

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON INSTITUTE  
OF EDUCATION

SOME ASPECTS OF INDIAN  
EDUCATION PAST AND  
PRESENT

Being three

JOSEPH PAYNE LECTURES  
for 1935-6 delivered in the Institute  
*(with supplementary Memoranda)*

by

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Dacca and Chairman of the Auxiliary Committee  
on Education of the Indian Statutory Commission)*

*Published for the Institute of Education by*  
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
LONDON : HUMPHREY MILFORD

1939

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
AMEN HOUSE, E.C. 4  
LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK  
TORONTO MELBOURNE CAPE TOWN BOMBAY  
CALCUTTA MADRAS  
HUMPHREY MILFORD  
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

TO  
MY WIFE

## FOREWORD

THE request of the Director of the Institute of Education that I should write a Foreword to the lectures printed in these pages comes as an honour which I appreciate the more as it enables me to express to Sir Philip Hartog the high regard in which he is held by many who, like myself, have spent years in educational work in India.

The lectures were given at the Institute of Education as the Joseph Payne Lectures for 1935-6. The thanks of the Institute are due not only to Sir Philip Hartog for delivering the lectures, but also to the College of Preceptors, whose generosity enabled us to arrange them. Sir Philip Hartog has added to the debt we owe him by permitting the lectures to be published in our series of *Studies and Reports*, and still further by supplementing the lectures by three valuable memoranda. We feel sure that the present volume will be welcomed not only by those who were privileged to hear the lectures, but also by many students of education in this country and in India. If, as seems likely, the Wardha Scheme, or some modification of it, comes into operation in the near future, we have indeed reached the end of an era in Indian education. Hence the time is opportune for a survey of the history of education in British India by one whose honesty and goodwill can be trusted.

Although the lectures were planned as a review of educational development in India from the first missionary influences over a hundred years ago to the vigorous educational movements of to-day, it was obvious to all students of Indian history present at the lectures that they were being presented with the results of much careful inquiry and research. Many have since expressed the hope that the details of these researches would be made available to them. Some of these details have been generously supplied in the form of the three memoranda which constitute the second half of the book.

In the first memorandum Sir Philip Hartog accepts the challenge of Mr. Gandhi to prove that India is more literate to-day than it was fifty or a hundred years ago. His answer is a convincing refutation of the all too easily accepted belief that the education of India has suffered

my request. It is the main sources on which he relied for his statement that have been scrutinized in the three memoranda which follow the lectures. I desire to acknowledge the courtesy with which Mr. Gandhi gave me the information at his disposal, both in writing and at a personal interview; and I shall not easily forget the charm and frankness with which he spoke, nor his ready promise, renewed in writing, publicly to retract his statement if I could convince him that it was not justified by the evidence.

It is to be admitted that there is some excuse for the errors which have been made in this matter. As I have mentioned, the legend of the '100,000 schools' in Bengal and Bihar found currency even among British writers, who had obviously looked at the First Report of William Adam of 1835, mainly based on second-hand information, but not read his Second and Third Reports, based on his own investigations; and the fantastic story of the destruction of schools in the Punjab, originated by Dr. Leitner, a British official though not an Englishman, was embedded by him in a mass of material not easy to wade through and analyse. I regret that my detailed analysis has been so long delayed owing to pressure of other work.

But Mr. Gandhi's views about the living present are, if I may say so, of more importance than his utterances about the past. The scheme of primary education put forward by him, and adopted in a modified form by the Wardha Conference in October, 1937, is likely to loom large in Indian education for a considerable time.

The main features of the scheme are as follows :

(1) a seven years' course of free and compulsory education (for children from 7 to 14 years of age) to be provided on a nation-wide scale;

(2) the medium of instruction to be the mother tongue;

(3) the process of education, throughout the seven years, to be centred round some form of manual and productive work.

The Conference resolved that it expected that this system of education would be gradually able to cover the remuneration of the teachers.

The Report of the Wardha Conference, together with that of the Committee appointed by it, under the chairmanship of Dr. Zakir

Husain, to elaborate the scheme and to draw up a detailed syllabus, has been published in *Educational Reconstruction*.<sup>1</sup>

Several provincial Governments have already decided to try the scheme and are training a nucleus of teachers for the new schools. Only trial can show how far the suggested syllabus in its original form is workable. Its authors, indeed, realized that extensive experimental work on lines indicated in their Report would be necessary.

Another far-reaching proposal for the conscription of hundreds of thousands of young men (and later of young women) for periods amounting to three years, to provide social services, including education, in the villages, has been put forward by Professor K. T. Shah, with Mr. Gandhi's general approval,<sup>2</sup> but the proposal has been criticized in other quarters. Dr. Zakir Husain's Committee suggested that conscripts might deal with adult education, and that a kind of 20 years' plan should be drawn up 'to provide basic education and to liquidate illiteracy'.<sup>3</sup>

These proposals have led to important campaigns in a number of provinces, initiated or supported by local governments, for the reduction of mass illiteracy by voluntary effort.

It should not be forgotten at this moment that since the foundation by Mr. G. K. Gokhale (the first advocate of universal compulsory education in India) of that remarkable organization, the Servants of India Society, at Poona, fine and notable work in popular education has been done by many public-spirited men and women and by social service leagues of various kinds. What is new about the present movement is not so much its character as the scale on which it is being started and the deep interest it has evoked both among the advocates of the Wardha Scheme and its critics. It is to be hoped that the enthusiasm for popular education stimulated by Mr. Gandhi will indeed be nation-wide and lasting.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vora & Co., Bombay, Feb., 1938, price Rs. 1-4. The book is divided into two parts with separate paginations. For the summary just quoted see pp. 110-111 (first pagination). The book includes a number of articles reprinted from Mr. Gandhi's paper, *Harijan*.

<sup>2</sup> *Educational Reconstruction*, p. 15 (first pagination).

<sup>3</sup> See *Educational Reconstruction*, p. 80 (second pagination).

<sup>4</sup> In many countries of the world there has, of course, long existed a network of voluntary agencies for adult education, of which accounts are given in the Bulletins

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A suggestion by Mr. Gandhi that no Government funds should in future be provided for universities, except to meet state needs, was, I think fortunately, not endorsed by the Wardha Conference. Its adoption would go far to kill higher education in India, and to lower the status of the country in the civilized world.

I do not wish to end my references to Mr. Gandhi on this note. One hears on many sides that the educated young Indian of to-day, whether Hindu or Muslim, is 'totally uninterested in religion'. That is true of large numbers; and yet the influence, the religious and inspiring influence, of Mr. Gandhi, who, unlike the religious recluse, combines mystical worship and solitary meditation with active work for his fellow creatures, is great. I should like to express my own sense of the spiritual value of his message of peace to his countrymen of all races and faiths, and to humanity, in a world now darkened by violence and the fear of war.

I cannot close without expressing my great indebtedness, first and foremost, to my wife, for her invaluable help in ways too many to enumerate; to my son, Geoffrey Hartog, who has given me untiring assistance; to my friends, Sir George Anderson and Professor F. W. Thomas, who have read the whole or a portion of the proofs and have

of the World Association for Adult Education and in detailed articles in the *Year Book of Education*. One of the English agencies, the National Adult School Union, has recently made an attempt to extend its activities to India. Indian reformers are, no doubt, giving special attention to the recent efforts on a large scale to 'liquidate illiteracy' in Russia and in China. For information in regard to the Russian effort Sir Bernard Pares has referred me to *Changing Man, the Education System of the U.S.S.R.* by Beatrice King; and Professor I. L. Kandel, of New York, has drawn to my notice the remarkable description by George I. Sánchez, in his book, *Mexico, A Revolution in Education*, of the great movement in popular education in a backward country.

Since this book was sent to the press, a Report on the Wardha Scheme has been issued by a Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education presided over by Mr. B. G. Kher, Prime Minister of Bombay, recommending the Scheme with a number of modifications, of which the most important are (1) that the age-range for compulsion should be from 6 to 14 years, (2) that in the lower classes there should be no single basic craft, (3) that diversion to any other kind of school should be allowed after the 5th class, (4) that 'the State should provide facilities as at present for every community to give religious teaching, when so desired, but not at the cost of the State', and (5) that no teacher should receive less than Rs. 20 per mensem.

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made valuable suggestions; to Mr. J. E. Parkinson, till recently Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, and to Mr. W. H. F. Armstrong, Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab, for copies of documents not available in this country; to Mr. W. T. Ottewill, Keeper of Records at the India Office, for his unfailing kindness and assistance in many ways; and to Mr. N. R. Malkani, M.A., one of Mr. Gandhi's disciples, to Sir Frank Brown, and to Professor R. L. Turner, Professor H. H. Dodwell, and Mr. C. H. Philips of the School of Oriental Studies, for information of different kinds.

Although the book is short, it includes much detail and many opportunities for making slips, for which I alone must be held responsible. I shall be grateful to any reader who will inform me of corrections which should be made if a second edition is called for.

P. J. H.

*December, 1938.*



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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Calcutta University Commission Report*.—Report of the Calcutta University Commission [presided over by Sir Michael Sadler]. (Calcutta, 1919.) [The Report comprises five volumes, together with eight volumes of Appendices, Memoranda, and Evidence.]
- Education in India, 1934-5* (and similar entries).—Education in India in 1934-35. (Delhi: Manager of Publications.) [NOTE.—This is an annual publication.]
- Hartog Report*.—Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission (Review of Growth of Education in British India by the Auxiliary Committee appointed by the Commission). (H.M. Stationery Office, Cmd. 3407, 1929.)
- History*.—History of Indigenous Education in the Panjab since Annexation and in 1882, by G. W. Leitner, LL.D. (Calcutta, 1882.) See also p. 93, footnote 1.
- Hunter Report*.—Report of the Indian Education Commission [presided over by Dr. (later Sir) William W. Hunter] appointed by the Resolution of the Government of India dated 3rd February 1882. (Calcutta, 1883.)
- Linlithgow Report*.—Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India [presided over by the Marquess of Linlithgow]. (H.M. Stationery Office, Cmd. 3132, 1928.)
- Long.—Adam's Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar, submitted to Government in 1835, 1836 and 1838. With a brief view of its past and present condition, by the Rev. J. Long. (Calcutta, 1868.) See also p. 76.
- Minutes of Evidence, &c.*—Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee [of the House of Commons] on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1832.
- Punjab Report*.—Appendix to the Indian Education Commission (Hunter) Report.—Report of the Panjab Provincial Committee, with Evidence taken before the Committee and Memoranda addressed to the Commission. (Calcutta, 1884.)
- Quinquennial Review, 1927-32* (and similar entries).—Progress of Education in India, 1927-32: Tenth Quinquennial Review. [NOTE.—The first volume of the series was entitled 'Review of Education in 1886', and covers the period 1881-2 to 1885-6 inclusive. The second volume was entitled 'Progress of Education in India, 1887-88 to 1891-92: Second Quinquennial Review', but it actually covers the six-year period 1886-7 to 1891-2. The third, with a similar title, covers the period 1892-3 to 1896-7. The fifth bears the dates 1902-07, and this nomenclature has been continued.]
- Richey, *Selections*.—Bureau of Education, India. Selections from Educational Records, Part II, 1840-1859, by J. A. Richey, C.I.E. (Calcutta, Superintendent Government Printing, India, 1922.)
- Sadler Report*. See under *Calcutta University Commission Report*.
- Sharp, *Selections*.—Bureau of Education, India. Selections from Educational Records, Part I, 1781-1839, by H. Sharp, C.S.I., C.I.E. (Calcutta, Superintendent Government Printing, India, 1920.)
- Simon Report*.—Report of the Indian Statutory Commission [presided over by Sir John Simon]. (H.M. Stationery Office, Cmd. 3568 and 3569, 1930. 2 vols.)

## LECTURE I

### THE CREATION OF THE PRESENT EDUCATION SYSTEM

#### *Introductory*

I PROPOSE to speak to you of the development during the last 150 years of the education of a country which now (excluding Burma) has a population of nearly 340 million people, with a great diversity of languages, and fundamental differences of belief. It has been no small affair.

In 1936 there were in British India<sup>1</sup> altogether over a quarter of a million educational institutions including primary, secondary, and technical schools, with nearly 14 million pupils. There are in British India fifteen modern universities<sup>2</sup> with nearly 120,000 students, besides the modern universities in the Indian States of Mysore, Hyderabad, and Travancore.

In this brief course I can only deal with certain aspects of this development which seem to me of major importance. I shall perforce have to leave untouched other aspects that may well seem of equal importance to others. I propose only to quote statistics with discretion. It is a perspective that I wish to give you, rather than a report.

Picture to yourselves a group of some twenty or thirty men and boys in Indian dress, in a large room in the University of Calcutta; all are seated on the ground except two small boys who stand, and with rhythmical movement up and down of their outstretched palms, chant by heart verses from the Vedas, with intonations that, I imagine, go back for 3,000 years or more. That is one of my earliest impressions of Indian education.

Not long ago the work of Sir C. V. Raman on one of the most modern branches of physics won for him world-wide fame, and a Nobel prize; and the year before I retired from the Vice-Chancellor-

<sup>1</sup> That is India excluding the Indian States (but including Burma), with a population of 271,527,000, according to the 1931 Census.

<sup>2</sup> There is also a university at Rangoon, in Burma.

*Some Aspects of Indian Education*

ship of the University of Dacca, I read in the *Zeitschrift für Physik* a note by Einstein on a translation by himself of a paper by Mr. Satyendra Nath Bose, then a young University Reader in Physics (now Professor), saying that Mr. Bose's paper was an important contribution to the theory of light quanta, one of the latest and most fundamental theories of physics, and that he, Einstein, intended to apply Mr. Bose's methods to some of his own work.<sup>1</sup>

So you have in India the most ancient and the most modern, East and West, combined as perhaps in no other country in the world, a country in which the tradition of education is perhaps the oldest.

*Condition of Indian cultures during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries*

'Education', says Professor F. W. Thomas, one of the greatest living indologists, 'is no exotic in India. There is no country where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence. 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.'<sup>2</sup>

This statement, though true, gives us but a fraction of our historic picture.

The history of India from time immemorial is a history of successive invasions and penetrations, warlike and peaceful; and a history of the superposition of successive cultures, or at least their introduction alongside those of the eight or nine millions of primitive peoples still to be found in the great sub-continent. Besides the Hindu culture, which goes back three thousand years or more, there is the Islamic culture introduced by waves of Muslim invaders of different origins, who came through the north-western passes from the end of the twelfth century to the middle of the eighteenth, and Western culture, introduced mainly by traders and invaders from the east and west coasts, and by missionaries, from the beginning of the sixteenth century onwards.

Of Indian education in early times I must leave others more com-

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift für Physik*, vol. xxvi, pp. 178-81 (1924).

<sup>2</sup> *The History and Prospects of British Education in India*, by F. W. Thomas, 1891, p. 1. This book is a valuable source for documentary information, of which I have made considerable use.

petent than myself to speak. It is known that even in the fourth century B.C., at the time of Alexander, Taxila in the north-west was a great centre of learning, and much later, from the fifth century on, Nalanda near Patna in the north-east, and other places, became centres of learning which have been called universities.

But the present universities of India are entirely of Western origin. During the struggles of Hindus with Muslim invaders, and later of Moguls with Marathas, there was no evolution of guilds of teachers like that which led to the creation of European universities in the latter part of the Middle Ages; and at the end of the eighteenth, and the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the Governor-General and the East India Company began to direct their attention to the problem of education, there is no doubt that Indian culture, Hindu and Muslim, though not dead was dormant.<sup>1</sup>

One of the most significant proofs of the small interest of the upper classes, Hindu and Muslim, in the spread of education, and one to which little, if any, attention has been directed hitherto, is the fact that though Indian scholars must have been aware of the invention of printing, it was left to European missionaries of various creeds, and European administrators, and European scholars, to introduce the printing-press into India. Akbar, that great monarch, one of the greatest in history, contemporary with our Elizabeth, learned himself though probably illiterate, is said to have drawn up a list of subjects which every boy should learn, hardly less formidable than that of Milton in his famous *Tractate on Education*. But though he might have done so, Akbar did not suggest the printing of text-books for scholars or for schools.

Indian education at this time seems to have been mainly in the hands of individuals rather than institutions, though there were permanent clusters of teachers in some places, e.g. Benares and Nadiyā; and here I must say a word on that relation of *guru* to *chela*, of teacher to disciple, inseparable from the tradition of Hindu education. It is a relation of unselfish learning and devotion on the one side, of profound respect on the other. To the Brahmin *guru* teaching is no lucrative profession,

<sup>1</sup> William Adam, an unprejudiced critic, of whom I shall have more to say later, wrote in 1838: 'The native mind of the present day, although it is asleep, is not dead.' See his *Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar*, Long's edition, p. 198.

but its own reward; the Institutes of Manu forbade the payment of fees; the *guru* lived on a minimum and sometimes fed his own scholars; and we shall perhaps find the reflection of that ideal in what seem to us the absurdly low stipends of Indian teachers in primary schools. There is a tendency among some patriotic Indians at the present day to regard the old relation of *guru* to *chela* as an ideal to which moderns might well aspire. Against this suggestion a prominent modern nationalist, the late Lala Lajpat Rai, protested emphatically; he regarded the system as having a tendency to enslave the pupil's mind.

However that may be, the long history of the development of Indian philosophy and culture shows that there must have been a succession of pupils who were not enslaved. But, as I have indicated, by the time of Warren Hastings that succession had come to an end among the Hindu intelligentsia; and Muhammadan learning was no better off. Among Hindus and Muslims there was a transmission of learning; but the transmission had become merely self-perpetuating, and otherwise barren. A similar phenomenon is not unknown in the West.

*The first influence: missionary efforts*

It was this state of things that Warren Hastings and his administrative contemporaries and successors sought to remedy. But before I deal with them I must say a word of non-governmental agencies destined to exert an immense influence on Indian popular education—I mean the influence of missionaries, and in the first place non-British missionaries.<sup>1</sup> The first books which seem to have been printed in an Indian vernacular were those printed in Tamil by Jesuits, in 1577 and 1598, at Ambalakata.<sup>2</sup> The first Protestant missionaries to print books were the Danes at Tranquebar on the south-east coast. The mission passed later into the hands of two English teaching missionary

<sup>1</sup> For the history of missionary educational effort in India, see Thomas, *op. cit.*, *Christianity and the Government of India*, by Arthur Mayhew (Faber & Gwyer, 1929), and the *Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India*, presided over by Dr. A. D. Lindsay (Oxford University Press, 1931). The missionary societies have published many reports, but the above are general works dealing with this subject. Mr. Mayhew's book has a useful bibliography. See also *Village Education in India*, by Rev. A. G. Fraser and others (Oxford University Press, 1920).

<sup>2</sup> *Transactions and Proceedings of the Second International Library Conference of 1897*, 'Introduction of European Printing into the East', by R. Garnett, p. 6.

societies. Though small, the mission was important, because it incited numerous English sects to follow its example. In 1761 a translation of the Bible and of text-books into Tamil and Telugu was made by a second English mission at Vepery, near Madras. In 1760 a great German missionary, C. F. Schwartz, visited India and established a number of schools in what is now the Madras Presidency. In 1793 the Baptists established a mission in Bengal. But all these missions were small affairs, and Dr. Thomas doubts whether in 1800 more than 1,000 Indian children were receiving instruction in Indian mission schools.

The attitude of the East India Company towards all missionary effort was at the time suspicious, if not hostile. Later (to quote Mr. Arthur Mayhew) it was 'non-committal'. The Company seriously feared lest political trouble should arise from the one cause which really excited the Indian peoples—the cause of religion. But pressure was exerted on them not only from the outside but the inside. Charles Grant, himself a Director of the Company, had in 1792 written a book urging the introduction of Western religion and Western education into India,<sup>1</sup> and under the influence of William Wilberforce, Grant, and the 'Clapham Sect'<sup>2</sup> the House of Commons in 1793 accepted a pious resolution stating that measures ought to be adopted for securing the advancement of India in 'useful knowledge' and 'religious and moral improvement', though they rejected a proposal providing for the dispatch of 'a sufficient number' of schoolmasters and missionaries to be maintained by the governments of the presidencies; and the Company was very chary of granting licences to missionaries.<sup>3</sup>

William Carey, quondam cobbler, great scholar, and enthusiastic Baptist, after one unsuccessful attempt to reach India, got himself

<sup>1</sup> This book, entitled *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, &c.*, was printed in an appendix to the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1832.

<sup>2</sup> See Prof. R. Coupland, *Wilberforce* (Clarendon Press, 1923), pp. 248-52 and 383-8.

<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to trace the whole story of the resolution, but reference may be made to the Journals of the House of Commons, vol. xlviii, pp. 778, 792, and 803; to Ashwell and Wilberforce's *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. ii, pp. 24-7, 392, and passim; to H. Morris's *Life of Charles Grant* (1904), pp. 182-3; and to Sir J. W. Kaye's *Christianity in India* (1859), passim.



smuggled ashore from a Danish ship in a native boat, eluding the port officials;<sup>1</sup> and, after six years' unlicensed stay in Calcutta, in 1800 joined four Baptist families, who had been 'dumped' by a Danish ship in the then Danish settlement of Serampore. Wellesley, the Governor-General, had asked for the expulsion of these 'interlopers', and had been defied by the Danish Governor. But Wellesley soon changed his mind about Carey, who became Professor of Bengali, Sanskrit, and Marathi in the short-lived School of Oriental Languages of the Company at Fort William (Calcutta). Carey went back to Serampore, and with his colleagues, Joshua Marshman and William Ward, made it the most famous missionary centre in India, and one of the great influences in Indian education and culture. In 1806 it was engaged with seventeen languages. But above all it is the glory of Carey to have given an immense stimulus to modern Bengali literature, which owes its recrudescence to him—a fact fully recognized by Dr. S. K. De in his history of the subject.<sup>2</sup> The missionary college of Serampore still preserves its ancient charter of 1827, conferred by the Danish Government. It was only in 1845 that Serampore became British.

The missionary movement in India has been imbued from the first with a zeal not only for religion but for spreading secular knowledge in the vernaculars as well as in English, and has been a great and inspiring factor in Indian education in all its stages. In recent years its influence has been specially marked in the fields of girls' education and rural education.

One of the remarkable features of the movement is the confidence placed by Indian parents in the Christian missionaries, that without their permission no attempt will be made to proselytize among the pupils. In my early days in India I often asked Indian parents who told me that they intended sending their sons to a missionary college whether they wished them to become Christians. The reply was 'No, but we wish them to come under Christian influences'. As one who belongs to another faith, I desire to bear my testimony to the noble and unselfish work of Christian educators in India, men and women.

<sup>1</sup> Mayhew, *Christianity and the Government of India*, chap. iv.

<sup>2</sup> *Bengali Literature in the Nineteenth Century*, by S. K. De (Calcutta, 1919), p. 127 et seq.

*The second influence: Government policy 1781-1823*

I must turn back now to follow from its source, later in its origin than missionary effort, but of even greater importance, the stream of Government influence.

When the British in the years following Plassey (1757) took over from the titular Emperor, Shah Alam, the administration of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa they took over a decadent government, very different from that of the Great Moguls and their vicegerents. The glory of Akbar and his immediate successors had departed. It was the object of Warren Hastings, whose rule began in 1773—I quote here from a recent and authoritative work of Miss Sophia Weitzman—to establish a new system of government based upon ‘two cardinal principles—the revival and readjustment of native institutions where possible and the welfare of the peasantry on whose industry, in the ultimate resort, the prosperity of the provinces depended’.<sup>1</sup>

Hastings was a master of Bengali and of Persian, and had a good working knowledge of Urdu.<sup>2</sup> He encouraged Sir Charles Wilkins, who set up an Oriental printing-press in Calcutta, and the great Sir William Jones, the two men who originated the modern scientific study of Sanskrit and who first translated great Sanskrit classics, to establish the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

But as an administrator Hastings had a more immediate interest in encouraging Indian culture, and among Indians rather than among Europeans. It was his avowed object to found the authority of the British Government in Bengal on its own ancient laws;<sup>3</sup> and here the help of Indian scholars, Hindu and Muslim, was essential, but difficult to find. And again, Hastings wished to reduce some of that inequality in educational qualifications between Hindu and Muslim which still so often blocks administrative advance all over India.

In 1781 Hastings established the first important Government educational institution in India—the Calcutta Muhammadan College, or Madrassa, of which the main and special object was ‘to qualify the sons of Mohammedan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices

<sup>1</sup> *Warren Hastings and Philip Francis* (Manchester University Press, 1929), p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Oxford History of India*, by Vincent A. Smith (Oxford University Press), p. 514.

<sup>3</sup> Vincent Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 514.

of the State', offices even at that date largely monopolized by the Hindus.

Hastings for two years defrayed the cost of the institution from his private purse, but was afterwards repaid. A document of the time shows that Hastings had acted after receiving a petition from Muhammadans<sup>1</sup> 'of credit and learning' asking him to retain in Calcutta the services of a stranger named Mudgid O'din for the instruction of young students in Muhammadan law and in other sciences commonly taught in Muhammadan schools; they pointed out the decline of learning with the decline of the Mogul Empire; and the care that had occasionally been exercised by the Government in selecting men of the first eminence in the science of jurisprudence to officiate as judges in the criminal, and as assessors in the civil, Courts of Judicature.<sup>2</sup>

The next important teaching institution founded by Government was a Sanskrit College (still flourishing, like the Calcutta Madrassa); it was established at Benares in 1792 by Jonathan Duncan, the British Resident, with the sanction of Hastings's successor, Cornwallis. Duncan asked for the establishment of a Hindu College or Academy 'for the preservation and cultivation of the Laws, Literature and Religion of that nation, at this centre of their faith, and the common resort of all their tribes'.<sup>3</sup> He pointed to the great difficulty of collecting complete treatises on Hindu religion, art, laws, and sciences, and he specially hoped that the institution, 'by preserving and disseminating a knowledge of the Hindoo Law and proving a nursery of future doctors and expounders thereof', would 'assist the European judges in the due, regular, and uniform administration of its genuine letter and spirit to the body of the people'.<sup>4</sup> The Brahmins were to have special privileges, but the scholars were 'to be examined four times a year in the presence of the Resident in all such parts of knowledge as are not held too sacred to be discussed in the presence of any but Brahmins'.<sup>5</sup> (I have

<sup>1</sup> For those unacquainted with the East, I may say here that the terms Muhammadan, Muslim, and Mussulman (with their variations in spelling) are equivalents.

<sup>2</sup> *Selections from Educational Records*, Part I (1781-1839), by (Sir) H. Sharp, C.S.I., C.I.E. (Bureau of Education, India, 1920), pp. 7, 8. This volume, and Part II (1840-59), published by Mr. J. A. Richey, C.I.E., in 1922, contain a series of documents indispensable for the study of European education in India.

<sup>3</sup> Sharp, *Selections*, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

been told that within the last thirty years certain Brahmin teachers in the University of Calcutta refused to teach the Vedas to a non-Brahmin.) The professor of medicine was to be a Vaidya (member of the doctor caste), but Duncan thought it better that all the other teachers should be Brahmins.

It has been sometimes suggested that the decadence of Indian scholarship at this time, lamented by British administrators, was actually due to British influence. But this theory is singularly unconvincing. There is no evidence that in the vast areas of the Indian States over which Britain has never exercised any administrative control Indian culture was at a higher level than elsewhere. The intellectual revival in states like Baroda and Hyderabad is of a much later date.

Lord Minto in a Minute of 1811, addressed to the East India Company, repeats the story of Hastings and of Duncan in a more emphatic form. 'It is a common remark', he says, 'that science and literature are in a progressive state of decay among the natives of India.' He apprehends that 'unless Government interpose with a fostering hand the revival of letters may shortly become hopeless from a want of books or of persons capable of explaining them'; and suggests additional grants and the foundation of new colleges both for Hindus and Muhammadans.<sup>1</sup>

The next move was to come from England. It was due to the efforts of Grant and Wilberforce, of whom I have spoken, and of Zachary Macaulay and other members of the Clapham circle. They succeeded in getting into the East India Company Act of 1813 a clause allowing the Governor-General in Council to spend not less than a lac of rupees (then equal to £10,000) yearly, for two purposes: (1) the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and (2) the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India.<sup>2</sup>

A letter from the Directors of the Company in 1814 in connexion with the Act draws attention to the desirability of encouraging the study of Sanskrit learning and sciences by those destined for govern-

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 19 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 22; see also Coupland's *Wilberforce*, pp. 387-8.

ment service. It suggests, somewhat vaguely, that the discussion of Indian sciences with the Indians might lead them to adopt 'modern improvements in those and other sciences'. And for the first time an important official document speaks of encouraging and endowing *village teachers* (of whom we shall presently say more) and of thereby rendering them public servants of the community.<sup>1</sup> A Minute of Lord Moira of 1815 again regards the 'humble but valuable class of village schoolmasters' as claiming the first place in his discussion.<sup>2</sup> It refers further to the establishment of modern schools for the administrative districts called 'zillas'; and it regards 'the immediate encouragement of the superior descriptions of science' by bounties to 'existing native colleges' as 'a project altogether delusive'.<sup>3</sup> Moira had found that the students at the Benares College, which he had inspected, only learnt by rote.<sup>4</sup> He suggests that 'the moral duties require encouragement and experiment'—an odd but suggestive phrase; and that the 'arts which adorn and embellish life' will follow in due course. 'In proportion', he says, 'as we have found intellect neglected and sterile here, the obligation is the stronger on us to cultivate it. The field is noble: may we till it worthily!' There is evidence here of real comprehension and enthusiasm: we hear again the note struck by Warren Hastings. But until 1823 hardly any active steps were taken to carry out the intention of the Act of 1813.

*The third influence: Ram Mohan Roy and David Hare*

In the meanwhile a third stream of educational influence had risen in Bengal, private and secular, one as fertile as the missionary movement, though perhaps more difficult to distinguish and trace out in its future course. David Hare, a rationalist watchmaker of Calcutta, joined hands with a remarkable Hindu and Sanskrit scholar, Ram Mohan Roy, founder of a new religious sect, the *Brahmo Samaj*, and one of the greatest figures in Indian education. Together they set on foot a society of Indians and Europeans to promote Western education in India. They had a courage wanting to Government at the time. In 1817 they established the Hindu College or *Vidyalaya*, which developed later, on the one hand into the Presidency College, Calcutta,

<sup>1</sup> Sharp, *Selections*, pp. 22-4.   <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.   <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.   <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

the premier Government college of India, and on the other into the David Hare School. Schools created by their pupils, English-teaching schools, sprang up all over Bengal. The desire for learning English was perhaps partly due to the desire for entering the Company's service, but until 1836 it received little encouragement or stimulus from Government. In its first stages the development of what is still called in India 'English Education' was due to no deep-seated desire of Great Britain to westernize Indian education. It was spontaneous and voluntary.

*First Government surveys of indigenous schools*

But Government soon began to stir in the matter of school education; in Madras under Sir Thomas Munro; in Bombay under Mountstuart Elphinstone; in Bengal under Lord William Bentinck. Munro, who began his educational survey in 1822, reported in 1826 that in the Madras Presidency<sup>1</sup> there were some 12,500 schools and 'what are called colleges' for a population of 12,850,000—or one school to every 1,000 of population; or, as the number of girls in schools was very small, one school to every 500 of the male population. I have grave doubts as to the accuracy of these figures (see pages 71–2 below).

The corresponding work of Elphinstone in Bombay was begun in 1823. In a report of 1829 it was stated that in the Presidency there were in all 1,705 schools with 35,143 scholars for 4,681,735 inhabitants, or, say, one school for 2,700 inhabitants in round figures; and that, as in Madras, there was little trace of female education. Twenty-five schools with 1,315 scholars were maintained by Government, and there were 1,680 village schools with 33,838 scholars.<sup>2</sup>

The discrepancy between the Bombay figures and the Madras figures is striking. I shall come to the Bengal survey, which is of great importance, a little later.

*Bengal Committee of Public Instruction. Orientalists and Anglicists.  
The Macaulay Minute*

In Bengal a Committee of Public Instruction was set up in 1823, but it spent its money largely in printing Oriental classics; it subsidized the Madrassa and founded a Sanskrit College in Calcutta in spite of the

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 72 and 74, below.

famous protest by Ram Mohan Roy to Lord Amherst that it would be a retrograde step 'calculated', he said, 'to keep this country in darkness'.<sup>1</sup> The committee also subsidized some educational societies. Inside the committee a bitter struggle soon arose between the 'Orientalists', who desired to give all higher teaching through the medium of the classical languages of India (Sanskrit for the Hindus, Arabic and Persian for the Muslims), and the 'Anglicists' who wished to give higher teaching through the medium of English.

It was admitted on both sides—a fact often overlooked—that the instruction of the mass of the people through the medium of their own language, i.e. the vernacular, was the ultimate object to be kept in view. In one of their annual reports the Committee of Public Instruction wrote, 'we conceive the formation of a vernacular literature to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed'. Munro in Madras, Elphinstone in Bombay, and later Thomason in the North-West Provinces advocated no less warmly the encouragement of vernacular teaching for the masses.

The struggle between Orientalists and Anglicists was decisively settled by the famous Minute of Macaulay in 1835,<sup>2</sup> and by two Minutes, of Lord William Bentinck in 1835, and of his successor, Lord Auckland, in 1839, endorsing Macaulay's policy. The schools for Oriental learning were maintained, but the translations into Sanskrit and Arabic were discontinued. The system of 'English Education' was adopted and encouraged by Government, and developed alongside the vernacular schools.

I am purposely saying little about Macaulay's Minute, because it has been so often quoted and referred to. Macaulay was totally ignorant of the treasures of Sanskrit learning, and his policy towards Sanskrit and Arabic was in some ways retrograde. His prediction that with European education India would be automatically converted to Christianity was a palpable error in judgement. But he has been unduly maligned; his aims were honourable, and they were democratic. He wished to give every intellectual opportunity to the Indians, to help

<sup>1</sup> Sharp, *Selections*, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> 2 February, 1835. It is reprinted in *Macaulay's Minutes on Education in India*, collected by H. Woodrow (Calcutta, 1862), pp. 104-16, and also in the *Calcutta University Commission Report*, vol. vi.

them to develop their own vernacular literatures, and in the meantime to give them higher education through English. More than that—a fact often forgotten, but pointed out by Sir Valentine Chirol—he wished to give them through education not only educational but political opportunity.

In the great peroration to his speech of 10 July, 1833, on the East India Company Bill, delivered shortly before he went to India, he said: 'It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system until it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it. Whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in English history.'<sup>1</sup>

Macaulay would not have been surprised by the Reforms of 1919 or by the Government of India Act of 1935. We may well suppose that he would have gloried in them.

Two other events about this time gave an added stimulus in Bengal to vernacular education: the conferment of the freedom of the press in 1835, and the substitution, in 1837, in the lower courts, of the vernacular for the Persian medium inherited from Mogul times. An unfortunate and unforeseen effect of the latter measure was the discouragement of education among the Muhammadans, with grave effects. To this point I shall return later. I will only say here that the reluctance of Muhammadans for Western education was largely based on the real though unfounded fear that it would lead to Christian proselytization on a large scale.

*Adam's Reports on Bengal schools, 1835-8*

I come now to the Reports of William Adam, a missionary who had been seventeen years in India when, at his own suggestion, he was appointed by Lord William Bentinck in January 1835, 100 years ago, to survey what was called 'native education' in Bengal and Bihar.

Adam wrote three Reports<sup>2</sup> which, to quote a famous phrase, 'are more celebrated than known'. In his first Report of February, 1835,

<sup>1</sup> *Speeches of Lord Macaulay*, corrected by himself (Longmans, 1886), p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> These Reports are dealt with in detail in a special Memorandum, pp. 75-91, below. There are also further references to them in the second lecture.



he gives most interesting descriptions of typical schools and of typical teachers, based partly, it would seem, on personal knowledge, to which I shall refer later. But he also gives educational statistics based on certain general statements made by others. He suggests that normally every Indian village has a village school, and that on a very moderate calculation Bengal and Bihar, with a population of 40,000,000, possessed 100,000 schools. Those 100,000 schools appear again and again: in the work of Arthur Howell, an Under-Secretary to the Government of India; in the Report of 1882 of G. W. Leitner on Indigenous Education in the Punjab; even in the valuable *Selections from Educational Records* of Sir Henry Sharp,<sup>1</sup> to whose official labours as Secretary to the Government of India, and as Educational Commissioner, Indian education owes a great debt; and they appear in violent attacks on the British Government. The statistics collected on the spot by Francis Buchanan (afterwards called Hamilton) in Dinajpur in 1808, and by Adam himself, show clearly that the 100,000 schools—on which a great legend has been built up of the terrible deterioration in education and literacy in Bengal during the past 100 years—could never have existed.

Buchanan (afterwards called Hamilton) reported that in 1808 the population of the district of Dinajpur was 3 millions (2,100,000 Muhammadans and 900,000 Hindus); that it had 22 police subdivisions or *thanas*, of which 13 altogether contained 119 elementary Hindu schools, and nine Persian ones; and that there were 9 *thanas* with no elementary schools whatever. If Adam's first estimate had been correct, and the schools equally distributed, the three million people of Dinajpur should have had 7,500 elementary schools. When they were counted there were only 128. There were in addition 16 higher Hindu schools.

Adam himself found that in the districts he surveyed, for a population of 5,875,000 people there were 2,632 schools of every description or 1 school to about 2,230 inhabitants. If these 5,875,000 people could be taken as typical of Bengal and Bihar, there would have been in the whole area (with about 35½ million inhabitants),<sup>2</sup> not 100,000 schools

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> The population which Adam assigns to Bengal and Bihar in his Third Report (*Long*, p. 250) is 35,460,402, as against the 40 millions of his original estimate.

but under 16,000, including the schools of learning. So much for the 100,000 schools.<sup>1</sup>

Adam made a census of literacy of which I have no time to speak here in detail. But I may say that for the areas he surveyed in Bengal, the adult male literacy percentage was 9·8, and for Bengal in 1931 it was 20·1; for the areas he surveyed in Bihar the adult male literacy percentage was 4·9 and for Bihar and Orissa in 1931 it was 10·8.<sup>2</sup> It is impossible for me to do justice to Adam's vivid descriptions or to his work in the course of this brief survey, though I shall return to certain points later. His fundamental idea was, like that of Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1823, that elementary indigenous schools, though miserably inefficient, should form the basis of a scheme of popular education.

Adam's proposals for developing education in Bengal, largely by encouraging the teachers of the primary schools by a Government system of examinations and rewards and by the printing of text-books, were rejected, and he resigned in disgust. His idea of building up on the basis of the elementary Indian schools appears again, but only to be rejected once more in a famous Minute of Lord Auckland, as Governor-General, in 1839. It had a better fate in the United Provinces.

*Attempts to spread education first from above and then from below*

The struggle between Anglicists and Orientalists in Bengal had its counterpart in Bombay, but there the struggle was on different issues. The rivals for the medium of instruction in Bombay were English and the vernacular native languages—not, as in Bengal, English on the one hand and Sanskrit and Persian or Arabic on the other.

The influence of Elphinstone had made itself felt in the Bombay teaching, and Lord Auckland refers particularly to the Bombay example. But Lord Auckland's principal aim was 'to communicate through the means of the English language a complete education in European Literature, Philosophy, and Science to the greatest number

<sup>1</sup> In Bengal and Bihar and Orissa there were in 1931-2, for boys and girls, altogether 93,364 primary and secondary schools (*Quinquennial Review*, 1927-32, vol. ii, pp. 96, 115, and 156). The total population of Bengal and of Bihar and Orissa in 1931 was 87,800,000.

<sup>2</sup> I have dealt with this matter more fully in the Memorandum on Adam, especially on pp. 84-5.

of students who may be found ready to accept it at our hands, and for whose instruction our funds will admit of our providing'.<sup>1</sup>

Lord Auckland's document is perhaps the clearest in its emphasis on what is known as the 'filtration theory', a theory which did not ignore popular education, but held that the way to reach the masses was through the educated classes. There is obviously some truth in the theory. You must educate teachers before you can educate pupils. But the spontaneous filtration to the masses which Government expected to take place did not occur. Voluntary effort in India at the time was rare and discontinuous. The people were prepared to take orders, they originated nothing. Adam is eloquent on the point.<sup>2</sup> Even the important Hindu College fell on evil days; in 1824, seven years after its foundation, it received a Government subsidy of Rs. 24,000, and finally developed into two Government institutions, as we have already mentioned. The Elphinstone Institution in Bombay, initiated in 1827 by Indian subscriptions, was supported by Government and became a Government college. But it was Auckland's Minute,<sup>3</sup> perhaps more than anything previous to it, which stimulated the creation of those typical institutions the 'Arts Colleges', of which there are now in British India about 260, the forerunners of the Indian affiliating universities, of which they have become units. The Hooghly school had already become a Government college in 1836. Following Auckland's Minute, Dacca College was created in 1841, Krishnagar College in 1845, Berhampur College in 1853. And alongside these Government colleges, the missionaries under the influence of Carey and his colleagues, Joshua Marshman and Ward, and that great Scottish enthusiast and fighter, Alexander Duff, were steadily raising their educational aims; the higher departments of their schools were being converted into Arts Colleges.

In contrast to this development of colleges we have the policy of Lord Hardinge, Governor-General, 1844-8, to begin in Bengal at the other end of the scale with the primary schools, and its failure.

In 1845 Lord Hardinge decided that preference in Government employment, that unrivalled attraction in India, should be given to

<sup>1</sup> Sharp, *Selections*, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> Long, p. 252 et seq.

<sup>3</sup> Para. 35, see Sharp, *Selections*, p. 167.

those who could read and write,<sup>1</sup> and apart from the few Government secondary 'zilla' schools, he established 101 primary schools. At the end of ten years only 26 of these schools had survived. They charged a small fee.

'But', says Mr. Stark in his book on Vernacular Education, 'perhaps the chief cause was that the schools were too purely vernacular for the tastes of the people. Some of the local officers reported that the cry for instruction in English was universal, and that the boys at school thrust their vernacular books into the hands of the teachers and insisted on being taught English.'<sup>2</sup>

In Madras some vernacular schools, established under Sir Thomas Munro, died out for want of pupils.<sup>3</sup> In parts of the Bombay presidency, though not in Gujarat, the results were better (see p. 19 below).

Lord Dalhousie, Hardinge's able and energetic successor, did not accept the failure of the scheme. In 1853 he called on the Council of Education to revive Adam's plans for popular vernacular education, in the light of the fruit they had borne under Thomason in the North-Western Provinces.

*The great Despatch of 1854. Grants-in-aid. Creation of Education Departments and universities. Despatch of 1859*

In the meantime new plans for Indian education had been elaborated in England, of a momentous character. A great parliamentary inquiry was held before the East India Company's Charter was renewed in 1853. The most important witnesses were Sir Charles Trevelyan, Macaulay's brother-in-law, John Clark Marshman (son of Joshua Marshman), and Alexander Duff. It led up to the Despatch of 1854 from Sir Charles Wood (later Viscount Halifax, and grandfather of the present Lord Halifax), who was then 'President of the Board of Control' of the East India Company. The office was replaced in 1858 by that of Secretary of State for India.

H. R. James, in his *Education and Statesmanship in India*, says, and I think rightly, that the Despatch of 1854 is 'the climax in the history of

<sup>1</sup> *Vernacular Education in Bengal from 1813 to 1912*, by H. A. Stark (Calcutta, 1916), p. 66. This is a valuable book of reference.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> Despatch of 1859, para. 16, reprinted in Part II of the *Selections from Educational Records* (1840-59), by Mr. J. A. Richey.

Indian education: what goes before leads up to it: what follows flows from it'.<sup>1</sup> It is one of the most statesmanlike and most democratic documents in the history of educational administration; and if any one repeats the suggestion that the British Government designed Indian education with a view to creating a 'slave mentality', he may be referred to the Despatch of 1854.

It imposed on the Government of India the duty of creating a properly articulated system of education, from the primary school to the university; and perhaps its most notable feature was the emphasis which it laid on primary education, and therefore its implicit repudiation of the more extreme forms of the 'filtration theory'.<sup>2</sup> In order to carry out its policy, the Despatch prescribed the following measures: the constitution in each presidency and lieutenant-governorship of a separate department for the administration of education, with an adequate system of inspection; the institution of universities in the presidency towns; the establishment of institutions for training teachers for all classes of schools; the maintenance of the existing Government colleges and high schools, and the increase of their number when necessary; increased attention to vernacular schools, both for secondary and for primary education; and the introduction of a system of grants-in-aid. The Despatch laid great stress on the importance of encouraging the study of vernaculars as the only possible media for mass education, and recommended the institution of a comprehensive system of scholarships to connect all grades of the educational system. It further expressed sympathy for the causes of female education and Muhammadan education; it advocated the opening of schools and colleges for technical instruction; and it insisted on a policy of perfect religious neutrality. It should be added that the Despatch looked forward to a time when any general system of education provided by Government might be gradually discontinued, with the advance of the system of grants-in-aid, and when the management, especially of the higher institutions, might be handed over to local bodies under the control of, or aided by, the State.

Small wonder that Lord Dalhousie should have said that the scheme was far wider and more comprehensive than anything the

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> See *Report of the Calcutta University Commission* (1919), vol. i, p. 39.

Local or Supreme Government could ever have ventured to suggest. 'It leaves', he said, 'nothing to be desired, if, indeed, it does not authorize and direct that more should be done than is within our grasp.'<sup>1</sup> Clearly the policy expressed something vaster than a 'Five Year Plan' or even a 'Twenty Year Plan'. It led to immediate results, though to results far greater at first in the sphere of university and secondary than of primary education.

The now familiar departments under Directors of Public Instruction, which play so important a part in Indian education, were established in 1855. Dalhousie, in his Minute of 30 December, 1854, thought the creation of a 'Secretary to Government in the Education Department' on a salary of Rs. 3,333 per mensem, proposed by the Madras Government, 'uncalled for and inexpedient'. He preferred a 'Director of Public Instruction' on a salary of Rs. 3,000.<sup>2</sup> I do not know when the arrangement of having both a Director and a Secretary to Government was initiated, with all the duplication that this has involved. Besides the directorships, inspectorships and minor offices were set up.

The next step, Dalhousie thought, should be the establishment of universities, and the three Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras were set up in 1857 as examining bodies, with powers to affiliate colleges, on the model first adopted by the University of London. I leave this topic, as I think it will be convenient to postpone most of what I have to say on universities to a later lecture.

In 1859, after the Mutiny, the British Government, now represented by a Secretary of State, sent a second Despatch in continuation of that of 1854. Perhaps the most important announcement in the long document was that grants-in-aid had failed to produce a system of primary schools. A statement is quoted from a Bengal officer, Mr. Henry Woodrow, that 'the poorest classes do not want schools at all, because they are too poor to pay schooling-fees and subscriptions, and because the labour of the children is required to enable them to live. The middle and upper classes will make no sort of sacrifice for the establishment of any but English schools.' An Inspector from Gujarat reported the same condition of affairs in Western India.<sup>3</sup> With all the

<sup>1</sup> See Richey, *Selections*, p. 364, and Stark, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> See Richey, *Selections*, pp. 395-6 and 397.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 440.

changes that have taken place, even to-day in Bengal there is much the same feeling in favour of English.

The Minute stated that 'H.M. Government can entertain little doubt that the grant-in-aid system, as hitherto in force, is unsuited to the supply of vernacular education to the masses of the population', and it suggested that other measures should be tried, among them an education rate.<sup>1</sup> It pointed out specifically that there was not the same objection to grants-in-aid for English and anglo-vernacular schools.<sup>2</sup>

A suggestion had been made that one of the causes of the Mutiny itself had been unrest caused by the policy of the Despatch of 1854 and the immixture of Government in education. But there was little evidence in support of it.<sup>3</sup>

#### *Development of secondary education*

The secondary schools—middle schools and high schools, as they are now called—were then mainly under Government or European management, but the grant-in-aid system produced results far more rapidly in secondary than in primary education; the typical English 'high school', with English taught throughout, and English as a medium of instruction in the highest classes leading up to the matriculation examination, was very largely produced by that system, and its success was so great that many high schools were created by Indian effort, without Government aid. This was, I think, an outcome of the policy of Ram Mohan Roy and David Hare. By 1882 there were in Bengal alone 156 high schools under Indian management, of which only 96 received grants-in-aid. Both in 1864 and in 1866 the Secretary of State suggested that grant-in-aid rules should interfere 'as little as possible with the free action of those who may seek under their operation to promote the spread of education among the masses of the people'.<sup>4</sup>

In the opinion of many, the control of secondary education by Government has been too small, and its inspection insufficient; but secondary education (at least, elsewhere than in Madras), however free from Government control, has been in the much tighter grip of the

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 445.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 446.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 426 and 450.

<sup>4</sup> See *Report of the Calcutta University Commission*, vol. i, pp. 88-90.

matriculation system, against which we hear so many complaints in England to-day, and to which I shall refer later.

*Government and primary education*

I return to primary education. We cannot understand the slow development of primary education in India without realizing that every rupee devoted to primary education was for long regarded as being taken from the grants for education of the vocal middle classes, capable of exercising pressure on Government. Writing in 1890, Dr. Thomas tells us on the authority of Sir Roper Lethbridge that every statesman who had been suspected of diverting sums from higher to elementary education had evoked a storm of unpopularity; and cites the case of Sir George Campbell, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who in 1872 incurred odium by declaring that primary education would be the chief object of his administration, and assigning a yearly sum of 4 lakhs for the purpose, mainly devoted to the encouragement of normal schools.<sup>1</sup> We shall see how much Indian political opinion has changed on this point when we consider some aspects of education under the Reforms of 1919.

In all these early days, from 1854 onwards, it was Government and not purely Indian opinion that pressed the importance of primary education. The great Education Commission of 1882-3—the Hunter Commission—on which there were distinguished Indian representatives, returned to the charge. Reporting in 1883 they said that ‘while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the State, it is desirable in the present circumstances of the country to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension, and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed in a still larger measure than heretofore’.<sup>2</sup> They suggested that primary schools should be regarded as having an almost exclusive claim on local funds set apart for education, and a large claim on provincial

<sup>1</sup> See Thomas, *Education in India*, pp. 81 and 138. See also (Sir) Roper Lethbridge’s *High Education in India: a plea for the State Colleges*, pp. 96-7. Lethbridge’s defence of the state colleges seems to me sound, though I do not accept the ‘filtration theory’.

<sup>2</sup> *Report of the Hunter Commission*, p. 586. See also Resolution of the Government of India on the Report referred to on p. 106, footnote 3, below.



revenues, and proposed that aid to primary schools should be regulated to a large extent according to the results of examination, except in the backward areas.<sup>1</sup>

But the grant-in-aid system was to be used mainly in dealing with secondary schools, and these were to be bifurcated, one division leading up to matriculation and the other to more practical and non-literary pursuits.<sup>2</sup>

*The disappearance of central control*

We have no more great Despatches from England to record. The control of education passed gradually into the hands of the Government of India and the provinces. There were two masterly Resolutions of the Government of India, in 1904 under Lord Curzon and in 1913 under the second Lord Hardinge, surveys of fact and broad statements of policy with which time does not permit me to deal. There was the Universities Act of 1904 and the 'monumental' Report of 1919 of the Calcutta University Commission presided over by Sir Michael Sadler (of which I had the honour to be a member), to which I shall refer again. All these documents come in legitimate succession to the Despatch of Sir Charles Wood of 1854.

Finally, we have the Government of India Act of 1919, which transferred almost entirely the control of education in India to Indian Ministers and Indian provincial legislatures, except in a few limited areas. The transition was sudden, in some ways too sudden,<sup>3</sup> although the control which the Government of India claimed to exercise over the details of provincial education under Lord Curzon<sup>4</sup> seems no longer to have been regarded as 'constitutional' in the time of Lord Chelmsford.<sup>5</sup> Only one important function of the Central Government in relation to education in the provinces still remains: the power to report and advise. A Central Advisory Board of Education (on which I served) was constituted in 1920 on lines recommended by

<sup>1</sup> *Hunter Report*, pp. 586 and 588.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 589 and 590, Recommendations 1, 2, and 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Hartog Report*, p. 276.

<sup>4</sup> See Curzon's speeches reported in *Lord Curzon in India* (Macmillan, 1906), pp. 318-19 and 328.

<sup>5</sup> See the observations of Sir Henry Sharp, formerly Education Secretary to the Government of India, reported in the *Asiatic Review* for 1932, pp. 237-42.

the Sadler Commission.<sup>1</sup> It was unfortunately 'axed' on the recommendation of the Inchcape Retrenchment Committee in 1923, but was reconstituted by a Resolution of 8 August, 1935, on the recommendation of the Auxiliary Committee on Education of the Simon Commission, and of the Commission itself.<sup>2</sup> The advantages of such a committee, representing all the provinces, for the discussion of all-India problems need no emphasis. The Board has already produced valuable reports on various aspects of primary and secondary education, the education of girls, and the relation of secondary education to vocational and university education.<sup>3</sup>

*The ultimate aim of Government policy*

Of the results achieved since the Reforms of 1919 I shall speak later. But I submit that under successive Governors-General, from Warren Hastings to Lord Chelmsford, an educational policy was evolved as part of a general policy to govern India in the interests of India, and to develop her intellectual resources to the utmost for her own benefit. To say that mistakes were made is to say the obvious. The French proverb says, 'He who makes no mistakes makes nothing'. And the task has been colossal.

<sup>1</sup> See *Report of the Calcutta University Commission*, vol. iii, pp. 234-5.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Report of the Hartog Committee*, pp. 276-9, and the *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, vol. ii, pp. 153-4.

<sup>3</sup> See an article by the present writer on the Relations of the Central Government in India to Education under the New Constitution, and the Central Advisory Board of Education, in the *Year Book of Education* for 1937 (Evans Bros.), pp. 467-84.

## LECTURE II

### PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION—A CENTURY'S PROGRESS

#### *Indigenous schools in the early nineteenth century: the two kinds*

IN my last lecture I suggested that the difficulties of creating a system of education in British India had been colossal. Yet those who have never visited India, and who know India chiefly by meeting Indian statesmen who come to this country, or the numerous class of Indian students who speak English like Englishmen, or almost, may wonder at the difficulties. That there have been difficulties is shown by the fact that in India at the present day, according to the census of 1931, only about 16 per cent. of the male population and 3 per cent. of the female population, over 5 years of age, could read and write in any language; and of the 353 millions included in the census only some three million and a half could speak English.<sup>1</sup>

What was the condition of education in India in the early part of the nineteenth century? On what original basis has the existing system of educational institutions, of which about 90 per cent. are primary schools, been built up? We have descriptions of a hundred years ago of two entirely different kinds of Indian schools and of two entirely different kinds of Indian teachers—a higher kind and a lower kind; and in trying to understand the evolution of the present system it is essential to keep this distinction in mind.

<sup>1</sup> I have purposely left the figures as I gave them at the actual lecture, that is, including the figures for Burma, which was separated from British India under the Government of India Act of 1935. It would have complicated all the statistics subsequently inserted, to no useful purpose, to exclude the figures for Burma throughout. But it is to be pointed out that Burma, with its population of 14,667,000, had a higher literacy figure in 1931 than any other part of India—36·8 per cent. of the population over 5 years of age. If we exclude the Burma figures, the literacy percentage for India as a whole falls to 13·8 for males and 2·3 for females over 5 years of age.

Including Burma, there was in 1931 a total population, in round figures, of 353 millions, of whom 271,500,000 were in British India. Of these, 3,651,000 were literate in English. (Census for 1931, vol. i, part ii, p. 425.)

*Hindu schools of learning. Adam's description of the pundits*

I take first what Adam called the 'indigenous schools of learning', relatively few in number, but important because they perpetuated the great tradition of learning which we find in Sanskrit among the *pundits*, in Arabic and Persian among the *maulvis*, of the present day. The other class of schools are what Adam calls the 'indigenous elementary schools', with very different aims in view, and a very different class of teacher. They were the only ones which could influence the masses.

I return to the schools of learning, and first, the Hindu schools, in which a single pundit taught a few devoted scholars for a great many years. Of the pundits in Nattore, Adam<sup>1</sup> has left an impressive and touching picture. I must quote a passage at length, because it supplements the statement of Dr. Thomas with which I began these lectures, and because it explains much in the recent and rapid developments of India, political and intellectual.

'The pundits', Adam wrote, 'are of all ages from twenty-five to eighty-two; some just entering upon life, proud of their learning and panting for distinction; others of middle age, either enjoying a well-earned reputation and a moderate competence, or disappointed in their expectations and anxious respecting their future; and some more advanced in years, possessing the heartfelt veneration of their countrymen; while others appear to be neglected, and sinking into the grave under the pressure of poverty.'

All, he said, regarded the promotion of learning as a duty in their minds constantly associated with the obligations attaching to the rulers of the country. Then Adam continues:

'The humbleness and simplicity of their characters, their dwellings and their apparel, forcibly contrast with the extent of their acquirements and the refinement of their feelings. I saw men not only unpretending, but plain and simple in their manners, and although seldom, if ever, offensively coarse, yet reminding me of the very humblest classes of English and Scottish peasantry; living constantly half naked, and realizing in this respect the descriptions of savage life; inhabiting huts which, if we connect moral consequences with physical causes, might be supposed to have the effect of stunting the growth of their minds, or in which only the most contracted minds might be supposed to have room to dwell—and yet several of these men are adepts in the subtleties of the profoundest grammar of what is probably the most philoso-

<sup>1</sup> Long, p. 119.

phical language in existence; not only practically skilled in the niceties of its usage, but also in the principles of its structure; familiar with all the varieties and applications of their national laws and literature; and indulging in the abstrusest and most interesting disquisitions in logical and ethical philosophy. They are in general shrewd, discriminating, and mild in their demeanor. The modesty of their character does not consist in abjectness to a supposed or official superior, but is equally shown to each other.'

But the general state of learning in the district he considered to be 'not very flourishing'.

Adam gives elaborate details of the Sanskrit courses, which he found in several instances to extend over not less than twenty-two years. Small wonder that in some of the classes the average age of the pupils was over 30. These schools, or *tôls*, as they are called, taught by pundits like those whom Adam describes, exist to-day. Moreover, the pundits have formed associations, sometimes called Sanskrit Associations, which are recognized and aided by Government, and which conduct examinations for students on traditional and orthodox lines and confer titles on those who pass them.<sup>1</sup>

The *tôls* are quite distinct from the important departments of Sanskrit in the universities, in which Indian scholars, following the lead of that great pioneer, Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, of Poona, have combined the traditions of East and West and are holding their own in the advance of Oriental learning.

Of the schools for Muhammadan learning I shall say something later.

<sup>1</sup> An account of these institutions is given in the *Calcutta University Commission Report*, vol. ii, chapter xvi. The *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in Bengal, 1927-32* (p. 133), says that the more important *tôls* affiliated to the Calcutta Sanskrit Association or the Saraswat Samaj, Dacca, are aided or maintained by Government, and that in 1926-7 there were 750 *tôls* with 10,395 pupils, and in 1931-2 there were 761, with 11,728 pupils. A list of *tôls* quoted by the *C.U.C. Report* (loc. cit., p. 95) mentions 1,553 *tôls*, but this number includes perhaps institutions of a more elementary character. The Calcutta Board, presided over by Professor S. N. Das Gupta, examines many candidates all over India. Several universities (e.g. Madras and Mysore) give higher degrees in pundit learning.

Adam in two interesting sections of his Third Report (Long's edition, pp. 307-23 and 325-30) makes proposals for the improvement of the Sanskrit and Muhammadan schools of learning.

See also a chapter by Mr. H. G. Rawlinson on the Cultural Background of Indian Education, in the *Year Book of Education for 1937* (pp. 439-66).

*Indigenous elementary schools: their ineffectiveness. Low pay of teachers*

After this digression, necessary to avoid misunderstanding, I now return to the 'indigenous elementary schools', of which the standards, both in the quality of their teachers and of their instruction, were as low as those of the schools of learning were high. Some of the earliest descriptions are by an author whose published and authoritative reports are quoted by Adam—Dr. Francis Buchanan (afterwards Hamilton)<sup>1</sup>—and by Adam himself.<sup>2</sup>

The education of Bengali children at these schools began at 5 or 6, and terminated at 10 or 11, sometimes earlier. The main object of the teaching seems to have been agricultural or commercial accounts. In the elementary Hindu schools or *pathsalas*, as they are called, the pupils did not even learn to spell correctly. The teacher was a man of little knowledge, who received small pay, and commanded little respect. For the sake of pay, says Adam, he performed a menial service in the spirit of a menial. What was the pay? In five districts which Adam investigated in Bengal and Bihar he found the average rate of pay in the Hindi and Bengali schools to vary from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to  $4\frac{3}{4}$  rupees, or, reckoning the rupee at 2s., from 3s. to 9s. 6d. a month. The pay was no doubt sometimes supplemented in kind. But this is the tradition on which the scale of pay of teachers in primary schools has been built up in India. The Muhammadans at the time, according to Adam, paid their teachers a little better, and held them in greater respect.

*Modern elementary schools: low pay of teachers; cost per child; equipment; minimum aim. Single-teacher schools*

In the Report of the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission on the Growth of Education, of 1928-9, over which I had the honour to preside, and to which I suppose, for the sake of brevity, I must refer, like other people, as the Hartog Committee, we gave statistics of the pay of primary teachers in the various provinces.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *A Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of the District, or Zila, of Dinajpur* (1833). Hamilton figures in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>2</sup> Long, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> It would be of use if the statistics of the average pay of teachers were included in the *Quinquennial Reviews* published by the Government of India.

The average monthly pay of teachers in boys' and girls' primary schools we found to vary from Rs.8-6-0 in Bengal to Rs.47 in Bombay (where, however, what are called middle schools elsewhere are classified as primary). In the Chittagong division in Bengal the average pay for a teacher in an unaided school was only Rs.3-3-0, or, at the present rate of exchange, about 5s. a month. We have, of course, in considering these incredibly low figures, to take into account the low cost of living in India. But even so, the rate is in some cases only a fraction of what is paid in India to a domestic servant.<sup>1</sup>

Another result follows: with such low salaries the total amount spent on educating a pupil in an Indian primary school is correspondingly low, though it is increasing. For the whole of British India the *annual* cost of educating a pupil in a primary school for boys was in 1891-2 only Rs.3-2-0. In 1934-5 it was Rs.7-12-0 (at the present rate of exchange, say, 11s. 6d. a year). In Bengal it is still only Rs.3-11-0, or, say, 5s. 5d.<sup>2</sup> In England and Wales the cost per child for elementary education was, in 1934-5, £13. 3s. 5d. a year and has increased since.<sup>3</sup>

What is the elementary school like to-day? What is the elementary teacher like? I have no doubt that a vast number of elementary schools to-day, as I have seen them, are almost as primitive in equipment as those of a hundred years ago. You see the teacher (in the vast majority of cases a man, sometimes an old man) giving a lesson to from ten to twenty children seated on the ground, with slates, in a very modest brick or thatched building, sometimes under a veranda, or even under a tree. The tree is much praised as ideal by some

<sup>1</sup> My friend Dr. P. B. Ballard furnishes me with some figures from an official Report on the State of Education in Wales, dated July, 1847, and published in 1848. Mr. R. W. Lingen found that in the three counties of Glamorganshire, Carmarthenshire, and Pembrokeshire the average annual salary from all sources for 768 teachers was £21 14s. 9d., and only 12.5 per cent. of the teachers were trained. Of all the scholars in attendance 49.8 per cent. had been at school for less than a year, and less than four, only 7.6 per cent., for more than three years, and only 4.5 per cent. for more than four years. Only 22.9 per cent. of the children of school age were actually at school. We are sometimes apt to exaggerate the educational differences in the past between Great Britain and India. (Op. cit., pp. 91, 92, 97, 98.)

<sup>2</sup> See *Education in India, 1934-5* (Delhi, Manager of Publications), p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *Cost per Child: Elementary Education* (H.M. Stationery Office, 1938), p. 5.

reformers, but, as teachers with no schoolroom have pointed out to me, it is less ideal as a shelter in the rains, or in all-pervading dust. The teacher may be taking two, three, or four classes at a time.

At its best, the school may have books and pictures and maps, and even a workshop and a garden. At its worst it is, as it was a century ago, a mockery of education, with a single teacher who knows little more than his pupils. Undoubtedly the best schools, paying the highest salaries, are on the whole those which are aided and inspected by Government. Undoubtedly the worst are to be found among those which are purely voluntary. But among the voluntary schools there are splendid exceptions, the schools run by missionary effort, and some private schools run by Indian enthusiasts, which I have seen at Delhi and elsewhere, and which would do credit to any country.

The minimum aim of a primary school in India is, as it was for long in this country, to achieve permanent literacy, or, shall we say, the mastery of the three R's. It should not be the only aim. I cordially agree with Messrs. Abbott and Wood<sup>1</sup> when they suggest in their recent Report that primary education should be interesting, alive, varied, and should provide a combination of 'satisfying activities'. I am glad to say that in most provinces much attention is now being paid to improved methods of instruction,<sup>2</sup> but it is generally recognized that *under existing conditions*, i.e. with illiterate mothers and in the absence of interesting reading-books and popular newspapers, permanent literacy cannot be achieved with less than four years at school.

In the best primary schools there are four or five classes with three or more teachers. In the worst a single untrained teacher attempts to teach two, three, or four classes at the same time. The provinces differ greatly in this matter. Over 70 per cent. of the 24,700 primary schools for boys in Bihar and Orissa, and 80 per cent. of the 45,600 in Bengal, were in 1934-5 single-teacher schools. Of the 4,280 in the Central Provinces, the most advanced province in this respect, only 23·2 per cent. were single-teacher schools, and of the 5,600 odd in the Punjab, only 27·3 per cent. were single-teacher schools.<sup>3</sup> Efforts are being

<sup>1</sup> *Report on Vocational Education in India, 1937*, by A. Abbott, C.B.E., and S. H. Wood, M.C. (Delhi, Manager of Publications, price 2s.), p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Education in India*, for 1934-5, p. 52, and for 1935-6, pp. 47-8.

<sup>3</sup> *Education in India, 1934-5*, p. 43.



made to remedy this state of affairs. Many of the single-teacher schools are ephemeral; they appear and disappear at short notice, especially if they are not inspected.<sup>1</sup>

*Elementary schools for boys: general questions*

I shall consider first some general questions relating to the primary education of boys, and take the education of girls separately, though, now and again, for the sake of comparison I shall introduce some figures relative to girls. There are in round numbers 165,000 primary schools for boys in British India.<sup>2</sup> I can well imagine that at this point the following questions will arise in the minds of my listeners :

- (1) By whom are they controlled?
- (2) By whom are they managed?
- (3) How are they staffed?
- (4) How are they financed?
- (5) By whom are they inspected?
- (6) How are they increasing?
- (7) What is their efficiency?
- (8) How does the progress compare in the different provinces?
- (9) How far is primary education compulsory?

The answers to these questions overlap, but I shall try to give some kind of answer, very brief and fragmentary, to each of them. It is to be remembered that there is not a single primary system for India, but a primary system for each province, and that there are now eleven provinces (excluding Burma).

*Immediate control; management; staffing*

Except in Madras, where each district has a District Educational Council, the control is divided between Government and local bodies.

A few schools are managed directly by Government; a large number by District Boards, a much smaller number by Municipal Boards (India is a country of villages rather than of towns); the

<sup>1</sup> *Hartog Report*, p. 62, and *Quinquennial Review of Education*, 1927-32, vol. i, p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> *Education in India*, 1935-6, p. 34.

majority by committees aided by Government or by local bodies; in smaller numbers by proprietors or committees unaided.<sup>1</sup>

One of the great efforts of Government, first inspired by Adam's suggestion, has been to provide trained teachers. In 1932 half of the teachers in boys' primary schools were designated as trained, but of these more than a third (61,895 out of 159,820) had themselves only received a primary education before receiving a year's training in a normal school.<sup>2</sup> The Punjab has a higher proportion of trained teachers than any other province, 86·8 per cent. in 1936. The normal schools are sometimes separate institutions, as in England; they consist sometimes only of a special class under the head teacher of a selected primary school.

*Finance; inspection; ultimate control. The policy of devolution*

The schools are financed (i) by Government, which may transmit its contribution to local bodies; (ii) by local bodies, which have their own rates; (iii) by means of fees; and (iv) from 'other sources'—mainly voluntary contributions.

All schools receiving public funds are inspected, or supposed to be inspected, by the head-quarters staff of the Education Departments, and, in some cases, e.g. in Bombay, by inspectors appointed by local bodies. I say 'or supposed to be inspected' because the

<sup>1</sup> The following figures are taken from *Education in India*, 1935-6, p. 113:

*Number of Primary Schools*

	<i>Government</i>	<i>District Boards</i>	<i>Municipal Boards</i>	<i>Aided</i>	<i>Unaided</i>	<i>Total</i>
Boys .	2,308	58,787	4,711	91,000	8,334	165,240
Girls .	380	6,705	1,851	19,734	3,948	32,618

A very interesting example of Indian enterprise is the educational scheme set up in the neighbourhood of Pilani, in the Jaipur State, by Mr. G. D. Birla and his family. The Birla Trust controls a Montessori school, a girls' school, some 150 village schools, a high school, a technical school, and an intermediate college, all financed by the Trust. One of the features of the village schools is that crafts form part of the curriculum.

Mention should also be made of the remarkable educational colony founded by the late Sir Anand Sarup at Dayal Bagh, near Agra, which I have myself visited.

<sup>2</sup> *Quinquennial Review*, 1927-32, vol. i, p. 151.

number of inspectors is altogether inadequate to the work they have to do.<sup>1</sup>

The policy of devolution outlined in the Despatch of 1854 and again by the Commission of 1882 (to which I referred in my last lecture) has been carried out, and carried out far beyond any system of devolution that we know in England, in the same way that local self-government in matters other than educational has been developed in British India without that measure of central control which is exercised here. The Government of India proclaimed the policy that local bodies should not be subjected to unnecessary control, but should learn by making mistakes and profiting by them, a policy endorsed in almost the same words in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918.<sup>2</sup>

The Hartog Report enumerates thirty-one local Acts passed between 1919 and 1928 dealing with local self-government and many of them directly or indirectly with education, some only with primary, some also with secondary education.

Large sums are now voted for schools, over which in some cases the provincial ministers and legislatures have scarcely any control. Nothing could be less in accordance with democratic principles. On this point the Hartog Committee expressed themselves strongly and their views were endorsed by the Indian Statutory Commission.

I quote first from the Hartog Report:

‘It was assumed apparently that, though education and particularly primary education was of fundamental importance as a “nation building service” and was, through the creation of literacy, the chief agency for creating that intelligent electorate on which political progress must depend, nevertheless the service of education was just as suitable as other services for extensive devolution on which local authorities could practise their “prentice hands” and learn by making their own mistakes.’<sup>3</sup>

And the Simon Report said:

‘After all, provincial Governments and Education Departments are trustees of a service which is of vital importance for the youth of India and

<sup>1</sup> Since the above was written, the Bombay Primary Education (Amendment) Act, of May 1938, has been passed, which will transform the whole system and restore the power of inspection, and of central control, to the Government of Bombay.

<sup>2</sup> See *Hartog Report*, p. 307, and an article by Sir Amherst Selby-Bigge in the *Contemporary Review* for December 1936.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 308.

the future of India, which is now in a most critical position. The trusteeship does involve the reservation and exercise of the powers necessary for securing its due discharge.<sup>1</sup>

The whole question has been reviewed quite recently (September 1937) by an important committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education presided over by the Honourable Mr. B. G. Kher, Prime Minister of Bombay, generally endorsing the views we have expressed with regard to control and emphasizing the desirability of a rapid advance in compulsory primary education.<sup>2</sup> It remains to be seen whether the provinces will adopt their recommendations and in what form.

*Enthusiasm for education since 1919 leading to increase in expenditure and number of pupils. The results disappointing; the reasons*

I pass to another point. Whatever may have been the case in earlier years, the Government of India Act and the Reforms of 1919 brought with them a great enthusiasm for popular education and a great increase in the amount spent on it and in the number of the schools.

Between 1917 and 1927 the total direct expenditure on primary schools for boys and girls increased from 293 lakhs to 695 lakhs. (A lakh is 100,000 rupees, £7,500.)

The enrolment of boys and girls in the primary stage of both primary and secondary schools increased from under six and a half millions to over nine millions.<sup>3</sup> Taking the population of school-going age (6 to 11) as 14 per cent. of the total, we find that the proportion of the population of school-going age actually receiving instruction in British India rose between 1917 and 1927, for boys from 30.3 per cent. to 42.1 per cent., and for girls from 6.7 per cent. to 10.4 per cent., while by 1936 it had risen to 51 per cent. for boys and 17 per cent. for girls.<sup>4</sup>

In the years of financial and economic depression after 1929 there

<sup>1</sup> *Simon Report*, vol. i, p. 398.

<sup>2</sup> *Report of the Vernacular Education Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education [on] the administration and control of Primary Education* (New Delhi, 1937).

<sup>3</sup> *Hartog Report*, pp. 41 and 43.

<sup>4</sup> *Education in India*, 1935-6, p. 8. For the 1935 and 1936 figures the population of school-going age is reckoned as only 12 per cent. of the total population, on the basis of the census of 1931. See *Education in India*, 1934-5, p. 2.

was some slackening, and the figures are more difficult to analyse, partly owing to the vast increase in population; but I will give you some totals, to show that if there was slackening there was no arrest of progress.

The total number of pupils increased between 1927 and 1936 from rather more than eleven to nearly fourteen millions. The total expenditure on education increased from 2,458 lakhs to 2,732 lakhs.<sup>1</sup> The percentage of the total population under instruction increased from 3.22 in 1917 to 4.51 in 1927 and to 4.70 in 1932. The last increase was entirely due to an increase in the percentage of girls under instruction, a most favourable occurrence,<sup>2</sup> and there was a further increase to over 5 per cent. between 1932 and 1936.<sup>3</sup>

But with all this enthusiasm and expenditure, the results are in some ways disappointing. What is wrong? There has been an enormous waste—my Committee called it an ‘appalling waste’—of energy and money, mainly due to two direct causes and one indirect cause. The direct causes are what we called ‘wastage’ (the premature withdrawal of pupils before the end of the primary course) and ‘stagnation’ (the retention of pupils in a class for more than one year). Wastage we found to be a more potent factor than stagnation. The very first step taken by my Committee was to set up inquiries on this point.

The third, indirect, cause, if I may call it so, is the relatively small proportion of literate mothers. On that vital matter I shall have more to say later.

We have said that at present permanent literacy cannot be achieved with less than four years’ schooling. Now let us look at the figures showing what proportion of boys and girls actually get that length of schooling in the primary schools.

*British India*

	<i>Class I</i> 1931-2	<i>Class II</i> 1932-3	<i>Class III</i> 1933-4	<i>Class IV</i> 1934-5
Boys . . .	3,871,186	1,682,073	1,291,527	1,017,230 <sup>4</sup>
Girls . . .	1,410,199	425,945	286,778	189,728 <sup>4</sup>

Out of 100 boys in Class I in 1931-2 only 26 were reading in Class

<sup>1</sup> *Education in India*, 1935-6, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Quinquennial Review*, 1927-32, vol. i, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Education in India*, 1935-6, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> See footnotes 1 and 2 on p. 35.

IV in 1934-5;<sup>1</sup> and out of 100 girls in Class I in 1931-2 only 13 were reading in Class IV in 1934-5.<sup>2</sup>

There has been a very real improvement since our Committee focused attention on 'wastage'; for in 1925-6 only 19 boys and 10 girls reached Class IV out of every 100 who had been in Class I in 1922-3, four years earlier.<sup>3</sup> Still the fact remains that no less than 74 per cent. of the boys and 87 per cent. of the girls in the primary schools leave without even attaining permanent literacy.

In this matter there are great differences between the different provinces. Taking the extreme figures, we find that of the boys in Class I 48 per cent. in the Central Provinces and 41 per cent. in Bombay reach Class IV, while the corresponding percentages for Bengal, and Bihar and Orissa, respectively, were only 14 and 15.

For the girls, the corresponding figures for Bombay and Assam were 26 and 24 respectively, and for Bengal, and Bihar and Orissa, only 4 and 5 per cent. respectively. Taken as a whole, according to the last Quinquennial Review (1927-32) of Bengal, which possesses a larger number of girls' primary schools than any other province (in 1935 approaching 19,000), 'the whole system of girls' primary schools in the province with a few exceptions is practically useless'.<sup>4</sup>

Strange as it may seem, an increase in the number of schools does not always mean an increase in the number of pupils who reach Class IV. In Bengal, with something like 10,000 more schools in 1927 than in 1917, there were 30,000 fewer pupils who reached Class IV in 1927 than in 1917.

A Bengal Rural Primary Education Act was passed in 1930 which, one hopes, may eventually send into more fruitful channels the immense enthusiasm of the province for schools, a province which provides more money in the form of school fees and subscriptions for schools than any other. But control means financial aid, which is still quite insufficient. I am informed (1938) that in eleven districts in Bengal School Boards have been set up under the Act, but without

<sup>1</sup> *Education in India, 1934-5*, p. 42. I have not taken the figures from the 1935-6 report because a splitting of the lowest class in Bihar into two renders any exact comparison with previous figures impossible. (See *Education in India, 1935-6*, pp. 39 and 60-1.)

<sup>2</sup> *Education in India, 1934-5*, p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> *Hartog Report*, p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> *Quinquennial Review, 1927-32*, vol. i, p. 175.

funds other than those required for administration. To bring the Act fully into operation a local tax, or cess, is required. The large district of Mymensingh has imposed the necessary cess, and the Act is in full operation there; three districts, Dacca, Tippera, and Chittagong, have been authorized to bring it into operation as from March, 1938; and other districts have asked for the Act to be extended to them also. There has been therefore some progress in the province.

*Comparison of the provinces. Rapid progress in the Punjab*

It is a little difficult to select from the provinces the one which leads in primary education. Differences in the classification of the schools in the different provinces often make exact statistical comparisons impossible.<sup>1</sup> Bombay and Madras have perhaps led in the past in some ways. The work of the Central Provinces, though on a small scale, has been sound. In the standard of its primary teaching for boys Bombay is perhaps still in the front. But if we seek for rapid progress and a new policy, we must select the Punjab. The Punjab was fortunate in having, in succession, two Directors of Public Instruction of outstanding ability: Mr. J. A. Richey, who afterwards became Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, and Sir George Anderson, who followed him in that important post.

I first knew Richey, now dead, through his remarkable written evidence for the Calcutta University Commission. Afterwards we became friends. He combined personal experience and knowledge of every detail of school teaching with statesmanship of a high order. He had too rapid a succession of official chiefs, and retired too early, alas, owing to precarious health, to be able to leave on Indian education a mark corresponding to his ability. In the Punjab he paved the way for Sir George Anderson.

The recent educational history of the Punjab is marked by a rapid expansion of primary and middle vernacular education, and an expansion on new and sound lines.

In 1917, if we take the percentage of the total population receiving instruction in all institutions, we find that the Punjab was eighth on the list of ten provinces, with a percentage of 2.43. She had risen by 1932 to the third place, with a percentage of 5.61, more than double.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Quinquennial Review*, 1927-32, vol. i, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

The number of pupils in primary schools for boys in the Punjab increased from 246,000 in 1917 to 393,000 in 1926-7. In the quinquennium 1927-32 there was an apparent but not a real drop, which I shall explain in a moment. But numbers are not everything. As one casts one's eye over the table one sees that in Bengal there was in this quinquennium the immense increase of 283,000;<sup>1</sup> yet the Bengal quinquennial report on primary education of both boys and girls offers the most melancholy reading one can imagine; the whole system needs reconstruction. The elimination of inefficient primary schools referred to in the report for 1935-6 is a promising sign of reform.

In the Punjab, to avoid long journeys for very young children, the system has been tried, though not with great success, of establishing branch schools with one or two classes, which are not classified as separate schools and are under the direct supervision of teachers in central or suzerain schools. The same policy has been extended by adding to the better primary schools the two lower classes of a 'lower middle school', and so converting the four-year course into a six-year course, with far more chance of retaining the pupils. Through this policy it has been found possible in some rural areas to apply compulsion. We shall say more of compulsion in a moment. The conversion of primary schools into 'lower middle schools' explains the apparent decrease in the number of primary schools and pupils during the quinquennium 1927-32.

Hitherto I have spoken only of primary education with its four, or in some cases five, classes. I am now led on to speak of what are called in most provinces 'middle vernacular schools', which are of fundamental importance because on them depends a good supply of teachers for primary schools and much else.<sup>2</sup> In the Punjab the ordinary middle schools, like the primary schools, have a four-year curriculum; they teach no English except as an optional subject; they do not lead on to matriculation and the university; they have an aim of their own. The main object of the vernacular middle schools is to furnish an eight-year curriculum in harmony with rural conditions

<sup>1</sup> *Quinquennial Review*, 1927-32, vol. ii, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> The nomenclature of schools differs in the different provinces. A general sketch of it is given in the *Year Book of Education* for 1932, p. 689, and in the *Hartog Report*, p. 90.



and requirements. The chief difficulty is that, however good these schools may be, they are regarded by parents as inferior to the English schools. Sir George Anderson tells me that the anglo-vernacular school teacher receives more pay at the beginning of his service than the vernacular teacher at the end of his service.

It was Bombay that led the way in the development of the middle vernacular school, but it calls these schools 'upper primary schools', and they are not generally distinguished in the official statistics from other primary schools. In 1927 there were 4,257 such schools in Bombay.<sup>1</sup>

But what is amazing is the progress of the Punjab, a very backward province in 1917, in middle vernacular as well as in primary education. In 1917 the Punjab had only 151 middle vernacular schools for boys;<sup>2</sup> in 1927 it had 2,114;<sup>1</sup> in 1936 it had 3,014.<sup>3</sup> There is hardly any demand in Bengal for middle schools without English—there are only 44 altogether in that province.<sup>4</sup> The increase in the number of pupils in these schools in the Punjab between 1927 and 1932 was 129,000;<sup>5</sup> in the United Provinces, which comes next in order of progress in this matter, the increase was only 26,000.<sup>5</sup>

In a recent report of the United Provinces the middle vernacular school is stated to be 'the most efficient and valuable section of the educational system';<sup>6</sup> it has been the pivot of the progress in the Punjab.<sup>7</sup> Efforts are being made to relate the whole training to the needs of rural life. Manual training, agriculture, and rural knowledge are subjects which have been widely introduced,<sup>8</sup> and a great effort has been made to utilize the services of teachers who themselves have come from the agricultural classes, and who in many cases receive during their teachership a year's special training at an agricultural centre. The grave danger felt by the villagers in the Punjab in the past, since the fifties of the last century (see p. 105, below), has been that the schools

<sup>1</sup> *Hartog Report*, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> *Quinquennial Review*, 1927-32, vol. ii, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> *Progress of Education in the Punjab*, 1935-6, p. ii.

<sup>4</sup> *Report on Public Instruction in Bengal*, 1935-6, p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> *Quinquennial Review*, 1927-32, vol. i, p. 92.

<sup>6</sup> *Education in India*, 1934-5, p. 25.

<sup>7</sup> According to *Education in India*, 1935-6 (pp. 28-30), there appears to have been a recent set-back in the popularity of the system as compared with that of the anglo-vernacular schools.

<sup>8</sup> *Education in India*, 1934-5, p. 33.

would unfit their pupils for rural life. Most people are agreed now that the schools should be so organized as to become the most effective instruments of rural reconstruction.

The Linlithgow Report cordially approved the extension of the system of middle schools of the Punjab type in rural areas and of the corresponding types in Bombay and the United Provinces in the interests of agriculture.<sup>1</sup> Sixteen years' trial has justified the hopes placed in the scheme: agricultural education in the Punjab is said to be advancing 'by leaps and bounds', and school farms are now being used as a means of instruction and demonstration for the adjoining country-side.<sup>2</sup>

To-day, with the improvement in scientific methods, not only the agriculturists but other craftsmen need more than an 'elementary' education up to the age of 11 or 12. In India, as in other countries, the age of education needs to be extended for the benefit not only of individuals but of the whole community. The average elector does not need only to become literate. Literacy in the first instance makes the masses uncritically susceptible to political propaganda. It is a stage through which all electors have to pass as children pass through the stage of measles. In spite of recent examples on a large scale, I venture to hope that the people may learn not only to read but to criticize, and so to develop an immunity from the plague which propaganda has tended to become both in West and East. I am firmly convinced that the only safety for a community lies in the judgement of the individual citizen, and that he can be taught in school by proper methods to exercise that judgement. But some peoples supposed to be civilized are still in the uncritical stage.

### *Compulsion*

All the provinces, except the North-West Frontier Province, have accepted the *principle* of compulsion, introduced in the Indian State of Baroda so long ago as 1906, and advocated by that far-sighted reformer Mr. G. K. Gokhale for British India as a whole in 1911. But there is local option in the matter.<sup>3</sup> In Bengal in 1935-6 there was

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India* (1928), pp. 537-8, para. 457.

<sup>2</sup> *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab during the Quinquennium ending 1936-37*, pp. 17 and 89.

<sup>3</sup> *Quinquennial Review*, 1927-32, vol. i, p. 156.

compulsion in only two urban areas, and in no rural area. In the whole of British India only 160 urban areas and 3,206 rural areas were reported to be under compulsion. Of these, the Punjab had 55 urban areas and 2,988 rural areas.<sup>1</sup> An interesting point in the Punjab scheme is its application to small areas. Compulsion is applied to boys between 6 and 11, or sometimes between 7 and 12.

It should be remembered that the adoption of the principle of compulsory education did not mean its immediate enforcement even in England. It has not meant it either in Baroda or in the Punjab. It is the figures of attendance and not of enrolment by which a compulsory system must be judged. You cannot impose compulsion in practice till the majorities both in villages and in municipalities recognize its desirability; and the local bodies are stated not to take the question of enforcement in earnest. In none of the provinces can the results so far obtained be considered satisfactory. In the Punjab the proportion of attendance is in many cases only 60 per cent. of the enrolment, and the local inspectors have recently reported that the percentage of literacy is no higher in the areas under compulsion than in the non-compulsory areas.<sup>2</sup> Madras is now trying a modified form of compulsion designed to keep every child entering school to the limit of the compulsory age.<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Arthur Mayhew, in his book *The Education of India*, says, quite rightly, 'India is too poor to afford any further extension based solely or mainly on the present wasteful voluntary system'.<sup>4</sup> The Congress party, the most important political party in India, has long been theoretically in favour of compulsion,<sup>5</sup> and now that it is in office in

<sup>1</sup> *Education in India*, 1935-6, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab during the Quinquennium ending 1936-37*, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Education in India*, 1934-5, p. 48, and see *Hartog Report*, p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 235.

<sup>5</sup> So long ago as 1928 the All-Parties Conference, under the presidency of Dr. Ansari and the chairmanship of Pandit Motilal Nehru, set out the following among the Fundamental Rights:

'(v) All citizens in the Commonwealth of India have the right to free elementary education without any distinction of caste or creed in the matter of admission into any educational institutions, maintained or aided by the state, and such rights shall be enforceable as soon as due arrangements shall have been made by competent authority.' (*All-Parties Conference Report*, 1928, p. 102.)

a number of provinces proposes to carry its views into effect. But legislation will not suffice. Educational conversion is required to make educational compulsion a fact.

*Modern secondary schools for boys; statistics; equipment; training*

I now pass to what my Committee called 'education for the directing classes'—secondary and university education—mainly the result of the 'English education' introduced in the time just before Macaulay. By 'directing classes' we did not mean 'directing castes'; we meant those persons, of whatever origin, who by intelligence, character, and education were fitted to be leaders in the community.

I shall deal with secondary education expressly in its relation to university education and vocational education. Both the middle English schools and the high schools have a university education in view for their pupils.

To these two terms 'middle English school' and 'high school' somewhat different significations are attached in different provinces, but we shall not go far wrong if we regard the 'middle stage' as covering the years 10–14, and the 'high stage' as covering the two years 14–16. It should be added that middle English schools may include primary classes; and that high schools generally include the middle stage and often the primary stage.

In 1936 there were in British India over 3,000 high schools for boys with nearly a million pupils,<sup>1</sup> of which more than 1,100 with nearly 300,000 pupils were in Bengal;<sup>2</sup> over 4,000 middle English schools with over 400,000 pupils,<sup>1</sup> of which nearly half with 170,000 pupils were in Bengal.<sup>2</sup> The influence of Hare and of Ram Mohan Roy in Bengal is not dead.

So much for statistics. Before passing on to the recent proposals for reform let us say a word about the life in the secondary schools and the characteristics of the school teachers.

An Indian class-room in a secondary school does not look very different from an English class-room, except that it is not so bright. But great attempts have been made in recent years to give fresh colour

<sup>1</sup> *Education in India, 1935–6*, pp. 113 and 115. The figures include some 28,000 girls.

<sup>2</sup> *Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1935–6*, pp. 46 and 49.

and interest to life in the schools. In the Punjab, writes Sir George Anderson,<sup>1</sup> 'most high schools possess admirable buildings; the gardens and playing fields are well cared for . . . physical training and the playing of games reach a high standard of efficiency; the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides have brought life and happiness to the pupils; the schools are by no means the dull and drab places that they used to be.'

Since I first went to India in 1917 there has indeed been a marked improvement in various provinces in all these matters; there is far more school life, and far more preparation for later life, apart from examinations.

And again the influence of the better Training Colleges for secondary teachers on the schools has been marked. These Training Colleges give a one-year post-graduate training, on lines, I think, not very dissimilar to those of our own course for the Teacher's Diploma. The proportion of trained teachers in secondary schools for boys is now over 57 per cent.; but in Bengal it is only 19·8 per cent., in Bombay 21·3 per cent.; whereas in all other provinces it is far higher, reaching a maximum in the Punjab with 89·9 per cent.<sup>2</sup>

*Unsatisfactory status of secondary school teachers*

But I think it would be generally agreed that the status of the teacher in the secondary schools throughout British India is unsatisfactory; and I have been told many times that, as a result, the secondary teacher who teaches with pleasure and enthusiasm, and not purely as a means of earning a living, is rare. I quote two recent pronouncements on the subject from very different sources. Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri of the University of Madras has declared that the teachers at present lack freedom and hope—and have lost faith in themselves and their work for good reasons. What the teacher wanted, he said, was to recapture the place which the *Acharyas*<sup>3</sup> held in national life. He wanted to command the esteem of his fellow men and the opportunity to cultivate legitimate pride in his craft. He would get that if he were not subjected to 'daily insults from members of local bodies and others'. The remedy suggested by Professor Sastri was

<sup>1</sup> Address on Secondary Education in India: Rural Reconstruction and Unemployment, *Asiatic Review*, 7 Jan., 1937, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Education in India*, 1935-6, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> An *Acharya* is a Brahmin teacher of Sanskrit learning.

direct State (as opposed to local) control of the entire school system.<sup>1</sup> The late Mr. F. F. Monk, a missionary teacher of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, in his interesting little book, *Educational Policy in India*, published in 1934, discussed the same problem from the point of view of providing education for the 'directing classes'. He dwelt on the inferior status of the secondary school teacher and on the impossibility of giving boys a training to be leaders if their teachers were forced to regard themselves as an inferior class. He suggested, and I agree, that 'the enhancement of the schoolmaster's prestige is essential for these schools, and that it should be extended steadily to cover the entire field of education'. In his view the first step to be taken was increase in pay, since pay meant status in India. It certainly has been so up to the present.<sup>2</sup> The teacher also needs greater security of tenure if he is to feel any kind of independence.

But more than that is needed. Mr. Monk insisted, and again I agree, that the teachers should be regarded as a team of colleagues, not as a team of employees. Here in England teachers in both elementary and secondary schools hold a position of respect in the community. India will not have the schools of a democratic country until the middle classes give a far higher place in their esteem to the teachers of their children than they do at present.

*Influence of matriculation examination. Use of the English medium a disadvantage. English as a compulsory second language*

A subject of more general criticism has been the plan of secondary studies, controlled by the matriculation examinations mainly (though not universally) conducted by universities, and conducted in most subjects hitherto in English, though this requirement is being gradually abandoned.

To provide for the examinations in the medium of English, English has been used in the past as the medium of instruction in the two highest classes of the high schools, and that use, in my view and that

<sup>1</sup> His speech, given at a meeting presided over by the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, was published in *The Hindu* for 1 Sept., 1937.

<sup>2</sup> The reduction of ministers' salaries in the provinces where there are Congress ministries may perhaps do something to reduce the present link between salary and prestige. Time will show. I express no opinion, of course, on the question whether that reduction is desirable in itself.

of others, has been a great block and barrier to understanding,<sup>1</sup> though, for reasons which I shall discuss later, I think it in the interest of India that English should be a compulsory second language. The Indian intellect must be singularly strong to have surmounted this barrier, as it undoubtedly has. And let me say at once that in Bengal, which I know best, I believe that the average intelligence is certainly not inferior to the average intelligence in England, though I speak by impression and not on the basis of 'intelligence tests'.

New matriculation regulations which provide for the use of the vernacular in some or all of the subjects at the matriculation examination, and in the corresponding classes in the high schools, have been introduced during the last ten years, but the change is, as yet, by no means general.<sup>2</sup> Difficulties are being experienced owing to the insufficient training of teachers in the use and teaching of their own mother tongue, a paucity in vernacular text-books, and the multiplicity of vernaculars in some provinces. In Bengal it has been decided that the vernacular shall be the medium both of instruction and of examination in all subjects except English, but the date at which the revised regulations will come into force has apparently not been fixed.<sup>3</sup>

The change from English to the vernacular as the medium of instruction should give fresh life to the teaching in the class-room. But that change in itself will not give the schools the variety of training needed for pupils with different aptitudes to fit them for different careers.

English has been for a very considerable period the lingua franca for the educated classes of India. There is now a great movement to substitute for it Hindustani, written either in Devanagari or Persian characters (or possibly in Roman script), on purely 'national' grounds. But as Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar recently pointed out,<sup>4</sup> India has need of a 'world-language' to give her contact with Western thought. I

<sup>1</sup> See chapters xviii and xli, on the Medium of Instruction and Examination, in the *Calcutta University Commission Report*, vols. ii and v.

<sup>2</sup> See an interesting section on this subject in the *Quinquennial Review*, 1927-32, vol. i, pp. 114-17.

<sup>3</sup> *Report on Public Instruction in Bengal*, 1935-6, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> See *Asiatic Review*, Jan. 1938, Discussion on Mr. Wood's paper on 'Some Impressions of Education in India', p. 84.

would say that she needs it to give her access to the additions to knowledge published every day, to the new books on new subjects, the scientific journals containing abstracts of discoveries in every science all over the world, for which a world-language is used. Sir Ramaswami said that he would be contented with French, but, apart from historic reasons, it is to be pointed out that English is a world-language now spoken and written by far more persons than either French or German.

*Unemployment and proposals for reform*

The policy of bifurcation between a literary and a vocational education advocated in the great Despatch of 1854, advocated again by the Hunter Education Commission of 1882-3,<sup>1</sup> and once more by the Sadler Commission in 1919, came to nought. It was defeated by the matriculation policy of the Indian universities and by the desire of Indian parents to send their boys to the university, mainly because a university degree has hitherto been regarded as a passport to the safe career of Government employment, and to the great lottery of the legal profession with its rich prizes.

But the situation has changed. The picture of the growing unemployment of the educated classes has become in recent years a distressing one, and there are now demands on every side for the reform of secondary education with a view to an amelioration of the position.

The Calcutta University Commission proposed the splitting off of the two lower university classes to form 'intermediate colleges' with varied types of education, and their union in some cases with the two highest classes of the high school. Such colleges have been founded

<sup>1</sup> The Hunter Commission (*Report*, p. 589) recommended

'(i) That in the upper classes of high schools there be two divisions—one leading to the Entrance Examination of the Universities, the other of a more practical character, intended to fit youths for commercial or other non-literary pursuits.

'(ii) That when the proposed bifurcation in secondary schools is carried out, the certificate of having passed by the final standard, or, if necessary, by any lower standard, of either of the proposed alternative courses, be accepted as a sufficient general test of fitness for the public service.'

These recommendations were approved in a Government of India Resolution of 23 Oct., 1884 (paras. 20 and 21). See *Suppt. to Gazette of India*, 25 Oct., 1884, pp. 1499-1512.



in some provinces, but they have not been regarded as altogether successful. New reforms with the object of providing varied training have been recently proposed by a series of bodies. The Hartog Committee in 1929, the Punjab University Enquiry (Anderson) Committee of 1932-3, the Delhi Universities Conference of March, 1934, the United Provinces Government in a Resolution of 8 August, 1934, the United Provinces Unemployment Advisory Committee presided over by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (1935), and, last but not least, the Central Advisory Board of the Government of India (1935) have made drastic suggestions for the reform of the whole school system. The chief proposals include the provision of a primary stage (of four or five years) with literacy as its minimum objective; a lower secondary stage (say of four years, ending at 15), which in turn might become universal, with compulsory manual training; a higher secondary stage of three years, preparatory both for the universities and for vocational work, to be provided for in 'intermediate colleges', and no longer to be interrupted by a matriculation examination.<sup>1</sup>

Another proposal has been made by the Government of India to introduce an examination to be taken at the age of about 17, which would be a preliminary qualification for the minor Government services, and would thus tend to avoid the pursuance of the stereotyped matriculation course, deadening to many youths unfitted for it, and tending to produce an unemployed and unemployable university proletariat.<sup>2</sup>

I reiterate here the view of the Sadler Commission that the control of secondary (including secondary, vocational, and 'intermediate') education should be taken out of the hands of the universities and transferred to special boards, as in the United Provinces, the Dacca University area in Bengal, and Ajmer-Merwara.

One of the great obstacles to a reform of this kind is the financial loss which would result to the universities, but this should be made good in other ways. It is not healthy for research facilities in a univer-

<sup>1</sup> See *Year Book of Education* for 1936, pp. 710-13, and for 1937, pp. 480-1; and an article by Sir G. Anderson in the *Asiatic Review*, Jan., 1937.

<sup>2</sup> Reference should also be made to the *Report on Vocational Education in India* by Messrs. Abbott and Wood. See p. 29, footnote, 1. Mr. Abbott rightly points out that vocational education must be adjusted, in magnitude and character, to the industrial needs of the country.

### *Past and Present*

sity to be made dependent on the fees for secondary school examinations, or any examinations.

Another point of finance and policy. Can a good higher secondary school be run without charging comparatively high fees? The Punjab University Committee thought not; but they would provide admission for poor boys by a liberal system of scholarships—in accordance with the plan generally adopted in this country. I agree. The Punjab Committee also wished a few schools on the lines of an English public school to be included in the system. Mainly as the result of the efforts of an eminent lawyer and member of the Viceroy's Council, the late Mr. S. R. Das, the 'Doon School' has recently been established on these lines at Dehra Dun. It was opened by the Viceroy on 28 October, 1935.

My mind travels back to the depressing picture of the elementary Indian school system given by Adam a hundred years ago. Since then great strides have been made, and the rate of progress has been increased, in some cases marvellously. We have had to quote, from the educational reports of the provinces and the Government of India, much that is depressing. But we must not forget that the present system of secondary education, with all its faults, has produced men who have filled with distinction the highest official positions, as members of the Viceroy's Council and of the provincial Executive Councils, as ministers and as judges of the High Courts—and the political leaders of the country.

LECTURE III  
SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF MUSLIM EDUCATION AND OF  
THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS AND WOMEN.  
THE UNIVERSITIES

*Muslim education. Causes of Muslim backwardness. The new policy of Sir  
Syed Ahmad Khan. The present position*

PERHAPS in no other great country at the present day do differences of creed give rise to such difficulties in the educational system as in India. Nowhere else are the differences so fundamental or on so immense a scale. In British India, which I am alone considering, there are in round numbers 177,157,000 Hindus and 66,436,000 Muslims,<sup>1</sup> besides other denominations.

The Muslims came to India as invaders long after the earlier invasions of which I have spoken (see p. 2, above). They settled and they made converts. It is both from the invaders and from their converts that the Muslims of to-day are descended.

As I explained in my first lecture, at the end of the eighteenth century, and the beginning of the nineteenth, Muslim learning, like Hindu learning, was generally at a low ebb; it had ceased to be creative, but transmitted tradition. Corresponding to the Sanskrit schools of learning in Bengal, Adam, in 1835-8, found Arabic and Persian schools of learning; and in Nattore, he says, 'of two classes of persons, one educated in Mahomedan, and the other in Hindu literature, the former appears to me to possess an intellectual superiority, but the moral superiority does not seem to exist'.<sup>2</sup>

The question of languages in school-teaching has always presented special difficulties for Indian Muslims. Everywhere the formal reading of the Koran in Arabic, even among the lowest classes, was, according to Adam, deemed indispensable.<sup>3</sup> All over India there were,

<sup>1</sup> These figures are for British India, excluding Burma, where the majority (12,348,000 out of 14,667,000) were Buddhists in 1931 (*Census of India*, vol. i, part i, pp. 17 and 389).

<sup>2</sup> Long, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> In the Punjab this learning was sometimes reduced to learning by heart.

and are still, Koran schools, or *maktabs*, where the Koran is taught to the poorest children. Yet the tradition is to teach Arabic not through the medium of the vernacular, but through Persian, the court language of the Moguls. Again, most Muslims wish their children to learn the lingua franca of Muslims all over India—Urdu (often called Hindustani).<sup>1</sup> Moreover, in Bengal the mother tongue of the lower classes is now, as it was in the time of Adam,<sup>2</sup> Bengali for the vast majority, though often a dialectal form of this language. Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Bengali, and then English: the burden is overwhelming, and I found when I was in Bengal that the education of many Muslim youths was seriously retarded in consequence.

Adam said that, though Hindustani, or Urdu, was the current spoken language of *educated* Muslims of Bengal and Bihar, it was remarkable that the language was never used in the schools as the medium or instrument of written instruction, and he attributed to this the greater ignorance of the lower classes of Mussulmans compared to the corresponding classes of the Hindu population.<sup>3</sup> Persian he found to be the only substitute for vernacular instruction; and this was equally true in the Punjab. Both Mussulmans and Hindus who had received a Persian education, says Adam, had nearly the same command of it that Englishmen had of their mother tongue.

It is an interesting fact that Adam found a larger number of Hindus than Mussulmans in the Arabic and Persian schools of the five districts of Murshidabad, Beerbhoom, Burdwan, South Bihar, and Tirhut. With their 14 Hindu and 715 Muslim teachers, he found 2,096 Hindu pupils and only 1,558 Muslims.<sup>4</sup> W. D. Arnold found the same phenomenon in the Punjab in 1856.

Most of the Hindus probably learnt Persian because it was the language of the law courts.<sup>5</sup> In the Muslim schools of learning Adam found the average duration of study both for Persian and Arabic to

<sup>1</sup> The difference between *Urdu* and *Hindi* is mainly a difference of script, and of vocabulary for more complicated notions, which are expressed in Urdu by words derived from Arabic and in Hindi by words derived from Sanskrit. An emphatic protest was made at the 'All-India Moslem Educational Conference' at Patna on 2 Oct., 1938, against the compulsory teaching of Hindi to Muhammadan boys. The subject has been a contentious one for many years.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 211.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 212.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 214.

be about eleven or twelve years; Persian study went on to the twenty-first year, and Arabic to the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth year.<sup>1</sup>

The abolition of Persian as the language of the law courts in 1857, and the substitution of the vernacular, was a desperate blow to Muslim education. For the orthodox Muslim, education, religion, and Arabic, the sacred language of the Koran, were inseparable. In general, a school where he could not learn Koran was no school for him. According to Maulvi Abdul Karim,<sup>2</sup> every mosque in Mogul times was a madrassa, or school of learning in miniature, where distinguished Arabic scholars taught without remuneration. The system collapsed with the Mogul Empire. Sir William Hunter in his book *The Indian Musalmans* attributes the aloofness of Muslims in Bengal to Western education to (a) the want of Muslim teachers; (b) the absence of the provision of Muslim languages; (c) the absence of religious education. But it was not only in Bengal that the Muslims held aloof, it was all over India. It was not through indifference, but through a definite policy (see p. 13, above.) Against that policy a great Muslim, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, entered the lists, and through him and co-adjutors like Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk a great change came about, and is still going on. The foundation in 1875 of the 'Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College' at Aligarh, which in 1920 became the Aligarh Muslim University, marks a turning-point in Muslim education. In the middle and upper classes Muslims, and especially the politically minded, are now eager to avail themselves of educational opportunities. In the lower classes the old difficulties still continue and the Koran is combined in many schools with little else in the way of instruction.

In all important Government reports on education you will find special chapters devoted to the education of Muhammadans. Of late years the total number of Muslim pupils has grown faster than the rest of the school population. Between 1917 and 1927 it increased by 62½ per cent., or almost a million, and at the time of the last Quinquennial Review, while the ratio of Muhammadans to non-Muhammadans was 24·7 per cent., the ratio of Muhammadans under instruction to the total number under instruction was 26·7 per cent.<sup>3</sup> An

<sup>1</sup> This was in the Beerbhoom district (op. cit., p. 214).

<sup>2</sup> *Calcutta University Commission Report*, vol. i, pp. 148, 169.

<sup>3</sup> *Quinquennial Review*, 1927-32, vol. i, p. 239.

analysis of the figures for the different stages shows, however, that at every stage going upwards the proportion of Muhammadans unfortunately diminishes.<sup>1</sup> The wastage among both boys and girls is appallingly heavy. Only 17 per cent. of the boys and less than 6 per cent. of the girls reach Class IV.<sup>2</sup> In the 'high stage' of secondary education Muslims only form 15 per cent. of the total. But it is clear that in the high schools they are making up leeway, for between 1927 and 1932 the number increased by nearly 50 per cent., from 32,000 to 47,000;<sup>3</sup> and in the collegiate and university stage they are also beginning to make up leeway, though less rapidly. In 1935 they still formed only about 14½ per cent. of the university population.<sup>4</sup>

Owing to what is termed the educational backwardness of the community, the Central Government still reserves a certain number of posts for the Muslims which are filled by nomination and not by competition.

In the primary stages the great educational weakness of the Muslims lies in their preference for what the Hartog Committee called 'special schools'—the descendants of the inefficient primary schools described by Adam. The Committee expressed the view that the sooner these institutions were replaced by general schools (with certain safeguards for Muslim interests) in which Muslims would sit side by side with members of the Hindu and other communities,<sup>5</sup> the better it would be for the Muslim community as a whole, as well as for the general interest. But provision for the religious instruction of Muslim children and other safeguards must be provided, and we believed they could be provided without endangering the religious neutrality of Government.

Let me now speak of higher education. I am convinced from my own experience that though there is educational backwardness among

<sup>1</sup> *Quinquennial Review*, 1927-32, p. 241.

<sup>2</sup> *Education in India*, 1935-6, pp. 79, 82.

<sup>3</sup> *Quinquennial Review*, 1927-32, vol. ii, p. 183.

<sup>4</sup> *Education in India*, 1934-5, pp. 124-5; the figure is deduced from statistics on pp. 6, 78, and 113. At the university stage there were, in 1936, only about 300 Muslim girls receiving instruction out of a total of about 5,500 girls altogether. The figure given (14.4 per cent.) is the percentage of the whole number of *male* students in university institutions.

<sup>5</sup> *Hartog Report*, pp. 203-5.

the Muslims there is no intellectual inferiority. Muslims all over India have risen to posts of the highest distinction on their own merits. There is, however, one strange fact to which, I think, the Muslim community should direct their attention—the relatively small numbers of those who devote themselves to physical and natural science.

*Position of women in India. Introduction of girls' schools by missionaries and Government. The present position. Inadequacy of the provision for girls' education*

I now come to the education of women and girls. When, at a meeting in 1931, I asked Mr. Gandhi, who had, I think wrongly, accused the British Government of discouraging literacy, what was his explanation of the fact that only 2 per cent. of women were literate as against 14 per cent. of men (both numbers have increased slightly since), he frankly and without qualification placed the responsibility on Indian men.<sup>1</sup>

But I must put those of my hearers unacquainted with India on their guard in this matter. The position of the woman in the household, both Hindu and Muslim, whether she is secluded in purdah or not, is not a low but a high one. The love and reverence shown to the mother by her sons is perhaps unequalled in any other country. Often she is the centre round which the whole system moves.<sup>2</sup>

Yet 150 years ago there was not a single girls' school in India. To-day (1938) there are Indian women in the forefront of the political world, not only in the new legislatures but in the new ministries; there are women in city corporations, in local boards, in the professions, capable of holding their own in any field. Even in 1928 the Madras Legislative Council had elected a woman, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, as their Deputy President.<sup>3</sup> In some ways a revolution has taken place with regard to the position of women which seems to me of greater ultimate significance for India than any other element in the political movements of our time.

'If', wrote Mr. K. Natarajan recently, 'a person who died a hundred

<sup>1</sup> *International Affairs*, vol. x (Nov. 1931), pp. 727-8 and 734-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Living India*, by Lady Hartog, p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Reddi served as my colleague on the Education Committee of the Simon Commission.

years ago came to life to-day the first and most important change that would strike him is the revolution in the position of women.<sup>1</sup>

It was the missionaries who first introduced girls' education into India, in the first third of the nineteenth century, at a period when for various reasons, recorded by Sir Thomas Munro,<sup>2</sup> by Buchanan, by Adam, and later by Leitner, it was regarded with deep suspicion by Indian men. The tradition of highly educated women in early times, conserved in literature, had become almost a thing of the past. Buchanan, speaking of literacy in Dinajpur in 1808, writes: 'Women are totally out of the question. My inquiries on that subject were generally answered in the negative, and generally produced a smile of contempt.'<sup>3</sup> In Rangpur, Adam writes, 'it is considered highly improper to bestow any education on women, and no man would marry a girl who was known to be capable of reading.'<sup>4</sup> 'That sort of knowledge', he adds, 'is supposed to be most inauspicious to their husbands.'

The view with regard to reading seems to have undergone some change between 1836 and 1881, for the author of the Census of India for the latter year wrote that 'there is no doubt that the number of women who can read and write is not fully stated in the Census schedules'. It was said that 'respectable women who could read, when asked whether they could read and write (it was in this form that the information was asked), would reply in the negative, because it is not considered respectable for a woman to write, though her ability to read would be no blot on her character.'<sup>5</sup>

It is this kind of tradition that the education of women in India has had to contend against and to conquer. The first attempt in Bengal and probably in India 'to instruct native girls in an organised school' was made, according to Adam, in 1818, at Chinsura, but the school

<sup>1</sup> I take this from a remarkable article strongly defending 'English education' in India, published in the *Indian Social Reformer* for 25 Sept., 1937.

<sup>2</sup> Minute of 25 June, 1822, reprinted in *Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee [of the H. of C.] on the Affairs of the East India Company*, vol. i (Public) (1832), p. 501.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> Long, p. 72. Adam points out that husbands were sometimes deceived in this matter and the young wives before joining their husbands had acquired an elementary form of literacy and knowledge of accounts which were 'the means of saving many families from threatened destruction'.

<sup>5</sup> Census for 1881, vol. i, p. 254.



failed.<sup>1</sup> The movement for women's education was taken up by missionary societies in the three presidencies. A society for native female education was encouraged by Lady Amherst in 1824.<sup>2</sup> But the establishment of a secular girls' school in Calcutta in May, 1849, by J. E. Drinkwater Bethune, Legal Member of Council, and his conversion of Dalhousie to his own views at this time mark a new beginning in the history of women's education in India. The fear was expressed that any interference by Government might seriously offend Indian sentiment; but Dalhousie, in a letter of 11 April, 1850 from the Government of India to the Government of Bengal, expressed the view that no single change in the habits of the people was likely to lead to more important and beneficial changes than the introduction of education for their female children. He pointed out that Bethune's example had been followed by educated Indians in other parts of Bengal; he considered that a great work had been done in the first successful introduction of native female education in India on a sound and solid foundation, and that Government ought to give it frank and cordial support; and he gave instructions that the Council of Education should be informed that it was thenceforward to consider its functions as comprising the superintendence of native female education, and that it would be its duty to give all possible encouragement to any disposition shown by the natives to establish female schools.<sup>3</sup>

He directed also that intimation to the same effect should be given to the chief civil officers of the mofussil,<sup>4</sup> calling their attention to the growing disposition among Indians to establish female schools, and directing the officers to encourage them by all means at their disposal and to make it generally known that Government viewed them with very great approbation.<sup>5, 6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Long, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Richey, *Selections*, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> The word 'native' as an equivalent for 'Indian', usual until comparatively recent times, has been completely abandoned in deference to natural objections to the use of the term, but it is obviously impossible to make the change everywhere in quoting from official documents.

<sup>4</sup> The term 'mofussil' is used generally to connote the country localities as distinct from a chief station.

<sup>5</sup> See Richey, *Selections*, pp. 52-60.

<sup>6</sup> An address by Warden, quoted by Richey (*op. cit.*, p. 51) shows that in 1851 a similar movement had been started at Poona and Ahmedabad in Bombay.

The Court of Directors in a Despatch of 4 September, 1850, approved Dalhousie's letter, but thought that 'with reference to the opinions and feelings of the Indians in respect of female seclusion, great caution and prudence would be required in carrying out the instructions to the officers in the mofussil'.

The development of the education of girls and women in India from 1850 to the present day has been a long and difficult business. Even at present under 3 per cent. of women are literate. But the national conscience, if one may use that phrase, has been stirred. What are the facts? There are in India primary schools for girls; primary schools for boys, to which little girls are being admitted in larger and larger numbers;<sup>1</sup> secondary schools for girls; technical schools for girls; training schools and colleges for women teachers; arts colleges for women; and a medical college (the Lady Hardinge Medical College for Women at Delhi); and women are admitted to all university privileges and to an increasing number of men's colleges. It is a singular fact that Dame Mary Scharlieb, one of the pioneers of women's medical education, qualified in Madras in 1878, just after medical education had been opened to women in England, where she studied later.

Thus there are undoubtedly opportunities for girls and women. But on what scale? The number of males under instruction in 1936 was not far short of eleven millions (10,803,000); the number of females under instruction was just over three millions (3,013,000).<sup>2</sup>

The discrepancy between the amounts spent on boys' education and on that of girls is immense, even making allowance for the amount spent on girls who go to boys' schools. The total amount spent on education for females in 1935-6 was Rs.3,83,68,114, as against Rs.23,48,71,575 on that for males, or about 14 per cent.: less than one-seventh of the whole.<sup>3</sup> This leaves out of account the girls in institutions for boys, and the boys in institutions for girls. It was depressing to have to record, said the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, that in 1935-6 all the provincial

<sup>1</sup> See *Education in India, 1935-6*, pp. 54, 55. There are some 100,000 boys in girls' schools, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> *Education in India, 1935-6*, pp. 5 and 53. The figures in the text are deduced from the tables referred to.

<sup>3</sup> *Education in India, 1935-6*, p. 125.

Governments, except the Punjab, Assam, and the Central Provinces, decreased their percentages of Government expenditure on girls' education.<sup>1</sup>

And there is another point. Between the figures of 1936 and those of 1917 there is a contrast. In 1917 there were over 6½ million males under instruction (6,620,000) as compared with 1¼ million females (1,230,000). It is futile to compare percentage rates of increase, as is sometimes done in this matter, without quoting the actual figures to which they relate. If there had been only ten girls under instruction in 1917 and twenty in 1932, the increase would have been 100 per cent. In comparing boys and girls, of whom there should be equal numbers at school, absolute increases should be compared. During the years 1927-32 the increase in the number of boy pupils was 958,000, as against an increase of only 650,000 girl pupils.<sup>2</sup> In the year 1935-6 (the latest for which there are all-India figures) the increase in the number of boys was 178,000, and of girls 106,000.<sup>3</sup> Thus the discrepancy between the number of educated boys and of educated girls is still increasing. Only in Madras and in the Punjab, in the quinquennium 1927-32, was the increase among the girls for the first time actually greater than among the boys, as it should be in all provinces if the balance is to be redressed.<sup>2</sup> Madras leads both in the percentage of girls at school and of trained women teachers.

The desire for the education of girls is there, and the demand augments each year. Hence the rush of girls into the primary schools for boys, the pressure on the secondary schools, the remarkable influx of women into the universities and colleges. Between 1932 and 1936 the number of women who graduated was more than doubled.<sup>4</sup>

Outside the universities, how is the desire being met? In the whole of British India there are only 392 girls' high schools, 413 middle English and 560 vernacular middle schools, and 32,618 primary schools for girls, of which more than half are in Bengal.<sup>5</sup> It is true that there are now almost as many girls in primary schools for boys as in primary schools for girls (43 per cent. of the total number in the

<sup>1</sup> *Education in India*, 1935-6, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> *Quinquennial Review*, 1927-32, vol. i, p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> *Education in India*, 1935-6, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70, and *Quinquennial Review*, 1927-32, vol. i, p. 189.      <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

primary stage), but in the great majority of the mixed primary schools 'the girls have no real place in the school life. There are, as a rule, no women teachers, no provision for teaching the girls anything outside the boys' curriculum.'<sup>1</sup>

The whole primary system throughout India, except perhaps in Madras, is handicapped by the want of women teachers, needed for small boys as much as for small girls. 'Until a system of infant classes staffed by trained women is established in India education will remain unsound at its very foundations.'<sup>2</sup> This opinion, which endorses the view of my Committee,<sup>3</sup> has, I believe, the support of all progressive educationists in India to-day.

Yet at present there are still thousands of men teachers in primary schools for girls in Bengal, Bihar, and Bombay. A recent report of a Committee of the Central Advisory Board shows that if even half the girls of school-going age (6 to 11) are to be brought to school at the rate of one woman teacher for every 35 girls, then a total number of 225,719 teachers will be required, and only one-third of this number are provided, leaving a deficiency of 151,188.<sup>4</sup>

For the changes required in the education of girls to be brought about effectively and rapidly, it is essential that in all provinces the Director of Public Instruction should be assisted and advised by competent women officers in matters of policy as well as of administration, including one whole-time officer on the head-quarters staff.<sup>5</sup>

May I quote a sentence from the report of my Committee?<sup>6</sup>

'Despite the growing increase in girls' education, the measures taken to promote it have been inadequate. The education of the girl is the education of the mother. The school-education of each additional girl counts more towards the future than the school-education of an additional boy. We are definitely of opinion that in the interests of the advance of Indian education as a whole, priority should now be given to the claims of girls in every scheme of expansion.'

<sup>1</sup> 'Education of Girls in India', Lady Hartog, *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 20 March, 1936, p. 502.

<sup>2</sup> *Report on Vocational Education in India*, A. Abbott and S. H. Wood, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Hartog Report*, p. 175.

<sup>4</sup> Central Advisory Board of Education, *Report of Women's Education Committee on primary education of girls in India*, 1936, pp. 2 and 25.

<sup>5</sup> *Hartog Report*, p. 158.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 347.

It was not any mechanical equality in statistical tables that we had in mind, but something far deeper.<sup>1</sup>

‘The whole case for women’s education rests on the claim that education is not the privilege of one sex, but equally the right of both; and that neither one sex nor the other can advance by itself without a strain on the social and national system and injury to itself.’<sup>2</sup>

*Creation of affiliating universities in 1857 on the model of London University. The Curzon Act of 1904. The newer universities. The Sadler Report. Ideals of university education. The University of Dacca. Examination standards. The new spirit.—Conclusion*

I turn now to the Indian universities.

There are three periods in the history of the Indian universities: from 1857, when, as a result of the great Despatch of 1854, the first three were established at Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta, to 1904, the date of Lord Curzon’s reform; from 1904 to 1919, the date of the Report of the Sadler Commission; and the period since.

The first universities were created on the original model of the University of London—that is to say, they were purely examining bodies, and their examinations were only open to pupils from colleges that were approved and affiliated.<sup>3</sup> In one way the Indian system of affiliation went farther than the English, because the only pupils ordinarily admissible to the matriculation examination (there were exceptions) were pupils from schools that had been recognized by the universities. In other words, the university organization had, and still has in many university areas, though not all, a grip over the whole, not only of the college system, but of the secondary school system in the area to which it applies. I should add that some of the affiliated colleges were established and maintained by Government; others were private colleges aided by Government. In 1882 the Uni-

<sup>1</sup> See the chapter on the Education of Women and Girls in the *Calcutta University Commission Report*, vol. ii, chap. xiv. <sup>2</sup> *Hartog Report*, p. 183.

<sup>3</sup> Under the first two charters of the University of London, those of 1836 and 1837, candidates for degrees were only admitted from approved institutions; but under the Third Charter, of 1858, this restriction was removed except in respect of degrees in medicine and surgery (Third Charter, sections 34–6). See Sir W. H. Allchin’s *Account of the Reconstruction of the University of London*, part i (1905), pp. 8–18 and Appendix.

versity of the Punjab, with head-quarters at Lahore, and in 1887 the University of Allahabad (which was given teaching powers but did not use them for many years) were founded on the same model.

The colleges under the universities and the number of students multiplied greatly, and numerous defects of the system became apparent. Lord Curzon as Viceroy set up a University Commission in 1902, which resulted in the Universities Act of 1904. Lord Curzon's Act gave rise to a storm of protest, because it was thought, though wrongly, that it would take the universities out of Indian control. The senates by which the universities were managed included a large number of Indian members, and the storm died down. Under the Act new and more stringent rules were prescribed for the recognition of colleges, which led to great improvements in their staff and equipment and in the housing of students in college hostels. But the Act did not accomplish all that was intended. During the first thirteen years following the Act there was an immense growth in the student population, which had, in the general belief, been accompanied by a general lowering of the standards, especially in the largest of the universities, Calcutta. In 1917 this university had 58 affiliated institutions and 26,000 students, out of a total for the whole of India of 58,000—a large number compared to the literate population.

Before dealing with the new movement which began about 1917, I want to mention one important new college, which, like the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, of which I have spoken, was created not to serve an area but a special community; I mean the Central Hindu College at Benares, created originally through the influence of Mrs. Annie Besant as an all-India institution for Hindus, though, like the M.A.-O. College, it admitted students of other beliefs than those of the founders. Both institutions were affiliated to the University of Allahabad; both have become independent unitary universities, Benares in 1915, Aligarh in 1920.<sup>1</sup>

About this time also two of the Indian States created universities of their own, Mysore in 1916 and Hyderabad in 1918. It is a feature of the Osmania University, in Hyderabad City, that Urdu is used as the medium of instruction, though English is a compulsory subject.

<sup>1</sup> Reference may be made to the *Handbook of Indian Universities*, published annually by the Inter-University Board, India.

The creation in 1917 of Patna University, as a new affiliating and teaching university, split off from Calcutta, did not imply any new principle. The Curzon Act had indeed provided powers for the universities to undertake teaching, but of these comparatively little use had been made except at Allahabad. In 1916 a Government of India Committee was set up to consider the question of postgraduate studies in the University of Calcutta and its colleges, and in 1917 Government sanctioned regulations which led to the establishment in September of that year of an extensive scheme of postgraduate teaching up to the M.A. standard with the addition of special chairs and other teacherships for research.<sup>1</sup> In many ways this constituted an important advance.

In the same year (1917), in the middle of the Great War, the Government of India set up a new Commission, presided over by Dr. (now Sir) Michael Sadler, to inquire into and report on the University of Calcutta, and incidentally on university education elsewhere in India. It sat for seventeen months, and produced a Report in five volumes, which gives a comprehensive and critical survey of the problems of education in Bengal (many of them all-India problems), and which has had a great influence on Indian education in general,<sup>2</sup> though, for reasons into which I cannot go, the constitution of the University of Calcutta still remains largely unreformed.

The Government, in setting up the Commission during the War, had clearly in view the democratic reforms which were intended and actually came into force afterwards and the desirability of raising the standard of higher education in India to meet the needs of new political ideals.<sup>3</sup>

The Report, published in the summer of 1919, stated that the university system of Bengal was fundamentally defective in almost every

<sup>1</sup> See *Report of the Calcutta University Commission*, vol. ii, chap. xv, 'Post-graduate Teaching and Research'.

It should be mentioned that, whereas in England 'postgraduate work' generally connotes research work, it is used as a rule in India to connote work leading up from the bachelor's to the master's degree, for which in the majority of cases research is not required, though there are exceptions.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Mayhew, in his *Education of India* (p. 6), says of the Report, 'its significance in the history of Indian education is incalculable'.

<sup>3</sup> A letter from Mr. (later Sir) Austen Chamberlain, Secretary of State for India, addressed to the University of London, in asking for the services of one of its officials, made this point quite clear.

aspect, and that in so far as it did good work it did so in spite of the method of organization then in vogue.<sup>1</sup> It recommended drastic changes. I have already spoken of the changes in regard to the system of secondary education, and the splitting off of the first two years of university instruction. It pointed out that the conditions of teaching were so bad that few men of the highest ability were attracted to the University, and that, a university degree being required as the sole credential for public employment, many students used the University merely as an avenue to such employment. It pointed out also that a reform of the mechanical examination system which dominated the whole of the teaching in Bengal was essential for progress.

In regard to teachers, the Commission wrote as follows: 'In order that the teachers of the University and its colleges may perform their functions rightly, it is . . . necessary that the great majority of them should be and should be recognized as men who have independent inquiries of their own to carry on.'<sup>2</sup> I lay great stress on this section, because the Punjab University Enquiry Committee of 1931, which quotes other passages from the Report, does not quote this, and their whole policy in this matter appears to have an opposite trend.

The first important effect of the Sadler Report in Bengal was the creation of Dacca University in 1920-1, on lines recommended by the Commission, which considerably modified those previously recommended.<sup>3</sup> A number of other universities were also created after the issue of the Report, and their organization was influenced by it: Aligarh, of which I have spoken; Rangoon, split off from Calcutta in 1920; Lucknow, split off from Allahabad in 1922; Delhi, split off from the Punjab in 1922; Nagpur, split off from Allahabad in 1922-3; Andhra, split off from Madras in 1926; Agra, split off from Allahabad in 1927, leaving Allahabad as a teaching and unitary university. The Annamalai University at Chidambaran in Southern India was founded with the help of a large private donation by Sir Annamalai Chettiar in 1929. The university of Travancore was created in 1937 at Trivandrum, the capital of this Indian State.

The number of university students has increased, as we have stated,

<sup>1</sup> *Summary of Recommendations, Calcutta University Commission Report*, vol. v, p. 302.

<sup>2</sup> *Calcutta University Commission Report*, vol. iv, p. 279.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. xxxiii, on the University of Dacca.



to nearly 120,000. In the view of my Committee, and it is becoming, I believe, the view of the educated Indian public, the universities are now overcrowded with men who are not profiting either intellectually or materially by their university training, and, since every student in India, as in every other country, costs far more than his fees, it is not only private but public money which is being wasted. If those students who now go to a university or a college without being really fitted for higher work were diverted in large numbers at an earlier stage to careers better suited to their capacity, money would be set free for more profitable educational uses, and the training of the best men could be appreciably improved. The overcrowding of universities by men of whom a large number fail, and for whom there is no economic demand, has vitally affected the quality of university education.

I want, therefore, more stringent selection of university students, but I foresee great obstacles, which I do not wish to minimize. There is the obstacle that methods of selection are very often faulty, and there can be no doubt that a very large number of Indian parents will resent the denial of opportunities of university education for their sons, whether they are qualified or not.

But let us suppose that the average quality of the student is greatly raised—what then? There can be no doubt that the Calcutta University Commission Report led to an immense improvement in the average quality of university teachers, and especially of the higher teachers on whom the titles of Professor and Reader were conferred. The amount of original work carried on in Indian universities in 1917 was extremely small. There has been a very considerable advance in this matter. My Committee wrote: 'It is now generally recognized in India, as in the universities in the West, that the man who occupies a University Chair, or Readership, should have done original work, and be able to guide his best students in research.'<sup>1</sup> One cannot overlook the silences of the *Quinquennial Review* of 1927-32 in regard to the needs for research, for libraries, for laboratories. If research is checked in Indian universities, they will undergo a risk of emasculation. They have begun to take their place in the ranks of the universities of the world. I foresee that if the present policy is changed they may become degraded to a lower level.

<sup>1</sup> *Hartog Report*, p. 138.

This does not mean that I ignore the aim of the student who needs a general education and who will never be able himself to conduct research. But the whole spirit of the teaching of a university in which knowledge is only transmitted but not advanced is entirely different from that of a university where the teachers are expanding the limits of knowledge.

There is another aspect of universities which I should like to stress—their function in training leaders of men. ‘The proper conduct of universities’, my Committee wrote, ‘is a matter of first-rate importance to the State, because it is in them that the leaders of the country are trained.’<sup>1</sup>

And here I have in mind not only the question of the corporate life inside the universities and their halls of residence, which was, and is, so active in some of the unitary universities, e.g. Dacca, but the social service leagues, which encourage in the student a sympathy with his less fortunate fellow citizens and which impress upon him that it is a duty and a privilege to help to improve their lot.<sup>2</sup>

I think I shall be only paraphrasing, though perhaps a little roughly, the gist of three admirable addresses given by Lord Reading and Lord Irwin (now Lord Halifax) at Delhi University and at the first inter-university conference in India, when I say that if a university does its work really well it tends to give a man three things of great value to the community: a balanced judgement; a balanced character; and an increasing will to act for the good both of himself and of his fellow creatures.<sup>3</sup>

In Indian university teaching far too little effort is made in dealing with controversial subjects to make a student see for himself what is to be said on both sides of a question. I remember asking a candidate for a university post at Dacca what he would say to a student who,

<sup>1</sup> *Hartog Report*, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> I dealt with this subject at some length in an address to the Annual Convocation of the University of Lucknow on 11 December, 1929, presided over by Sir Malcolm (now Lord) Hailey.

<sup>3</sup> The speeches to which I refer are those of Lord Reading at the Delhi University Convocation, on 7 March, 1921, and at the Universities Conference at Simla on 19 May, 1924, and the speech of Lord Irwin at the Delhi University Convocation on 4 March, 1927. (See *Speeches of the Earl of Reading*, vol. ii, pp. 170 and 188–9, and *Speeches of Lord Irwin*, vol. i, p. 229.)

after hearing him lecture on an admittedly controversial question, came up to him and said respectfully, 'I am sorry, sir, but I am afraid I do not share your views. I think so and so.' The candidate replied that he would tell the student that he had no right to an opinion of his own; he should sit at the feet of his teacher. We did not select that man.

The balanced intellectual judgement is not sufficient. A man of marked intellectual discrimination may be swept away by gusts of emotion; the balanced character is harder to achieve than the balanced judgement; it implies, not indecision or inaction, but a mastery of the will that makes a man go forward on the path which, after reflection, he chooses as the right one.

In my last lecture I spoke of the dangers of propaganda. I confess that I believe that literacy, though it must come, will bring with it some special dangers for India, and it is of great importance to foresee and face those dangers. Bertrand Russell, in a remarkable book called *Icarus*—with every word of which I do not pretend to agree—takes a pessimistic view of the results of the advance of science. He thinks it has given communities 'more power to indulge their collective passions, but, by making society more organic, it has diminished the part played by private passions. Man's collective passions are mainly evil; far the strongest of them are hatred and rivalry directed towards other groups.'<sup>1</sup>

What I want to suggest to-day is that the universities of India will have an immense part to play in guiding the new forces, moral and intellectual, of which Bertrand Russell speaks, and which are brought into being on a vast scale by literacy and the popular vote.

I think perhaps it will be of more interest to you if in this lecture, instead of attempting a survey of all the universities, I try to show you briefly how we endeavoured to carry out some of the main ideas that I have indicated in the University of Dacca.

That university was founded in response to a Muslim appeal to found a university for Muslims in Eastern Bengal and Assam, to compensate for the loss they had suffered by the re-partition of Bengal in 1912. But the Government of India decided—and rightly decided—that though special facilities should be given to Muslim students the university should be open to all. The foundation was delayed by the

<sup>1</sup> *Icarus* (Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1924), pp. 62, 63.

War, and the university was founded, not on the original scheme, but on a scheme devised by the Calcutta University Commission. We had some immense advantages: a splendid site of nearly a square mile of park-land, with about 100 buildings on it, including houses for a number of the staff and the old Dacca College and a great secretariat which had been built for the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam. We had splendid playing-fields; we had something respectable in the way of a capital endowment—although not as much as we expected and deserved; and we began with an annual grant of 5 lakhs, which the Bengal legislature later increased to  $5\frac{1}{2}$ , and made a statutory grant, not liable to a chance vote in the legislature. The total income from all sources is now something over 9 lakhs (£67,500), including fees. Our recurring grant was much smaller than we expected; we limited our scope accordingly. There are only twelve departments in the University of Dacca, of which one, the Department of Education, based on the pre-existing Training College, is specially financed by Government. We had no window-dressing.

The Heads of our Departments were selected by committees on which specialists nominated by the Chancellor<sup>1</sup> were present, and the majority of our professors and readers were men who were capable of carrying on, and who did carry on, independent work.

The University does not conduct any matriculation or 'intermediate' examination and only admits students who have passed the intermediate examination of a special Dacca Board or some equivalent examination, so that it is not burdened with what is really school teaching.<sup>2</sup>

Corresponding roughly to the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, we set up three Halls of Residence, and, as testified by members of my Committee other than myself, there is a healthy and vigorous life in

<sup>1</sup> I cannot refrain here from acknowledging my great personal debt to our first Chancellor, Lord Ronaldshay, now Marquess of Zetland, whose profound interest in Indian culture is well known through his writings, and on whose wise and friendly counsel through a number of years I could always rely. His successor as Governor of Bengal and as Chancellor, Lord Lytton, took no less constant and active an interest in the university.

<sup>2</sup> The Universities of Agra, Allahabad, and Lucknow have similar provisions. In the United Provinces there is a special board which conducts high school and intermediate examinations, parallel to the Dacca Board.

these Halls,<sup>1</sup> of which I still have constant evidence in the reports sent to me.

There is not only research work being carried on, but tutorial instruction on a wide scale. There is a University Training Corps; there is a department of physical instruction; there is medical inspection; and there is a library which started in 1921 with about 18,000 well-selected volumes inherited from the Dacca College, and has now over 74,000 printed volumes and about 20,000 manuscripts. In view of its comparatively recent creation, it is probably the most efficient university library in India. It takes in some 300 periodicals. Moreover, the books are used, and the number of issues, exclusive of books on the open shelves consulted in the teachers' reading-room and in the libraries of the Halls, is now about 100,000 annually. As the total number of students is at present only about 1,150, owing to the economic strain, the use of the library is remarkable.<sup>2</sup>

Each of the three Halls has its own societies, its athletic club, and its social service league. The social service leagues themselves conduct and maintain night schools, either in the Halls themselves or, in one case, in a poor village at some distance. There is one event in the history of the University of which, though it happened after I left, I think any one connected with the University has reason to be proud. When there were communal riots in Dacca a few years ago, an appeal was made to the students to furnish a corps of special constables, and a number of patrols, each consisting half of Hindu and half of Muslim students, afforded real service in this crisis. A friend of mine said to me that it was only in Dacca that such a miracle of co-operation could have happened. It is for the universities of India to make such miracles of understanding commonplaces. It is for the universities to cultivate, not only the intelligence of the mind, but the intelligence of the heart which is necessary to fashion of India something more than a congeries of communities and provinces—a real unity in herself.

I want to deal finally with one other aspect of affairs: the change that will take place when the universities nearly all become, as many of them are, entirely staffed and controlled by Indians, without any assis-

<sup>1</sup> *Hartog Report*, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> It should, however, be stated that a limited number of the public are now allowed to use the library.

tance from Europeans. In one respect the influence of English teachers in the past has been marked and constant. I think it would be true to say that there is a tendency among Indian examiners—though by no means all—to regard a university degree, not so much as a certificate of efficiency delivered to the public to whom it must guarantee that the contents of the bottle correspond with the label, but as a present which ought to be given to persons deserving it fairly, a present to be given in a charitable spirit—though the charity costs nothing to the donors—a charity in which the quality of mercy is not strained. Against this excessive lenience many Englishmen struggled in the past, not always effectively. But a new spirit is springing up in India among men of real capacity who are now teachers in the stronger Indian universities, many of them trained in this country, a ferment which will, I believe, leaven the whole.

I come to my general conclusions.

If we were to compare the present educational system of India with that of England or France, or of Germany up till 1933, we should undoubtedly have to say that at every stage it falls behind the systems of those countries; and yet in every part there are features whose excellence gives us real hope, since they suggest that the imperfections are due to historic and not to inherent, or at any rate not to insuperable, obstacles.

What of the immediate future? An earnest Quaker missionary has predicted that under the new régime there will be a Counter-Reformation in education, which will no longer be Western but Eastern; thus India will go back a thousand years and more to the old days described by that great Orientalist, the late Professor Sylvain Lévi, of the Collège de France, in a remarkable address on Indian Humanism—to those days when she gave out a great wealth of ideas, especially to the rest of Asia, but accepted nothing in return.<sup>1</sup>

It might be urged against the view stated above that though there was a Counter-Reformation in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there was no Counter-Renaissance, and since the seventeenth century the Greek spirit has lived in the West as never before. But that we must not take his prediction too lightly is

<sup>1</sup> M. Lévi's address, given at the University of Dacca, is printed in the original English text in his book *L'Inde et le Monde* (Paris, Champion, 1928).

shown in a striking book on the problem of National Education in India by the late Lala Lajpat Rai. Lajpat Rai warned India against the chauvinistic danger and the attempt of his country to console herself for the present by contemplating the glories of the past.<sup>1</sup> If India is now to take the place she claims among the nations, and I sympathize with those claims, she must, as Lajpat Rai suggests, abandon not her just pride, but her absorption in the past, and much of her conservatism.

Let us examine the question more closely. In the realm of science there are no national boundaries. It was for physics, not for Indian physics, that Sir C. V. Raman was awarded the Nobel Prize. In literature, art, philosophy, religion, there are boundaries, no doubt, but boundaries crossed and recrossed with mutual profit by the greatest of nationals of many countries. Chaucer was not denationalized by the Italians, nor Milton by Sophocles or the Hebrew Bible, that Bible which pervades the whole of English literature. The greatest of Indian living writers, Rabindranath Tagore, is no less Indian because of his profound Western culture. Nor, except by the methods of a ruthless dictatorship, would a fresh isolation of India from the thought of the West be possible in these days, when the word is carried by a thousand new channels over land and sea from the mind and heart that have conceived it to the minds and hearts of unknown far-off millions.

And I have confidence in those younger Indians whom I have known in the world of education, patriots but not chauvinists, men of no narrow nationalism, with faith and courage to recognize faults and weaknesses which it will no longer be possible to attribute to others. They will need courage to combat not only conservatism but a sentimentalism in public opinion which too often takes pity on the incompetent individual to the detriment of the public cause, a public opinion that needs fresh ideals of strenuousness and public efficiency. Indian legislative bodies, administrators, and teachers, in dealing with the problems of education, have indeed an immense task before them, a moral as well as an intellectual task. It is not too much to say that the way in which they face and discharge that task will affect not only the destinies of the millions of India, but, through India, of the whole world.

<sup>1</sup> *National Education in India* by Lajpat Rai (London, Allen & Unwin, 1920), pp. 62-85.

## MEMORANDUM A

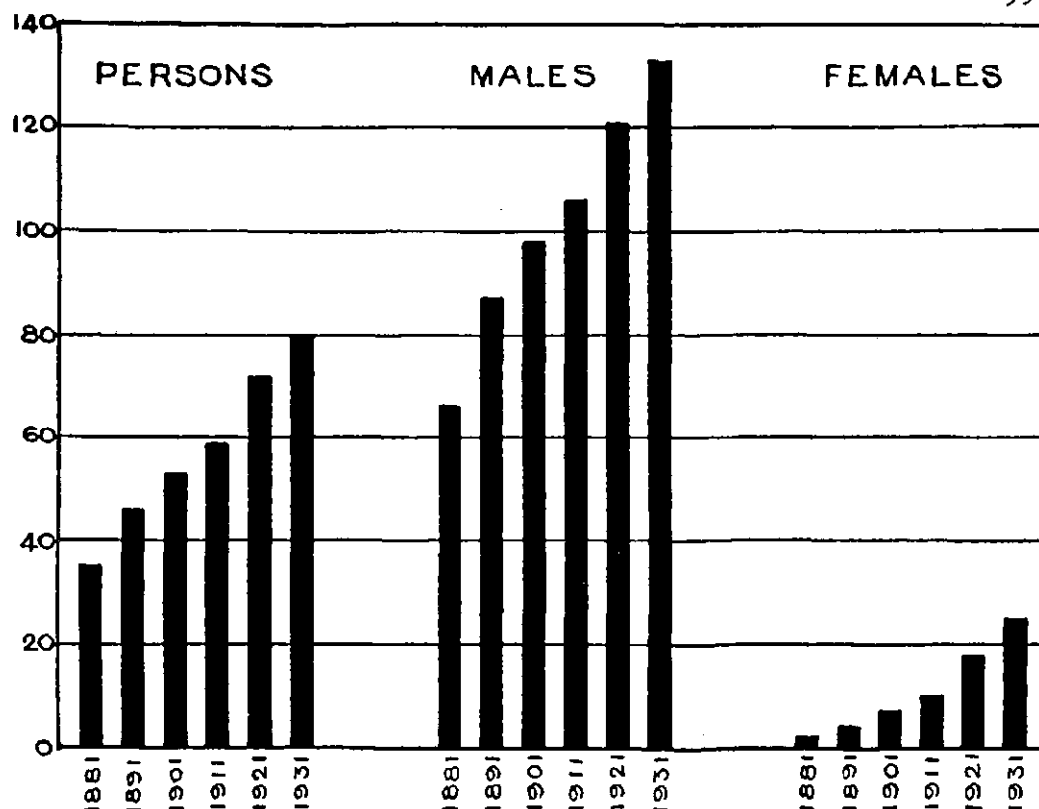
### NOTE ON THE STATISTICS OF LITERACY AND OF SCHOOLS IN INDIA DURING THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS

**M**R. GANDHI in his speech at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in 1931 said:

'I say, without fear of my figures being challenged successfully, that to-day India is more illiterate than it was fifty or a hundred years ago, and so is Burma, because the British administrators, when they came to India, instead of taking hold of things as they were, began to root them out.'<sup>1</sup>

When I asked Mr. Gandhi for his authorities, he referred me, not to the census

#### GROWTH OF LITERACY PER MILLE OF TOTAL POPULATION 1881-1931



(Reproduced from the Census of India, 1931, vol. i, part i, facing p. 324.)

figures of literacy (indeed he mentioned no figures), but to certain reports and articles mainly relating to a supposed diminution in numbers of schools, to which I shall come in a moment. I shall take first of all the census figures.

The first all-India Census (including a census of literacy) was taken in 1881; the methods employed in 1881 and 1891 in regard to the test of literacy were less

<sup>1</sup> *International Affairs*, vol. x (1931), pp. 727, 734, and 735.



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stringent than, and not exactly comparable with, those adopted in 1901 and later. But from the graph reproduced above from the Census of 1931 it appears that roughly speaking the literacy percentage for males has more than doubled for all India in these fifty years, 1881-1931, and the much smaller literacy percentage for females has been multiplied about five times.<sup>1</sup>

I give in the table below census figures for males and females (aged 10 and over) separately from 1901 to 1931:

*Progress of Literacy since 1901\**

Number literate per mille. All ages 10 and over

	<i>Males</i>				<i>Females</i>			
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1931	1921	1911	1901
<b>PROVINCES (i.e. British India)</b>	178	167	147	134	30	22	14	9
Bengal . . . . .	201	210	187	138	34	23	15	7
Bihar and Orissa . . . . .	108	114	104		8	7	5	
Burma . . . . .	614	576	496	498	175	123	79	57
Punjab . . . . .	112	90	84	86	18	11	8	4
Madras . . . . .	211	199	183	160	32	26	17	12
<b>STATES and AGENCIES</b>	154	127	107	100	35	29	12	8
Baroda . . . . .	361	277	229	199	80	52	25	9
Cochin . . . . .	497	365	329	302	225	127	79	59
Travancore . . . . .	454	425	329	283	178	178	64	39
Hyderabad . . . . .	93	65	67	70	12	9	5	4
Jammu and Kashmir . . . . .	79	54	53	52	7	3	2	1

\* Taken from the Census for 1931, vol. i, part i, p. 346.

I have quoted figures for Bengal, the Punjab, Madras, and Burma, because Mr. Gandhi himself, or the documents to which he referred, mentioned these provinces specifically. I have quoted also those for some of the Indian States which under the influence of progressive rulers have become more literate than any part of British India except Burma, and also figures for the two largest Indian States (in area), one with a population mainly Hindu and a Muhammadan ruler (which has never been under British domination), and the other with a population mainly Muhammadan and a Hindu ruler, which are among the most illiterate regions in India.

It will be seen that Mr. Gandhi's statement is plainly contradicted by the census figures of the last fifty years.

The only literacy figures of which I am aware for the previous fifty years, 1831-81, are those given in Adam's reports, which I have dealt with on pages 75-91. They relate to areas in Bengal and Bihar. As I have shown, the percentage of adult male literacy in the Bengal areas investigated by Adam was only 9.8 in 1835-8 as against a percentage of 20.1 in 1931, and that in the Bihar districts was only 4.9 as against a corresponding percentage of 10.8 in 1931.<sup>2</sup> The figures, so far from diminishing, had rather more than doubled, though the great increase in the per-

<sup>1</sup> The Census itself explains how the figures have been treated in making this graph. The Census for 1921, vol. i, part i, p. 175, gives a clear account of the increasingly stringent definitions of literacy that have been used since 1881. Since 1911 a literate person has been defined as one who is able to write a letter to a friend (in any language) and read the answer to it.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 85, below, para. 25 *ad fin.*

centage of literacy has been during the last fifty years. I have come across no evidence of the diminution of literacy except occasional set-backs in some areas. (There was a slight set-back in Bengal and in Bihar in the last decennium.)

In considering the progress of literacy we have, of course, always to take into account the rapid increase in the population with which teaching has to keep pace, and more than pace.

'The actual number of literates', says the Census of 1931 (vol. i, pt. i, p. 324), 'has increased since 1921 by 5,515,205 persons, that is by 24.4 per cent. as compared to the increase in the total population of 10.6 per cent., and of 10.9 per cent. in the population enumerated by literacy. . . . The actual increase of literates has been 16.3 per cent. of the actual increase of population, so that there has been an increase of literacy relative to the total population in 1931 as compared to 1921; but seeing that the total increase of population since then has been 33,895,298, although literacy has increased appreciably faster than the population, the percentage correspondingly literate now is still not more than 8.0' [i.e. for males and females taken together].

I turn now from the direct to the indirect evidence of literacy afforded by numbers of schools, very unsatisfactory evidence, since in India so many schools, as we have seen, do not produce literacy. The authorities to which Mr. Gandhi referred me gave no information with regard to the increase or decrease of schools and scholars between 1881 and 1931. I may therefore state that between 1884-5<sup>1</sup> and 1931 the number of educational institutions (including private schools) increased from 136,413 to 257,792, and the number of scholars from 3,371,578 to 12,766,537; in other words, the number of schools had nearly doubled, and the number of pupils had more than trebled in this period, while the population of British India had only increased from 198½ millions in 1881, to 271½ millions in 1931, or only by 36.8 per cent.

I come to the period 1831 to 1881. The chief authorities relating to this period mentioned in the documents sent to me by or on behalf of Mr. Gandhi are William Adam's *Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar* (1835-8), and Leitner's *History of Education in the Panjab since Annexation and in 1882*, published in 1882, with which I have dealt in detail, and which in my judgement, after careful examination, contain nothing to support Mr. Gandhi's thesis.<sup>2</sup> The documents also refer to certain statements in the valuable Appendices to Minutes of Evidence given before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company of 1832, relating to Bombay and Madras,<sup>3</sup> to which I now turn.

As I have pointed out, the proposition that there was a school in every village was disproved in Bengal by the work of Buchanan and Adam; in the Punjab it rested on an invention of Leitner; but it was obviously a matter of belief in Bombay in 1821, for Mr. G. L. Prendergast, a member of the Bombay Executive Council,

<sup>1</sup> I do not give the figures for 1881 because the private schools were not included in them. To have quoted the figures for 1881 would therefore have exaggerated the actual progress. See *Review of Education in 1886* (published in 1888), pp. 5-7.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 75-106, below.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Gandhi kindly sent me transcripts of the articles in *Young India* for 8 Dec. and 29 Dec., 1920, entitled 'The Decline of Mass Education in India' and 'How Indigenous Education was crushed in the Punjab 1849-1886', by Mr. Daulat Ram Gupta, M.A.; and Professor K. T. Shah in 1932 wrote to me a long letter on behalf of Mr. Gandhi, who was then in Yeravda Jail. I have dealt with the original authorities mentioned by Mr. Gupta and Professor Shah, but not with the second-hand sources of information to which they refer, which add nothing to what is already known. As indicated above, neither Professor Shah nor Mr. Gupta quoted any figures of literacy, nor did they refer to Adam's investigation on the subject.

said in a Minute of that year, 'I need hardly mention what every member of the Board knows as well as I do, that there is hardly a village, great or small, throughout our territories, in which there is not at least one school, and in larger villages more' (*Minutes of Evidence, &c.*, vol. i (Public), p. 468). Yet this statement seems impossible to reconcile with an official report of 1829, quoted in 1832 by Francis Warden, which stated that for a population of 4,681,735 souls in the British territories dependent on Bombay there were only 1,705 schools with 35,143 scholars. If we take an average of 400 persons per village, and if there was a school in every village, there should have been for the population given 11,704 schools for 11,704 villages, instead of 1,705.<sup>1</sup> No diminution of the number of schools by 10,000 in eight years in Bombay could have occurred without comment. The myth of Bengal was probably also a myth in Bombay.

The myth does not appear to have existed in Madras, where Sir Thomas Munro ordered an inquiry with regard to schools and scholars in 1822, of which he reported the results in 1826.<sup>2</sup> He stated that the population was reckoned at 12,850,941; that the number of schools 'and what are called colleges' in the presidency was 12,498;<sup>3</sup> that the number attending schools was 184,110; that very few females were taught in the schools; that there were no provincial returns for the numbers taught at home, but that in 'Madras' (obviously meaning Madras city) the number taught at home was 26,903 or about five times greater than that taught in the schools. There was thus according to these figures one school to every thousand of the population, or if females were left out of account, one to every 500. He thought that the proportion of males educated in schools was nearer one-third than one-fourth of those of school-going age, reckoned as from 5 to 10 years.

But it is remarkable that A. D. Campbell, who was singled out by the Court of Directors of the East India Company as 'the only one among the collectors from whom much information has been derived concerning the quality of the instruction given at the elementary schools',<sup>4</sup> gave figures for Bellary far below the average reported by Munro. For a population of 927,857 there were only 533 schools (none of them receiving a grant from Government) with 6,641 scholars, of whom 6,398 were Hindus and only 243 Muslims. They included 60 girls, all Hindu. The education generally began at 5 and might be continued till 14.<sup>5</sup>

If Munro's figures had been applicable to Bellary, there should have been some 927 schools in the district with over 13,000 pupils. The contrast between the figures of Munro for Madras as a whole with those of Campbell for Bellary, and those for other provinces suggest that Munro's figures may have been over-estimates based on the returns of collectors less careful and interested in education than Campbell.

Campbell's description of an elementary school in Bellary corresponds very closely to Adam's description of such a school in Bengal. He drew attention to the 'admirable' economy with which the schools were conducted, due to the system by which the more advanced pupils taught the less advanced, a system which had been

<sup>1</sup> See *Minutes of Evidence, &c.*, vol. i (Public), p. 279. See also p. 11, above, and p. 74, below.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 506.

<sup>3</sup> Reckoning 400 people to each village, there should have been 32,000 villages in Madras, as against the 12,500 schools.

<sup>4</sup> *Minutes of Evidence, &c.*, Appendix, vol. i (Public), p. 508.

<sup>5</sup> See *Minutes of Evidence, &c.*, vol. i (Public), pp. 501-4. The Report is dated 17 Aug., 1823.

imitated in England.<sup>1</sup> He pointed out the defective nature of the books used and the 'want of competent masters'. Campbell was deeply impressed with the necessity for improving education in Madras at Government expense. He pointed out that the numbers of those who could afford to pay for schooling had diminished owing to the 'gradual but general impoverishment of the country' which he regarded as due in part to the introduction of English manufactures in lieu of the Indian cotton fabrics. 'In many villages', he writes, 'where formerly there were schools there are now none, and in many others where there were large schools, now only a few children of the most opulent are taught, others being unable from poverty to attend, or to pay what is demanded.' And he contrasts to its disadvantage in this matter the state of affairs under British rule with that under previous governments.

'Of the 533 institutions for education now existing in this district,' he writes, 'I am ashamed to say not one now derives any support from the State.'

He gives an interesting explanation of the facts, which I shall quote in full. It shows that the British Government, though neglectful of education, had not been intentionally neglectful, and Munro, in response to whose order Campbell had written, took measures to establish Government schools.

'22. There is no doubt', says Campbell, 'that in former times, especially under the Hindoo Governments, very large grants, both in money and in land, were issued for the support of learning. Considerable *yeomiah*s, or grants of money, now paid to Brahmins from my treasury, and many of the numerous and valuable *Shotrium* villages, now in the enjoyment of Brahmins in this district, who receive one-fourth, one-third, one-half, two-thirds, and sometimes the whole of their annual revenue, may, I think, be traced to this source. Though it did not consist with the dignity of learning to receive from her votaries hire, it has always in India been deemed the duty of Government to evince to her the highest respect, and to grant to her those emoluments which she could not, consistently with her character, receive from other sources; the grants issued by former Governments, on such occasions, contained therefore no unbecoming stipulations or conditions. They all purport to flow from the free bounty of the ruling power, merely to aid the maintenance of some holy or learned man, or to secure his prayers for the State. But they were almost universally granted to learned or religious persons, who maintained a school for one or more of the sciences, and taught therein gratuitously; and though not expressed in the deed itself, the duty of continuing such gratuitous instruction was certainly implied in all such grants.

'23. The British Government, with its distinguished liberality, has continued all grants of this kind, and even in many cases where it was evident that they were merely of a *personal* nature. But they have not, until now, intimated any intention to enforce the implied, but now dormant, condition of these grants. The revenue of the original grantee has descended without much injury to his heirs, but his talents and acquirements have not been equally hereditary; and the descendants of the original grantees will rarely be found to possess either their learning or powers of instruction. Accordingly, considerable alienations of revenue, which formerly did honour to the State, by upholding and encouraging learning, have deteriorated under our rule into the means of supporting ignorance; whilst science, deserted by the powerful aid she formerly received from Government, has often been reduced to beg her scanty and uncertain meal from the chance benevolence of charitable individuals; and it would be difficult to point out any period in the history of India when she stood more in need of the proffered aid of Government to raise her from the degraded state into which she has fallen, and dispel the prevailing ignorance which so unhappily pervades the land.'

Campbell went on to suggest a remedy. He proposed that on the demise of persons holding *yeomiah*s, or alienated lands, an inquiry should be held and the

<sup>1</sup> This is the 'pupil-teacher' system introduced into England by Dr. Andrew Bell of Madras (1753-1832), referred to in a letter from the Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-General of 3 June, 1814 (Sharp, *Selections*, p. 23).

holdings resumed (unless it was clear that they were hereditary) for the benefit of a fund to be called the School Fund, which would be used to cover the expenses of the new schools and to extend the system. He expressed the hope that the inquiry from the collectors would enable Government to mature from their suggestions some practical or at least some experimental plan for the improvement of education and the support of learning in Southern India.

To sum up. Until the action taken by Munro, Elphinstone, and Bentinck in the three presidencies, the British Government had neglected elementary education to its detriment in India. But I have found no evidence that it tried to destroy or uproot what existed.<sup>1</sup>

NOTE.—The report quoted by Warden, a former member of the Bombay Council,<sup>2</sup> is one dated 16 October, 1829, on popular education, by the Sudder Dewany Adawlut,<sup>3</sup> the chief civil court of the Bombay Presidency, to the Governor in Council. A manuscript copy of the report (to which I was referred by Mr. Ottewill) is preserved in the file of Bombay Judicial Consultations at the India Office; and it appears that, in the absence of a department of education, the civil judges frequently reported to Government on education, in which they felt a great concern for the recruitment of judicial officers, and on general grounds (*op. cit.*, p. 278). The report includes summaries of reports from all the collectors of the Presidency, with an interesting summary of the statistics furnished by them, quoted accurately, though not in extenso, by Warden. The figures show that the proportion of scholars to population varied from 1 in 61 in Surat to 1 in 228 in Broach, with an average of 1 in 133 for the province. The judges reported that the ignorance of the village schoolmasters was lamentable, but took the view that it would be better to encourage their improvement by means of awards than to displace them.

<sup>1</sup> In Great Britain itself it was not until 1833 that the House of Commons made a grant (of £30,000) 'for the purposes of education'.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 72, above. Warden's information was given in response to a circular letter of 11 Feb., 1832, from the Secretary of the House of Commons Select Committee on the Affairs of India (*Minutes of Evidence, &c.*, p. 263).

<sup>3</sup> For further details regarding this court see H. Cowell's *History and Constitution of the Courts . . . in India* (Calcutta, 1872), especially pp. 103-4, and Professor A. Berriedale Keith's book, *A Constitutional History of India 1600-1935* (1936), pp. 203-4. Certain powers were reserved for the Recorder's Court, created in 1793 and replaced in 1823 by a Supreme Court of Judicature. There are some variations in the spelling of the three words of the official title of the Sudder Dewany Adawlut.

## MEMORANDUM B

### THE REPORTS OF WILLIAM ADAM ON VERNACULAR EDUCATION IN BENGAL AND BIHAR, 1835-8, AND THE LEGEND OF THE '100,000 SCHOOLS'<sup>1</sup>

#### INTRODUCTORY

ADAM'S Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar, of which a brief account is given in the following pages, figure conspicuously in the history of Indian education and in the controversies relating to it. We have seen (p. 10, above) that the Directors of the East India Company in 1814 spoke of the desirability of encouraging village teachers, that Lord Moira in 1815 also spoke of their value, and that Munro in Madras and Elphinstone in Bombay had preliminary surveys made of the educational situation. But Adam seems to have been the first to press for the necessity of a detailed inquiry into Indian education, in letters to Lord William Bentinck, first in 1829, and again in 1835, when he attained his object.<sup>2</sup>

2. Adam's own reports reveal a man of wide sympathies and knowledge, of practical ability and shrewdness, intellectually honest, and capable of facing unwelcome facts and of envisaging clearly the many-sidedness and the difficulties of the problem he had offered to tackle. His chief defect, as we shall see, lay in the failure to summarize his statistics clearly. If he had done so, many misunderstandings would have been avoided. Little is known of him apart from what can be ascertained from his own reports and the Rev. J. Long's introduction to them (see below). In response to an inquiry, the Rev. C. E. Wilson, B.A., of the Baptist Missionary Society, wrote to me (27 January, 1937):

'I find from our records that Rev. William Adam of Dunfermline was appointed by the Baptist Missionary Society to work in India, and sailed from Liverpool by the Roscoe with other new missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Sutton, in 1818. He was designated at first to Serampore with a view to subsequent appointment to Surat. . . . But I find that he actually stayed in Calcutta for the study of Bengali and Sanskrit. He lived at Durgapur on the outskirts of Calcutta. Mr. Adam was evidently interested in educational matters because I find mention of his proposals for the education of girls as well as of boys.

'In 1821 it was reported to the Committee of the Society that he had "seceded" from the Calcutta missionaries. In the first instance there is no mention of the cause . . . but later it appeared that he had relinquished the religious views which he had when he was appointed, and adopted other views, in consequence of which his connexion with the Society was dissolved.'

Thus, Adam's connexion with the Baptist Missionary Society began in 1818 and terminated in March, 1821, when he became a Unitarian missionary, as is shown by

<sup>1</sup> I have not been entirely consistent in my transcription of place-names used by Adam, but I do not think the reader will have any difficulty in identifying them with the originals. While spellings such as Beerbhoom and Birbhum, Moorshedabad and Murshidabad, Tirhoot and Tirhut, are equally permissible, the latter form in each case is the more usual to-day. The form 'Behar' has now been entirely replaced by 'Bihar'.

<sup>2</sup> See H. A. Stark, *Vernacular Education in Bengal from 1813 to 1912* (Calcutta General Printing Company, 1916), p. 25.

an interesting pamphlet of his printed letters in the library of the British Museum. Later he conducted the *India Gazette*, a popular Calcutta journal. It would be well worth while to study his career in detail.

## I

3. Adam submitted three Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar to the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck. The original editions, to be found in the India Office Library, were published by order of the Government by G. H. Huttman separately in 1835, 1836, and 1838. A later edition of these reports was published by Long in 1868, under the title *Adam's Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar submitted to Government in 1835, 1836, and 1838, with a brief view of its present condition by the Rev. J. Long* (Calcutta: Printed at the Home Secretariat Press, 1868).<sup>1</sup>

4. The book consists of six sections:

- (i) An introduction by Long (paginated separately, pp. 1-46) dated 30 July, 1868. This interesting introduction is historical and deals with education in India (but mainly in Bengal) from 1814 to 1868.
- (ii) A letter dated 2 January, 1835, from Adam to Lord William Bentinck (Long, pp. 1-9).
- (iii) A minute by Lord William Bentinck dated 20 January, 1835 (Long, pp. 10-13).
- (iv) The First Report, dated 1 July, 1835<sup>2</sup> (Long, pp. 14-84).
- (v) The Second Report, dated 23 December, 1835 (Long, pp. 85-142).
- (vi) The Third Report, dated 28 April, 1838 (Long, pp. 143-342).

5. The letter of 2 January, 1835, from Adam to Bentinck, was written at Bentinck's request, and submitted proposals for 'an investigation into the actual state of education in the country, with a view to ulterior measures for its extension and improvement'.

The Minute of Bentinck, written as Governor-General, and dated 20 January, 1835, sets out with the statement that it 'seems an universally admitted axiom that education and the knowledge to be imparted by it can alone effect the moral regeneration of India', but that 'there is one very material fact still wanting to be known, the actual state of Native education'. Bentinck thinks it 'very likely that the interference of Government with education, as with most of the other Native Institutions with which we have too often so mischievously meddled, might do much more harm than good'; but that 'it is possible that the aid of Government, if interference be carefully excluded, might be very usefully applied, and very gratefully received'. He makes it clear that he does not want to 'interfere' with Indian educational institutions, and makes no proposal of his own with regard to Bengal. But he comments on the establishment and failure of 14 collectorate and 67 tehsildaree schools in Madras, and suggests that it would have been better to

<sup>1</sup> Long's edition contains the letter from Adam to Lord William Bentinck of 2 Jan., 1835, and the Minute of Bentinck of 20 Jan., 1835, which are not printed in any of the original Reports. On the other hand, the original edition of the Second Report contains a useful summary and a number of tables in the form of an Appendix (pp. xlviii) which were not reprinted by Long.

References to Long's edition (excluding the Introduction) will be made in the following form: Long, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Long gives this date as 1 February, by mistake. He is generally accurate in his transcription.

establish a few institutions with well-appointed teachers of every kind. 'From these would naturally have gone forth Teachers of the best kinds in all languages and sciences, and, without any further effort on the part of the Government, true knowledge must have gradually made its way.' (This is the 'filtration theory'; see p. 16, above.) He commends the 'correct views' of Adam with which he is disposed to undertake his work, and regards him as peculiarly qualified to carry out the survey. 'With considerable ability he possesses great industry and a high character for integrity. His knowledge of the languages, and his habits of intercourse with the Natives, give him peculiar advantages for such an enquiry.' He asks the Council to agree to Adam's proposals, and to his appointment with a consolidated monthly allowance of Rs. 1,000 for all expenses except travelling charges; and three of the four members of the Council, H. Blunt, A. Ross, and W. Morison, agreed to Bentinck's recommendation.

6. The absence of Macaulay's signature from the Minute is important, for it was written when the quarrel between Anglicists and Orientalists (see p. 12, above) was approaching its climax with Macaulay's famous personal Minute of 2 February, 1835, which was approved by Bentinck, and of which the main proposals were sanctioned by the Minute in Council of 7 March, 1835. Macaulay held that 'higher studies' could not be taught in any vernacular at that time; his Minute does not deal with elementary education, and it is probable that he did not wish to commit himself in any way as a member of Council while he was preparing his own Minute.

7. Adam's investigation was placed 'under the immediate superintendence and control of the General Committee of Public Instruction', of which Macaulay was president; and Woodrow, in his edition of Macaulay's Minutes (p. 7), tells us that Macaulay gave his formal consent to the amended instructions issued to Adam.

## II

8. The First Report by Adam (Long, pp. 14-84), signed 1 July, 1835, contains a mass of second-hand statistical material, which he must have accumulated, at any rate in part, before he wrote to Bentinck, together with some interesting observations of his own based on his seventeen or eighteen years' experience of the country.

9. The main sources of this preliminary Report, he says, were five:<sup>1</sup>

- (i) The reports of Dr. Francis Buchanan (afterwards Hamilton).
- (ii) Records of the General Committee of Public Instruction.
- (iii) (Walter) Hamilton's *East India Gazetteer* (2nd edition, 2 vols., 1828).
- (iv) Missionary, college, and school reports.
- (v) 'A memoir, with supplement, compiled by the Searcher of Records at the India House, showing the extent to which aid had been afforded by the local Governments in India towards the establishment of Native schools in this country, and published in the first Appendix to the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, 16 August, 1832.'

10. He also used other sources, but expressly says that he has not introduced into this First Report any statement of facts resting on his own observation or authority, and has only presented the results of others. It is a little difficult to take

<sup>1</sup> Long, pp. 14-15.



this as literally true when he makes general statements about the character of the teaching. But it is obviously true of the statistics.

11. Adam's widely quoted estimate, referred to in the first lecture, that there were 100,000 'indigenous elementary schools' in Bengal and Bihar is based on two calculations. 'A distinguished member of the General Committee of Public Instruction', says Adam, 'in a minute on the subject expressed the opinion, that if one rupee per mensem were expended on each village school in the Lower Provinces, the amount would probably fall little short of 12 lakhs [i.e. 1,200,000] of rupees per annum' (Long, p. 18). And Adam adds: 'This supposes that there are 100,000 such schools in Bengal and Behar, and assuming the population of those two Provinces to be 40,000,000 there would be a village school for every 400 persons.' The estimate of the population must almost certainly have been derived from W. Hamilton's *Gazetteer*, which gives the number 39,679,000.<sup>1</sup> Adam further writes: 'The estimate of 100,000 of such schools in Bengal and Behar is confirmed [1] by a consideration of the number of villages in those two provinces. Their number has been officially estimated at 150,748, of which, not all, but most have each a school. If it be admitted that there is so large a proportion as a third of the villages that have no schools, there will still be 100,000 that have them.'

12. Adam (Long, p. 18), quoting certain figures from Prussia, reckons that 11/30 of the population are under 14 years of age, and 3/7 of these between 7 and 14 are of school-going age (making a total of nearly 16 per cent.). The children in India, he said, go to school at from 5 to 6 and leave at from 10 to 11,<sup>2</sup> and he reckoned that these two discrepancies might balance one another. He calculated that for every 400 persons there would be  $400 \times 11/30 \times 3/7 = 63$  pupils of school-going age, or one school for 31 or 32 boys.

13. The Report has a short introduction, dealing with the sources, nineteen Sections dealing with the various districts of Bengal, and a Conclusion. The information in the different Sections is dealt with under the following headings (in some Sections not all the categories are required): (1) population, (2) indigenous elementary schools—originated and supported by Indians themselves 'in contradistinction from those supported by religious or philanthropic societies' (Long, p. 18), (3) elementary schools not indigenous, (4) indigenous schools of learning (both Hindu and Muhammadan), and (5) what Adam calls 'Native Female Schools', schools organized by European missionaries and others for the education of Indian girls. The description of the schools is detailed and interesting. In what follows, in order to save space, I shall not deal in detail with categories (3) and (5).

14. *Estimates of Population.* According to Adam (Long, p. 16) the estimates of the population of the different districts were 'still for the most part merely conjectural'. No approach to actual investigation had been made until 1801 under

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., vol. i, p. 190. But Hamilton says that if the population of other districts had been as much underestimated as those surveyed by Bayley and Buchanan, the sum total might be almost doubled. The Census of Bengal (including Bihar) of 1872 gives the population as 66,857,000 in round numbers. Hamilton's figure is for Bengal, Bihar, and Benares, of which the population was estimated as 3,000,000.

<sup>2</sup> Adam obviously had no notion of the 'wastage' in Indian schools; perhaps it did not exist in his day, but this seems unlikely. It has been calculated that if 6 to 11 be regarded as the 'school-going age', the proportion of the whole population in this category has varied in recent decades from 15 to 12 per cent.

Wellesley. The first returns furnished by magistrates and collectors proved to be unsatisfactory when tested by Dr. Francis Buchanan (afterwards Hamilton) in 1807, 1808, and 1809, when he surveyed and reported on the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur, and Purniah. In 1814 Mr. Bayley, Magistrate of Burdwan, reported on that district. The figures given are as follows :

Page references  
to Long

- |    |   |
|----|---|
| 17 | (i) <i>Twenty-four Pergunnahs</i> (1801), 1,625,000. (It is doubtful whether this includes or excludes Calcutta.) <i>Calcutta</i> (1822), 200,000 together with 100,000 who enter the boundary.   |
| 35 | (ii) <i>Midnapore</i> (1801), 1,500,000 (1/7 Muhammadan).   |
| 38 | (iii) <i>Orissa and Cuttack</i> (1801), 1,296,365 (79/80 Hindu).  |
| 39 | (iv) <i>Hooghly</i> (1801), 1,000,000 (3/4 Hindu, 1/4 Muhammadan).  |
| 45 | (v) <i>Burdwan</i> (1813-14), 1,444,487 (5/6 Hindu, 1/6 Muhammadan).  |
| 48 | (vi) <i>Jessore</i> (1801), 1,200,000 (7/16 Hindu, 9/16 Muhammadan).  |
| 49 | (vii) <i>Nuddea</i> (1802), 764,430 (including 286,661 Muhammadan).   |
| 55 | (viii) <i>Dacca</i> (Jelalpoor), including city of <i>Dacca</i> (1801), 938,712 (1/2 Hindu, 1/2 Muhammadan).  |
|    | The population of <i>Dacca</i> city in 1801 was estimated at 200,000 (130/275 Hindu, 145/275 Muhammadan), but in 1830 a census showed that there were only 66,909 persons (31,429 Hindu, 35,238 Muhammadan, 322 others). The population had diminished owing to the diminution of the cotton trade. |
| 57 | (ix) <i>Backergunge</i> (1801), 926,723 (5/8 Hindu, 3/8 Muhammadan).  |
| 57 | (x) <i>Chittagong</i> (1801), 1,200,000 (2/5 Hindu, 3/5 Muhammadan).  |
| 59 | (xi) <i>Tippera</i> (1801), 750,000 (4/7 Hindu, 3/7 Muhammadan).  |
| 60 | (xii) <i>Mymensingh</i> (1801), 1,300,000 (2/7 Hindu, 5/7 Muhammadan).  |
| 61 | (xiii) <i>Sylhet</i> (1801), 492,945 (3/5 Hindu, 2/5 Muhammadan).   |
| 62 | (xiv) <i>Murshidabad</i> (1801), (including city) 1,020,572 (2/3 Hindu, 1/3 Muhammadan).  |
| 64 | (xv) <i>Beerbhoom</i> (1801), 700,000 (30/31 Hindu, 1/31 Muhammadan).   |
| 68 | (xvi) <i>Rajshahi</i> (1801), 1,500,000 (2/3 Hindu, 1/3 Muhammadan).  |
| 70 | (xvii) <i>Rangpur</i> (1809), 2,735,000 (1,194,350 Hindu, 1,536,000 Muhammadan, 4,650 others).  |
| 73 | (xviii) <i>Dinajpur</i> (1808), 3,000,000 (900,000 Hindu, 2,100,000 Muhammadan).  |
| 77 | (xix) <i>Purniah</i> (1810), 2,904,380 (57 per cent. Hindu, 43 per cent. Muhammadan).   |

15. The information about indigenous elementary schools for the different districts may be summarized as follows :

For Orissa, Jessore, Nuddea, Backergunge, Tippera, Mymensingh, Murshidabad, Rajshahi, and the 24 Pergunnahs, outside Calcutta, there was no information.

In Calcutta there were 211 schools with 4,908 children for 200,000 inhabitants (excluding the 100,000 who came in daily), one school for every 948 inhabitants, with an average of a little over 23 pupils per school. According to Adam's calculations, the number of children of school-going age for a population of 200,000 would be 31,400 and of boys 15,700; so that less than one-third of the boys of school-going age received instruction in the indigenous schools.

In Hooghly the schools were said to be numerous, but there were no statistics.

In Midnapore there were reported to be schools in every village, for teaching poor children, but there had been no investigation into their number or condition.

In Burdwan, W. Hamilton said there were few villages without a school, but gave no details.

In Chittagong there 'were many private schools in the villages around the city'.

With regard to *Dacca* (Long, p. 55 *ad fin.*), the information was imperfect and conflicting. Hamilton said that there were many schools, but a 'public officer' said

that there was only private instruction. Popular instruction appeared to be at 'a very low ebb'.

In Beerbhoom there were stated to be 'no seminaries for the instruction of youth in the district'.<sup>1</sup>

In Sylhet the information was 'exceedingly scanty'.

In Rangpur, in 14 out of 19 subdivisions, there were no elementary schools, and in the remaining 5 only 10 Bengali and 2 Persian schools.

In Dinajpur in 1808 (Buchanan) there were, in 13 police subdivisions, 119 Hindu schools and 9 Persian schools, and in the other 9 subdivisions out of the 22, no elementary schools.

In Purniah there were (according to Buchanan) 643 Hindu schools, mainly kept by wealthy families for their own children, together with those of neighbours in some cases. There were only 66 Akhuns (inferior Muhammadan teachers) in the district, and 6 'districts' [obviously a slip for subdivisions] with none at all.

16. Let us now take the preliminary statistics of the indigenous schools of learning.

In Midnapore, Burdwan, and Sylhet, Hamilton said that there were no schools of learning; but Adam doubts the accuracy of these statements.

About Jessore, Backergunge, Tippera, Beerbhoom, and Chittagong there was no information. (See above.)

In the 24 Pergunnahs there were in 1818 at Calcutta, according to Ward (see Long, p. 26), 28 Hindu schools with 173 scholars, and no record of Muhammadan schools (except the Government *Madrassa*); and outside Calcutta 190 Hindu seminaries, but no private Muhammadan institutions (Long, p. 31).

For Orissa the information is not specific. One street in Cuttack consisted of religious establishments called *maths*, where instruction was probably given.

In Hooghly the number was reported to be considerable: in 1801 Hamilton said above 150 Hindu schools, with from 5 to 20 pupils each, but few Muhammadan schools.

In Nuddea, in 1821, H. H. Wilson reported the existence of 25 schools of learning (*tôls*), with between 500 and 600 students, all full-grown and some of them old men (Long, p. 51).

For Dacca the information is vague. Hamilton speaks of 'certain' schools. There were no educational grants or endowments (Long, p. 56).

In Mymensingh there were from 50 to 60 schools, all Hindu.

In Murshidabad (district and city) there were 20 Hindu schools and 1 Muhammadan.

In Rajshahi only two schools of learning were reported to exist (Long, p. 69), though Adam thinks there were more.

In Rangpur, in 9 subdivisions (out of a total of 19) there were 41 Sanskrit schools, each with from 5 to 25 scholars (Long, p. 72).

In Dinajpur, of the 22 subdivisions, 15 were (according to Buchanan) without any schools of learning; and the remaining 7 had only 16 such schools. There were no Muhammadan schools of learning.

In Purniah there were, according to Buchanan, 119 Hindu schools of learning, but no Muhammadan (Long, pp. 80-3).

<sup>1</sup> Adam thought the statement 'incredible'; op. cit., p. 65.

Taking into account the fact that in the schools of learning the majority of pupils were above the ordinary school age, and often far above it, we may say that these schools, though important for other purposes, contributed hardly at all to the figures of pupils receiving elementary education.

17. Incidental remarks by Adam show that, strange as it may seem, he had not realized that his preliminary estimate that there was one school in Bengal and Bihar for every village was entirely inconsistent with the information already in his possession.

Moreover, the following table shows the number of schools calculated on the basis of one school for each 400 of the population, and the number of indigenous elementary schools actually reported to exist in the city of Calcutta, and the only districts for which the Report quotes figures.

	<i>No. calculated</i>	<i>No. actually reported</i>
Calcutta City . . . . .	500	211
Rangpur . . . . .	6,838	12
Dinajpur . . . . .	7,500	128
Purniah . . . . .	7,261	643 + 66 <sup>1</sup> = 709

We see that the estimate that there was one school for every 400 of the population was a fantastic exaggeration of the facts. The inclusion of the indigenous schools of learning (28 for Calcutta, 41 for Rangpur, 16 for Dinajpur, and 119 for Purniah) would only slightly modify the disproportion between the supposed and the actual number of schools.

18. Apart from the number of schools, Adam, in this Report, records only one literacy census, that for Purniah with its population of 2,904,380, of whom Buchanan found that 18,650 men could keep common accounts and 16,650 could sign their names. Taking the extreme view that each man who could sign his name was literate, and reckoning half the population as male, we find the male literacy to be 2.4 per cent.

III

19. The Second Report<sup>2</sup> (Long, pp. 85-142) deals with population and instruction in the district of Rajshahi and almost entirely with the police subdivision or *thana* of Nattore, which was the most central, and, according to the best information Adam could get, 'decidedly in advance of all the other *thanas*', of which there were thirteen in all.<sup>3</sup>

The area of Nattore was about 350 square miles. A census of the whole district of Rajshahi was taken by Mr. Bury, the magistrate, in 1834, which gave a population of 1,064,956 persons for the district and 185,409 for Nattore. Adam's figure was over 5 per cent. larger, 195,296 for Nattore, from which he calculated a population of 1,121,745 for the district.

With the help of his staff, Adam made a detailed and very interesting educational survey of Nattore, including a census of literacy.

<sup>1</sup> Reckoning one school for each Akhun; see end of para. 15, above.  
<sup>2</sup> Macaulay wrote of this Report, 'The report is excellent and does great credit to Mr. Adam.' But he thought his suggestions impracticable, and he agreed with the views of Shakespear, a member of the Committee of Public Instruction, that the plan of educating the established schoolmasters was 'chimerical'. See Woodrow's edition of Macaulay's *Minutes on Indian Education*, pp. 8, 9.  
<sup>3</sup> Strictly speaking 10 *thanas*, and three smaller subdivisions called *ghatis*.

Female education he found to be almost non-existent, and insignificant from the statistical point of view. He estimated the male population as half the total population.

He divides the schools into 'indigenous elementary schools', of which there were 27 (11 Hindu with 192 scholars, and 16 Muhammadan with 70 scholars), and 'indigenous schools of learning' for older pupils ranging from the age of childhood up to 20 or 30, which though of importance cannot be reckoned as elements in primary education; of these there were 38, all Hindu, with 397 scholars. In the latter institutions (Long, p. 134) Adam says there were hardly any pupils below 14 years of age. According to Adam's original calculation in his First Report of one school for 400 persons, for a population of 195,296 there should have been 488 village schools: there were actually 485 villages, but, as stated, he found only 27 village schools in this, the best educated *thana* in the district, of which other *thanas*, according to his information, had no schools. There were also 38 indigenous schools of Hindu learning in the *thana*.

20. Adam was not content with an enumeration and description of schools: he found that a certain amount of elementary domestic education was given in the families, though this was even more limited than that in the schools. 1,588 families (in 238 villages, out of a total of 485) gave such instruction (Long, p. 109).

21. According to Adam's calculation, out of 22,637 male children between 5 and 14, only 2,644 or 11.7 per cent. received any kind of instruction (Long, p. 134).

22. Adam does not appear to have tried to get a complete literacy census for Nattore, but gives interesting figures for the adult male population (i.e. those above 14 years of age), 59,500 in number, classified as follows:

(1) Teachers of 'schools of learning' . . . . .	39
(2) Persons who have received 'a complete or incomplete learned education' . . . . .	88
(3) Students at the schools of learning . . . . .	397
(4) Persons with a knowledge superior to mere reading or writing . . . . .	3,255
	<u>3,779</u>

To them he added a fifth class 'who can either sign their names or read imperfectly or perhaps can do both', 2,342 (Long, p. 136).

If we regard the first four classes as literates, the percentage of adult male literacy is 6.35 per cent. We have seen that of the 22,637 between 5 and 14, 2,644 received instruction of some sort. It would probably be a liberal allowance to suppose that two-thirds of these children (1,762) were literate. On this basis the literacy of the male population of school age comes out at 7.8 per cent., and the percentage of literacy for the whole male population of Nattore above 5 years of age was 6.75.

If Adam was right in saying that Nattore was the most advanced *thana*, and that in several *thanas* there was no education, the literacy percentage for the district of Rajshahi as a whole must have been much less.

#### IV

23. At the outset of the Third Report Adam gives some particulars of his journeys, and describes his plan of investigation (Long, pp. 145-52), which he elaborated as the work progressed. Whereas in the district of Rajshahi his investigations

were limited to a single *thana* out of 10 (and three *ghatis*; see p. 81, above), and in the district of Murshidabad to the city of Murshidabad with its 19 *thanas* and 1 *thana* outside (Daulatbazar), Adam obtained complete statistics of the number of schools of different kinds in the districts of Beerbhoom, Burdwan, South Behar, and Tirhut.

The statistics are summarized in the table below, and the actual number of schools recorded is compared with Adam's original estimated number on the basis of one village school for every four hundred inhabitants. It should be added that Adam had discovered some later estimates of population than those published in his First Report. For the city and district of Murshidabad he relied on a census of Hathorn of 1829, and for the other four districts on one of Shakespear of 1829 (Long, p. 247).

TABLE I  
*Population and Number of Schools in Selected Areas in Bengal and Bihar*

Name of area	Population	No. of schools including A ('indigenous schools of learning [Sanskrit and Arabic], English schools, and girls' schools)	No. of schools excluding A	Hypothetical no. of schools on basis of one school per 400 of population	Page references to Long's edition
City of Murshidabad .	124,804	88	59	312	154, 221
Thana of Daulatbazar (District of Murshidabad) .	62,037	25	25	155	154, 221
District of Beerbhoom .	1,267,067	544	483	3,168	155, 247
District of Burdwan .	1,187,580	931	723	2,969	156, 247
District of South Behar .	1,340,610	605	565	3,352	157, 247
District of Tirhut .	1,697,700	374	314	4,244	157, 247
Thana of Nattore (District of Rajshahi) .	195,296	65	27	488	90-3, 101-6, 120
Totals . . . . .	5,875,094	2,632	2,196	14,688	

Roughly speaking, Adam's first estimate of one school for every 400 inhabitants was nearer seven times than six times the real figure for the districts which he investigated, if we consider only indigenous elementary schools.

In order to avoid any possible underestimate of the number of schools which Adam's first estimate of one school per 400 inhabitants was intended to cover, we have given figures, not only for the 'indigenous elementary schools', but also for the 'indigenous schools of learning', where the average age was far above school age (see above).

We have not included in the above figures those obtained for Adam by O. W. Malet for the district of Midnapore, viz. 778 schools classified as follows: Bengali, 548; Ooria, 182; Persian, 48; English, 1; because the only figure for population was the 1801 figure of 1,500,000, which was probably largely exceeded in 1836. But

on the basis of that figure there should have been, on Adam's first estimate, 3,750 schools, as against the recorded figure of 778.

24. Having compared with the facts Adam's one hypothesis, viz. that there was in Bengal and Bihar one school for each 400 inhabitants, we now turn to his other hypothesis, viz. that there was one school to each village.

Like Buchanan before him, Adam found that many whole *thanas* possessed no institution for education whatever. Even in the city of Murshidabad there were such *thanas*, though some of them were said to be in fact '*mofussil thanas* containing only small and scattered villages'. The table below shows the number of villages and the number of schools in the areas for which the number of villages is given by Adam. It is a smaller area than that covered by Table I, which dealt with the city of Murshidabad and with districts, besides one *thana*, containing villages; but there seems no reason not to regard it as typical.

TABLE II

*A Comparison of the Number of Villages and the Number of Schools in Selected Areas*

Page references to Long's edition	Area	No. of towns and villages	Number of schools		
			Elementary schools	Schools of learning	Totals
221, 154	<i>Thana</i> Daulatbazar (District of Murshidabad)	183	25	0	25
222, 155	<i>Thana</i> Nanglia (District of Beerbhoom)	267	34	2	36
223, 156	<i>Thana</i> Culna (District of Burdwan)	288	79	40	119
224, 156	<i>Thana</i> Jehanabad (District of South Behar)	803	85	7	92
224, 157	<i>Thana</i> Bhawara (District of Tirhoot)	402	6	7	13
109, 92, 120	<i>Thana</i> Nattore (District of Rajshahi)	485	27	38	65
	Totals	2,428	256	94	350

NOTE.—In order to avoid complicating the foregoing table, I have included in the 40 'schools of learning' in Culna 1 'English' school and 1 girls' school.

In 2,428 villages there were 256 vernacular schools, and 94 schools of learning. (In Nattore 16 elementary Persian and Arabic schools are counted as vernacular schools.) Thus for 2,428 villages there were only 256 'indigenous elementary schools'—hardly more than one school for every ten villages.

The suggestion that there was one school for each village is another myth.

25. *Literacy Census.* We now come to the more detailed investigations made by Adam in the city of Murshidabad, and in the *thanas* enumerated in Table II above.

In this area he carried out what I believe to be the first systematic census of literacy in India, as well as an investigation of domestic education on the lines which he had adopted in Nattore. The literacy figures for Nattore (quoted on p. 82, above, and repeated here) were less satisfactory than those for the other areas dealt with.

The city of Murshidabad, and the *thanas* of Daulatbazar, Nanglia, Culna, and Nattore are in areas now included in Bengal. The total adult male population for these areas given by Adam was 179,780 and the total number of adult male literates was 17,576, so that the number of adult male literates per mille was 98. From the

TABLE III

*Summary of Adam's Literacy Census in Selected Areas of Bengal and Bihar, 1835-8*

1 Page refer- ences to Long's edition	2 Area	3 Adult population	4 Adult male population	5 Adult literate population	6 Literate percentage of popula- tion	7 Literate percentage of male population
221-35	City of Murshidabad	97,818	46,670	6,640 (1)	6.8	14.2
222-3, 236	Thana Daulatbazar .	42,837	20,222	1,206 (1)	2.8	6.0
223, 236	Thana Nanglia .	30,410	14,414	993	3.3	6.9
224, 237	Thana Culna .	81,045	38,974	4,958 (2)	6.1	12.7
224, 237-8	Thana Jehanabad .	57,573	29,936	1,831	3.2	6.1
225, 238	Thana Bhawara .	44,416	23,224	768	1.7	3.3
90, 136	Thana Nattore .	120,928	59,500	3,779	3.1	6.35
	Totals .	475,027	232,940	20,175 (4)	4.25	8.7

## NOTE.—

(i) It is clear from passages of Adam (Long, pp. 135 and 232) that Adam reckons as the juvenile population persons from 5 to 14, and as adults those above 14 years of age.

(ii) The totals in column 5 are not given by Adam as such. They are obtained by adding up the various categories given by him as of persons whose power of writing consisted in something more than being able to sign their names. Thus for the *thana* of Daulatbazar the number 1,206 is made up by the addition of four categories containing 13, 25, 555, and 614 persons respectively and the subtraction of one woman literate.

(iii) The figures in brackets to the right of the main figures in column 5 indicate the numbers of women literates, which have been subtracted from the total of literates.

table on p. 70 it will be seen that the number of male literates above 10 years of age per mille in 1931 in Bengal was 201, i.e. the literacy percentage had rather more than doubled.

The *thanas* of Jehanabad and Bhawara are in areas included in 1931 in the Province of Bihar and Orissa. The number of adult males given by Adam was 53,160 and of adult male literates was 2,599, so that the number of male literates per mille was 49. In Bihar and Orissa the corresponding number in 1931 was 108. As in Bengal, the proportion of male literates has again rather more than doubled.

No exact comparison is of course possible, as districts alter in character in the course of years.

## V

26. *Domestic Instruction.* As at Nattore, Adam carried out an investigation on domestic instruction in the families, though he found it inferior to that given in the schools. Of this he says 'there can be no doubt that the instruction given at home is in general more crude and imperfect, more interrupted and desultory, than that which is obtained in the common schools' (Long, p. 234). His statistics



are given in the following important general table (transcribed from Long, p. 232) which shows the total percentages of children between 5 and 14 years of age receiving instruction. I have added to the table Adam's own figures for Nattore.

TABLE IV

	<i>Total no. of children between 14 and 5 years of age</i>	<i>No. of children receiving school instruction</i>	<i>No. of children receiving domestic instruction</i>	<i>Total no. of children receiving domestic and school instruction</i>	<i>Children receiving neither domestic nor school instruction</i>	<i>Proportion of children capable of receiving to children actually receiving instruction is as 100 to</i>
City of Murshidabad .	15,092	959	300	1,259	13,833	8.3
Thana Daulatbazar .	10,428	305	326	631	9,797	6.05
Thana Nanglia . . .	8,929	439	285	724	8,205	8.1
Thana Culna . . . .	18,176	2,243	676	2,919	15,257	16.05
Thana Jehanabad . .	15,595	366	539	905	14,690	5.8
Thana Bhawara . . .	13,409	60	288	348	13,061	2.6
Corresponding figures of Nattore (Long, pp. 131-4) . . . .	39,429	262	2,382	2,644	36,785	6.7
Totals . . . . .	121,058	4,634	4,796	9,430	111,628	7.8

27. *Total Proportion of Male Children receiving Instruction.* Table V, on p. 87, showing the proportion of male children receiving instruction, is not taken directly from Adam, but is based on Adam's figures.

Adam in his census gives figures for the number of families as well as for the number of people, both for Hindus and Muhammadans separately, which I have no space to quote here.

28. *Relation of Educational to Criminal Statistics.* Adam makes a rough comparison of the percentage of crime in a district with the percentage of persons receiving instruction (Long, pp. 244-9).

29. *Concluding Remark on Statistics.* In a special section which Adam himself entitles 'Concluding Remarks' (Long, pp. 249-51) Adam claims that the areas which he investigated were typical of the districts in question, which had a total population of over eight millions, and that these districts, including Burdwan, probably the best educated, and Tirhut, the worst educated, were typical of the two provinces of Bengal and Bihar as a whole, of which he gives the total population in this place as 35,460,000 (see p. 78, above). As we have seen, neither the preliminary figures which Adam collected, nor his own investigations, give the slightest support to the legend of the '100,000 schools'. It seems strange that Adam himself, honest as the day, did not point this out; and stranger still that no one else has hitherto pointed it out; the legend has survived in official and unofficial quarters alike. Yet the explanation of the survival is perhaps not far to seek. Although every sentence of Adam's is intelligible, and though the book seems to be carefully planned, Adam is far from easy to read. He gives some tables, but not nearly

enough; and to make the whole position clear, it has been necessary to collect from different parts of the book figures which a more systematic writer would have collected and exhibited clearly for himself.

TABLE V  
*Proportion of Male Children receiving Instruction*

1 Page references to Long's edition	2 Areas	3 Boys aged 5 to 14 years	4 Boys at school	5 Boys receiving domestic instruc- tion	6 Total boys under instruc- tion	7 Total boys not under instruc- tion	8 Per- centage under instruc- tion	9 Per- centage at school
221, 232, 233	City of Murshidabad	9,539	959	294	1,253	8,286	13.1	10.05
222, 232, 233	Thana Daulatbazar	6,801	305	325	630	6,171	9.3	4.5
222, 232	Thana Nanglia	5,487	439	285	724	4,763	13.2	8.0
223, 232, 215 216	Thana Culna	11,334	2,199*	676	2,875	8,459	25.4	19.4
224, 232	Thana Jehanabad	9,781	366	539	905	8,876	9.3	3.7
225, 232	Thana Bhawara	8,368	60	288	348	8,020	4.2	0.7
133, 134	Thana Nattore	22,637	262	2,382	2,644	19,993	11.7	1.2
	Totals	73,947	4,590	4,789	9,379	64,568	12.7	6.2

\* NOTE.—The figures in columns 4 and 5 are based on those of Adam's table on p. 232 of Long's edition. But from these figures some small deductions have been made on account of the number of girls included in them. For Murshidabad 6 have been deducted in column 5, and for Daulatbazar 1 has been deducted, corresponding to the figures given for girls receiving domestic instruction in those places (Long, p. 233). I have been unable to make any deduction in respect of the girls' school at Murshidabad, as I could discover no figures for it.

For *Thana Culna* I have made an approximate correction in col. 4. There were four girls' schools in the Burdwan district, with a total of 175 pupils, of which 1 at Jopat was in the *Culna thana*; I have deducted one-quarter of the total, i.e. 44, from the *Culna* figure on this account.

VI

30. *Scheme for Reform.* We turn now to Adam's scheme for reform. In his letter to Lord William Bentinck of January, 1835, Adam had urged that 'to whatever extent . . . [native Indian institutions of education] exist, and in whatever condition they may be found . . . they present the only true and sure foundations on which any scheme of general or national education can be established' (Long, p. 3). He expressed the same conviction with more or less emphasis in different passages throughout his work, and that conviction survived the chilling effects of his quantitative and qualitative survey.<sup>1</sup> But it is clear that Adam realized the magnitude and the difficulties of the task which he had to face; the difficulties of framing proposals, and the difficulties of commending them to Government.

Any plan of the kind he had in mind needed the co-operation of the people with Government, but the traditions of a Bengal for centuries under foreign control (much longer under Mogul than under English dominion) made co-operation difficult. The people understood compulsion more easily than co-operation. Yet compulsory education seemed impossible; the idea of general education for the

<sup>1</sup> See the italicized passage in Long, p. 251.

lower classes, and the idea of compulsion would, Adam thought, 'be received with universal dismay and astonishment—with dismay by themselves, with astonishment, if not derision, by the superior classes'.<sup>1</sup> Model schools might be set up and organized by Government alone; but this would take the management out of the hands of the people and transfer it to Government superintendents, would excite the ill will of displaced teachers, and would involve excessive expenditure. One might perhaps start with a system consisting of (i) a Government school at the head station of every zillah; (ii) pergunnah schools; (iii) village schools (Long, pp. 255–8). But this scheme again he rejects as contrary to his fundamental principles; and he finally recommends a plan of 'payment by results' with some important extensions which Government was to provide.

As in England much later, the system was to be based on examinations and rewards. But the first persons to be examined were the teachers; the pupils were to come later. And first of all it was necessary to provide material for examination in the form of four new useful school-books of increasing difficulty written in the vernaculars of Bengal and Bihar—Bengali, Hindi, and Urdu—to be composed by Europeans and Indians in collaboration.<sup>2</sup>

Like others, and especially Lord Moira, Mountstuart Elphinstone, F. J. Shore, and B. H. Hodgson, whom he quotes, Adam was impressed by the absence of all moral teaching and direction in the schools; but he rejects the idea of a manual of morals and suggests that the best way to give religious instruction 'without engaging in religious controversy, or exciting religious prejudice' would be 'without employing any direct forms of religious inculcation, to cause the spirit of religion—its philanthropic principles and devotional feelings—to pervade the whole body of instruction on other subjects' (Long, p. 271). Moira, Elphinstone, Shore, and Adam were all alike opposed to any attempt to alter the religious convictions of the pupils; it was the principles of the pupils' own religions that they wished to see introduced into the teaching of the schools.

31. The next step was to find suitable examiners for the teachers, who were to possess both European and Indian education, and to be appointed by Government. The examiner was to summon the teachers in each suitable centre, to give them copies of the book on which he examined, and to say that he would meet them six months later, examine them in it, and distribute rewards (Long, pp. 274–5).

<sup>1</sup> Long, pp. 252–4.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, pp. 261, 267, and 294–6. Adam probably owed part of his plan to the suggestions of Elphinstone and Campbell (see pp. 11 and 73–4, above). Adam describes the books in detail (pp. 272–3). The first was to be a manual of practical instruction in reading, writing, and accounts, commercial and agricultural, based on the existing teaching, and the composition of letters, leases, &c., together with the elements of grammar—and the 'moral verses of *Chanakya*' for Hindu students.

The second was to give elementary notions of trade, manufactures, and above all agriculture, and possibly of the sciences underlying them, with local illustrations.

The third was to be 'explanatory of the moral and legal relations, obligations, and rights, whether personal, domestic, civil, or religious, of men living in a state of society and under the existing Government'.

The fourth was to 'correct, enlarge and systematize the knowledge of the learner respecting his native country, other countries, and the system of the world. If prepared for Bengali schools, it would explain the natural features and resources of Bengal, the political Government of British India, the physical and political geography of the other countries of the world, and the leading facts and principles of modern astronomy' (Long, p. 273).

The nature of the rewards was not easy to determine. Adam disliked direct substantial money rewards, but suggested that the teacher might receive a few annas a day for expenses incurred in travelling to the examination centre, together with gifts of the books for himself and his pupils. He thought that the teacher would demand more, and the parents would be willing to pay more, for the improved instruction (Long, p. 276).

But Adam further recommended that after the establishment of the system each teacher might present a certain number of his pupils for examination as a basis for further rewards, while the pupils who passed in the highest class-book should become eligible to fill vacancies in the English school of the district (Long, pp. 294-6 and 303).

In addition to receiving copies of the books, the teachers were to receive certificates of distinction, inscription on a special official register, and, more important than all, eligibility to a normal school; and ultimately some teachers might be promoted to be inspectors and examiners (Long, pp. 276, 281, 298-301).

32. Adam realized that these books would not teach the teachers how to teach, and he says 'the discipline and management of native schools are in general the worst that can be conceived in the absence of almost all regular discipline and management whatever', and he suggested that three modes of betterment were possible: (i) by written directions; (ii) by practical examples given by the examiners in the examination of the teachers and their scholars; and (iii) by precept and example combined, in normal schools (Long, pp. 279-81). He points out that vernacular departments had been attached to the English schools at head-quarters and suggests that these should be used as normal schools for the teachers, who would receive travelling allowances enabling them to spend a total period of not more than three months in any one year in a normal school, chosen to suit the convenience of the teacher, for a maximum of four successive years (Long, pp. 281-2).

33. As a final reward, Adam suggested the endowment of each teacher suitably qualified under his system, and recommended by two-thirds of the landowners, tenants, and householders of the village to which he belonged, by a grant of land of an annual value not exceeding half the average annual income of a vernacular teacher of the district (Long, pp. 282-5). A teacher might be deprived of his land, on complaint of not less than one-fourth of the persons who had petitioned for the endowment, and after independent Government inquiry.

He proposed that the landowners and others referred to 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'.

34. It is an important feature of Adam's scheme that he suggested that it should be first tried in a number of districts selected simultaneously for the purposes of comparison; but in every case it was to be preceded by a complete census of the population and an educational survey of the districts concerned (Long, p. 263).

35. *Rejection of Adam's Scheme.* Adam was obviously apprehensive that his carefully thought-out scheme might not be approved. It seems clear that while in the highest quarters and in the Court of Directors the opinion was held that it was the

duty of Government to extend education as widely as possible, some, whom Adam does not name, viewed such extension with apprehension as a danger to British dominion; and Adam (Long, p. 297) quotes an eloquent passage from Sir Charles Metcalfe of September, 1815, dealing with such apprehensions. Metcalfe says his remarks are offered 'in reply to objections which may be, and have been, urged against our conferring on our Indian subjects the blessings of independence and education'. 'My own opinion', he continues, 'is that the more blessings we confer on them the better hold we shall have on their affections, and in consequence the greater duration and strength to our empire.'<sup>1</sup>

The General Committee of Public Instruction, of which Macaulay was chairman, in their annual report for 1835, made it clear that they 'were deeply sensible of the importance of encouraging the cultivation of the vernacular languages',<sup>2</sup> and, as Adam mentions, they had created vernacular departments in the English schools. They realized fully that the people must receive their knowledge through the vernacular dialects. But it is also clear that Macaulay was wedded to the filtration theory, and was not prepared to help the existing schools, which he regarded as hopeless. In a Minute of 28 September, 1836, he wrote: 'I do not see how we can either make the present teachers of elementary knowledge more competent or supply their places as yet with fitter men. The evil is one which time only can remedy. Our [English] schools are nurseries for the schoolmasters for the second generation. If we can raise up a class of educated Bengalees, they will naturally, and without any violent change, displace by degrees the present incompetent teachers.' He endorsed Shakespear's view that the plan of educating the schoolmasters already established was 'chimerical' (see p. 81, footnote 2, above).

The Committee thought that Adam had underestimated the expense of his scheme and that the execution of the plan would be almost impracticable. They adhered to Macaulay's view that through the agency of the scholars of the Government schools 'an educational reform will descend to the rural Vernacular Schools'.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the majority of the members wished to give Adam's scheme a trial on a small scale, by applying it to a circle of twenty schools in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. But Government did not approve the proposal. Adam, in disgust, resigned his appointment. The Court of Directors of the East India Company confirmed the resolution of Government and intimated that when the educational needs of the superior and middle classes had been provided for, 'then Mr. Adam's proposals might be taken up on a liberal scale with some fairer prospect of success'.<sup>4</sup>

36. But Adam's work was not lost. It was taken up five years later by James Thomason, the first Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces; and in 1853 Dr. Mouat, the Secretary of the Bengal Council of Education, which had succeeded the General Committee, reported on the success of Thomason's efforts, which he contrasted with 'the utter failure of the scheme of vernacular education

<sup>1</sup> Reference may be made to the interesting *Life of Charles, Lord Metcalfe*, by Edward Thompson (1937), especially p. 302.

<sup>2</sup> H. A. Stark, *Vernacular Education in Bengal*, pp. 54-5.

<sup>3</sup> See Long's Introduction to Adam's Reports, p. 12. Long adds: 'Time has shown the fallacy of this conclusion. Adam himself criticizes the theory explicitly in his Third Report' (Long, pp. 257-8).

<sup>4</sup> Stark, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-6.

adopted in Bengal', and his proposals were endorsed by Lord Dalhousie as Governor-General in a Minute of 21 October, 1853.<sup>1</sup> As pointed out in the text, this proposal of Dalhousie was covered and more than covered by the general proposals of Sir Charles Wood's great Despatch of 1854 (see pp. 17-18, above).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Stark, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-9, 61-3, 71-2, 84-6, and Long's Introduction to Adam's Reports, pp. 13, 16-17, 20, and *passim*. Lt.-Col. W. R. M. Holroyd, Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab, pointed out in his Report on the State of Education in the Punjab for 1881-2 (paras. 77-83) that in the North Western provinces, the system of village schools was in course of supersession by the *halqabandi* system, i.e. that of circle schools for a number of villages close together.

## MEMORANDUM C

### DR. G. W. LEITNER AND EDUCATION IN THE PUNJAB 1849-82

WE have seen how a preliminary surmise by William Adam that there were in Bengal in 1835 '100,000 schools', a surmise which on examination proves to be completely destroyed by his own investigations, passed into the region of legendary belief. The policy advocated by Adam of building up a system of education based on the indigenous schools found a passionate supporter in Dr. G. W. Leitner in the Punjab, and Leitner's sweeping statements have served more than once as a basis for a general attack on British educational policy in India. They have given rise to a legend comparable to the Adam legend and are therefore worth examining in some detail.

2. Gottlieb William Leitner, an Oriental scholar, was born in Hungary in 1840, and after a brief career as a professor at King's College, London, went to the Punjab in 1864, as Principal of the Government College, Lahore, a post which he held till his resignation on account of ill health in 1886. He died in 1899.<sup>1</sup> His knowledge of education in the Punjab as it was at the time of the annexation in 1849, which he used as the starting-point for his various hypotheses, was based almost entirely on official reports; from these he made many extracts in the evidence which he presented to the Commission on Education appointed in 1882 under the presidency of Dr. (later Sir) William Hunter, commonly known as the Hunter Commission.

He had officiated in 1871-2 as an inspector of schools, and also, in 1879, for three months as Director of Public Instruction, and was placed on 'special duty' in May, 1882, with the Commission. He gave his evidence before it in three forms: (i) in long written answers to a questionnaire; (ii) in replies to cross-examination by its Punjab Committee on these answers (in July, 1882);<sup>2</sup> and (iii) shortly after, in

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1899, pp. 725-9, and India Office List, 1887.

<sup>2</sup> The written statements and verbal evidence of the Punjab witnesses, including Leitner, are contained in a special Appendix to the Education Commission Report, which appeared separately as the *Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee, &c.* (folio, pp. 602), published in 1884. Leitner's written evidence in reply to a questionnaire extends from p. 352 to p. 395 and is followed by his cross-examination, given on 8 July (*History*, part i, p. 7), and recorded on pp. 395-402. I shall refer to the Report of the Punjab Provincial Committee below as the *Punjab Report*.

An interesting impression of Leitner's educational views is also given in an extract (including passages by Leitner himself) from a Report of 1871-2 by J. C. Cordery, Offg. Director of Public Instruction, under whom Leitner worked as temporary inspector (*History*, part v, *Précis*, pp. 40-6).

Reference should also be made to the evidence of Lt.-Col. W. R. M. Holroyd, the Director of Public Instruction (to whose views Leitner was bitterly opposed), which is printed in the following pages of the *Punjab Report*: (1) written evidence in reply to the questionnaire, pp. 245-61; (2) cross-examination, pp. 262-72; (3) further statement in continuation of previous evidence, pp. 272-6; (4) further cross-examination, pp. 276-9; (5) remarks on the evidence given by Dr. Leitner, pp. 592-601. I give these references because the Report has no index.

I may note that I have used in general the later official spelling 'Punjab', instead of the earlier 'Panjab'. The two forms were used concurrently for many years.

a folio volume of some 660 pages, *A History of Indigenous Education in the Panjab since Annexation and in 1882*.<sup>1</sup>

3. Leitner's main contentions were that no system of primary education 'can be said to be placed on a sound basis which ignores, or tends to suppress, indigenous education, both of which charges can be pressed against the system adopted by the Education Department'; that the principle of 'religious neutrality' should 'merely mean abstinence from religious proselytism, but not the introduction of a secular system, which is so pernicious' and was not 'a sufficient excuse for the resumption of grants of rent-free land to the indigenous schools of all sects, whereby the endowments of education were swept away, which might have been converted to nobler uses in course of time with a little more tact, patience, and knowledge than we displayed'.<sup>2</sup> He also suggested that the indigenous schools had 'been almost destroyed by the [Education] department, whereby the number of people throughout the province who can read and write has been rather decreased than increased since annexation'.<sup>3</sup>

4. Before discussing Leitner's hypotheses, it will be best to turn to the official reports on which he tried to build them up.

We get an interesting picture of indigenous education at the time of the annexation in certain paragraphs in the first Administration Report (1849-51) of the Board of Administration, of which Sir Henry and Sir John Lawrence were the senior members.<sup>4</sup>

'375. The schools are of three descriptions, namely, those resorted to by Hindoos, Mussulmans, and Seikhs, respectively. At the Hindoo schools, writing and the rudiments of arithmetic are generally taught, in the Hindec character; at the Mussulman schools, are read Koran, in Arabic, and the didactic and poetical works of Sadi, in Persian (the Gulistan and Bostan); at the Seikh school[s], the Grunth in Goormukhi, or the repository of the faith, taught by Nanuck and Guroo Govind. In the Persian, Arabic and Goormukhi schools, which form the great majority, the studies being chiefly confined to sacred books written in a classical phraseology, unintelligible to both teacher and pupil, do not tend to develop the intellectual faculties of either.

'376. It is remarkable that female education is to be met with in all parts of the Punjab. The girls and the teachers (also females) belong to all of the three great tribes, namely Hindoo, Mussulman and Seikh. The number is not, of course, large, but the existence of such an education, almost unknown in other parts of India, is an encouraging circumstance.

'377. The school-house is here, as elsewhere, primitive, such as a private dwelling, the village town hall, the shade of a tree, a temporary shed, or the court-yard of a temple. The Mussulman schools are nearly all connected with the village mosque [Leitner adds a footnote: 'Indeed, not "nearly all"']. In such a case the same endowment would support both institutions. *It is superfluous to observe that, wherever any land has been granted in rent-free tenure for such a purpose, either by the State and its representatives, or by the proprietary community, such foundations have been gladly maintained by the Board*.<sup>5</sup> The remuneration of the teachers is variable and precarious. It frequently consists of presents, grain and sweetmeats, given by the scholars and their parents. But, occasionally, the whole community subscribe for the support of the school, each member contributing so much per plough, which is considered to represent his means: not unfrequently also, cash payments are made, and sometimes regular salaries are allowed. Cash allowances are perhaps more usual in the Punjab than in Hindoostan.

'378. In parts of Hindoostan it is discouraging to observe how much education is circumscribed

<sup>1</sup> Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1882. The title-page bears the date 1882, the outer printed cover, the date 1883. The book is referred to in this Memorandum as *History*. It is divided into a number of parts and appendices, with thirteen different paginations.

<sup>2</sup> *Punjab Report*, pp. 352-3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 366 and 397 *ad fin.*

<sup>4</sup> Reprinted in the *History*, part i, p. 156.

<sup>5</sup> The italics are mine. P. J. H.



within certain castes, such as Brahmins, Bunyas, and Kayeths [*Kayasthas* or writers] who are exclusively devoted to learning, commerce or penmanship, while the great landholding and agricultural tribes are wholly illiterate. A similar disproportion exists also in many parts of the Punjab. But, in other parts, education, such as it may be, is imparted chiefly to the agricultural population. In most districts, testimony is given that all classes, both agricultural and non-agricultural, manifest a desire for instruction. *It has been ascertained that many old schools have increased, and many new schools have arisen, since annexation.*<sup>1</sup> In the cities, especially, when it was seen that the Government interested itself in the subject, numerous petitions were presented to the local authorities praying for the establishment of schools. Manifestation of the popular will is rare in India; and the Board are unwilling it should be neglected, especially when indicative of such aspirations as these. . . .<sup>2</sup>

In the Administration Report for 1851-3 (para. 459) Sir John Lawrence defined it as the policy of the administration to appoint district visitors who 'might induce the communities to set up one school, if not in every village, at least in every circle of villages; so that at length there shall be no village throughout the land in which the children do not attend some rudimentary school'.<sup>2</sup>

5. In the Administration Report of 1854-5 to 1855-6 (para. 71, p. 43) the following passage occurs:

'The Indigenous or Village Schools are as yet of the rudest description. A large proportion of the population being Mahomedans, the precincts of the village mosque are in many cases used as a School-house. For the same reason, the Persian, Arabic, and Oordoo languages constitute the course of instruction in the Western Districts. In the Eastern Districts, however, there is some admixture of the Hindee and Sanscrit languages, with the Nagaree character and other characters debased from the Nagaree. In the Central Districts, and in a part of the Cis-Sutlej States, once the home of the Sikh nation, the Goormookhee is not unfrequently taught. The style of Education is of course most primitive. The Teachers derive a precarious subsistence from fees. Heretofore there have been no funds available for popular Education; but the majority of the people, though ignorant, are yet not insensible to the blessings of knowledge, and are ready to make some small sacrifices for the education of their children.'

6. Leitner quotes in his *History* (part i, pp. 197-8), with some errors, from E. A. Prinsep's Settlement Report on the Sialkot district, which, though dated 1863, gives statistical and other information relating to the year 1852:<sup>3</sup>

'The state of indigenous education is still at a very low ebb, no attention being paid to this till lately. During the Sikh rule the schools supported by local effort were such as drew out a precarious existence in connection with Hindoo and Mahomedan places of worship. I took the statistics in A.D. 1852 and found that there were 149<sup>4</sup> localities where instruction of the most rudimentary character was being given to 1922 boys one half of whom were young lads training to be made "Moollas" or priests of Islamism, and of the remainder the majority were Kutrees<sup>5</sup> and Brahmins learning account-keeping. Of the agricultural classes there were 500 boys, and under the age of eight years, only 400. Persian and Arabic (now both obsolete) were the popular languages. In two pergunnahs, Zufferwal and Chahur, only 100 lads were receiving any instruction. Few could write their names, while teachers were indigent and illiterate in the extreme. In 1854, the District authorities introduced reform, which reduced the number of schools to 134. A return is annexed giving the statistics previous to the operation of the Education Department, which may prove useful for further comparison.'

<sup>1</sup> The italics are mine. P. J. H.

<sup>2</sup> This passage is referred to in Leitner's *History*, but I cannot discover that it was actually quoted by him in evidence.

<sup>3</sup> Report of E. A. Prinsep to Commissioner, Umritsur: No. 215, of 31 Jan., 1863, p. 26, para. 95.

<sup>4</sup> Obviously a slip for 129; see para. 15b, below.

<sup>5</sup> In the *Panjab Administration Report* of 1849-51 (quoted by Leitner in the *History*, part v, appendix vi, p. 1), the 'Khutries' are described as a tribe of merchants and penmen, of whom the Report speaks in high terms.

But Leitner does not quote this return, which would have been particularly interesting. The Report continues (para. 96):

‘In every village of moderate dimensions places are set apart for religious worship’, and describes them in some detail. No mention is made of schools being attached to these places of worship.

It is difficult to find in Prinsep’s Report any support of the theory that indigenous education was more advanced in the early years of the annexation than it was at the time of the Hunter Commission.

7. The Punjab Education Department was founded in 1856, with W. D. Arnold (a son of Dr. Arnold of Rugby) as the first Director of Public Instruction. The great majority of the indigenous schools at that time were Koran schools, obviously similar to those in Bengal of which Adam gave so depressing an account, and these Arnold described as ‘educationally worthless’. Of the ‘Persian schools’, which, though run by Muhammadans, had more Hindu than Muhammadan pupils, he had a much more favourable opinion; they were, he said, ‘the most genuine educational institutions in the country’;<sup>1</sup> and a number of the Persian schools were later transformed into Government schools.

8. That there had been no improvement in the Koran schools up to the year 1882 is shown by a report of the Indian Association, Lahore, of 1882, quoted with ‘entire agreement’ by Haji Ghulam Hussan (also spelt Hasan), a Punjabi Muhammadan member of the Hunter Commission. It says of these schools:

‘The mullas [Muhammadan teachers], in the great majority of these schools, teach the boys to recite the Koran, which is almost the first book they take up, and of which they do not understand a word.’<sup>2</sup>

Leitner’s own defence of the Koran schools (*History*, part i, pp. 66 et seq.) from the purely educational point of view was only half-hearted. ‘It is perfectly true’, he said, ‘that the teachers of these Koran schools are not good Arabic scholars; indeed many of them have only a hazy understanding of what they teach the children.’ It was their religious value on which he laid stress; but he could not admit that any of these teachers were unable to sign their names unless they were blind.

Other evidence was produced on this point in connexion with the statistical inquiry made in 1882 (see paras. 12 and 23 below).

9. The statistics of indigenous schools gave the Hunter Commission, as they had previously given the Punjab Government, over a series of years, a great deal of difficulty. They were naturally puzzled by the different figures placed before them.

‘The difficulty’, they say (*Punjab Report*, p. 33), ‘of obtaining trustworthy statistics of indigenous schools, is noticed in every report, and is attributed to two causes,—the insufficiency of the native agency employed in collecting the statistics, and the precarious and fluctuating character of the schools themselves.’

On the latter point Mr. J. C. Cordery, as Officiating Director of Public Instruction, had written in 1871–2, in a report quoted by Leitner (*History*, part v, *Précis*, p. 41):<sup>3</sup>

‘At present no trustworthy figures with respect either to the number or the attendance of these

<sup>1</sup> See *Report of the Director of Public Instruction*, of 6 July, 1857, paras. 8 and 16, quoted in the *History*, part v, *Précis*, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Punjab Report*, p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> It may be noted that Leitner (*History*, part i, p. 142) refers to Cordery as ‘a scholar who has a generous sympathy for the priestly and learned classes of the province’.

schools have been obtained. Exact information is impossible when the character of the thing itself is indefinite and shifting. A few children sitting together in a shop and learning the multiplication table, or half a dozen middle-aged men meeting occasionally in a masjid [mosque] to read the Kuran are, in some districts, alike held to constitute an indigenous school. There is no attempt at discipline or at any enforcement of regularity.'

10. In 1882 the Education Department neither inspected nor aided the indigenous schools, other than those which they had converted into Government schools. But from time to time they estimated their numbers. Estimates had already been made by the Lawrences in 1849-51 and again in 1855-6. The figures for 1849-51 have been incorporated in the table on p. 98, below. The figures given for 1854-5 and 1855-6 are given in the table below quoted *in extenso* from the *Report on the Administration of Public Affairs in the Punjab Territories* for those years, para. 71.

*Report on the Administration of Public Affairs in the Punjab Territories from  
1854-5 to 1855-6 inclusive*

Para. 71. The several divisions can show Indigenous Schools and Scholars as follows:

<i>Divisions</i>	<i>Indigenous schools</i>	<i>Scholars</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Proportion of schools to population</i>	<i>Proportion of scholars to population</i>
(1) Cis-Sutlej States . . . . .	332	3,506	2,282,111	1 to 6,873	1 to 650
(2) Trans-Sutlej States . . . . .	586	6,237	2,273,037	387	364
(3) Lahore . . . . .	1,270*	12,753*	2,117,894*	1,667	166
(4) Jhelum . . . . .	774	5,782	1,762,488	2,277	304
(5) Leia . . . . .	No regular schools				
(6) Mooltan . . . . .	212	2,186	971,175	4,581	404
(7) Peshawur . . . . .	198†	1,128†	296,364‡	1,496	262
(8) Total . . . . .	3,372	31,592	9,110,341	2,701	288

\* Exclusive of the Goojranwalla and Goordaspore districts.

† No regular schools, except in the Huzara district.

‡ Huzara only.

NOTE.—The figures of population agree with the census figures given in para. 186 of the Report for the first four areas; but insufficient detail is given to enable the figures for the portions of the Lahore and Peshawar districts to be checked. Apart from trifling errors to which attention need not be drawn, there are in this table two obvious misprints, 387 in row (2) for 3,879, and 404 in row (6) for 444. More serious is the mistake in the row of totals of 9,110,341 for 9,703,069, which renders uncertain the totals 2,701 and 288.

Leitner, who quotes this table (*History*, part i, p. 165), corrected one of the two misprints, but did not notice the mistake in addition, and omits the essential footnotes of the original.

The Administration Report states that there were 28,879 villages in the province.

According to the figures the proportion of scholars to population had between 1849 and 1855 increased in Lahore, but had diminished notably in Jhelum and Mooltan, though the administration had been unchanged. It is impossible without consulting the original manuscript (if it exists) to explain the large arithmetical error in the totals, and I have therefore not incorporated the statistics given above in the general table in para. 13 below.

11. In 1878-9 Lieut.-Colonel Holroyd, then Director of Public Instruction, estimated that there were 4,662 indigenous schools with 53,029 scholars. Leitner,

in spite of his assertion to the Hunter Commission that the indigenous schools had 'been almost destroyed by the [Education] department', held that the number of surviving schools had been grossly underestimated, and issued, with the help of officials throughout the province, a semi-private questionnaire of his own, which revealed the existence of 6,362 unaided schools, with 86,023 scholars; and he expressed the opinion that the actual number of scholars was not less than 120,000. The results of his inquiry, together with other matters, are set out at great length in part ii of the *History*, and summarized in tables in part iii.

12. The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Charles Aitchison, obviously dissatisfied with these discrepancies, then ordered an investigation of his own, it would seem with a wider sweep and narrower mesh, which revealed the existence of 13,109 indigenous schools with 135,384 pupils (quite apart from the 2,088 Government schools with 109,595 scholars). The Lieutenant-Governor's figures only reached Hunter after the Report of the Commission had been signed.<sup>1</sup> Leitner could not have seen the official figures before he completed his *History*; and a second volume of the *History* which he announced (*History*, part iv, p. 4) never appeared. Hunter, who was obviously in general sympathy with Leitner's views about indigenous schools, wrote that 'after a scrutiny of the statistical methods employed by Dr. Leitner, I could detect nothing in them which raised a presumption against their accuracy'.<sup>2</sup> Hunter obviously refers to the statistical method used in the inquiry which Leitner had set on foot and not to the further hypotheses which we shall quote presently, or his references to the Hoshiarpur Settlement Report of 1852. Leitner was no statistician; he did not even take the trouble to test the statistics which he placed before the Commission.

Hunter himself, in cross-examining Colonel Holroyd, made a somewhat misleading comparison between the figures of indigenous schools only in 1849 and those of Government schools only (leaving out of account the indigenous schools) in 1881-2. Holroyd at once pointed out Hunter's slip, but Hunter did not remedy it.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand Hunter, basing his questions on Holroyd's own written evidence (*Punjab Report*, A. 74, p. 257), drew attention to reductions in the number of pupils under instruction between 1875-6 and 1880-1, which Holroyd had stated to be due in part to a reduction in expenditure on primary vernacular schools in 1878-9 and 1879-80, as well as to prevalence of sickness and disturbance during the war (see *Punjab Report*, Q. & A. 37, p. 269).

13. It is worth while to make the comparison between the figures for 1849 and those for 1881-2 as both Hunter and Leitner ought to have completed it, calculating not only the proportion of schools to inhabitants (an entirely insufficient datum by itself), but also the proportion of scholars to inhabitants, a factor of far more importance, especially in estimating the influence of education on the general percentage of literacy. The figures are set out in the table on the following page.

14. Thus the figure for the number of population per school had dropped from the Lawrences' lowest figure of 1,441 to 1,241, and the far more important figure

<sup>1</sup> The Report was signed on 14 Sept., 1883, and the Note by Hunter referring to them on 29 Sept., 1883 (*Hunter Report*, pp. 621-2).

<sup>2</sup> See *Hunter Report*, pp. 621-2.

<sup>3</sup> See *Punjab Report*, pp. 269 et seqq., Questions 34, 37, and 65.

of the number of the population per scholar had dropped from 193·1 to 77;<sup>1</sup> in other words, there were two and a half times as many children at school (taking into account the rise in the population) in 1881 as there were in 1849.<sup>2</sup>

<i>Area</i>	<i>Authority</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Institutions</i>	<i>No. of population per school</i>	<i>No. of population per scholar</i>
Lahore Division	Lawrences	1849	Indigenous schools only	1,783	214·8
Jhelum "	"	"	" "	1,441	193·1
Mooltan "	"	"	" "	1,666	210·9
Punjab	Holroyd	1878-9	" "	4,043	355
"	Leitner	1881-2	" "	2,963	219
"	Punjab Govt.	"	" "	1,438	139
"	Holroyd	"	Govt. schools only	9,208	172
"	Punjab Govt. and Holroyd	"	Indigenous and Govt. schools together	1,240	77

The figures on which this table is based are:

- (1) the figures actually given in the Lawrences' Administration Report of 1849-51;
- (2) the population of the Punjab given in the Census of 1881, viz. 18,850,000;
- (3) Holroyd's figures for indigenous schools for 1878-9: 4,662 schools with 53,027 scholars (*Punjab Report*, p. 255);
- (4) Holroyd's figures for Government schools and high schools for 1878-9: 2,088 in all, with 109,595 scholars, quoted by Hunter;
- (5) Leitner's own figures for 1882: 6,362 schools with 86,023 scholars (*Hunter Report*, p. 621);
- (6) the Punjab Government's figures of indigenous schools and scholars for 1882, quoted in Hunter's Note (see para. 12 above), and printed in Holroyd's Report for 1882-3 (see para. 12 above): viz. 13,109 schools with 135,384 scholars.

Taking decimals into account, the first three figures in the 5th column above should read: 1,784; 1,442; and 1,667.

15. Leitner's recklessness with regard to actual figures may be illustrated by his reference to the schools in the Hoshiarpur district, in which the author of the Settlement Report of 1852, Mr. P. S. Melvill, reported (in paras. 53-4) that 'the paucity of educational institutions is very great', and mentioned that there were 156 schools in the district, and 7·79 boys to each school; and also (according to the printed text) that there was one school to every 19·92 males (adult and non-adult), which would mean that 39 per cent. of the male population were at school. Leitner quotes these figures (*History*, part i, pp. 146 and 159-60), but it never occurred to him that in 'a backward district', where the paucity of educational institutions was very great, it was impossible that 39 per cent. of the male population, a figure unheard of in educational history, should be at school.<sup>3</sup> If he had

<sup>1</sup> It occasionally happens that educational statistics put in this form mislead commentators (though neither Leitner nor, of course, Hunter) into supposing that the higher the number of population per school or per scholar, the more educated the region. I have only adopted this form, used by the Lawrences in 1849-51, so as to make the comparison with a later state of affairs easier to follow.

<sup>2</sup> If we take the figures which Leitner actually had at his disposal, the 109,595 Government scholars and the 86,023 indigenous scholars, we find that the number of population per scholar had fallen from the minimum of 193 in 1849 to 96 in 1881.

<sup>3</sup> Leitner quotes, without perceiving its absurdity, a similar figure for the Jullundur district—one school for 20·69 instead of 2,069 males (*History*, part i, pp. 146 and 160).

I have quoted elsewhere the official ratio of the population of school-going age (6-11) to the total population, as varying from 15 to 12 per cent. (see p. 78, footnote 2, above).

further analysed the census figures in Appendix IB of the Report, he would have found that the male population of the Hoshiarpur district was 310,809, and that there was thus one school not to 19.92 males but to 1,992 males, and that the decimal point was a simple misprint.

15a. In the tangled wilderness of Leitner's book it is not always easy to trace the genesis of his arguments. But as early as page 2 of his Preface he quotes the Hoshiarpur figures of 1852, and compares them with the 1849 figures of the Lawrences and (inaccurately) with the figures of 1882; and he returns to the charge later (*History*, part i, p. 145). It is clear that it was that unlucky insertion by the printer of a decimal point in the Hoshiarpur report that was Leitner's statistical undoing. He seems genuinely to have thought that the proportion of schools to population in this 'backward area' was *a hundred times as great as it really was*. Contrasting it with the 1849 figures for the Lahore and Jhelum divisions<sup>1</sup> he writes: 'These statements of the Lawrences are *far below* the mark [the italics are Leitner's], as I believe has been shown.'<sup>2</sup> He goes on to quote the imperfect comparison of past and present in Hunter's cross-examination of Holroyd, but does not mention Hunter's slip or Holroyd's correction of it.<sup>3</sup>

15b. Leitner's treatment of figures was worse than reckless. He draws attention to statistics which can be made to square with his beliefs, and omits others to be found in the same document which do not square with them. Perhaps his conviction, though misplaced, was so strong that he felt statistics conflicting with it to be worthless.

Appendix 9 of the Sialkot Settlement Report made by Prinsep<sup>4</sup> shows that there were in that district, in 1852, 1,922 scholars and 149 schools (of which 124 were connected with mosques or dharmshalas) distributed among 129 villages. Leitner quotes these figures and emphasizes that there were villages with more than one school (*History*, part i, p. 160). But he fails to quote the total figures of villages and population, which show that in the great majority of villages Prinsep found no school, and that the proportion of schools to population was not large. According to the Report (para. 77) there were 1,550 townships or villages (Prinsep uses the generic term 'villages' for all units, whether the population was over 10,000 or under 1,000); and the census returns of 31 December, 1855, in Prinsep's office (op. cit., paras. 55 and 56) gave the population as 563,153 including 316,421

<sup>1</sup> See para. 13, above.

<sup>2</sup> *History*, part i, p. 146. Leitner himself shows nothing, but he may conceivably be referring here to certain passages in the Report of W. D. Arnold, the Director of Public Instruction, of July, 1857 (unfortunately not in the India Office Library), from which he gives long extracts (*History*, part v, *Précis*, pp. 33-6). Arnold says that the returns in regard to indigenous schools are understated and not overstated, and that the figures he gives err exclusively on the side of incompleteness (op. cit., paras. 11 and 94). It would appear, though I cannot verify the fact, that he had the figures for 1854-5 and 1855-6 before him as well as some others. He regards his figures for the Cis- and Trans-Sutlej divisions as correct, as far as they go, and says (para. 94) that the most accurate returns are those for Jhelum and Lahore. He also says (para. 14) that the relation of scholars to population is given in para. 91, which Leitner replaces by asterisks. One cannot feel sure of obtaining a fair idea of Arnold's report from Leitner's extracts. The way in which he dealt with Prinsep's Sialkot Report is examined in para. 15b, below.

<sup>3</sup> See para. 12, above.

<sup>4</sup> See para. 6, above. The Appendix gives interesting details about the dates of foundation of the schools, the caste or creed of the pupils, and their ages.

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males.<sup>1</sup> This means that in Sialkot in 1852 the number of population per school was 3,779 and per scholar 293; and, on the average, only one village in ten had a school.

15c. But Leitner at an early stage leaves the field of recorded statistics for the field of assumptions. He assumes that at the time of the annexation every village had a sacred edifice, and every sacred edifice a school. He does not even refer in his argument to Sir John (later Lord) Lawrence's statistics of schools and villages given in the Administration Report of 1854-5 and 1855-6 (paras. 71 and 186), exhibited below, to which I have added a column showing the number of villages per school.<sup>2</sup>

<i>Divisions</i>	<i>Number of indigenous schools</i>	<i>Number of villages</i>	<i>Number of villages per school</i>
Cis-Sutlej States . . .	332	4,962	14.9
Trans-Sutlej States . . .	586	4,171	7.1
Jhelum . . . . .	774	4,647	6.0
Leia . . . . .	No regular schools	2,531	
Mooltan . . . . .	212	2,489	11.7

I have omitted the figures for the Lahore and Peshawar divisions because, as will be seen from the table in para. 10 above, they relate only to parts of these divisions.

In the new theories on which Leitner embarks, not in evidence subject to cross-examination, but in his book, he makes only such references to administration reports, settlement reports, and educational reports as support his hypotheses. In the *History* he assumes the existence in 1849 of 33,355 towns and villages, a figure probably not very far from the truth, and continues:<sup>3</sup>

'Assuming, at least, the existence of 33,355 Mosques, Temples, Dharmsalas<sup>4</sup> and other sacred edifices in which some teaching was carried on (not to count the 3,372 indigenous secular schools which were ascertained to exist in 1854,<sup>5</sup> or to speak of the large number of schools held in the houses of teachers), and giving each "collegium" of pupils an average attendance of 10, we shall get, at least, 333,550 persons under instruction in a Province in which we have now about 113,000 assumed to attend Government and Aided schools, and a much smaller number in indigenous schools (according to the last census the total number "under instruction" of every kind would only be 157,623).'

16. It is quite probable that each Muslim village had some kind of mosque; and

<sup>1</sup> The Report on the Census taken on 1 Jan., 1855, of the Population of the Punjab Territories was published as No. XI of a series of Selections from the Records of the Government of India (Foreign Department). The census returns (p. 32) give larger figures for the population of the district (641,782, including 359,574 males), and also for the 'townships and villages' (1,840). The Census itself (p. 16) points out that the census figures are in general larger than settlement figures.

<sup>2</sup> The figures for schools and for villages are quoted separately in Leitner's extract from this Administration Report (*History*, part i, pp. 165 and 168), but his quotation of para. 188 of the Report contains a misprint—36,210 villages with an average of about 450 persons to each, instead of 26,210.

<sup>3</sup> See *History*, part i, pp. 145-6. See also the Introduction, p. i.

<sup>4</sup> A dharmasala is a Sikh rest-house for travellers. Instruction was sometimes given in such institutions.

<sup>5</sup> There is no evidence that these schools were all secular schools; it seems improbable.

official reports state that each mosque had some kind of Koran 'school'.<sup>1</sup> But we do not know the number of Muslim villages in 1849, nor the average number of boys in a Koran school; and Leitner forgets entirely that there is no evidence that every Hindu temple or Sikh dharmshala had a school attached to it. There were many villages that were Hindu or Sikh, though there were no doubt mixed villages; in 1855 there were stated to be, besides the 7½ million Muhammadans, 5½ million Hindus, including a number of Sikhs not specified.<sup>2</sup> Leitner forgets also that, according to one of Arnold's Reports, there were more Hindus than Muhammadans in the Muhammadan 'Persian' schools; and that Hindus would not have attended such schools if they had had adequate schools of their own.

17. To understand his further amazing suggestion that the number of indigenous schools in 1882 was only one-tenth of the number in 1849<sup>3</sup> we must go back a little. Leitner had informed the Commission on the basis of 'information received while travelling in the province and partly from one of the earlier education reports' that—contrary to the intentions of the Lawrences, who reported in 1849-51 that endowments of schools 'had been gladly maintained by the Board of Administration' (para. 377; see p. 93, above)—these endowments, in the form of grants of rent-free land, had been resumed, and he said that search was being made in the Secretariat for the necessary records, and that when the result was known it would be communicated.<sup>4</sup> But he did not produce the results. In one place (*History*, part i, p. 149) he speaks of 'the resumption records and the documents for which I have applied to the Punjab Secretariat, but which have not been supplied'. But if the information had been refused, Leitner would not have hesitated to say so plainly, and he could have relied on the support of Hunter, the President, in a matter of this kind.

He had said in his *précis* for the Commission (see *History*, part i, p. 148) that, had he not feared to raise a storm of applications for the restoration of resumed land to schools, he would have been able to add numerous records in support of his assertion; he professes himself later to be a reluctant witness (see below). But he obviously collected all the evidence he could. Here is a sample of this evidence.

18. In the main section on this subject (*History*, part i, pp. 170-202) Leitner gives (pp. 180-3) 'instances of resumed "muafis"<sup>5</sup> belonging to Maulvis, Pandits, and Bhais'.<sup>6</sup> They are both inadequate and unconvincing; many of them are based on a 'private return' or 'private information'. One list of eleven *muafis* in the Sahansara village (loc. cit., p. 182) contains several instances where the former beneficiary no longer taught; and in three cases out of eleven the value of the endowment was only 1 rupee per annum. The average annual value of these endowments was only 14 rupees. Leitner says: 'Pupils attending these indigenous schools were, it is alleged, forcibly withdrawn by the Government village schools.'

<sup>1</sup> See *Report of the Director of Public Instruction*, of 6 July, 1857, quoted in the *History*, part v, *Précis*, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> See *Punjab Administration Report* for 1854-5 and 1855-6, para. 189, quoted in the *History*, part i, p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> See para. 20, below.

<sup>4</sup> See *Punjab Report*, pp. 352-3; cross-examination by the President, op. cit., p. 400, and by Haji Ghulam Hasan, p. 395; also *History*, part i, pp. 147-8.

<sup>5</sup> Rent-free holdings.

<sup>6</sup> Learned Muhammadans, Hindus, and Sikhs.



But he does not say who made the allegation in this case. On his side there is, however, evidence which I shall quote later (see para. 27 below) that in some cases pressure *was* put on pupils to leave unaided for aided or Government schools. But this change would not diminish the number of pupils or their literacy—a point to which I shall return.

19. The only passage that might seem to indicate a general policy of resuming grants for teaching is the one to which Leitner referred in his evidence. This was an extract from a Report of the Director of Public Instruction dated 6 July, 1857,<sup>1</sup> which reads as follows:

'Para. 80. You are aware that it was a common custom in former times to give grants of rent-free land to persons who were bound in return to teach youth. Most of these grants, the conditions of which were probably very little attended to, have been resumed, but I have been officially informed of their being allowed on the condition above mentioned, at the places noted in the margin [5 places in four different districts are named]. In all such cases the school is now considered subject to Government inspection, and will be gradually made to conform to the rules laid down for the one per cent. tahsili schools, as each case may require.'

If, as Leitner assumed, the foregoing note could be taken as applying to all endowed educational institutions in the Punjab, it might, as he says, have been regarded as conclusive (*History*, part i, p. 148, *ad init.*). But clearly it was not so.

Leitner does not make the distinction between grants to individuals and endowments of institutions, which is plainly indicated in the Administration Report of 1849-51; and the cases of 'release' (a technical term for the *continuation* of the endowment) on his own showing were far more numerous than is indicated in the Note of 1857. In the return of the Jullundar Settlement Report, 1852 (quoted in the *History*, part i, p. 192), it was stated that of the rent-free endowments 'released' (i.e. continued), 39 were for the support of schoolmasters. Leitner quotes as totals for Jullundar 3,875 cases 'released' and 2,830 'resumed'; but though 39 were released for educational purposes in this single district, he does not say how many (if any) educational endowments were resumed by Government.

20. Leitner's major accusation in this matter is contained in the following passage (*History*, part i, p. 173):

'Were I permitted, or were it necessary or desirable to examine the resumption records, it would be easy to establish the fact that thousands of endowments intended for teaching were resumed either at once or at the death of the incumbent at the time of annexation, or at the expiration of a particular settlement, or at the decay of the building, or at the wish of the jagirdar or in consequence of other reasons, none of which justified our neglect to make provision for the perpetuation, under better auspices, of the foundation of indigenous education. *What there is left of it is not a tenth of what existed,*<sup>2</sup> and may be principally classed as "unendowed indigenous education", its endowed form having been practically destroyed, as I think must be clear to any one who reads this Report without prejudice for a writer of unpleasant facts which it is not to his advantage to divulge, but which he is forced to communicate in the interests of truth and as a reluctant witness and reporter on this very subject, at the request of the Education Commission.'

21. Let us put to the test Leitner's assertion that what was left of indigenous education in 1882 was not one-tenth of what existed in 1849.

According to his own, admittedly imperfect, investigation there were 6,362 indigenous schools in 1882 with 86,023 scholars, or, if we take his conjectural

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted three times in the *History*, part i, p. 148, and part v, *Précis*, pp. 12 and 36.

<sup>2</sup> The italics are mine. P. J. H.

estimate, 120,000 scholars. But let us take the somewhat larger and, as Leitner would himself have agreed, more trustworthy figures of the Lieutenant-Governor's own investigation, which yielded totals of 13,109 indigenous schools and 135,834 scholars.

Consider first the meaning of Leitner's statement in terms of schools. If, as the hypothesis requires, there were at least 131,090 schools for Leitner's 33,355 villages there would have been an average of nearly four schools per village—and this in the province in which Sir John Lawrence in 1853 expressed the modest hope that the communities might be induced to set up in time one rudimentary school 'if not in every village, at least in every circle of villages'.<sup>1</sup> The result is absurd.

Now consider the number of scholars in relation to population. According to the Census of 1855 there was in the Punjab a population of 12,717,829, of whom 7,029,912 were males; and, as the number of girls at school was negligible, we need only consider the latter figure. If Leitner's hypothesis was correct, there were not less than 1,358,340 scholars, i.e. 10 out of every 52 males, or 19.3 per cent. of the whole male population, a proportion exceeding the whole number of school age, if this be taken as from 5 to 11.<sup>2</sup> The result is equally absurd.<sup>3</sup>

22. We have seen that Leitner was wrong in his suggestion that the number of the indigenous schools had been materially reduced. He was equally wrong in his attempt to maintain that their teachers were in general literate, as will be seen by the following extract from the Report of the Director of Public Instruction for 1882-3.<sup>4</sup> The table which follows is contained in para. 21 of the Report.

Class of schools	Schools with not more than 6 boys		Schools with more than 6 and not more than 12 boys		Schools with more than 12 boys		Totals	
	Schools	Scholars	Schools	Scholars	Schools	Scholars	Schools	Scholars
Persian	247	850	116	1,065	95	2,100	458	4,015
Persian and Quran	728	3,219	979	9,307	1,060	22,459	2,767	34,985
Purely Quran	3,551	13,794	2,348	21,541	1,271	25,616	7,170	60,951
Arabic	125	515	130	1,199	92	2,313	347	4,027
Gurmukhi	338	1,431	406	3,777	353	7,813	1,097	13,021
Hindi (Nagri)	19	89	23	230	40	968	82	1,287
Sanskrit	201	831	154	1,406	138	2,844	493	5,081
Lande or Mahajani	159	540	126	1,187	207	6,902	492	8,629
Miscellaneous	48	186	54	492	101	2,710	203	3,388
Total	5,416	21,455	4,336	40,204	3,357	73,725	13,109	135,384

23. The Report, in the next section, gives the following information with regard to the attainments of the teachers in these schools.

'Of the 13,109 teachers in charge of these schools 5,216 are unable to read a printed book, 5,782 are unable to write, and 9,595 are not acquainted with elementary arithmetic. It will be seen that 7,170 schools, or more than half the total number shown in the above statement, are purely Quran schools, and that they contain 60,951 pupils, or nearly half the number attending schools of every

<sup>1</sup> See end of para. 4, p. 94, above.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 78, footnote 2, above.

<sup>3</sup> If the population had increased during the years of peace between 1849 and the Census of 1855, the result would obviously be even more unfavourable to Leitner's hypothesis.

<sup>4</sup> This was published after Leitner's *History*. It is to be found in the India Office Library.

description. These schools are generally held in mosques. About half of them contain not more than 6 boys each, and considerably over four-fifths not more than 12. The boys learn certain portions of the Quran by rote in the original Arabic, but are not taught the meaning. The teachers are usually priests attached to the mosques, and are for the most part wholly illiterate. Of the total number shown in the returns 4,430 are unable to read a printed book, 4,791 are unable to write, and 6,199 are unacquainted with elementary arithmetic. A large number are blind or otherwise disabled. It is reported that in some cases carpenters, blacksmiths, chaukidars and others, who know the Quran by heart, but are unfit to follow their own trade, take to this calling.'

24. The following additional information taken from this Report is of interest. Holroyd gives a classification of the indigenous schools differing slightly from that of Leitner, and enumerates the classes set out below (op. cit., para. 13): (a) Persian schools; (b) Persian and Quran schools; (c) purely Quran schools; (d) Arabic schools; (e) Gurmukhi schools; (f) Hindi (Nagri) schools; (g) Sanskrit schools (h) schools for banyas' [moneylenders' or merchants'] accounts (Lande and Mahajani);<sup>1</sup> (i) miscellaneous schools.

In the Persian and Quran schools 254 teachers could not read a printed book, 372 could not write, and 1,550 were unacquainted with elementary arithmetic (op. cit., para. 26). In the Persian schools the qualifications of the teachers differed greatly, but they included some very able men (op. cit., para. 27); and in the Arabic schools there were many teachers of great learning (op. cit., para. 28). In the Gurmukhi<sup>2</sup> schools the great majority of the teachers could read and write, only 78 being unable to read and 109 to write, while 795 were ignorant of elementary arithmetic (op. cit., para. 29). (Holroyd adds that some of the *Granth*<sup>3</sup> readers or village *bhairs*<sup>3</sup> possessed rent-free land.) In the Sanskrit schools only 27 teachers were unable to read and 34 unable to write, while 265 knew no arithmetic (op. cit., para. 31).

25. In regard to two minor points Leitner, in my judgement, proved his case partially or wholly.

He stated, and it was admitted, that the 1 per cent. education cess raised locally on agricultural lands was not wholly devoted to the education of the agricultural classes which supplied the funds, and this was true<sup>4</sup> (see *Punjab Report*, p. 43). But the suggestion that the diversion of funds *reduced* the total amount of education in the Province is untrue. The Hunter Commission found, quite rightly, that the Punjab Government was backward in education compared with other provinces. Yet the increase in the total amount spent (compared with which the agricultural cess was small) was by no means negligible.

The backwardness, compared with other provinces, persisted long after 1882. Government did not further education as much as it might have done, in part, no

<sup>1</sup> Lande and Mahajani are special characters used in the elementary commercial schools in the Punjab. (See *History*, Introduction, p. iii *ad fin.*, and part i, pp. 37-45, and *passim.*)

<sup>2</sup> Gurmukhi is a script used by Sikhs, mainly for the Punjabi language.

<sup>3</sup> The *Granth* is the sacred book of the Sikhs; a *bhai* is a Sikh teacher.

<sup>4</sup> Leitner's contention that the tax raised solely from the agricultural classes was in part spent on the non-agricultural classes is supported by an important letter from the Government of India to the Punjab of 23 Jan., 1860, quoted in the *History*, part v, *Précis*, p. 28. The document quoted on the following page shows that there is a serious misprint in the quotation: 'Rs. 15,15,544 for 'Rs. 1,15,544'. The *Memorandum on Educational Cess* (Lahore, 13 Feb., 1868), quoted by Leitner (part v, *Précis*, p. 29, para. 6), shows that in 1860 the cess collected in all districts was formed into one general fund.

doubt, because of financial difficulties. But Leitner's claim that it reduced education in the Province was unfounded.

26. In this connexion it is interesting to quote certain figures from a table printed on pp. 28-9 of the *Punjab Report*.

	1856-7	1866-7	1881-2
Number of scholars in all institutions under Government inspection	13,610	102,388	110,649
Total expenditure by Government on education from all sources	Rs. 28,864*	9,49,065	16,29,440

\* Possibly a misprint for 1,28,864. The figure given is stated to be 'Dr. Leitner's estimate'.

The Report of the Director of Public Instruction for 1881-2 gives the following statistics for primary and secondary education under the supervision of Government (under 'Statements', p. i).

	High schools	Middle schools	Primary schools
Males . . . . .	502	5,418	93,919
Females . . . . .	4	13	9,739
Total . . . . .	506	5,431	103,658

27. The other minor point which Leitner made good (but which did not affect the question of literacy) was this. He complained that pressure was put on pupils to leave the indigenous schools for Government schools. A report by the Deputy Commissioner of Muzaffarpur, quoted in the interesting and valuable Report of the Director of Public Instruction for 1882-3 (para. 38), states that :

'If it was not for the pressure put on by the tahsildars *sub rosa*, there would be few agriculturists' sons in the Government schools at all. The reason is that the natives say that a boy is lost to them when he enters a Government school, that he is no longer contented with his father's way of living, and that he is of no use to him in the field or at the carpenter's bench. The agriculturists fall back therefore on the indigenous schools, and poor as the education in most of them is, are willing to pay for it.'

28. It is obvious that Leitner modelled his attack on Government in some ways on the attack made in 1871 by Hunter himself on Government in his book *The Indian Musalmans*, but with less respect to the facts.

Hunter tells us that before the British took over Bengal one-fourth of the State had been transferred to private hands in the form of rent-free tenures by what he terms a 'gigantic fraud', discerned by Warren Hastings in 1772; but that it was not till 1828 that Government felt itself strong enough to begin the resumption of these tenures, which continued till 1846. Hunter says that in this process 'hundreds of ancient families were ruined, and the educational system of the Musalmans, which was almost entirely maintained by rent-free grants, received its death blow'. Hunter does not dispute the legality of the resumptions.

The absence of any reference to the disappearance of Muhammadan schools by Adam, and Hunter's own failure to quote a single instance of the schools to which he refers, makes one (in spite of his high authority) sceptical about his sweeping statement. Hunter did bring forward one case of what he regarded as an illegality—the maintenance of the Hooghly Government College from a charitable fund left

by a wealthy Muhammadan for 'pious uses'. Hunter agreed that an educational fund came strictly under the terms of the Trust, but maintained that the College, presumably because of its neutral character, was of 'no service to Muhammadans' and that its endowment out of the fund was therefore a 'misappropriation' (op. cit., pp. 184-6). But the attitude of Muhammadans towards neutral institutions has, as we have seen, changed since Hunter's time.

29. To conclude. The contrast between Adam and Leitner, who both set out from the same starting-point, namely, that the best foundation for Indian education should be the indigenous system which had already sprung up, is striking—Adam recognizing the facts, however contrary they were to his anticipations and wishes, Leitner trying at enormous length to make the facts fit his theories.

At the bottom of Leitner's theories was the very reasonable conviction that religious education was of supreme importance, that it should be provided in every school, and discontinued in none. He was an early advocate of the system known in England as 'freedom of access'.<sup>1</sup> The conversion of a religious indigenous (Muhammadan) school into a Government school conducted under the system of 'religious neutrality' was to him unforgivable. It is clear that his views had led to acute differences of opinion between himself and his colleagues in the Education Department, which he wished to see abolished. It is presumably in the terms of euphemism that Hunter speaks when he says<sup>2</sup> that 'to the majority of the Commission the tone of Dr. Leitner's Report seemed exaggerated, and a prolonged debate ended in a resolution embodying that view'. Hunter, like Leitner, an ardent advocate of the Muslim cause, and more in sympathy with Leitner than his colleagues, pointed out that Leitner's large volume had been 'little used' and was 'scarcely referred to' in the Report. But the silence was not due to any lukewarmness on the part of the Commission for indigenous schools, of which they strongly recommended the encouragement (of many by means of the grant-in-aid system) 'if they serve any purpose of secular education whatever'.<sup>3</sup>

30. It is strange that after many years, when the crushing silence of the Hunter Commission has been forgotten, followed by Leitner's own silence, his fantastic statements, unanalysed, should have been brought to light, accepted at their face value, and made the basis of an attack on British policy.

<sup>1</sup> See *Punjab Report*, pp. 352, 384, and *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> *Hunter Report*, pp. 621-2.

<sup>3</sup> See *Hunter Report*, para. 675, and especially recommendations 2, 4, and 11. See also the Resolution of the Government of India of 23 Oct., 1884, endorsing recommendations of the Hunter Report for the encouragement of indigenous schools. (Suppt. to the *Gazette of India*, 25 Oct., 1884, pp. 1499-512.)

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