixteen days and as a result suffered a physical collapse. It was on the basis of these deliberations at Shimla that the Viceroy planned and carried out his education reforms. The Shimla Conference was followed up by the movement of the Indian Universities Commission in 1902 Thomas Raleigh as its Chairman, 'to inquire into the condition prospects of the universities established in British India, to the proposals for improving their condition and were recommend measures to elevate the standards of university and to promote the advancement of learning¹⁰.

The first topic placed before the Shimla Conference was that of university education. The system had not been revised since 1857 and the organization of universities left a great deal to be desired. The method of teaching was most unsatisfactory. Curzon warned that a people could not be expected to rise in the scale of intelligence by the cultivation of memory alone, and condemned a system which encouraged students to the application of purely

¹⁰ T. Raleigh, *Lord Curzon in India*, Oxford press, London, 1907, p.263.

mnemonic tests", stuffing their brains with the abracadabra of geometry and physics, algebra and logic', until after thousands had failed in these tests those who had survived emerged in the Elysian fields of the B.A. Degree'. But even for them the university was nothing more than 'the final stage in a long irksome series of examinations and was invested with no romance. Instead Curzon wanted to make it a place for the 'dissemination of knowledge and the encouragement of learning'.

The Viceroy found that a university in India severely lacked corporate life and that it was not even a collection of buildings, 'scarcely even a site'. The university was distinguished from the colleges, where most of the teaching was done, and it had little control over them. In theory the university had wide powers; not only did it affiliate colleges, it also had to recognize schools before they could present candidates for the matriculation examination. In neither case did it use its powers to impose strict conditions. Consequently, many private high schools and colleges had become merely coaching institutions with too many students and too little learning. Many of them were inefficient, badly housed, poorly staffed, ill-equipped and overcrowded.

Before the 1890s, however, the absence of control had been less important, since colleges and high schools were still few in number and small in size. The laissez faire policy led to the rise of numerous privately managed schools and colleges which charged low fees and admitted students freely. Curzon held that the government alone could raise falling standards, lighten the curse of examinations, and halt the 'rush of immature striplings' to colleges to earn and not to learn'. If the examination system was to be efficient only the government could make it so, for it was an exotic feature introduced by the English and based upon English models. The government alone could ensure that Indian education would follow advances in Europe. To ask the state to pay for education, but at the same time to expect it to divest itself of all responsibility, said Curzon, was to ignore the elementary obligations for which the state stood. In its desire to decentralize, the government had surrendered its control to a very dangerous degree and forfeited a good deal of its necessary authority. As a result, Englishmen were no longer the agents of education. Instead, Indians were in command, and they showed 'a mischievous Independence of government'.

The modern Indian educational system took shape with Sir Charles Wood's Educational Despatch of 1854 which led to the opening of the first three universities in 1857. All three were constituted on the model of London University, at that time purely an examining body,

which admitted to its tests only students trained in affiliated institutions. The university was to be not so much a place of instruction as a means of testing the value of education obtained elsewhere. It was distinct from the colleges, where all the teaching was done¹¹.

The acts of 1857 provided that the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor and the Fellows named therein and all those who might thereafter become or be appointed Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor or Fellows were constituted and declared to be a body corporate, to be known as a university. These persons and such others as might be appointed Fellows were to constitute the senate of the university. The senate was entrusted with the entire management and supervision of the affairs, concerns and property of the university.

The rapid increase in the number of high schools and colleges which had taken place since 1882 put a heavy strain on the universities, which were still functioning under a constitution drawn up in 1857. Apart from the growth in the number of colleges in the country, the university senates had grown excessively large, for the Acts of Incorporation had placed no limit on their size. By 1902 the Calcutta senate consisted of 181 members, Madras senate of 198 and Bombay senate of 196.¹ Many of the Fellows had dubious academic qualifications; nomination to the senate bore little relation to scholarship and was often for purely honorific reasons. There were too many ambitious pleaders' who made the senate, especially in Bengal, the chief arena of public discussion'. A large part of university business was settled in the Bar Library or in the High Court, and Curzon feared that the senate was developing into 'a potent political instrument, wielded by ill-educated vakils". It was suspected that these lawyers were supported by a party keen for self-government and opposed to all forms of official control, and that behind them was 'a crowd of their kindred and co-religionists' who wished to obtain 'cheap degrees and multiply colleges of an unsatisfactory type. Curzon felt that from sheer lack of courage his predecessors had allowed university education to get out of hand, and that if left unreformed the Indian universities would develop into 'nurseries of discontented characters and stunted brains'.

The senates were to be reduced in size and reconstituted so that they would cease to be playgrounds for politicians and would function more efficiently. Curzon believed that such a situation as the present, with a Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University in the persons of myself and Raleigh, who are both Fellows of an Oxford College, and strongly imbued with the University feeling, is probably not likely to occur again for a long time in

¹¹ T. Raleigh, *Lord Curzon in India* (speeches), p.319.

India. He thought it would be a pity not to take advantage of this situation to carry out reforms which everyone admitted to be essential but nobody had dared to touch. The Raleigh Commission proposed that a hundred Fellows should be the maximum for Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, and sixty for Allahabad and Lahore. Twenty Fellows of the three older universities and fifteen of the two newer ones were to be elected, all the rest being nominated by the Chancellors, and the senates were to be reconstituted every five years. The composition of the reformed senate under the 1904 Universities Act was to be as follows:

(a) Fellows elected by the general body of registered graduates or by the senate:

(b) Fellows elected by faculties at the discretion of the Chancellor:

(c) Fellows nominated by the Chancellor:

10 in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras; 8 in Lahore and Allahabad. Not more than 10 in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras; not more than 7 in Lahore and Allahabad. Remaining 80 in the three older universities and 60 in the two newer ones¹². The Commission recommended that electors should be graduates of five years' standing, but Curzon regarded this suggestion with great alarm, as politically unsafe, and as a kind of 'franchise bill of the widest and most radical dimensions'. He felt that allowing the senates to have elected members was in itself 'a very liberal concession' and 'a substantial advance in the direction of popular representation'.⁵ Originally there had been no provision for any elective element in the senates and all Fellows were either ex-officio or nominated. In 1890 Lord Lawrence set an example in Calcutta, which was followed in Madras and Bombay, of permitting a few Fellows to be elected. In 1902 the number of elected Fellows in Calcutta was 21, in Bombay 17 and in Madras 16. The electorate was confined at Calcutta to Masters of Arts or holders of corresponding degrees in other faculties, at Bombay to graduates of ten years' standing and at Madras to Masters of Arts and Law, Doctors of Medicine or Bachelors of twenty years' standing. Chancellors had the power of cancelling an election, not merely if there had been improper canvassing but also on grounds of personal suitability or otherwise. It was hoped that the new senates would exercise greater control over colleges. In 1902 there were 140 English arts colleges and 46 professional colleges, and their only relation with the universities was that of affiliation. By affiliation a college was given the right to present its students for university examinations. The universities, however, imposed no clearly defined standards of affiliation and there was no guarantee that an affiliated college was efficiently managed, well-equipped or adequately

¹² Lovat Fraser, *India under Curzon and After*, Dixon Press, London, p. 241.

staffed. In practice, affiliation was granted indiscriminately. Some of the private colleges managed by Indians were excellent but others were devoted more to profit than to learning; the teachers were underpaid, the buildings insanitary and unsuitable, and the teaching superficial. Some depended for their existence wholly on fees and admitted students without limit or enquiry. Indian colleges possessed none of the features to which Curzon attached importance; they were not residential institutions, nor did they possess a history, a tradition, a genius loci, a tutorial staff of their own'. They were in fact little more than "collections of lecture rooms and class rooms and laboratories. The Raleigh Commission urged that before a college was granted affiliation it must provide the Syndicate with information regarding: the constitution of its governing body; the qualifications of the teachers and their salaries; the building in which the college was to be located and the provision made for the residence of staff members and students; the financial resources of the college; whether there were any colleges in the neighborhood; and the fees to be paid by the students. After information was provided on all these points, and the colleges were duly inspected, the Syndicate, the senate and finally the government were to decide whether the college should be affiliated or not. The government was to be the final authority because it was feared that the decision of the University might be influenced by the views and interests of the more powerful colleges. The Commission had also recommended the need for fixing minimum fees and the gradual abolition of second-grade colleges. Dr. Goroodas Banerjee, in his note of dissent to the Raleigh Commission Report, had said that poor students should not be excluded by the fixing of minimum fees. Curzon, on the contrary, believed that 'a student so poor as not to be able to pay any minimum fee that is at all likely to be fixed, is not fit to undertake a university course at all'. He suspected that Banerjee was holding a brief for 'the poorer and unworthy class of Bengali students, who we want politely to suppress'. Behind all these reforms was the belief that:

In all matters relating to higher education, efficiency must be the first and paramount consideration. It is better for India that a comparatively small number of young men should receive a sound liberal education than that a large number should be passed through an inadequate course of instruction, leading to a depreciated degree¹³.

Many officials believed that university education had been allowed to grow too rankly, that it had too great breadth and too little depth and that quality had been sacrificed to quantity. They considered it expedient to check rather than encourage further expansion of

¹³ L. H. Jenks, *The migration of British Capital to 1875*, Keith publishers, New York, 1927, p.370.

college education and held that what was needed was an era of concentration. As Curzon said: 'It is quality, not quantity that we should have in view.'

Educated Indians did not agree with the new policy of control and improvement of quality. They held that a wide diffusion of English education was more important, even if in some cases it was not up to the mark. A 'depreciated degree' was better than no degree. They believed that Curzon's university reforms represented an attempt by legislative action to reduce the number of Western educated Indians. They ascribed political motives to the desire to improve and exercise control over education, and the Raleigh Commission's Report was characterized as 'a political manifesto in academic guise. Its recommendations excited a measure of interest such as no other public question within living memory' had done. Surendranath Banerjee, presiding over the 1902 Congress Session, said that no Government proposal in the past twenty-five years had caused deeper alarm or anxiety. The opposition to the Vernacular Press Act, the Calcutta Municipal Bill, the Bombay Land Revenue Bill or even the Seditious Bill, he said, paled before the agitation to which the Universities Commission Report had given rise. In Bombay the chief critic of university reform was Pheroze shah Mehta. Bombay University appointed a committee to deal with the Raleigh Commission Report and under the guidance of Pherozeshah it subjected the recommendations of the Commission to a searching examination and drew up a highly adverse report. In moving its adoption at a meeting of the senate on 14 February 1903, Pherozeshah Mehta dwelt with considerable force on the reactionary character of the conclusions arrived at by the Commission. The report of the Committee was adopted by the Bombay senate. According to Lovat Fraser, the man who really stimulated and kept alive the fight against university reform was Sir Pheroze shah Mehta.^o

The chief spokesman for the opposition in the Imperial Legislative Council, and outside, was Gopal Krishna Gokhale, a prominent educationist, social reformer and one of the leaders of the Indian National Congress. The main accusation levelled against the proposed reforms was that they would make the university a department of the state, and dissociate Indians from its administration. Moderate politicians, such as Gokhale, who had pinned all hopes on the increasing association of Indians with British rule, felt that Curzon had betrayed their trust. Representatives of the Indian educated class had advised the government on the framing of the education policy in 1882, but the Viceroy did not think that they were qualified to do so twenty years later. No Indian was invited to the Shimla Conference and, by keeping its proceedings secret, educational problems had been invested with 'a quasi-political

character and raised to the dignity of state secrets. Not a single Hindu member had originally been included in the Universities Commission, and Goroodas Banerjee's name was added, at the last moment, only after attention was drawn to this omission. Educated Indians, therefore, had misapprehensions of Curzon's motives¹⁴, There were two principal charges against the university reforms In the first place, the proposed reconstitution of the senates would increase official control and destroy the limited independence that the universities enjoyed. Gokhale argued that little dignity or independence was left to the senate once the government reserved to itself the power of nominating practically nine-tenths of its members and revised the lists every five years. In the new senate the government had 'virtually absorbed nearly all real power and made everything dependent upon its own discretion'. If the senates were to be limited in size, and fellowships terminable every five years, the proportion of elected members, said Gokhale, should be much larger, so that those whose ideas differed from those of the government would not be afraid of taking an independent line. Dr. Goroodas Banerjee, in his note of dissent to the Raleigh Commission Report, had put forward the point that the universities did not deal with academic questions only but also with questions of policy in which the general public should have a say Gokhale repeated this argument when he said that three different interests required representation in the senate, namely the government, the professors and teachers, and the people whose children were receiving education, and that each of these interests should be represented by about a third of the senate.

But what really annoyed educated Indians were the provisions in the Universities Bill which they felt would restrict the growth poor, a system which even Scotland could not all w the door of higher education against large numbers of very promising young men.

The senates of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras strongly protested against these changes but were overruled on the ground that no corporate body cares to admit that its constitution needs improvement. Sir Thomas Raleigh said:

If Parliament had waited for the consent of the University of Oxford, the Statutes of Archbishop Laud might still be considered sufficient for all practical purposes; Professors might still be performing their duties as in the undergraduate day of Adam Smith; and College tutors might be following in the steps of the gentlemen on whom Gibbon conferred an unenviable immortality by describing them in his Autobiography.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p.378.

The Indian National Congress passed resolutions viewing with 'gravest alarm' this reversal of the policy steadily pursued by the British in India for more than half a century.³ Congress Presidents in their annual speeches attacked the new policy of control and restriction. With his Tory background and his aristocratic ideas, Curzon, it was alleged, found it difficult to understand why the middle classes should aspire to education.

The new policy was most passionately denounced in the native newspapers, particularly those of Bengal where the education system had taken its strongest hold. The Bombay press was also quite. It is a pity that you have decided to nominate the full number of 80 ordinary Fellows at once, even though the Law gave you the power to do so. The University Commission found the senate of the Bombay University to be the most political of all the senates. In order to prevent the native element from becoming too strong, the European Fellows ought to be encouraged to vote and those of them who are officials ought to be directed to do so¹⁵.

Considering the amount of time and energy Curzon and his officials spent on this problem, the new senates were surprisingly similar in tone to their unreformed predecessors. Calcutta's senate continued to be divided into two parties along political lines. The opposition of some thirty men, led by Surendranath Banerjee followed a policy of deliberate obstruction of all officially sponsored measures. The Bombay senate also opposed the scheme of reforms suggested by Sir George Clarke regarding certain changes in the curriculum and the abolition of the matriculation examination. Among the strongest critics of government interference in university matters were Pherozeshah Mehta, Chimanlal Setalvad and Gokhale. Despite their opposition, how the reforms were carried through.

Curzon had given the Chancellors the power of cancelling the selection of a Fellow if he was unsuitable on any ground, but his successors refused to use the power. In 1913, when Bhupendranath Basu was re-elected, Sharp suggested that in view of the attack he had made on the policy regarding appointment of certain lecturers, the Viceroy should withhold his assent to Basu's re-election. But Butler thought that there was no case for disallowing an election by registered graduates, and it would not be worth the fuss to do so,³ The Viceroy agreed with him.

There were occasions in the next few years also when the election of a particular member was considered 'unfortunate' or 'undignified', but Butler refrained from interfering

¹⁵ J.P Naik, *The development of Educational service*, Kunti publishers, New Delhi, 1977, p. 152.

lest it be misconstrued. In 1916 Birajmohan Majumdar was elected by the law faculty: the officials were not too happy about this, but Sir George Anderson refused to interfere."

The question of professors and politics came into prominence because of a reference during the first Tilak Sedition Trial to certain speeches made by professors of Fergusson College, Poona, at a Shivaji meeting at which Tilak presided. When the reforms were being considered, both the Home Secretary and the Director General of Education had expressed the view that there was 'appreciable danger that the power of appointing professors, if vested unconditionally in the University, might be utilized for political purposes'. They feared that a professor of history could easily propagate sedition on a large scale.

Though the Universities Act left it to the senates to frame the regulations regarding appointment of professors, Curzon regarded the subject as one of far-reaching importance, and the local governments were instructed to ensure that the new regulations would allow them to exercise full control in this matter." This power was considered necessary on political grounds. One of the conditions of affiliation prescribed by the 1904 Act dealt with the appointment of satisfactory teaching staff, and it had been hoped that the reformed senates would exercise a strict vigilance over staff appointments. In this matter the government had to rely on the co-operation of the universities, since over two-thirds of the arts colleges were under private management. In 1902, of the 140 English arts colleges in existence, 108 were under private management. While colleges in Bombay and Madras were more amenable to control, the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta plainly told the Viceroy that his senate would never debar professors from attending political meetings or making speeches. Exercising control over appointments in individual colleges was impossible unless the University agreed to withdraw affiliation, since nearly one-third of the colleges received no government grants.

High Schools in India were feeders to colleges and the whole system of secondary education was dominated by the universities. Hence in many ways the problem of controlling schools was similar to that of controlling colleges, which has been discussed in the previous chapter. In both cases the ultimate power rested with the university, which laid down no proper conditions and failed to enforce even those that were prescribed. The universities had no proper agencies for inspection and depended on the information supplied by the schools themselves. Over aided schools the Local Education Departments possessed some control and a fairly complete set of rules was laid down, on the basis of which grants were given. Their effectiveness of course depended upon the efficiency of the inspecting staff, on the amount of

aid given and on whether the school had the resources to comply with the conditions prescribed. Despite these limitations, some attempt at least was made to guide and control aided schools. But unaided schools were completely independent.¹⁶

The problem of controlling schools was more difficult than that of colleges because of the vast numbers involved. While there were only 108 privately managed colleges at the beginning of the century, there were 2,401 such secondary schools and of these 828 received no government aid. Bengal had the largest number of unaided schools-498 out of the 828 were located there. Almost all the unaided schools were managed by Indians; most of the missionary schools, though privately managed, received government grants.

The defects of secondary education were similar to those of colleges-crowded classes, inadequate equipment, shabby buildings, and a low standard of teaching with an undue emphasis on examinations. In his opening address to the Shimla Conference, Curzon referred to this huge system of active but often misdirected effort, over which hovered like an evil phantom 'the monstrous and maleficent spirit of cram'. Secondary school teachers were miserably paid, and in most cases poorly qualified. In 1902 there were 25,898 teachers in secondary schools for boys, of whom 6,590 were trained, 15,859 had some qualifications and 3,590 had no qualifications. The following table contrasts the number of pupils under training in teachers' colleges and the total number of teachers in 1902¹⁷.

He emphasis of the new education policy regarding schools was also on improvement rather than on expansion. Curzon was opposed to the doctrine of state withdrawal and held that in every branch of education, the government should maintain a few highly efficient institutions to set a standard and provide a model for private enterprise. Control was thus necessary to check the growth of inefficient privately managed schools and to improve the quality of the existing institutions. This was possible only by laying down and enforcing stricter conditions of recognition. It was for this reason that the Raleigh Commission recommended that the power of recognizing schools should be taken from the universities and be given to the Departments of Public Instruction.¹ This recommendation the government of India did not accept, and decided that: Recognition or non-recognition of a school will be the act of the University and the functions of Education Department will be limited to placing

¹⁶ David Kopf, *British orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance*, Berkeley press, los Angeles, 1969,p.180.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p.187.

before the University the information requisite to enable it to exercise its controlling authority.¹⁸

Dr. Goroodas Banerjee's note of dissent to the Raleigh Commission's Report had influenced this decision. Banerjee had argued that to give the departments the power of recognizing schools which they did not aid would be an unwarranted interference. Undoubtedly the university, without the means to judge whether schools were well-conducted or not, would have to depend for information on the departments; but as a matter of principle, he felt that recognition should be the University's responsibility. In 1902, the Indian National Congress passed objected to several features of the Universities Commission Report. Resolution in which it among these was the virtual licensing of all secondary schools by making their existence dependent upon the recognition granted by the Directors of Public Instruction. On the Governor-General's Council, A.T. Arundel, T. Raleigh, and J.P. Hewett supported the Commission's view. But Sir Denzilbbetson, the Home Member, felt that the differences in practice between what the Commission recommended and what Banerjee wanted were so small that it would be politic to concede the point. The Education Department would be required to advise the Syndicate about the state of the school, its teaching and its discipline; but the final act of recognition could be left to the university. Curzon agreed to accept Banerjee's suggestion because he thought that the reconstituted senate was unlikely to reject the advice of the departments. While the task of actually framing the conditions of recognition was left to the new senates, Curzon privately informed the Chancellors of the other four universities what he considered to be the conditions which a school ought to fulfil.³ These were laid down in the Policy Resolution of 1904, which stated that, irrespective of whether schools were managed by public authority or by private persons and whether they received aid or not, the government was bound in the interest of the community to see that the education provided in them was sound. The conditions a school had to fulfil before it was recognized were: that it was actually needed in that area; that its financial stability was assured, and its managing body was properly constituted; that it taught the proper subjects, maintaining adequate standards and making due provision for the instruction, health, recreation and discipline of pupils; that the teachers were of suitable character, number and qualification; and that the new school did not undercut existing schools by charging lower fees, thereby introducing injurious competition. A comparison of these conditions with those

¹⁸ J. C. Aggarwal, *Landmarks in the History of Modern Indian Education*, Ramlal publishers, New Delhi, 1959, p.300.

laid down by the Universities' Act of 1904 shows that there was a great deal of similarity between the two. In both cases they evoked almost identical protests from the Bengal and Bombay press. State control exercised through stricter conditions of recognition, it was feared, would lead to the closing down of many private schools and thus restrict the growth of secondary education. Bengalee, Sanjivani, Mahima, Basumati and several Bengal newspapers attacked the Education Policy Resolution and the conditions it laid down for recognition of schools. Kesari (15 March 1904) criticized the resolution as 'calculated to discourage effectively the growth of private institutions' which it feared would be brought more and more under government control. Native Opinion (23 March 1904) described it as 'a death blow to secondary education', which would wipe out the private educational institutions which had developed in the past twenty years. Dnyan Prakash, Bombay Samachar, Gujarati and other Bombay newspapers were equally apprehensive. Kaiser-i-Hind thought that it was a logical sequence of the University Bill that the feeders of higher education should be kept under the thumb and that the ultimate object be better secured'. Higher education had been discovered to be an evil; it bred discontent 'So it must be proscribed, albeit under the thin disguise of improving it and imparting to it greater "efficiency". But in order to carry out this policy, it is essential that the very source whence higher education is fed must be cut off.'² The 1905 Indian National Congress Session at Benares passed a resolution protesting against the policy restricting the expansion of secondary education. As a matter of fact, conditions of recognition, like those of affiliation, were never strictly enforced, and hence private educational institutions continued to flourish other quarters. Sir Stafford Northcote wanted Curzon to quietly discourage the use of 'very improper textbooks' in schools and colleges.

There was a growing feeling among British officials in India at the turn of the century that 'active disloyalty' was virtually confined to those who had received an English education. The belief that education was being perverted for political ends by the use of disloyal or seditious books was reinforced when during the Tilak Sedition Trial of 1897, Mr Pugh, Tilak's counsel for the defense, mentioned three books being used in Bombay which contained passages similar to Tilak's writings in Kesari. The three books mentioned were Balbodh (Advice to children), by Vinayak K. Oke, a Deputy Inspector of Education, published in 1888, containing two lessons, one on 'Is India getting richer or poorer?' and the other on 'Utterances of Shivaji Maharaj from Heaven'; Pushpa vatika (Garden of flowers), written by the same author and containing a poem on patriotism; and the Fifth Marathi Reader, compiled by Major Candy. The Advocate-General replied that no comparison could

be made between the essays or poems in these books and Tilak's writings, and that as a matter of fact there was nothing seditious or inflammatory in any of the three books mentioned by Pugh. He also denied that any of these books were prescribed in government schools, as alleged by counsel for the defense. Nevertheless, this exchange brought the question of textbooks into prominence. The Secretary of State suggested that the Bombay government should enquire whether 'some of the vernacular books patronized by the Education Department contained lessons capable of being used as apologies for disloyalty'. Was the school books committee competent to select books; was its selection judicious? The textbooks in history and politics were particularly important since they ought to be wholesome and adapted to the crude understanding of Oriental students'. Pugh had also mentioned Carlyle's Hero Worship which had inspired Tilak to write an article on the subject in *Kesari* (1 June 1897), and this gave Hamilton the idea that not all European authors and books were desirable for Indians¹⁹.

London's pressure strengthened the Viceroy's conviction that more control was necessary. So Curzon called for information from the local governments about how textbooks were selected: The replies indicated that there was no system. Textbook committees varied in size, composition and functions from province to province. Madras had the largest number of Europeans on the committee, Bengal the least—only five out of twenty-four. The Government of India had wanted the Director of Public Instruction in each province to be the President of the Textbook Committee. But this was so only in North-West-Province and Oudh, Punjab, the Central Provinces and Assam. In Madras the President was a professor of a private college, in Bengal a Hindu judge of the High Court. The Education Department had the least control over the Bengal Committee where Dr. Goroodas Banerjee was the President and books were put up direct to the committee by publishers and authors. Once a year the Director of Public Instruction merely revised the lists recommended by the committee. In Madras and Bombay the Director of Public Instruction referred books to the committee after a preliminary examination, and the final decision was his. Not every province had a clear rule that only prescribed books should be used. Some published lists from which head masters and Managers could select, others, such as Bengal, did not. The procedure of selection left much to be desired. Among the European authors considered unsuitable were Burke, Carlyle, Byron, Macaulay and William Butler. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal mentioned Burke's French Revolution as undesirable from a political point of view.

¹⁹ *Calcutta University Commission Report*, 1919, vol-1, p.65.

The problem of controlling schools in fact became much more difficult, and at the same time politically urgent, during the administration of Curzon's successor. In the years following the partition of Bengal, teachers and students picketed shops selling foreign cloth, preached the use of Swadeshi, attended political meetings and marched in processions shouting *Bande mataram*. Students were the backbone of the Swadeshi movement and the Bengal government issued a circular in October 1905 condemning the use of students for political purposes as absolutely subversive of discipline, and as injurious in the highest degree to the interests of the boys. It requested District Magistrates and Collectors to report to heads of schools and colleges any boys in their district who took part in boycotting, picketing or any other action connected with the Swadeshi movement. The heads of schools and colleges were to be warned that unless they took action to prevent such recurrences, their grants-in-aid and the privilege of competing for government scholarships would be withdrawn, and the university would be asked to withdraw its recognition of them. But the Carlyle Circular was not effective. It was addressed to District Officers, whose authority the Bengali students had resented for at least the previous twenty years. It appealed to headmasters and principals to cooperate with the officials, ignoring the fact that most of them were in the strongest sympathy with the Swadeshi movement. At the same time it did not take into account the large number of unaided schools, to whom withdrawal of grants was no threat, and those aided schools where the grant was trivial. The demand for English education in Bengal after partition made starting a school a most profitable business, and since schools could exist on fees alone, government grants were not vital²⁰.

In addition to urging the transfer of the authority of recognizing schools, in 1913 the Education Department also renewed its efforts to commend the system of school-leaving certificates. Since 1882 periodic attempts had been made to replace the matriculation by an examination conducted by the Education Department and not by the university²¹. The Indian Education Commission recommended this, as a relief to the prevalent direction of secondary school studies, exclusively towards the entrance examination and as a means of introducing variety in the curricula. The Shimla Conference of 1901 and the Raleigh Commission advised this too. The latter suggested that matriculation should be a fitness only for entering a college, and not for government service. It recommended that the school final take its place and that it should also be made a sufficient test for entering the university. There was a growing feeling

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 67.

²¹ S. S. Setlur and K.G. Despande, *A full and authentic Report of the Trial of Tilak at the 4th criminal sessions*, Bombay High court, 1897, pp.103-105.

that the universities had been tried and had failed, and yet at the same time officials were afraid of offending them beyond a certain point. The 1904 Resolution had advocated the introduction of school leaving examinations to relax the pressure of examinations and to introduce a greater variety of curriculum. But when the new university regulations were being drafted, the government felt it politic to lie low since it feared that the introduction of school finals would be attacked as 'a further step in the direction of official zing education with the object of restricting the openings of the poor scholars and reducing the output of English educated men'."

The Bengal press launched a powerful attack on the 1913 Education Policy Resolution and the proposed University Bill, in language reminiscent of its denunciation of Curzon's university reforms. It warned that the new 'educational menace' threatening Bengal would 'overwhelm the province in an educational catastrophe of the greatest magnitude'. The Bengalese wrote that unless the government left education alone there would be an agitation greater than the movement against partition. 'All Bengal' wrote Sanjivani, 'will emphatically protest against this proposal to bring high schools wholly under the control of the Education Department.' Moves to take away from the university the right to recognize schools and to replace the matriculation with a school final examination were described as the long-apprehended snatching away of the jurisdiction of the university over secondary education', and as steps to cripple the sphere of activity of the Calcutta University', and bring all branches of education under government control. These measures, it was feared, would result in fewer high school and fewer students appearing for matriculation, and would therefore narrow down the path of higher education. Indeed they were described as 'a veritable death sentence'. 'The dangerous over-activity of the newfangled Education Department of the Government of India' and its new battles with Calcutta University became the 'all-absorbing topic among the Indian Public'. Appeals were made by the press to the Viceroy to intervene and withdraw from a position which had excited the liveliest apprehension and alarm in the minds of the educated community'. No educational controversy, it was urged should be raised to divert attention from the war effort which was so vital to the Empire. The senate voted against these measures and public meetings were held in Calcutta to protest against the new education policy. Representation to this effect was also made to the Viceroy by the non-official members of the Legislative Council. Harding decided to postpone the bill till a time of greater tranquility. Sharp was against this font minute withdrawal, after the wisdom of introducing the bill had so long been discussed and decided upon Craddock considered

Surendranath Banerjee's loyalty a broken reed' and his appeal 'a very thinly veiled threat', 'a political trap set for us against the time when the war is over. From the true loyalists of India, he argued, the government had nothing to fear. 'Are we not perhaps, he asked, 'putting too much stress on those who are masquerading in loyal plumes?'"

The problem of controlling secondary education, therefore remained unsolved. The Sadler Commission recommended that a Board of secondary education should be established in every province to recognize schools and control them. But the Montagu Chelmsford reforms in the meanwhile made education a 'transferred' subject, despite the government of India's opposition. The Sadler Commission's recommendations were not, therefore, implemented. In Bengal, schools affiliated to Calcutta University continued to be recognized by the University; those affiliated to Dacca University were recognized by the Dacca Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education. In Bombay also, while the department recognized schools for the purposes of grants-in-aid and subsidies, the university recognized them for the purpose of putting up candidates for the matriculation examination. Thus despite Government efforts, recognition of schools continued, except in a few instances, to be a power vested in the universities. Meston's description of the state of Indian education in 1919 was almost the same as Curzon's twenty years earlier. He complained of the inevitable tendency to drop standards', 'the pathetic attempts to increase the quantity of literati and graduates without very much regard to quality, and of the constant attempts to bring in schoolboys and university undergraduates into politics'.²²

Measures to keep students out of politics also proved ineffective. The Home Rule League once again involved them in political agitation, and in March 1917 yet another circular was issued prohibiting their attendance at its meetings. Following Delhi's lead, there emerged a crop of new orders from the local governments, stiffening the orders of 1907. Madras was the first, followed by the Central Provinces and Bombay. The government of the Central Provinces prohibited attendance at all 'quasi-political' meetings, and subordinate officials went a step further and forbade attendance at all public meetings of any kind'. Khaparde in his diary noted how schoolboys were becoming increasingly restive under the revised Risley Circular. He wrote to Sir Shankaran Nair and saw Sir Edward Maclagan to protest against the interpretation of the Centre's orders by the Central Provinces government. From every part of India reports poured in of the students' role in home Rule meetings and processions.

²² Surendernath Banerjee, *Anation in making*, Bashi publications, Calcutta, 1925, p.132.

The Home Rule agitation was followed by the first non-cooperation movement in which Gandhi openly encouraged students to take the lead. In a country "groaning under foreign rule", he urged, it was impossible to prevent the students from taking part in movements for national freedom'. He wrote 'in 1920-21, I had not an inconsiderable share in drawing students out of their schools and colleges and inducing them to undertake political duty carrying with it the risk of imprisonment. I think it is their clear duty to take a leading part in the political movement of their country.' And so, in spite of government orders, appeals and circulars, teachers and students engaged in politics throughout this period.²³

The aim of the new education policy was to check the unrestricted growth of higher education and thereby to raise standards, improve the quality of teaching, and also prevent schools and colleges from producing discontented and disloyal young men. Each of the means adopted-reconstituting the senates, revising the conditions of affiliation and recognition, preventing students and teachers from taking part in politics-was neither adequate nor successful. Even relatively minor reforms, such as the introduction of a school final examination or the control of the selection of textbooks, could not be pushed through because they impinged on politics. Many of the leaders of Bengal politics had a direct financial interest in the schools and colleges. As Sharp wrote to Du Boulay: It is obvious why Surendra Babu (Surendranath Banerjee) should attack any project calculated to improve educational facilities in East Bengal and Assam, the majority of his students come from East Bengal and Assam; and his college is (or was) an important source of income to him²⁴. Similar motives actual Bhupendra Babu, who is a large owner of house property in Calcutta. Large numbers of students occupy boarding houses in Calcutta and undoubtedly serve to raise rents. It has been estimated that if the East Bengal and Assam students no longer came to Calcutta, no less than a hundred boarding houses would have to be closed. I can't say if this is correct, but it is significant. Harding wrote that Bengalis who opposed the Dacca University scheme had money invested in Calcutta colleges and feared a falling off in the number of students." And Chirol replied that the creation of a university at Dacca was bound to provoke opposition among Bengali Hindus, especially Surendranath Banerjee, who made a large income out of students through other and far less savory sources than the charging of exorbitant fees.

²³ *Ibid*, p. 105.

²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 110.

In the beginning of the century, while India was covered with a network of colleges and high schools, primary vernacular education tended to lag behind. Between 1896-7 and 1901-2, while the number of pupils in colleges and secondary schools increased by 49,000, the increase in primary school pupils was only 1,000. The number of primary schools declined in between 1897-1902 to 97,881 to 92,226.

Curzon discovered that the educational system was top-heavy and lop-sided. The country had rushed ahead with English education but the vernaculars with their multitudinous clientele were left standing at the post. Three out of four villages were without a school and not more than three million boys, or less than one fifth of the boys of school-going age attended schools. In 1904 Curzon announced that his government fully accepted that the active extension of primary education was one of its most important duties. This policy was not entirely new. Missionaries such as Schwartz in Tanjore, Kierander in Cuddalore, Marshman and May in Bengal were pioneers in mass education. In Bombay a society or promoting the education of the poor was formed as a result of voluntary efforts and donations; and the Court of Directors gave a monthly grant of Rs. 500. In 1817 and 1819 respectively, the Calcutta School Book Society and the Calcutta School Society were founded to spread useful elementary knowledge among the people. Both received grants from the Government and according to Howell this was the first recognition on the part of the Home Government.²⁵

The Education Despatch of 1854 drew attention to the neglect of mass education and urged the adoption of active measures to promote it. Sir Charles Wood wanted to strengthen the British administration in India through higher education and for this universities were necessary. But he was also aware of the political implications of higher education and he confided to Dalhousie that it would be better to direct educational efforts to general elementary education than to higher education. The Indian Education Commission in the 1880s made thirty-six recommendations about primary education. It recognized the need for its acceleration, but made no drastic or revolutionary proposals, education was lack of funds. The Viceroy, therefore, sanctioned non-recurring and recurring grants which enabled the provinces to give additional grants to primary schools. There were of course perfectly good reasons for encouraging primary education. Lord Lawrence had observed in 1868 that the ignorance of the masses was the greatest obstacle to good administration, and the most serious danger to the stability of the Raj. As railways penetrated the countryside, commercial

²⁵ J.W. Kaye, *The Administration of the East India Company*, oxford press, London, 1853, p.145.

agriculture developed greatly and the cultivator came in contact with a wider market. He was now involved in transactions in which an illiterate man was at a great disadvantage. Schemes to improve agricultural methods, to open agricultural banks, and to generally improve the condition of rural life, all depended crucially for their success upon the spread of education amongst the masses.

Extension of primary education, Curzon thought, was a measure which would demonstrate that it was the British bureaucracy which really spoke for the ignorant and illiterate people of India.

The system of education introduced in the 1830s encouraged literary and philosophic studies rather than those of a more practical character. The early courses concentrated on Mathematics and logic, political thought and poetry, philosophy and physics and were averse to manual or technical training. As a result, while pupils in high schools and arts colleges increased at a remarkably rapid rate, the growth of technical education was very slow. At the beginning of the century there were 140 English Arts colleges with over 17,000 pupils in them, while there were only 4 engineering colleges and four medical colleges. The number of pupils in professional colleges, excluding law, was 2,491. There were 3,097 English secondary schools with 422,187 pupils in them, as against only 84 industrial and technical schools with an enrolment of 4,977²⁶.

Lord Curzon wanted to give, if possible, a new direction to Indian education and, therefore, turned his attention to the question of technical schools. In 1900 he appointed Sir Edward Buck to advise him on this subject, but Buck's recommendation that technical and industrial schools should be placed under a separate technological department was never carried out. The Shimla Conference in the same year passed numerous resolutions on the subject of technical education but they were of little value given the colonial economic policy. Even at the end of the nineteenth century. All that the Government did to assist Indian industry was to provide a certain amount of technical and industrial education, and to attempt to collect and disseminate commercial and industrial information. Its efforts to develop the material resources of the country were largely limited to provision for improved methods of transport and the construction of irrigation works. Except in Bombay, the introduction of modern methods of manufacture was almost entirely confined to the European community. The Education Department was not concerned with the mercantile aspect of technical

²⁶ *Sadler Commission Report*, vol.4, p. 303.

education. The Viceroy's idea was to spend money and effort on technical and industrial schools, not on higher technical education, to provide for the less favored tens of thousands' and not for the select few. Around 1896 Jamshedji Tata conceived the idea of vesting in trustees certain houses and landed property of his in Bombay and utilizing the income from it for endowing a Research Institution. A scheme was drawn up and presented to Curzon on the day after his arrival in India. The new Viceroy however was not enthusiastic about the scheme because he believed that India was not yet ready for higher technical education, and that there was a certain danger in starting too many ambitious schemes.

The increase was continuous throughout the period. The total number of pupils under instruction in 1896-7 was over four million;¹ by 1920 the number had more than doubled. In 1898 there were five universities, by 1922 there were 12. Between 1896 and 1922 the number of arts colleges increased from 115 to 152, and pupils in them from 13,933 to 45,224. The number of English secondary schools increased from 2,760 to 4,904 and the number of pupils in them from 339,704 to 823,416. The number of matriculates rose from 7,916 in 1896-7 to 22,487 in 1921-2, and another 18,069 passed the school final examination in that year. The number gaining the B.A. increased from 1,365 to 4,209. By 1920 the output of educated Indians, i.e. those who had passed the university entrance and higher examinations, was for mixable, and the middle classes, numerically speaking, were educated to a pitch equal to that attained in countries economically much more highly developed than India. 0.25 per cent of India's population had received university education, as against 0.54 per cent in England and Wales, and if we exclude the female population from the total population, since very few women were in universities, then the proportion which received a university education was very high indeed.

The growth was mainly in the privately managed schools and colleges, which indicates that the process of educational expansion was self-generating and would continue with or without government aid. It was in the private colleges that the greatest expansion had taken place between 1882 and 1902. The stricter conditions of affiliation imposed by the Universities Act of 1904, it was hoped and would check their growth. But it was again in these colleges that pupils increased most rapidly in the twenty years after 1902. In secondary education also, the privately managed schools expanded at a much faster rate than publicly managed schools and throughout these years there was a gradual decline in the proportion of boys in publicly managed schools in relation to those in privately managed ones. Higher education was widely diffused in Bengal, which had the largest number of arts colleges and

pupils, and of secondary schools and pupils. By 1902 nearly half the total number of pupils in arts colleges were in Bengal. Between 1907 and 1912 the two Bengals accounted for an increase of 6,318 pupils out of a total increase of 10,195. Bengal also showed the largest increase between 1912 and 1917, the number of pupils rising from 9,716 to 18,478. Secondary education was also most advanced there: of the 3,097 English schools in India in 1901-2, 1,481 were in Bengal.²⁷

The second half of the nineteenth century was certainly not a period of political stagnation in the United Provinces, it was not a period of political organization or of much interest with affairs beyond the parish pump. Nevertheless, this region, apparently so backward in political matters, was to spring to the forefront of the national movement at the end of the First World War. In the persons of such figures as Moti lal Nehru, yesterday's moderates became today's extremists; and from 1920 onwards it is no exaggeration to assert that all-India politics were dominated by a coalition between Bombay and the United Provinces. During the later nineteenth century Hindu-Muslim relations gradually deteriorated, especially in the western districts of the province. This seems to have been related to the more rapid social and economic development of the western than of the eastern districts; a process which benefited Kayasthas, Agarwalas and the like more than the Muslims. The result was to put the Muslims in these districts on the defensive against the growing ambition of the Hindus. This process seems to have had important political implications since it was pre dominantly the Muslims from the western part of the United Provinces, who took the lead in the movement to wrest control at Aligarh from the staid and moderate trustees who had dominated it hitherto. This young party' which came more and more under the influence of Mohammed Ali and Pan-Islamic doctrines, went on to capture first the Muslim League in the United Provinces and then the All-India Muslim League. Since its foundation the M.A.O. College had dominated Indian Muslim politics. Of the members of the Provisional Committee of the All-India Muslim League appointed at its Dacca session in 1906, the largest number were from Agra and Oudh. Around 1912 the old leaders were ousted and Aligarh became a center of Pan-Islamic activity. The Muslims of the United Provinces now adopted a course which was openly anti-British. The whole of the process which led first to the Congress-League coalition of 1916 and then to the khilafat agitation of 1921-2 was dominated by radical Muslims who were the products of the new Western-type of education. It is true that their propaganda brought back into politics many of

²⁷ A.P. Howell, *Education in British India prior to 1854*, Howard Press, Calcutta, 1873, p. 190

the orthodox maulvis who voiced slogans very different from those of the Westernized Muslims; but the determinant of the process lay in the new men.

During the same years, influential Hindu opinion in the province was also moving into the politics of extremism. It is far from clear why this was so. But we may speculate that one of the causes of this change was a version of the same process that was transforming the politics of Madras. Like it or not, the government was slowly being driven into policies of greater intervention in the lives of its Indian subjects. The old regime of limited commitment, of reliance on local notables and of the laissez-faire which paradoxically lay at the heart of imperialism, was slowly replaced by local action which plucked power, patronage and initiative from those Indian hands which had been happy to act for the Raj hitherto. During the first two decades of this century, the United Provinces government was interfering more and more in matters of education. Education and Political Development and local government. As their local powers contracted, the political horizon of the Hindu notables expanded so that they were ripe for the anti-British overtures which the Muslim radicals were now making to them. The different policies throws different impacts on society²⁸.

Education affected the rituals of people in many regions. The evil rituals like Sati system had abolished by the influence of education. India made tremendous progress both in political and social field in the 19th and 20th century. Many movements took place in that time which helps the abolition of evil rituals and creates the awareness among people.

²⁸ Aparna Basu, *The Growth of Education and political Development in India*, Ghai publishers, Delhi, 1974, p. 177.

CONCLUSION

In the light of this evidence, it is clear that Education Plays a vital role in every individual's life. However it starts before the arrival of British. The history of Education old as the history of India. In this thesis has been written the situation of Punjab in the field of Education. The first chapter of thesis described the Education of Punjab during the advent of British. . Education may be a pre-requisite for progress and development of a society. The term development implies change, movement, progress, growth and the achievement of potential. The Education system advocated from the Vedas and was called Vedic system of Education which insisted on a code of conduct both for the student and the teacher and placed the kid under the care and direction of teacher. Vedas are representatives of the Indian Society and culture. Vedic people had simple and pure living. Vedas are within the sort of the shrutis, and are four in number: Rig-Veda consisting hymns, Samveda consisting of sacred chants: Yajurveda consisting of invocation and sacrifice. Atharvaveda is a collection of sacred formulae and verses, In the Vedic period, Education had an idealistic form, in which the teachers laid stress upon worship of god, formation of character, development of personality, greater of an aptitude for the development of culture, nation and society. Social refinement and cultural sophistication of society is indicated by the status that it accords to its women population. History of social Education is the story of women's emancipation and empowerment. It was an index of a really progressive and dynamic order which afforded equal opportunities to women with none gender bias.

The history of Islam enters around Mohammad born around 570AD, as he discontented with polytheism and came to believe into one God, Allah complete acceptance of the teachings and guidance of Allah as recorded in Quran is that religion of Islam. Islam preaches faith within the oneness and sovereignty of Allah, which makes man aware of the meaningfulness of universe and of his place in it. The holy Quran was revealed to Prophet Mohammed at intervals over a period of twenty-three years, partly while at mecca and partly while at medina. Mecca-medina are really the mecca of pilgrimage, undertaken by devout Muslims all over the world every year, and is known as haj and ziarat. During the Muslim period, Education developed so slowly that no notable characteristic of it ever merged. Minor rulers had established Educational institutions for the satisfaction of their own interest. Muslim rulers took an interest in Education and so they provided aid to maktabas and madrasas in the form of Jagirs or landed property. Scholars were given places of eminence in the courts of king. During Muslim period, special stress was laid on the teaching of Arabic

and Persian which were the media of Education by Muslim rulers. There were many organizations during the Muslim system of Education. One of them was *Bismillah*. Education began with the performance of the ritual referred to as 'Bismillah' which was performed at the age of 4 years, 4 months and 4 days. It was almost like the upnayan ceremony of the Vedic period and therefore the *pabbaja* ritual of the Buddhist period. On this day, the child was adorned with new clothes and sent to his teacher, the *maulvi* where the latter inaugurated the child's Education with a recitation from the Quran. The syllabus of Education in the Muslim period included such subjects as the holy Quran, the biography of Hazrat Mohammad, the history and the law of Islam, Arabic and Persian, grammar, literature, logic, philosophy, law, astrology, history, geography, agriculture, Unani system of medicine, etc. there was provision for teaching Sanskrit to Hindu children. During the Muslim period, relations between students and teachers were not cordial, but there were no doubts about sincerity and purity.

In Muslim period Arabic and Persian were the media of Education however, after the growth of Urdu, Education began to be imparted through this language. The stream of Muslim Education continued to flow in India for a period of almost 500 years. The history of Muslim Education has been the history of a system of state and a social organization extending over 700 years.

Development of Education has traversed through an extended journey amidst a spread of Socio-Political ideologies and aspirations, successfully delivering an academic system with a stamp of sophistication, depth, vibrancy and relevance, strong and dynamic with vigor and clean.

When the British annexed the Sikh Kingdom of the Punjab, they already ruled most of the Sub-continent. They had created well established systems of political control and land revenue administration. Yet within a few years, Punjab government had developed a distinct ethos and pattern of rule which was respected throughout India.

East India Company came to India for exploring business possibilities but it ultimately thought to determine its own empire within the country. They wanted to prove that they wanted the welfare of the people. They wanted to prove that they might control the affairs of the government far better than the Nawab. They paid attention to Education so as to point out that they were really curious about the general public welfare. They continued the government grants to educational institutions, though they didn't think it knowing introduce

any change within the Educational found out. Able scholars, both Hindu and Muslims, continued to receive financial supports which they were already enjoying.

The English people wanted to win the sympathy and support of influential Hindu and Muslim people. The higher-class section of the Muslim population demanded the establishment of madrasa for higher Education. During the period from 1813-1833 Education was expanded. The responsibility for expanding Education fell on the company. It was asked to spend at least one lakh rupees per year on Education. The company had not given any specific instruction in this issue. There were many developed languages in the country such as Hindu, Urdu, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, Kannad, and many others.

In order to carve out a path to be followed by the company one group wanted to form Indian languages as the medium of instruction. It included such big English officers as Munroe, the governor of madras and Mount Elphinstone, the governor of Bombay, the second group included such important figures as Warren Hastings and Minto. This group wanted Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian as medium of instruction. Third group consisted of some young Englishmen and Raja Ram Mohan Roy who wanted to form English as the medium of instruction. The group believed that Education through the English medium alone could to make the native literature and culture richer. The Christian missionaries were in favor of the English as the medium of instruction this was what a couple of English officers, missionaries and Raja Ram Mohan Roy wanted English was made the medium of instruction due to the support in Bengal and in another company provinces. This decision gave a superb set back to the event of Indian languages and literatures.

The evils results of English as the medium of instruction soon came upon the surface. It created such a group of persons who were Indians in birth and complexion, but mentally regarding themselves as Englishmen. These Indians became the connecting link between the English rulers and the general public to be ruled over. They became more interested in safeguarding the Interest of the English people at the cost of the interest of Indians. The missionaries also got a good opportunity to preach and convert in the garb of spreading Education. They gave incentives of excellent services and good Education for converting Indians to their own faith.

There were many changes came in Indian Education system. There is considerable evidence of the existence of widespread system of Education in all parts of the country prior

to the establishment of British rule. It may be useful here to note that the data available in respect of different part of India varies from nature.

An Education system in India, say Ramsay MacDonald' is as old as Hindu ritual and originally connected with it, and thus lifetime of student was the first stage within the great pilgrimage to his beings accomplishment. The reaction of teacher and people was as close and tender as that of the father and son; the young man who sought instruction was praised and he found schools and teachers available. In time, science, mathematics, logic, philosophy and other ways to knowledge were differentiated and studied, colleges were opened, names was made but with the breakup of Indian government after Aurangzeb misery and anarchy submerged Education; and it sank to such a low level that it ceased to have any influence of the country, still the tradition survived and if it cannot be said that Education flourished, schools existed in large numbers. The attitude of British rulers within the start was to travel away the traditional models of instruction undisturbed and to continue the support which they had been accustomed to receive from the Indian rulers.

Education systems in Punjab before the coming of British were different. The British throws huge impact on the Punjab. The first chapter briefly elaborate the whole condition of Punjab. Education changes came in Punjab with the passage of time. The chapter British Education in Punjab elaborates the condition of Education in Punjab before 18th century. Punjab was a province of British India. The region was originally called *Sapta Sindhu*, the land of the seven rivers flowing into the ocean. The Sanskrit name for the region, as mentioned in the Ramayana and Mahabharata for instance was *Panchananda* which suggest "land of the five rivers and it had been translated to Persians Punjab after the Muslim Conquests.

The struggle of Indian Independence witnessed competing and conflicting interest in the Punjab. The Punjab was a religious electric Province, comprising three major groups, Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs.

The various forms of Education in the Punjab are synchronous with the establishment in the province of Hinduism. As regard Hindus, their Education began when the Kshatriya King confined himself to rule and war and relinquished legislation to the Brahman, to strengthen the reason for his existence the latter made the four stages, of students, teaching the Vedas. The system of Education which was in vogue at that region briefly stated. There were various types of institutions where the people of different communities received their

Education. These can be classified as Pathshala, Match and Gurmukhi Schools which were more or less Hindu, Muslim and Sikh institutions respectively. These institutions were chiefly or entirely devoted to the spread of religious teaching.

Asceticism and meditation, into which his life was divided, obligatory on himself, together with a moral and ceremonial code for more stringent and minute than on the remaining castes, and which indeed would have been intolerable to any class not dimming at spiritual and intellectual domination teaching was, therefore, the link which connected the Brahmin with other castes. It was accordingly, his aim was to make Education neither too cheap' or too inaccessible, and punished as the Sudra was if he presumed to dictate in law or religion to the extent of exclusion from the instruction in these subjects he was willingly admitted to all other secular teaching, provided he bare himself with humility indeed, the necessities and relations of life often compelled the Brahman to enlarge his circle of disciples, whilst an ascetic from any caste or even outcaste could raise himself to the practice of virtue. These considerations are very important in dealing with the subjects of Education among Hindu.

The Punjabi was not opposed to female Education but, considering the home to be the only proper sphere for woman, he was content, if she could recite the Koran, Read the Granth or study the Ramayana or Bhagwad-Gita at home. Muhammadan girls generally read the Koran at the Mosque school along with the young boys there; Sikh girls attended Dharamshala; while Hindu girls mostly received their Education at home. The teacher was called the Mullah, the Bhai or the family priest, though female teachers-Hindu, Muslim and Sikh were also to be found. The position of Hindu women had undergone a change. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Some Britishers had begun to feel that the East India Company should accept the responsibility for Education of Indian people. Some of the company's officials in India also raised their voice in favor of the Education of Indian people. Further I have been discussed the Education system in India after 18th century. There were many changes came in the India after British. They have some hidden agendas behind launching the Education policies in India

There was a time before independence, when two India's were found- one was the India Controlled by princely States and the second was the Controlled by British Administration.

In last few decades there have been changes both in the concepts of Education of the history. While Education has increasingly become a major social, political and economic

issue since the fairly recent emergence of the countries in the third world, comprehensive changes have taken place in the understanding of history, with slogans like ‘the new history’ being bandied around in academic circles. Some of the areas of history which are most affected by these changes are local history, comparative history, Political history, social al history, and intellectual and cultural history.

In studying the history of Education each of these new approaches is to be explored carefully. The history of Education is therefore concerned, not merely with institutions such as schools, colleges and universities, but with the social forces which have affected the quality of life, and with the ideas which have affected the quality of life, practitioners of Education in the past. Education is thus an adjunct to the historical process besides being one of the chief factors conditioning people’s outlooks and aspirations. Briefly, therefore the study of the history of the society Social history broadly interpreted through the politics, the economics and the religion of the Society concerned.

The history of Education, perhaps led to think that Education had been untold to India and the system in India was the emergence of the East India. From the Scholars of the Vedic age to the Bengali philosopher of the present day there has been a continuous succession of teachers and scholars.

What was the criteria of this Indian Education as it present when the British came? Indian Education had always been, since the Vedic age, of a classical and spiritual rather than of a practice al nature.

While the Indians writers had been inventive in their production of philosophical and literary works, they paid little attention to the development of science which, though it had made some remarkable progress in early days, had now fallen in disgrace.

How was this learning imparted? Learning among the Hindus had been the monopoly of the high, especially of the priestly castes. The learned Brahmins gathered students from various parts of the country and in the homely atmosphere of their Tools as these were known in Bengal and Bihar, imparted knowledge. Life in those places was very pure and simple. The teachers not only received no fees but provided free board and lodging for their Students. The course of studies extended from fifteen to twenty years and the hours of study were long and severe. There were also larger Education establishments in the various religious centers, the most famous of which in the Ganges valley were Naida, Tirhut and Benares. These were conducted by learned Pandits, who were liberally patronized by the rulers and the aristocracy

and were men of high character and immense learning called Madrasas. They were less spiritual and smaller in number than the Hindu seats of learning and were meant chiefly for the training of law officers. Besides laws, instruction was also given in these institutions in scriptures, literature, grammar, penmanship, logic, rhetoric, natural philosophy and arithmetic and average duration of the study was ten to twelve years. One interesting feature was that the Hindus could also attend those seminaries meant primarily for the Muslims.

However, these institutions were not meant for Education of an elementary. They were the highest seminaries of learning that were meant for the specialists. For primary Education, there were Pathshalas and makhtabs where the Gurus and the Maulavies imparted knowledge. These schools were not paying concerns and had to depend on the generosity of the people. Instruction in these schools was given in the vernacular. The aristocracy did not send their children to these schools but preferred to educate them at home. There was no School for the Education of the girls though the Zamindars often had their daughters educated at home. The majority of the Indians were unwilling to educate their girls on account of social prejudice and superstitions, while the lower classes could not afford it.

Village's Schools served a very useful purpose- they fulfilled the needs and requirements of the villagers, the petty Zamindar, the Bania and the well-to-do farmer. The curriculum consisted of reading, writing, and arithmetic (both written and oral). There were no printed Books and locally made slates and pencils were the only equipment the people needed. The hours of instruction and the days of working were adjusted to local requirements. There was no regular period of admission- anyone could join the School at any time and leave it when he had acquired all that desired to know. Such Schools which were often without any buildings of their own were held sometimes in the home of a teacher or a patron, in a mosque or a temple and not infrequently under the shade of trees. The number of people could vary from one to twenty but in bigger schools the senior people were appointed to teach the junior ones. This system attracted the attention of the madras chaplain, Dr. A. Bell, who introduced it in England as a cheap and efficient method of educating the poor and later it came to be known as the Monitorial or Madras system in England. The teachers for these Schools, like their Students, came from all classes including the depressed classes as Adam's analysis of castes shows and were paid either in cash or in kind according to the ability of the parents of the students. However, these schools which had shown wonderful adaptability to local environment and existed for centuries through a variety of Economic conditions or Political vicissitudes showed signs of decay at the coming of the Britishers.

In India, religion has always been a very strong spiritual force which binds the people together but at the time of Grant it had sunk into the dirty form of superstition. Every stone and every tree had received the importance of a deity and every phenomenon of nature was taken as a manifestation of the divine will.

Social existence turned into degraded. Many abuses, a number of the maximum frightful nature, had crept into the society. Infanticide turned into broadly practiced in Central India, mainly a few of the Rajput. The custom of Sati or self-immolation of widows turned into broadly established and turned into appeared upon as a sacred act. Caste, as soon as primarily based totally upon the features of individuals, had end up an inflexible gadget which saved its diverse branches in water- tight compartments, despite the fact that the contributors had ceased to stick to the features firstly assigned to them. Only the Brahmins had maintained their monopoly of priestly position. This had clearly brought about grave abuses as it had gave delivery priority over all different attention and had consigned to the maximum degraded nation of existence, a number of the low caste humans just like the pariahs and untouchables, mere touch with one in all whom turned into enough to make one lose one's caste. The aristocracy which have been hit maximum with the aid of using the political instability had degraded themselves in debauchery and dissipation. Kulinism, firstly meant to hold the purity of blood line of the better classes, had degenerated into toddler marriage and polygamy. Where the better castes had sunk to such low levels, the women couldn't had been anticipated to have a higher fate. Married at pretty an early age they were given little, if any, possibility of obtaining training and had been saved in Seclusion or purdah. Grant felt that those abuses of the Indian society might be eliminated with the aid of using the creation of Christianity. So in 1790 while he back home, he labored for it with more vigor for the reason that time for the renewal of the Company's Charter turned into drawing near, consequently offering for an possibility of bringing the case for evangelization of India earlier than the Parliament, and there with the aid of using additionally forcing the arms of the Directors who did now no longer permit the missionaries to return back to India for proselytization. However, the concept needed to be dropped while King George III, having been apprised of the scheme, turned into reluctant to guide it mainly in result of the alarming development of the French Revolution and the proneness of the duration to moves subversive of the mounted order of factors Wilberforce, MP for York, with whom Grant have been in touch earlier than he got here to London in 1790, then suggested Grant to provide a paper

displaying a plan for the diffusion of know-how in India instead of for the propagation of Christianity

Grant picked the suggestion and wrote: *Observations on the State of Society among Particularly in the Respect of Morais* in his tries which Grant wrote in 1792 and published at London in 1797. He charged the Hindus with dishonesty, corrupt-to mutual hatred and distrust and described their customs such as barbarous, and the Muslims with haughtiness, perfidy, licentiousness and lawlessness and asserted that the intercourse of the two communities had led to the further debasement of both because each had imbibed the vices of the other. Grant Hamed the East India Company for viewing those grave evils with apathy and contended that it was under no obligation to protect the creed of the Hindus which was monstrous and "subversive of the first principles of reason, morality and religion" As a remedy.

To all these evils, Grant suggested a supersession religions bus principle", namely, through the dissemination of the science and literature of Europe, "a key which would at once open a world of new ideas to them. Grant stated that the long intercourse between the Indians and the Europeans in Bengal rendered it feasible to use English as the medium of instruction. Moreover, he said, knowledge of the English Language would immediately place the whole range of European knowledge within their reach, while translation of English books into the Indian languages would take a long time and would be less efficacious. Grant also urged the substitution of English for Persian as the official language because that would induce the Indians to learn it. He urged the establishment of English Schools under teachers of good moral character and hoping that very soon the pupils taught in these Schools would themselves become the teachers of English to their countrymen. In conclusion, he triumphantly asserted, "the true cure of darkness is light. The Hindu, because they are ignorant and their errors have never been fairly laid before them "Grant's observations were reflections of the two forces at home, one unplanned, the other purposeful--the Industrial Revolution and the Evangelical Movement-in putting forward new social values. The Industrial Revolution created a new class of men with power and authority to set beside the old aristocratic, landowning leadership, where the latter had depended upon inheritance in a fixed hierarchical society and had set an example of grand, even extravagant living, the new men rose by personal effort, by hard work and by frugality. A new economic order developed a new code of social values and behavior in answers to its unspoken need. Contemporaneously, a religious revival affected England which though it had its starting

point in Vital Religion, in personal conversion also served to promote such Social virtues as frugality, sobriety and industry. Among the lower orders of Society it was Methodism which inspired the Civilization, the industry and sobriety of great numbers of the laboring part of the country. "Among the upper classes the impulses was provided by the evangelicals and by such persons as Hannah More They numbered in their ranks men such as Milner of Queen's College or Simeon of King's College, Cambridge, the merchant Zachary Macaulay, Wilberforce, Henry Thomson the banker and James Stephen, the lawyer, Men of the Class from which many of the Company's servants were drawn.

In 1793 Wilberforce and Hannah More amassed spherical Joseph Venn, the Rector of Clapham and have been there joined via way of means of Charles Grant, via way of means of Sir John Shore, Stephen, Thornton, Macaulay and others. These Claphamities have been, perhaps, Social conservatives; they have been radical of their willpower to stable a reformation of manners and a brand new righteousness with inside the top ranks of society When Henry Dundas, President of the Board of Control installation in 1784 via way of means of Pitt's India Act to oversee the sports of the Court of Directors, become proven Grant's manuscript containing his observations, he requested his Secretary, William Cabell, to jot down a notice on it. Cabell emphasized the political blessings that would be derived from growing a training coverage primarily based totally on Grant's Observations. He cited that a not unusual place language might draw the ruler and the dominated into nearer touch and the creation of European training might result in the elimination of many abuses from which the humans have been struggling because of their "fake gadget of ideals and a complete need of proper preparation amongst them. However, while the situation become debated upon at the event of the renewal of the Company's Charter, the Attorney General and the Solicitor General grouped the clauses right into a Bill explicitly slotting that the actual stop sought become to ship missionaries and School masters to India for the closing conversion of Indians. And this become absolutely negative to the buying and selling hobbies of the Company ruled via way of means of guys with lengthy revel in in India who taken into consideration that this kind of flow might bring about political unrest in that country. They condemned the Bill and via a number of their connections in each the House of Parliament majored to defeat it and for this reason have been misplaced Charles Grant's specific possibility to end up a pioneer within side the creation of Western training in India.

The 1844 report of the Board of Education for the Bombay Press of contemporary English thought-utilitarianism and evangelisms, the first represented a crystallization of the

line of thought that Minto Marley was following, sharpened by the faith in scientific reasoning brought about by the Industrial Revolution. The second current was not an altogether new development either but it had by now virtually reversed the earlier English perception of India. Whereas many eighteenth-century liberals in England perceived India as a developed Civilization, Victorian liberal opinion depicted India as a sort of sad, sleeping beauty that needed charity and the touch of a new life.

The Bombay report of 1844 says: The object of Government we take to be perfectly distinct and intelligible, namely, to make as vigorous an impression upon the Asiatic mind as possible, to rouse it from the torpor into which it has subsided for some hundred years past, and to place it in a condition for receiving and digesting the results of progress and Civilization European has been the fruitful mother of vice, in a great degree by the Ignorance in all ages undue development given to the passions in minds where intellectual enjoyment can find no entry, but mainly by the temptation and facility, which it affords to the crafty and designing of preying upon the ignorant masses. One of the main duties of Government modern times is to protect one class of its subjects, the weak, the unwary, the helpless, in one word the large majority, from the unprincipled few, and the remedy, acknowledged to be the most available one, is to inspire the bulk of the population with the desire, and to afford them the means of acquiring as much exact knowledge as possible on the various subjects. The problem of immoral behavior is squarely equated with that of ignorance. This understanding gave to many nineteenth-century rationalists a strong hope of seeing the utopia of an enlightened humanity built within a foreseeable future. The state's role in this vision was that of a protector of the 'ignorant masses who personified the Asiatic' mind portrayed by James Mill in his popular history of India, enemies of the state's paternalistic role were considered to be few in number, personified in practitioners of obscurantist forms of knowledge. These forms of knowledge and their hold on ignorant people were both characteristics of the Asiatic mind as Victorian intellectuals and administrators had come to understand it. The means by which the state could subdue its enemies, in this perception, was Education of the masses in 'exact forms of knowledge. These exact forms represented the West's scientific tradition if the masses could be prepared to accept it as the guiding light of conduct, the state's role in transforming the Asiatic mind would be largely fulfilled. Education was thus perceived as the chief agency for accomplishing the great moral agenda of colonialism. Irrespective of the success of the colonial government in educating the masses, the rhetoric of Education would

provide the legitimation that the colonial enterprise always needed, especially in the moral climate of Victorian England.

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the function of Education in undermining traditional structures of dominance had become well established. It is true that developments in certain region expressed this tendency far more sharply than in other regions on the whole, the role of Education in disturbing traditional social hierarchies was more clearly expressed in South than in North.

In Kerala, the struggle of downtrodden groups like the Izhavas owed considerably to their Educational attainments under Christian missionaries. Pullapilly makes the point that the izhavas' fight for civil rights and justice presupposed a certain amount of social consciousness and Educational preparation. The same thing could be said of several non-Brahmin peasant castes and some of the untouchable castes of the areas in present-day Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh.

In Maharashtra, the work of the Satyashodhak Samaj established by Phule led to the demand for Educational facilities among oppressed caste groups in his submission to the Hunter Commission, Phule wrote: 'Upon what grounds is it asserted that the best way to advance the moral and intellectual welfare of the people is to raise the standard of instruction of the higher classes. While it is true that the recognition of Education as an agency of material and social benefits triggered a competition in the caste hierarchy, the upper castes nevertheless maintained a strong hold over Educational facilities, especially facilities for higher Education. The small civil society of the educated remained in all parts of British India largely confined to the higher castes. There was a trickle from below, but it was too small to alter the character of the civil society.

It is thus worth asking which of the two roles of Education was more influential in shaping the Cultural and Political life of India at the turn of the century--the role of strengthening group solidarity among the educated or the role of disturbing traditional hierarchies. The first is rarely acknowledged, whereas the second has been highly overestimated. In his Elementary Education Bill speech in 1911, Gokhale had mentioned that only 1.9 per cent of India's total population was attending elementary schools. one can hardly overemphasized the group forming force of an experience as narrowly spread as Education was in colonial India. Education did facilitate limited upward mobility among lower caste groups in certain region of British India. This role of Education was Significant thought, it

was confined to those regions where cultural resources for an egalitarian social movement already existed to support and enhance the effects that access to Education triggered in conjunction with the implications of competitive opportunity for employment, new modes of transport and ultimately, the beginning of representational politics.

When Education is celebrated for its historic role in social change, its complex interplay with other factors tends to get underplayed. Also, the identity-forming role that Education played, creating the consciousness among the educated that they were new elite, is overlooked.

The egalitarian effects Education had in colonial India need to be carefully balanced against this contrary function.

Whether it was the case of the higher castes using Education to this contrary function renovate their repertoire of skills, or the alternative case in some areas of middle and lower castes using Education to move up, we notice that the major social function of Education was to differentiate its beneficiaries from the larger population. It did so by serving as a new cultural property Certificates, mark sheets and medals were the manifest possessions that this property brought, and people cherished and displayed them avidly. Names of students who had passed Matriculate and higher examinations appeared division-wise in Newspapers. Locating one's own name or that of someone from the village became a dramatic social event as several memoirs indicate. But more important were the possessions that Education gave in terms of new capacities, particularly the capacity to read and write English and to quote from English literature. The fact that someone could read a letter written in English or compose an application distinguished him from other ordinary people. It gave the educated man a rare distinction, considering how small a proportion of the Indian population came into the orbit of English Education.

The urge to transform the social order found expression in different forms, depending on the specific intellectual and cultural exposure that individuals received during their personal development. In some, such as Vivekananda and later Aurobindo, the urge found expression in a vocabulary of spiritual evolution. In others, like Ranade, Gokhale and Lajpat Rai, it was conveyed through a vocabulary of political evolution. Religious and social revivalism, as expressed in Tilak's politics, was a third expression. These variations were later transmuted into a composite vocabulary of social upliftment of the downtrodden castes. If we observe the relationship within which Indian intellectuals and social reformers of

later nineteenth century performed their pedagogical role vis-a-vis the masses, we will recognize that it was not different from the relationship which the English had established in the early years of the nineteenth century. It was a paternalistic relationship built upon the grand theorizations of the Victorian age concerning the causes of the decline of some nations and the rise of others. The panoramic view of history and society, which shaped several major schools of nineteenth-century European Social Philosophy, had been passed onto the early generations of Indian University graduates through college syllabi and textbooks and the speeches made by Professors and Administrators.

The 1854 Despatch referred to England's experience in the Despatch, appears to us to be capable of easy adaptation to India view which equated the problems of the colony with those of England. Another expression of the mood of this period occurs that part of the Despatch where the need to improve the teacher working in indigenous institutions is discussed. According to the Despatch they should not be superseded for this might provoke the hostility of this class of persons whose influence is so great over the minds of the lower classes (ibid 384). If they too could be courage to attend Normal schools, this would serve to both in prove the fledgling Education system and quell the urges of social unrest. The Court of Directors which wrote the Despatch mentioned its plans for teacher training in the same breath in which it talked of medical and engineering Education. The practical purpose of these specialized trainings apart the symbolic aim was to exhibit that "industry and ability were rewarded under English rule. The plan to Start Normal Schools was initiated during the following years. But none of the hopes that the 1854 Despatch had expressed materialized. There were many Education policies that implemented by British in India hence these were brought many changes in the system which I have been briefly described in my third chapter. The third chapter throws the light on the Education policies of British in India and its circumstances in which that implemented in Board.

It became the classical element of Indian schooling that first attracted the eye of some excessive officers of the East India Company after the Company had stood forth because the Dewan in 1765 within side the Bengal Presidency. Foremost amongst them became Warren Hastings who got here to India within side the provider of the East India Company as a Writer in 1751 and with the aid of using 1772 rose to be the Governor of Fort-William in Bengal. Hastings evolved a first rate love for Indo-Persian Culture With his encouragement as Governor-General of Bengal, Nathaniel influencing the coverage of the East India Company. Among folks who have been capable of retire to a a hit existence in England after

a profession in India, Charles Grant shines as a shiny star. The cause why Grant is singled out right here for a unique point out is due to his contributions to the improvement of a modern schooling machine in India. Charles Grant's contributions to British rule in India has been investigated some a long time in the past with the aid of using Professor AT Embee however Educationists in India commonly have a tendency to miss his function within side the creation of Western schooling in India. The Charles Grant plan failed in India and there have been a variety of motives in the back of it which observed within side the Chapter. After Charles Grant's plan, Charter act 1813 became the one of the essential act in Education Board. The new Act renewing the Company's privileges for a similarly duration of two decades became surpassed on 21 July 1813. An episcopate with archdeacons became installation in India and Board of Controls legal to provide licenses to missionaries to continue there. The query of dissemination of schooling amongst Indians became additionally taken up into attention and a Clause to this impact became brought in Parliament with the aid of using a former Advocate General in Calcutta and became surpassed after a mild modification. This Clause (forty third empowered the Governor-General to appropriate "a sum of now no longer much less than one lac of rupees" in every 12 months out of the excess territorial revenues" for the revival and development of literature and the encouragement of the found-out natives of India, and for the creation and merchandising of a know-how of the sciences most of the population of the British territories in India. J. A. Richter, in his History of Missions in India, has cautioned that the Clause forty-three which noted the revival and development of literature and of the encouragement of the found-out natives of India became created as "a dependable counterpoise, a shielding ruin water in opposition to the threatened deluge of missionary enterprise" enshrined within side the Charter Act of 1813. It is viable that the supporters of this Clause have been motivated with the aid of using the Orientalists in Calcutta who have been agitating for a while beyond for greater price range for the upkeep of the Calcutta Madrassa and the Benares Sanskrit College, and for the revival and development of classical gaining knowledge of India. In March 1811, Minto, Governor-General of India among 1806 and 1813, had Despatch domestic a minute which clearly represented and advocated the perspectives of the Orientalists in India. In that minute, Minto spoke approximately the decay and the forget about of Indian classical gaining knowledge of and taught humans which may be traced to the need of that encouragement which became previously afforded to it with the aid of using princes, chieftains and luxurious people beneath the local governments.

It is seriously to be lamented," he had observed that a nation particularly distinguished for its love and successful cultivation of letters in other parts of the empire should have failed to extend its fostering care to the literature of the Hindu's, and to aid in opening to the learned in Europe the repositories of that literature."

It is clear from the debates in the House of Commons and the House of Lords that by 'sciences' it was meant Western sciences, Clause 43 was otherwise vague. First, it is not clear what would be the maximum amount of expenditure on Education and secondly, how to ascertain in the absence of a proper financial Machinery, the surplus in the territorial revenues. Since the Governor-General was the administrative head of the Presidency of Fort William only, the whole of the grant was likely to be appropriated for Bengal alone. Yet the Clause was important, in spite of its vagueness, in laying down for the first time that the dissemination of Education among the people should be one of the tasks of the British Raj in India. It assumed more importance when one remembers that in those days Education was not a state responsibility even in England, and except in Scotland, no public money was spent on elementary Education, which was left mostly to the charity schools, the village dames, the private Sunday school movement started by Robert Raikes and the personal efforts of individuals like Hannah More, "the bishop in petticoat" as she was then known to her contemporaries. Many changes came across by time in the Education and there were number of officials that plays vital role in the development of Education system in India. A great change came with the arrival of Harding's as the Governor- General of India. Although distracted by war with the Sikhs, the last great political opponent of the company in India, Harding's was able to devote a great deal of attention to educational matters and to initiate reforms and innovations of far-reaching importance. Auckland, in his minute of November 1839, had drawn attention to the importance of raising a trained body of teachers and the Committee had suggested a plan for the purpose. But nothing was done till 1847 when the Council's plan for a Normal School for training the future teachers was sanctioned and a school, which was also to act as a Normal School, was opened in Bow bazar in Calcutta but the school had to be closed within two years when it did not fulfil the expectations of the authorities mainly for want of funds. The age of Dalhousie is the most significant age in the history of Education in modern India. For the foundations of a modern system of Education were actually laid during the administration of Dalhousie as the Governor General of India between 1848 and 1856. It will be seen that the Education Despatch of 1854, popularly, and perhaps incorrectly, known as Wood's Despatch, which laid the foundations of this system did really emerge out of the various experiments and steps taken in Education by Dalhousie's

predecessors and by Dalhousie himself till 1853. In February 1882 Ripon appointed the first Indian Education Commission with William Hunter, a member of his Executive Council, as its Chairman. Among its 20 members, Indians were represented by Anand Mohan Bose, Bhudev Mukherjee, Syed Mahmud and K.T. Telung, and the missionaries by Rev. Dr. Miller of Madras. B.L. Rice, the Mysore Director of Public Instruction, was appointed its secretary. The Commission was asked to enquire particularly into the manner in which effect had been given to the principles of the Despatch of 1854 and to suggest such measures as it might think desirable with a view to the further carrying out of the policy therein laid down." The Commission was also asked to keep the enquiry into the primary Education in the forefront, partly because of an agitation alleging its neglect in India, and partly because a national system of compulsory elementary Education was built up in England two years ago with the passing of the Elementary Education Act in 1891. The Commission was further asked to enquire into the position of government institutions in a national system of Education, the position of the missionary institutions in it and the attitude of government towards private enterprise. The Commission was also asked to offer suggestions on secondary Education European and university Education being excluded from the purview of the commission. The government introduced many Bills regarding the Education in India. When India achieved her independence, newly emergent nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America were preoccupied with the task of renovating their Educational structures to suit national needs and national aspirations. After independence, new reforms brought by Indian Government and it rose various cons and pros. Many hurdles came across while launching the Education Policies. Social issues rose among government and people of different castes and traditions. In the fourth chapter of dissertation, I have been put the light on Social challenges face by government and other officials by people. Before the establishment of Education system in India people were indulged with religious form of Education. There were many hurdles during the implementation of Education policies in India. The chapter contain the whole scenario of implementation of Education system in India. Finally, the last Fifth chapter of Thesis has the merits and drawbacks of the Education policies in India. After the changes of Education system in India, many social changes also came in India. Many social evils removed with the awareness of Education. Every coin has two aspects so there were many cons and pros as well in the society. The evil rituals like Sati system, child -marriage and castes affected by the Education. In the course of the nineteenth century India underwent a remark able transformation. There were social and religious reform movements, a literary renaissance, an awakening of patriotic feelings and a sense of Nationality. Political ideas and

associations developed which contributed to the emergence of Indian nationalism. English Education was a crucial factor in socializing and communicating political ideas. The decision to introduce English Education in India was a momentous step taken by the Britishers and the year 1835 can be regarded as an important landmark in modern Indian history. Throughout the non-Western world in recent centuries, the process of modernization has been accelerated by contact and conflict with the West. The introduction of English Education was one of a series of acts which collectively opened the doors of the West to the East. In every sphere of modern Indian life, though the influence of tradition persists, the impact of the West can also be traced. Much of the organization of the democratic state, its secular character, the structure of its institutions, and the political principles underlying them are all largely European in inspiration. Similarly, the Social reforms in Hindu Society, the movements for the emancipation of women and for the removal of untouchability reflect Western influence to a considerable extent.

The negative alienating effects of English Education are fairly obvious. The Education system by building up an educated elite and neglecting popular Education helped to preserve and strengthen the barrier between the upper classes and the masses. The use of English raised the class barrier even higher. The low rate of literacy, the method of teaching, neglect of training of teachers, contempt for manual work, emphasis on a literary Education.

The Educational system introduced in 1835 was probably the largest single Westernizing agency in nineteenth century India. In 1837 English replaced Persian as the official language and in 1844 Lord Harding's administration announced that those educated in English would be preferred in all appointments to office. The result was a very rapid increase in the demand for English Education. As the government alone could not satisfy the demand, private schools outside its sphere of control were bound to grow and their growth was precipitated by the policy declaration of 1854. At the time of the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company in 1853 the House of Commons appointed a Select Committee which 'made a thorough inquiry into Educational developments in India. The result was Wood's Despatch, so called after Sir Charles Wood, the then President of the Board of Control. Wood's Despatch looked forward to a time when the government would no longer have to maintain a system of Education. Government colleges and Schools were now reinforced by private institutions by means of the grants-in-aid system. In 1859 and again in 1864 the Secretary of State reaffirmed that the aim of the system of grants-in-aid was to stimulate the efforts of private institutions and local committees, and a feature of the growth during the thirty years after the Des patch was a large increase in the number of schools under

private management. In 1854 schools teaching English were just under way, and their development by grants-in-aid which were to be distributed by the new Departments of Public Instruction, now became the official policy. By time many developments in Education made by Government and it creates many positive and negative impacts in the society which have written in the Thesis.

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**EDUCATION POLICIES DURING BRITISH PERIOD IN
PUNJAB (1849 TO 1947) : HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE
AND IT'S IMPLEMENTATION**

A Thesis

*Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of
the Degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

HISTORY

BY

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2023

CONCLUSION

In the light of this evidence, it is clear that Education Plays a vital role in every individual's life. However it starts before the arrival of British. The history of Education old as the history of India. In this thesis has been written the situation of Punjab in the field of Education. The first chapter of thesis described the Education of Punjab during the advent of British. . Education may be a pre-requisite for progress and development of a society. The term development implies change, movement, progress, growth and the achievement of potential. The Education system advocated from the Vedas and was called Vedic system of Education which insisted on a code of conduct both for the student and the teacher and placed the kid under the care and direction of teacher. Vedas are representatives of the Indian Society and culture. Vedic people had simple and pure living. Vedas are within the sort of the shrutis, and are four in number: Rig-Veda consisting hymns, Samveda consisting of sacred chants: Yajurveda consisting of invocation and sacrifice. Atharvaveda is a collection of sacred formulae and verses, In the Vedic period, Education had an idealistic form, in which the teachers laid stress upon worship of god, formation of character, development of personality, greater of an aptitude for the development of culture, nation and society. Social refinement and cultural sophistication of society is indicated by the status that it accords to its women population. History of social Education is the story of women's emancipation and empowerment. It was an index of a really progressive and dynamic order which afforded equal opportunities to women with none gender bias.

The history of Islam enters around Mohammad born around 570AD, as he discontented with polytheism and came to believe into one God, Allah complete acceptance of the teachings and guidance of Allah as recorded in Quran is that religion of Islam. Islam preaches faith within the oneness and sovereignty of Allah, which makes man aware of the meaningfulness of universe and of his place in it. The holy Quran was revealed to Prophet Mohammed at intervals over a period of twenty-three years, partly while at mecca and partly while at medina. Mecca-medina are really the mecca of pilgrimage, undertaken by devout Muslims all over the world every year, and is known as haj and ziarat. During the Muslim period, Education developed so slowly that no notable characteristic of it ever merged. Minor rulers had established Educational institutions for the satisfaction of their own interest. Muslim rulers took an interest in Education and so they provided aid to maktabas and madrasas in the form of Jagirs or landed property. Scholars were given places of eminence in the courts of king. During Muslim period, special stress was laid on the teaching of Arabic

and Persian which were the media of Education by Muslim rulers. There were many organizations during the Muslim system of Education. One of them was *Bismillah*. Education began with the performance of the ritual referred to as 'Bismillah' which was performed at the age of 4 years, 4 months and 4 days. It was almost like the upnayan ceremony of the Vedic period and therefore the *pabbaja* ritual of the Buddhist period. On this day, the child was adorned with new clothes and sent to his teacher, the *maulvi* where the latter inaugurated the child's Education with a recitation from the Quran. The syllabus of Education in the Muslim period included such subjects as the holy Quran, the biography of Hazrat Mohammad, the history and the law of Islam, Arabic and Persian, grammar, literature, logic, philosophy, law, astrology, history, geography, agriculture, Unani system of medicine, etc. there was provision for teaching Sanskrit to Hindu children. During the Muslim period, relations between students and teachers were not cordial, but there were no doubts about sincerity and purity.

In Muslim period Arabic and Persian were the media of Education however, after the growth of Urdu, Education began to be imparted through this language. The stream of Muslim Education continued to flow in India for a period of almost 500 years. The history of Muslim Education has been the history of a system of state and a social organization extending over 700 years.

Development of Education has traversed through an extended journey amidst a spread of Socio-Political ideologies and aspirations, successfully delivering an academic system with a stamp of sophistication, depth, vibrancy and relevance, strong and dynamic with vigor and clean.

When the British annexed the Sikh Kingdom of the Punjab, they already ruled most of the Sub-continent. They had created well established systems of political control and land revenue administration. Yet within a few years, Punjab government had developed a distinct ethos and pattern of rule which was respected throughout India.

East India Company came to India for exploring business possibilities but it ultimately thought to determine its own empire within the country. They wanted to prove that they wanted the welfare of the people. They wanted to prove that they might control the affairs of the government far better than the Nawab. They paid attention to Education so as to point out that they were really curious about the general public welfare. They continued the government grants to educational institutions, though they didn't think it knowing introduce

any change within the Educational found out. Able scholars, both Hindu and Muslims, continued to receive financial supports which they were already enjoying.

The English people wanted to win the sympathy and support of influential Hindu and Muslim people. The higher-class section of the Muslim population demanded the establishment of madrasa for higher Education. During the period from 1813-1833 Education was expanded. The responsibility for expanding Education fell on the company. It was asked to spend at least one lakh rupees per year on Education. The company had not given any specific instruction in this issue. There were many developed languages in the country such as Hindu, Urdu, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, Kannad, and many others.

In order to carve out a path to be followed by the company one group wanted to form Indian languages as the medium of instruction. It included such big English officers as Munroe, the governor of madras and Mount Elphinstone, the governor of Bombay, the second group included such important figures as Warren Hastings and Minto. This group wanted Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian as medium of instruction. Third group consisted of some young Englishmen and Raja Ram Mohan Roy who wanted to form English as the medium of instruction. The group believed that Education through the English medium alone could to make the native literature and culture richer. The Christian missionaries were in favor of the English as the medium of instruction this was what a couple of English officers, missionaries and Raja Ram Mohan Roy wanted English was made the medium of instruction due to the support in Bengal and in another company provinces. This decision gave a superb set back to the event of Indian languages and literatures.

The evils results of English as the medium of instruction soon came upon the surface. It created such a group of persons who were Indians in birth and complexion, but mentally regarding themselves as Englishmen. These Indians became the connecting link between the English rulers and the general public to be ruled over. They became more interested in safeguarding the Interest of the English people at the cost of the interest of Indians. The missionaries also got a good opportunity to preach and convert in the garb of spreading Education. They gave incentives of excellent services and good Education for converting Indians to their own faith.

There were many changes came in Indian Education system. There is considerable evidence of the existence of widespread system of Education in all parts of the country prior

to the establishment of British rule. It may be useful here to note that the data available in respect of different part of India varies from nature.

An Education system in India, say Ramsay MacDonald' is as old as Hindu ritual and originally connected with it, and thus lifetime of student was the first stage within the great pilgrimage to his beings accomplishment. The reaction of teacher and people was as close and tender as that of the father and son; the young man who sought instruction was praised and he found schools and teachers available. In time, science, mathematics, logic, philosophy and other ways to knowledge were differentiated and studied, colleges were opened, names was made but with the breakup of Indian government after Aurangzeb misery and anarchy submerged Education; and it sank to such a low level that it ceased to have any influence of the country, still the tradition survived and if it cannot be said that Education flourished, schools existed in large numbers. The attitude of British rulers within the start was to travel away the traditional models of instruction undisturbed and to continue the support which they had been accustomed to receive from the Indian rulers.

Education systems in Punjab before the coming of British were different. The British throws huge impact on the Punjab. The first chapter briefly elaborate the whole condition of Punjab. Education changes came in Punjab with the passage of time. The chapter British Education in Punjab elaborates the condition of Education in Punjab before 18th century. Punjab was a province of British India. The region was originally called *Sapta Sindhu*, the land of the seven rivers flowing into the ocean. The Sanskrit name for the region, as mentioned in the Ramayana and Mahabharata for instance was *Panchananda* which suggest "land of the five rivers and it had been translated to Persians Punjab after the Muslim Conquests.

The struggle of Indian Independence witnessed competing and conflicting interest in the Punjab. The Punjab was a religious electric Province, comprising three major groups, Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs.

The various forms of Education in the Punjab are synchronous with the establishment in the province of Hinduism. As regard Hindus, their Education began when the Kshatriya King confined himself to rule and war and relinquished legislation to the Brahman, to strengthen the reason for his existence the latter made the four stages, of students, teaching the Vedas. The system of Education which was in vogue at that region briefly stated. There were various types of institutions where the people of different communities received their

Education. These can be classified as Pathshala, Match and Gurmukhi Schools which were more or less Hindu, Muslim and Sikh institutions respectively. These institutions were chiefly or entirely devoted to the spread of religious teaching.

Asceticism and meditation, into which his life was divided, obligatory on himself, together with a moral and ceremonial code for more stringent and minute than on the remaining castes, and which indeed would have been intolerable to any class not dimming at spiritual and intellectual domination teaching was, therefore, the link which connected the Brahmin with other castes. It was accordingly, his aim was to make Education neither too cheap' or too inaccessible, and punished as the Sudra was if he presumed to dictate in law or religion to the extent of exclusion from the instruction in these subjects he was willingly admitted to all other secular teaching, provided he bare himself with humility indeed, the necessities and relations of life often compelled the Brahman to enlarge his circle of disciples, whilst an ascetic from any caste or even outcaste could raise himself to the practice of virtue. These considerations are very important in dealing with the subjects of Education among Hindu.

The Punjabi was not opposed to female Education but, considering the home to be the only proper sphere for woman, he was content, if she could recite the Koran, Read the Granth or study the Ramayana or Bhagwad-Gita at home. Muhammadan girls generally read the Koran at the Mosque school along with the young boys there; Sikh girls attended Dharamshala; while Hindu girls mostly received their Education at home. The teacher was called the Mullah, the Bhai or the family priest, though female teachers-Hindu, Muslim and Sikh were also to be found. The position of Hindu women had undergone a change. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Some Britishers had begun to feel that the East India Company should accept the responsibility for Education of Indian people. Some of the company's officials in India also raised their voice in favor of the Education of Indian people. Further I have been discussed the Education system in India after 18th century. There were many changes came in the India after British. They have some hidden agendas behind launching the Education policies in India

There was a time before independence, when two India's were found- one was the India Controlled by princely States and the second was the Controlled by British Administration.

In last few decades there have been changes both in the concepts of Education of the history. While Education has increasingly become a major social, political and economic

issue since the fairly recent emergence of the countries in the third world, comprehensive changes have taken place in the understanding of history, with slogans like ‘the new history’ being bandied around in academic circles. Some of the areas of history which are most affected by these changes are local history, comparative history, Political history, social al history, and intellectual and cultural history.

In studying the history of Education each of these new approaches is to be explored carefully. The history of Education is therefore concerned, not merely with institutions such as schools, colleges and universities, but with the social forces which have affected the quality of life, and with the ideas which have affected the quality of life, practitioners of Education in the past. Education is thus an adjunct to the historical process besides being one of the chief factors conditioning people’s outlooks and aspirations. Briefly, therefore the study of the history of the society Social history broadly interpreted through the politics, the economics and the religion of the Society concerned.

The history of Education, perhaps led to think that Education had been untold to India and the system in India was the emergence of the East India. From the Scholars of the Vedic age to the Bengali philosopher of the present day there has been a continuous succession of teachers and scholars.

What was the criteria of this Indian Education as it present when the British came? Indian Education had always been, since the Vedic age, of a classical and spiritual rather than of a practice al nature.

While the Indians writers had been inventive in their production of philosophical and literary works, they paid little attention to the development of science which, though it had made some remarkable progress in early days, had now fallen in disgrace.

How was this learning imparted? Learning among the Hindus had been the monopoly of the high, especially of the priestly castes. The learned Brahmins gathered students from various parts of the country and in the homely atmosphere of their Tools as these were known in Bengal and Bihar, imparted knowledge. Life in those places was very pure and simple. The teachers not only received no fees but provided free board and lodging for their Students. The course of studies extended from fifteen to twenty years and the hours of study were long and severe. There were also larger Education establishments in the various religious centers, the most famous of which in the Ganges valley were Naida, Tirhut and Benares. These were conducted by learned Pandits, who were liberally patronized by the rulers and the aristocracy

and were men of high character and immense learning called Madrasas. They were less spiritual and smaller in number than the Hindu seats of learning and were meant chiefly for the training of law officers. Besides laws, instruction was also given in these institutions in scriptures, literature, grammar, penmanship, logic, rhetoric, natural philosophy and arithmetic and average duration of the study was ten to twelve years. One interesting feature was that the Hindus could also attend those seminaries meant primarily for the Muslims.

However, these institutions were not meant for Education of an elementary. They were the highest seminaries of learning that were meant for the specialists. For primary Education, there were Pathshalas and makhtabs where the Gurus and the Maulavies imparted knowledge. These schools were not paying concerns and had to depend on the generosity of the people. Instruction in these schools was given in the vernacular. The aristocracy did not send their children to these schools but preferred to educate them at home. There was no School for the Education of the girls though the Zamindars often had their daughters educated at home. The majority of the Indians were unwilling to educate their girls on account of social prejudice and superstitions, while the lower classes could not afford it.

Village's Schools served a very useful purpose- they fulfilled the needs and requirements of the villagers, the petty Zamindar, the Bania and the well-to-do farmer. The curriculum consisted of reading, writing, and arithmetic (both written and oral). There were no printed Books and locally made slates and pencils were the only equipment the people needed. The hours of instruction and the days of working were adjusted to local requirements. There was no regular period of admission- anyone could join the School at any time and leave it when he had acquired all that desired to know. Such Schools which were often without any buildings of their own were held sometimes in the home of a teacher or a patron, in a mosque or a temple and not infrequently under the shade of trees. The number of people could vary from one to twenty but in bigger schools the senior people were appointed to teach the junior ones. This system attracted the attention of the madras chaplain, Dr. A. Bell, who introduced it in England as a cheap and efficient method of educating the poor and later it came to be known as the Monitorial or Madras system in England. The teachers for these Schools, like their Students, came from all classes including the depressed classes as Adam's analysis of castes shows and were paid either in cash or in kind according to the ability of the parents of the students. However, these schools which had shown wonderful adaptability to local environment and existed for centuries through a variety of Economic conditions or Political vicissitudes showed signs of decay at the coming of the Britishers.

In India, religion has always been a very strong spiritual force which binds the people together but at the time of Grant it had sunk into the dirty form of superstition. Every stone and every tree had received the importance of a deity and every phenomenon of nature was taken as a manifestation of the divine will.

Social existence turned into degraded. Many abuses, a number of the maximum frightful nature, had crept into the society. Infanticide turned into broadly practiced in Central India, mainly a few of the Rajput. The custom of Sati or self-immolation of widows turned into broadly established and turned into appeared upon as a sacred act. Caste, as soon as primarily based totally upon the features of individuals, had end up an inflexible gadget which saved its diverse branches in water-tight compartments, despite the fact that the contributors had ceased to stick to the features firstly assigned to them. Only the Brahmins had maintained their monopoly of priestly position. This had clearly brought about grave abuses as it had gave delivery priority over all different attention and had consigned to the maximum degraded nation of existence, a number of the low caste humans just like the pariahs and untouchables, mere touch with one in all whom turned into enough to make one lose one's caste. The aristocracy which have been hit maximum with the aid of using the political instability had degraded themselves in debauchery and dissipation. Kulinism, firstly meant to hold the purity of blood line of the better classes, had degenerated into toddler marriage and polygamy. Where the better castes had sunk to such low levels, the women couldn't had been anticipated to have a higher fate. Married at pretty an early age they were given little, if any, possibility of obtaining training and had been saved in Seclusion or purdah. Grant felt that those abuses of the Indian society might be eliminated with the aid of using the creation of Christianity. So in 1790 while he back home, he labored for it with more vigor for the reason that time for the renewal of the Company's Charter turned into drawing near, consequently offering for an possibility of bringing the case for evangelization of India earlier than the Parliament, and there with the aid of using additionally forcing the arms of the Directors who did now no longer permit the missionaries to return back to India for proselytization. However, the concept needed to be dropped while King George III, having been apprised of the scheme, turned into reluctant to guide it mainly in result of the alarming development of the French Revolution and the proneness of the duration to moves subversive of the mounted order of factors Wilberforce, MP for York, with whom Grant have been in touch earlier than he got here to London in 1790, then suggested Grant to provide a paper

displaying a plan for the diffusion of know-how in India instead of for the propagation of Christianity

Grant picked the suggestion and wrote: *Observations on the State of Society among Particularly in the Respect of Morais* in his tries which Grant wrote in 1792 and published at London in 1797. He charged the Hindus with dishonesty, corrupt-to mutual hatred and distrust and described their customs such as barbarous, and the Muslims with haughtiness, perfidy, licentiousness and lawlessness and asserted that the intercourse of the two communities had led to the further debasement of both because each had imbibed the vices of the other. Grant Hamed the East India Company for viewing those grave evils with apathy and contended that it was under no obligation to protect the creed of the Hindus which was monstrous and "subversive of the first principles of reason, morality and religion" As a remedy.

To all these evils, Grant suggested a supersession religions bus principle", namely, through the dissemination of the science and literature of Europe, "a key which would at once open a world of new ideas to them. Grant stated that the long intercourse between the Indians and the Europeans in Bengal rendered it feasible to use English as the medium of instruction. Moreover, he said, knowledge of the English Language would immediately place the whole range of European knowledge within their reach, while translation of English books into the Indian languages would take a long time and would be less efficacious. Grant also urged the substitution of English for Persian as the official language because that would induce the Indians to learn it. He urged the establishment of English Schools under teachers of good moral character and hoping that very soon the pupils taught in these Schools would themselves become the teachers of English to their countrymen. In conclusion, he triumphantly asserted, "the true cure of darkness is light. The Hindu, because they are ignorant and their errors have never been fairly laid before them "Grant's observations were reflections of the two forces at home, one unplanned, the other purposeful--the Industrial Revolution and the Evangelical Movement-in putting forward new social values. The Industrial Revolution created a new class of men with power and authority to set beside the old aristocratic, landowning leadership, where the latter had depended upon inheritance in a fixed hierarchical society and had set an example of grand, even extravagant living, the new men rose by personal effort, by hard work and by frugality. A new economic order developed a new code of social values and behavior in answers to its unspoken need. Contemporaneously, a religious revival affected England which though it had its starting

point in Vital Religion, in personal conversion also served to promote such Social virtues as frugality, sobriety and industry. Among the lower orders of Society it was Methodism which inspired the Civilization, the industry and sobriety of great numbers of the laboring part of the country. "Among the upper classes the impulses was provided by the evangelicals and by such persons as Hannah More They numbered in their ranks men such as Milner of Queen's College or Simeon of King's College, Cambridge, the merchant Zachary Macaulay, Wilberforce, Henry Thomson the banker and James Stephen, the lawyer, Men of the Class from which many of the Company's servants were drawn.

In 1793 Wilberforce and Hannah More amassed spherical Joseph Venn, the Rector of Clapham and have been there joined via way of means of Charles Grant, via way of means of Sir John Shore, Stephen, Thornton, Macaulay and others. These Claphamities have been, perhaps, Social conservatives; they have been radical of their willpower to stable a reformation of manners and a brand new righteousness with inside the top ranks of society When Henry Dundas, President of the Board of Control installation in 1784 via way of means of Pitt's India Act to oversee the sports of the Court of Directors, become proven Grant's manuscript containing his observations, he requested his Secretary, William Cabell, to jot down a notice on it. Cabell emphasized the political blessings that would be derived from growing a training coverage primarily based totally on Grant's Observations. He cited that a not unusual place language might draw the ruler and the dominated into nearer touch and the creation of European training might result in the elimination of many abuses from which the humans have been struggling because of their "fake gadget of ideals and a complete need of proper preparation amongst them. However, while the situation become debated upon at the event of the renewal of the Company's Charter, the Attorney General and the Solicitor General grouped the clauses right into a Bill explicitly slotting that the actual stop sought become to ship missionaries and School masters to India for the closing conversion of Indians. And this become absolutely negative to the buying and selling hobbies of the Company ruled via way of means of guys with lengthy revel in in India who taken into consideration that this kind of flow might bring about political unrest in that country. They condemned the Bill and via a number of their connections in each the House of Parliament majored to defeat it and for this reason have been misplaced Charles Grant's specific possibility to end up a pioneer within side the creation of Western training in India.

The 1844 report of the Board of Education for the Bombay Press of contemporary English thought-utilitarianism and evangelisms, the first represented a crystallization of the

line of thought that Minto Marley was following, sharpened by the faith in scientific reasoning brought about by the Industrial Revolution. The second current was not an altogether new development either but it had by now virtually reversed the earlier English perception of India. Whereas many eighteenth-century liberals in England perceived India as a developed Civilization, Victorian liberal opinion depicted India as a sort of sad, sleeping beauty that needed charity and the touch of a new life.

The Bombay report of 1844 says: The object of Government we take to be perfectly distinct and intelligible, namely, to make as vigorous an impression upon the Asiatic mind as possible, to rouse it from the torpor into which it has subsided for some hundred years past, and to place it in a condition for receiving and digesting the results of progress and Civilization European has been the fruitful mother of vice, in a great degree by the Ignorance in all ages undue development given to the passions in minds where intellectual enjoyment can find no entry, but mainly by the temptation and facility, which it affords to the crafty and designing of preying upon the ignorant masses. One of the main duties of Government modern times is to protect one class of its subjects, the weak, the unwary, the helpless, in one word the large majority, from the unprincipled few, and the remedy, acknowledged to be the most available one, is to inspire the bulk of the population with the desire, and to afford them the means of acquiring as much exact knowledge as possible on the various subjects. The problem of immoral behavior is squarely equated with that of ignorance. This understanding gave to many nineteenth-century rationalists a strong hope of seeing the utopia of an enlightened humanity built within a foreseeable future. The state's role in this vision was that of a protector of the 'ignorant masses who personified the Asiatic' mind portrayed by James Mill in his popular history of India, enemies of the state's paternalistic role were considered to be few in number, personified in practitioners of obscurantist forms of knowledge. These forms of knowledge and their hold on ignorant people were both characteristics of the Asiatic mind as Victorian intellectuals and administrators had come to understand it. The means by which the state could subdue its enemies, in this perception, was Education of the masses in 'exact forms of knowledge. These exact forms represented the West's scientific tradition if the masses could be prepared to accept it as the guiding light of conduct, the state's role in transforming the Asiatic mind would be largely fulfilled. Education was thus perceived as the chief agency for accomplishing the great moral agenda of colonialism. Irrespective of the success of the colonial government in educating the masses, the rhetoric of Education would

provide the legitimation that the colonial enterprise always needed, especially in the moral climate of Victorian England.

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the function of Education in undermining traditional structures of dominance had become well established. It is true that developments in certain region expressed this tendency far more sharply than in other regions on the whole, the role of Education in disturbing traditional social hierarchies was more clearly expressed in South than in North.

In Kerala, the struggle of downtrodden groups like the Izhavas owed considerably to their Educational attainments under Christian missionaries. Pullapilly makes the point that the izhavas' fight for civil rights and justice presupposed a certain amount of social consciousness and Educational preparation. The same thing could be said of several non-Brahmin peasant castes and some of the untouchable castes of the areas in present-day Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh.

In Maharashtra, the work of the Satyashodhak Samaj established by Phule led to the demand for Educational facilities among oppressed caste groups in his submission to the Hunter Commission, Phule wrote: 'Upon what grounds is it asserted that the best way to advance the moral and intellectual welfare of the people is to raise the standard of instruction of the higher classes. While it is true that the recognition of Education as an agency of material and social benefits triggered a competition in the caste hierarchy, the upper castes nevertheless maintained a strong hold over Educational facilities, especially facilities for higher Education. The small civil society of the educated remained in all parts of British India largely confined to the higher castes. There was a trickle from below, but it was too small to alter the character of the civil society.

It is thus worth asking which of the two roles of Education was more influential in shaping the Cultural and Political life of India at the turn of the century--the role of strengthening group solidarity among the educated or the role of disturbing traditional hierarchies. The first is rarely acknowledged, whereas the second has been highly overestimated. In his Elementary Education Bill speech in 1911, Gokhale had mentioned that only 1.9 per cent of India's total population was attending elementary schools. one can hardly overemphasized the group forming force of an experience as narrowly spread as Education was in colonial India. Education did facilitate limited upward mobility among lower caste groups in certain region of British India. This role of Education was Significant thought, it

was confined to those regions where cultural resources for an egalitarian social movement already existed to support and enhance the effects that access to Education triggered in conjunction with the implications of competitive opportunity for employment, new modes of transport and ultimately, the beginning of representational politics.

When Education is celebrated for its historic role in social change, its complex interplay with other factors tends to get underplayed. Also, the identity-forming role that Education played, creating the consciousness among the educated that they were new elite, is overlooked.

The egalitarian effects Education had in colonial India need to be carefully balanced against this contrary function.

Whether it was the case of the higher castes using Education to this contrary function renovate their repertoire of skills, or the alternative case in some areas of middle and lower castes using Education to move up, we notice that the major social function of Education was to differentiate its beneficiaries from the larger population. It did so by serving as a new cultural property Certificates, mark sheets and medals were the manifest possessions that this property brought, and people cherished and displayed them avidly. Names of students who had passed Matriculate and higher examinations appeared division-wise in Newspapers. Locating one's own name or that of someone from the village became a dramatic social event as several memoirs indicate. But more important were the possessions that Education gave in terms of new capacities, particularly the capacity to read and write English and to quote from English literature. The fact that someone could read a letter written in English or compose an application distinguished him from other ordinary people. It gave the educated man a rare distinction, considering how small a proportion of the Indian population came into the orbit of English Education.

The urge to transform the social order found expression in different forms, depending on the specific intellectual and cultural exposure that individuals received during their personal development. In some, such as Vivekananda and later Aurobindo, the urge found expression in a vocabulary of spiritual evolution. In others, like Ranade, Gokhale and Lajpat Rai, it was conveyed through a vocabulary of political evolution. Religious and social revivalism, as expressed in Tilak's politics, was a third expression. These variations were later transmuted into a composite vocabulary of social upliftment of the downtrodden castes. If we observe the relationship within which Indian intellectuals and social reformers of

later nineteenth century performed their pedagogical role vis-a-vis the masses, we will recognize that it was not different from the relationship which the English had established in the early years of the nineteenth century. It was a paternalistic relationship built upon the grand theorizations of the Victorian age concerning the causes of the decline of some nations and the rise of others. The panoramic view of history and society, which shaped several major schools of nineteenth-century European Social Philosophy, had been passed onto the early generations of Indian University graduates through college syllabi and textbooks and the speeches made by Professors and Administrators.

The 1854 Despatch referred to England's experience in the Despatch, appears to us to be capable of easy adaptation to India view which equated the problems of the colony with those of England. Another expression of the mood of this period occurs that part of the Despatch where the need to improve the teacher working in indigenous institutions is discussed. According to the Despatch they should not be superseded for this might provoke the hostility of this class of persons whose influence is so great over the minds of the lower classes (ibid 384). If they too could be courage to attend Normal schools, this would serve to both in prove the fledgling Education system and quell the urges of social unrest. The Court of Directors which wrote the Despatch mentioned its plans for teacher training in the same breath in which it talked of medical and engineering Education. The practical purpose of these specialized trainings apart the symbolic aim was to exhibit that "industry and ability were rewarded under English rule. The plan to Start Normal Schools was initiated during the following years. But none of the hopes that the 1854 Despatch had expressed materialized. There were many Education policies that implemented by British in India hence these were brought many changes in the system which I have been briefly described in my third chapter. The third chapter throws the light on the Education policies of British in India and its circumstances in which that implemented in Board.

It became the classical element of Indian schooling that first attracted the eye of some excessive officers of the East India Company after the Company had stood forth because the Dewan in 1765 within side the Bengal Presidency. Foremost amongst them became Warren Hastings who got here to India within side the provider of the East India Company as a Writer in 1751 and with the aid of using 1772 rose to be the Governor of Fort-William in Bengal. Hastings evolved a first rate love for Indo-Persian Culture With his encouragement as Governor-General of Bengal, Nathaniel influencing the coverage of the East India Company. Among folks who have been capable of retire to a a hit existence in England after

a profession in India, Charles Grant shines as a shiny star. The cause why Grant is singled out right here for a unique point out is due to his contributions to the improvement of a modern schooling machine in India. Charles Grant's contributions to British rule in India has been investigated some a long time in the past with the aid of using Professor AT Embee however Educationists in India commonly have a tendency to miss his function within side the creation of Western schooling in India. The Charles Grant plan failed in India and there have been a variety of motives in the back of it which observed within side the Chapter. After Charles Grant's plan, Charter act 1813 became the one of the essential act in Education Board. The new Act renewing the Company's privileges for a similarly duration of two decades became surpassed on 21 July 1813. An episcopate with archdeacons became installation in India and Board of Controls legal to provide licenses to missionaries to continue there. The query of dissemination of schooling amongst Indians became additionally taken up into attention and a Clause to this impact became brought in Parliament with the aid of using a former Advocate General in Calcutta and became surpassed after a mild modification. This Clause (forty third empowered the Governor-General to appropriate "a sum of now no longer much less than one lac of rupees" in every 12 months out of the excess territorial revenues" for the revival and development of literature and the encouragement of the found-out natives of India, and for the creation and merchandising of a know-how of the sciences most of the population of the British territories in India. J. A. Richter, in his History of Missions in India, has cautioned that the Clause forty-three which noted the revival and development of literature and of the encouragement of the found-out natives of India became created as "a dependable counterpoise, a shielding ruin water in opposition to the threatened deluge of missionary enterprise" enshrined within side the Charter Act of 1813. It is viable that the supporters of this Clause have been motivated with the aid of using the Orientalists in Calcutta who have been agitating for a while beyond for greater price range for the upkeep of the Calcutta Madrassa and the Benares Sanskrit College, and for the revival and development of classical gaining knowledge of India. In March 1811, Minto, Governor-General of India among 1806 and 1813, had Despatch domestic a minute which clearly represented and advocated the perspectives of the Orientalists in India. In that minute, Minto spoke approximately the decay and the forget about of Indian classical gaining knowledge of and taught humans which may be traced to the need of that encouragement which became previously afforded to it with the aid of using princes, chieftains and luxurious people beneath the local governments.

It is seriously to be lamented," he had observed that a nation particularly distinguished for its love and successful cultivation of letters in other parts of the empire should have failed to extend its fostering care to the literature of the Hindu's, and to aid in opening to the learned in Europe the repositories of that literature."

It is clear from the debates in the House of Commons and the House of Lords that by 'sciences' it was meant Western sciences, Clause 43 was otherwise vague. First, it is not clear what would be the maximum amount of expenditure on Education and secondly, how to ascertain in the absence of a proper financial Machinery, the surplus in the territorial revenues. Since the Governor-General was the administrative head of the Presidency of Fort William only, the whole of the grant was likely to be appropriated for Bengal alone. Yet the Clause was important, in spite of its vagueness, in laying down for the first time that the dissemination of Education among the people should be one of the tasks of the British Raj in India. It assumed more importance when one remembers that in those days Education was not a state responsibility even in England, and except in Scotland, no public money was spent on elementary Education, which was left mostly to the charity schools, the village dames, the private Sunday school movement started by Robert Raikes and the personal efforts of individuals like Hannah More, "the bishop in petticoat" as she was then known to her contemporaries. Many changes came across by time in the Education and there were number of officials that plays vital role in the development of Education system in India. A great change came with the arrival of Harding's as the Governor- General of India. Although distracted by war with the Sikhs, the last great political opponent of the company in India, Harding's was able to devote a great deal of attention to educational matters and to initiate reforms and innovations of far-reaching importance. Auckland, in his minute of November 1839, had drawn attention to the importance of raising a trained body of teachers and the Committee had suggested a plan for the purpose. But nothing was done till 1847 when the Council's plan for a Normal School for training the future teachers was sanctioned and a school, which was also to act as a Normal School, was opened in Bow bazar in Calcutta but the school had to be closed within two years when it did not fulfil the expectations of the authorities mainly for want of funds. The age of Dalhousie is the most significant age in the history of Education in modern India. For the foundations of a modern system of Education were actually laid during the administration of Dalhousie as the Governor General of India between 1848 and 1856. It will be seen that the Education Despatch of 1854, popularly, and perhaps incorrectly, known as Wood's Despatch, which laid the foundations of this system did really emerge out of the various experiments and steps taken in Education by Dalhousie's

predecessors and by Dalhousie himself till 1853. In February 1882 Ripon appointed the first Indian Education Commission with William Hunter, a member of his Executive Council, as its Chairman. Among its 20 members, Indians were represented by Anand Mohan Bose, Bhudev Mukherjee, Syed Mahmud and K.T. Telung, and the missionaries by Rev. Dr. Miller of Madras. B.L. Rice, the Mysore Director of Public Instruction, was appointed its secretary. The Commission was asked to enquire particularly into the manner in which effect had been given to the principles of the Despatch of 1854 and to suggest such measures as it might think desirable with a view to the further carrying out of the policy therein laid down." The Commission was also asked to keep the enquiry into the primary Education in the forefront, partly because of an agitation alleging its neglect in India, and partly because a national system of compulsory elementary Education was built up in England two years ago with the passing of the Elementary Education Act in 1891. The Commission was further asked to enquire into the position of government institutions in a national system of Education, the position of the missionary institutions in it and the attitude of government towards private enterprise. The Commission was also asked to offer suggestions on secondary Education European and university Education being excluded from the purview of the commission. The government introduced many Bills regarding the Education in India. When India achieved her independence, newly emergent nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America were preoccupied with the task of renovating their Educational structures to suit national needs and national aspirations. After independence, new reforms brought by Indian Government and it rose various cons and pros. Many hurdles came across while launching the Education Policies. Social issues rose among government and people of different castes and traditions. In the fourth chapter of dissertation, I have been put the light on Social challenges face by government and other officials by people. Before the establishment of Education system in India people were indulged with religious form of Education. There were many hurdles during the implementation of Education policies in India. The chapter contain the whole scenario of implementation of Education system in India. Finally, the last Fifth chapter of Thesis has the merits and drawbacks of the Education policies in India. After the changes of Education system in India, many social changes also came in India. Many social evils removed with the awareness of Education. Every coin has two aspects so there were many cons and pros as well in the society. The evil rituals like Sati system, child -marriage and castes affected by the Education. In the course of the nineteenth century India underwent a remark able transformation. There were social and religious reform movements, a literary renaissance, an awakening of patriotic feelings and a sense of Nationality. Political ideas and

associations developed which contributed to the emergence of Indian nationalism. English Education was a crucial factor in socializing and communicating political ideas. The decision to introduce English Education in India was a momentous step taken by the Britishers and the year 1835 can be regarded as an important landmark in modern Indian history. Throughout the non-Western world in recent centuries, the process of modernization has been accelerated by contact and conflict with the West. The introduction of English Education was one of a series of acts which collectively opened the doors of the West to the East. In every sphere of modern Indian life, though the influence of tradition persists, the impact of the West can also be traced. Much of the organization of the democratic state, its secular character, the structure of its institutions, and the political principles underlying them are all largely European in inspiration. Similarly, the Social reforms in Hindu Society, the movements for the emancipation of women and for the removal of untouchability reflect Western influence to a considerable extent.

The negative alienating effects of English Education are fairly obvious. The Education system by building up an educated elite and neglecting popular Education helped to preserve and strengthen the barrier between the upper classes and the masses. The use of English raised the class barrier even higher. The low rate of literacy, the method of teaching, neglect of training of teachers, contempt for manual work, emphasis on a literary Education.

The Educational system introduced in 1835 was probably the largest single Westernizing agency in nineteenth century India. In 1837 English replaced Persian as the official language and in 1844 Lord Harding's administration announced that those educated in English would be preferred in all appointments to office. The result was a very rapid increase in the demand for English Education. As the government alone could not satisfy the demand, private schools outside its sphere of control were bound to grow and their growth was precipitated by the policy declaration of 1854. At the time of the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company in 1853 the House of Commons appointed a Select Committee which 'made a thorough inquiry into Educational developments in India. The result was Wood's Despatch, so called after Sir Charles Wood, the then President of the Board of Control. Wood's Despatch looked forward to a time when the government would no longer have to maintain a system of Education. Government colleges and Schools were now reinforced by private institutions by means of the grants-in-aid system. In 1859 and again in 1864 the Secretary of State reaffirmed that the aim of the system of grants-in-aid was to stimulate the efforts of private institutions and local committees, and a feature of the growth during the thirty years after the Des patch was a large increase in the number of schools under

private management. In 1854 schools teaching English were just under way, and their development by grants-in-aid which were to be distributed by the new Departments of Public Instruction, now became the official policy. By time many developments in Education made by Government and it creates many positive and negative impacts in the society which have written in the Thesis.

ABSTRACT

It is said that history is a series of biography. Learning is a treasure that will follow its owner everywhere. Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world. It is the manifestation of perfection present already in man. Therefore, the purposed subject will be an attempt to fill up this gap in the history of Punjab as well as the history of British education in particular.

First chapter throw light on detail history Education in the Punjab. Education is that the mirror of any contemporary society in the maximum amounts because the two are intrinsically related. Education is that the process of development which consists of the passage of person from infancy to maturity and the method whereby it adapts himself gradually in various ways to his physical, social, and spiritual environment. The word education has been described in various ways. Education may be a process of development from cradle to the grave, a never-ending, continuous process of never-ending continuous development.

In Second chapter, discussed about the detailed history of Strategies of the British Government in the Punjab. In last few decades there have been changes both in the concepts of education of the history. While education has increasingly become a major social, political and economic issue since the fairly recent emergence of the countries in the third world, comprehensive changes have taken place in the understanding of history, with slogans like ‘ the new history’ being bandied around in academic circles. Some of the areas of history which are most affected by these changes are local history, comparative history, political history, social al history, and intellectual and cultural history.

In Third chapter, discussed about the Policies of British in Punjab. It was the classical aspect of Indian education that first attracted the attention of a few high officials of the East India Company after the Company had stood forth as the Dewan in 1765 in the Bengal Presidency. Such officials though few in number had spent most of their career in India-they were not only able to survive the Indian climate but develop a taste for many things Indian. There were many other incidents that has been written in the chapter which shows the policies of the British regarding Education in Punjab.

Fourth chapter is based on the Challenges faced by the British Government during the implementation of the Policies of the Education. Education is a course of illumination and

strengthening by which the people can get a superior personal satisfaction. The English were credited for altering the scholarly existence of India through the presentation of a Western System of Education in the subcontinent. In any case, there was a steady advancement towards arranging an instructive plan for India.

Fifth chapter is based on the vast Positive and Negative impacts of Education Policies by British Government. In the course of the nineteenth century India underwent a remarkable transformation. There were social and religious reform movements, a literary renaissance, an awakening of patriotic feelings and a sense of nationality. The decision to introduce English education in India was a momentous step taken by the British raj and the year 1835 can be regarded as an important landmark in modern Indian history.

In sixth chapter the conclusion of the study is strictly based on facts and figures as yielded by the primary and contemporary sources.

Date.....

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DISCRIPTION	PAGE NO.
CANDIDATES' DECLARATION	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iv
CONTENT	vi
INTRODUCTION	1-26
CHAPTER-1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	27-41
CHAPTER-2 BRITISH AND THEIR STRATEGIES BEHIND INTRODUCING EDUCATION IN PUNJAB	42-69
CHAPTER-3 EDUCATION POLICIES DURING BRITISH PERIOD	70-96
CHAPTER-4 SOCIAL CHALLENGES DURING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF EDUCATION POLICIES	97-131
CHAPTER-5 POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE IMPACT OF EDUCATION POLICIES ON PUNJAB	132-166
CONCLUSION	167-185
BIBLIOGRAPHY	186-188

**EDUCATION POLICIES DURING BRITISH PERIOD IN
PUNJAB (1849 TO 1947) : HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE
AND IT'S IMPLEMENTATION**

A Thesis

*Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of
the Degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

HISTORY

BY

ANJALI CHAWLA

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GURU KASHI UNIVERSITY

TALWANDI SABO (PUNJAB), INDIA

2023



GURU KASHI UNIVERSITY

CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work which is being presented in the thesis, entitled **“Education Policies during British Period in Punjab (1849 to 1947) : Historical Importance and it's Implementation”** in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Discipline of History** and submitted in Guru Kashi University, Talwandi Sabo is an authentic record of my own work carried out during the period from August 2018 to June 2023 under the supervision of **Dr. Daljit Kaur**.

The matter embodied in this thesis has not been submitted by me for the award of any other degree of this or any other University/Institute.

I further declared that in case of any violation of intellectual property right or copyright I as the candidate would be fully responsible for the same. My supervisor, external examiner and my institute should not be held for full or partial violation of copyright if found at any stage of my degree.

Ms. Anjali Chawla

Ph.D Research Scholar

Univ. Roll No.: A186821001

This is to certify that the above statement made by the candidate is correct to the best of my knowledge.

Dr. Daljit Kaur Gill

(Supervisor)

The Ph.D Viva-voce examination of Ms. Anjali Chawla has been held on 10.06.2023 and accepted for the award of Ph.D Degree.

Dr. Balwinderjeet Kaur Bhatti

(External Examiner)

Dr. Daljit Kaur Gill

(Supervisor)

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CANDIDATES' DECLARATION	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
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CONTENT	vi
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BIBLIOGRAPHY	186-188