

Educational Policy in India

A Neglected Aspect

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WITH A FOREWORD BY

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EDUCATIONAL COMMISSIONER WITH THE GOVERNMENT
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FOREWORD

I HAVE gladly responded to the invitation to write a brief foreword to this valuable and stimulating little book, which has been written by my old friend, Mr. F. F. Monk.

For many years there has been criticism of the educational systems of India, especially in their higher ranges. The limited objective of high schools and colleges, the bondage of external and formal examinations, the inadequacy of many of the staffs and buildings, the lack of control over the activities of colleges by universities, the rigid uniformity of courses and curricula were, among other defects, the subject of adverse comment as far back as the beginning of the century, when the late Lord Curzon directed attention to the reform of universities. But the Commission of 1902 were unfortunately precluded by their terms of reference from considering the condition of the schools, while in the sphere of the universities they focused attention mainly on the readjustment of the administrative machinery. Indeed, the main effect of the Act of 1904 was to impose a still heavier strain on the already overlaid machinery. The position of the schools remained untouched.

The next attempt at improvement was in the direction of changing the form of universities, which should no longer be confined to administrative and examining functions, but should become teaching bodies. Though the Calcutta University Commission were enabled by more liberal terms of reference to probe nearer to the root of the matter, and though they recommended a reconstruction of the school system by removing the Intermediate stage from the jurisdiction of universities

and by the institution of Intermediate Colleges, few attempts have been made to carry out these fundamental proposals; such attempts as have been made in the United Provinces, in the Punjab and at Dacca have been imperfectly devised. The main result of the Commission's labours, therefore, has been the creation of a number of unitary universities; but as these universities, in common with the older affiliating universities, were based on the unstable foundation of a wrongly-directed school system, their prospects of success have been greatly diminished.

By the very nature of their enquiry, the Hartog Committee were engaged mainly in considering education from its political aspect. The committee, therefore, strove to examine the primary system in order to ascertain the prospects of its being successful, within a reasonable period of time, in producing a literate electorate; similarly, the committee examined the condition of high schools and colleges in order to gauge whether the training imparted therein was such as would be suitable for 'the directing classes of the future'. The committee made a valuable contribution towards the study of educational problems by their frank and fearless disclosure of the waste and ineffectiveness which persist throughout the Indian educational system. Judged by the test of literacy, the primary schools largely fail in their task, as the number of pupils who complete the course and should thereby gain a firm grip of literacy is almost insignificant in comparison with the total enrolment. Similarly, the class-rooms of high schools and the lecture-halls of colleges are clogged by large numbers of students, whose bent does not lie in the direction of literary studies; in consequence, the methods of teaching and study are not such as to provide that back-

ground of training which is required by the better qualified students. Until these elements of waste and ineffectiveness have been reduced, it was argued, the replies to both questions must continue to be disappointing.

In more recent years still, the Punjab University Enquiry Committee examined the present discontents in closer detail. In the matter of the form of universities, the committee observed that, though the unitary universities had utilized to some extent the advantages resulting from a centralized control and from a less complicated organization, in order to introduce higher standards of examination and teaching their expenditure is greater than India can be expected to bear; nor have they fulfilled the high hopes which had been raised at the time of their establishment. The committee were also doubtful whether the benefits derived from these new universities have been commensurate with the college traditions which they had eclipsed. Moreover, bearing in mind the wide distances and the limited means of communication in India, these universities cannot by themselves meet the growing requirements of a vast population. The committee therefore advocated a federal form of university, which would preserve valuable college traditions, and at the same time weld together their teaching and other resources by means of a closer control by the university. The main contribution of the committee, however, lies in their main contention that effective reform of universities is dependent upon a radical reconstruction of the school system in such a manner that universities shall be enabled to concentrate their resources upon the training of those competent to receive it. Without such reconstruction, real improvement will be impossible.

And thus it is that the system of education has been subjected to criticism from a number of different aspects, but it is the growing volume of unemployment among the educated community which has brought matters to a head and has supplied the compelling force towards reform. Recent convocation addresses, notably those delivered by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at Allahabad and by Sir Shadi Lal at Lahore, as well as other important pronouncements, have voiced the growing demand for drastic treatment. Perhaps the most significant of these pronouncements is the resolution passed unanimously by the Universities Conference held in Delhi towards the beginning of the year:

A practical solution of the *problem of unemployment* can only be found in a radical readjustment of the present system of education in schools in such a way that a large number of pupils shall be diverted at the completion of their secondary education either to occupations or to separate vocational institutions. This will enable the universities to improve their standards of admission.

It is at this juncture that Mr. Monk takes up the threads of the argument, and with considerable force and persuasiveness describes one direction at least, in which the school system can be reconstructed. In his opinion, education must train for leadership: 'The primary need is to find or to make a ruling class in India which will be not only ready, but competent, to take over the responsibilities long discharged by a foreign ruling race, which has solemnly and frequently asserted that such transfer of rule is its ultimate intention.'

Mr. Monk is fortunately not one of those who appear to think that this important requirement can be met merely by the transplantation of English public schools. He does not plead for 'imitation public schools', but

rather for 'special secondary schools to be developed out of what is already to hand'.

The question arises why Mr. Monk's limited objective of a comparatively small number of really good schools, with manageable enrolments, and with an emphasis on training rather than on mere teaching (or cramming), cannot be attained within the existing system. Why is it that he demands also a drastic reconstruction of the school system? It is in this respect that Mr. Monk's argument may require amplification.

Mr. Monk has not dealt specifically with the question of school ages, but he has quoted with approval the following passage from the report of the Indian Military College:

There does not seem to us sufficient guarantee that boys have always received an adequate grounding in what are usually considered to be the basic subjects of school education. Again, such general education should be given, in our opinion, in a good and well-regulated school, but we observe that many boys pass matriculation at the early age of fifteen (or even younger) and then proceed to a college. They thus lose the bracing stimulus of school life and are denied suitable training in those qualities which are so valuable to success in life. . . . A college education is no substitute for a good school education (with its school discipline, its school games, and its school methods of work) for boys who are on the threshold of professional study.

It may be assumed, therefore, that Mr. Monk regards it as a *sine qua non* that, for the purpose of training in responsibility, boys should remain in a well-organized school at least until they reach the age of eighteen.

Mr. Monk's little book is so excellent both in tone and spirit, that it may appear ungracious to offer a word of criticism, but he appears to contemplate the possibility of boys proceeding from these 'special schools' to the

universities in their present state of congestion; for he paints the picture of 'a steady leavening of the masses (of students), drawn as they still will be from every type of school by the products of these institutions'. Is there not a danger that the flavour of the new wine will be lost in the sediment of the old bottles? It does not seem possible therefore, to localize this new experiment; it is inevitably part of the wider problem, which has already been discussed. The main task is so to reconstruct the school system that the present drift towards matriculation and the university life beyond shall be stemmed by a diversion of boys into other and more suitable channels; but it is not equitable that boys (and girls also for that matter) should be denied the advantages of education, mainly on the ground that they have no bent for a literary form of education. These boys should therefore be diverted, as was suggested by the recent Universities' Conference, either to separate vocational institutions or to practical occupations. It may be argued with truth that vocational institutions cannot by themselves create industries and thereby provide further opportunities for occupation, but it would not be difficult to name a number of occupations, for which training would be both desirable and beneficial; in any case, training of this type would be far more suitable for such boys than is the arid 'grind' which they now endure, much to their own expense and to that of the institutions which they attend. It may also be argued that reconstruction, such as has been suggested, would not necessarily cure the evils of unemployment. There is force in this argument, but a boy of fifteen or sixteen years of age would be far more likely to be absorbed into occupation than is a graduate, or still more a failed graduate,

who has crippled his financial resources and has become wedded to the desire for a sedentary life.

Mr. Monk has placed numberless students in Delhi under a debt of gratitude by his devotion to their welfare; he has now placed a wider clientele under a similar debt by his courageous championship of an ideal. It is possible that, even after a brief sojourn in England, Mr. Monk has not been able to keep abreast of recent developments in India, but it will be a fitting reward to him to know that there are now many who regard it as a privilege to fight under his banner.

GEORGE ANDERSON.

PREFACE

THE following monograph reproduces, with a few alterations necessitated by the lapse of time, a memorandum submitted in 1928 to the Committee on Education which supplemented the enquiries of the Simon Commission. The memorandum was acknowledged appreciatively by members of the committee but their report, owing no doubt to its preoccupation with the more general fields of education, gave no very explicit attention to the questions to which the memorandum drew attention.

Those questions concerned the urgent need for India of a great increase in the 'directing class' and of greater attention to the educational policy and practice necessary in order to secure it. This need has become even more pressing with the acceleration of political advance in the last six years; and the policy and practice advocated in the memorandum, based originally on some eighteen years' experience of the fundamental deficiencies of the school system from which college students were drawn, have been convincingly endorsed by later experience and observation.

While the memorandum was being prepared for publication very weighty confirmation of some of its main contentions was given, from a different angle of approach, by the Report of the Punjab University Enquiry Committee, presided over by Sir George Anderson. Most of the pertinent material from that source has been introduced in footnotes.

The present text has already appeared in three successive instalments in the journal *Teaching*, and reinforced

now by Sir George Anderson's Foreword may claim more authoritatively the attention that the subject deserves.

F.F.M.

London, July, 1934.

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CHAPTER I

THE NEED

Transfer of rule is the end of British Policy in India

THE primary need, put bluntly, is to find or make a ruling class in India which will be not only ready, but competent, to take over the responsibilities for so long discharged by a foreign ruling race, which has solemnly and frequently asserted that such transfer of rule is its ultimate intention.

Nationalism may be impatient of the pace at which this end has been hitherto approached; imperialism, even in its most benevolent form, may be still sceptical of the progress made; but to no reasonable historically-trained mind can it appear anything but inevitable that the next two generations will witness, by the sheer momentum of human development along lines laid down far back in history, the transfer of the major part, if not all, of the administration of India from foreign hands to those of the people of the country.

The question of how much or how little, how soon or how late, so urgent both for patriots and for pessimists, must inevitably pre-occupy the attention of the statesman if the transfer is to be effected with even that minimum of goodwill required to ensure the future co-operation of the two great races involved. But signs are not wanting that on both sides all too little attention has hitherto been paid to the fundamental requirements without which the whole of such a transfer may come perilously near to being a disaster or a farce.

Success in this depends not merely on men but on the supply of men

A large part of the criticism levelled against the British Government of India is discredit of its efficiency. *Eppur si muove*—at any rate, it does work; and the retort of the 'imperialist', that Indian rule will *not*, has just that much sting of partial and probable truth behind it which explains the patriot's passionate denial. Both sides, however, appear to be content to argue on the basis of the merits of the existing men—neither, apparently, recognizing that the question turns vitally on the *supply* of men. Periodical alarm about British recruitment to the I.C.S. on the one hand, agitation over Indian candidates for King's Commissions on the other, so far from belying that contention, as might superficially be thought, in reality confirm it. The very partiality of the approach to these problems shows how narrow and inadequate is the outlook brought to bear on them—as though an imperialism could be preserved by the stereotyping of one single branch thereof, or Home Rule effected by the securing of a few military posts for children of the soil.

To revert to the original proposition—a foreign ruling race has to be replaced, whether the Briton likes it or not, or for that matter the Indian, who, when it comes to personal factors in such devolution, can be sadly unpatriotic on occasion.

It is the roots of the British system of rule in India that have to be transplanted

What then is this 'ruling race' that has to be replaced? Not just an army of occupation, nor just an influx of foreigners grabbing the best positions and best pay and draining the country's wealth. All that—or

none of it—may be true, but it only touches the surface. The British connexion with India has become *organic*, as the most passionate nationalist betrays in every other word he writes or speaks in the foreign tongue; its hitherto British-manned services have roots, and from those roots they have grown, and no mere mechanical interchange of parts can effect the needed transformation, if indeed it is to take the form of an integrating evolution of a new-formed nation, and not merely that of a disintegrating revolution in the political status of a geographical area. If Britain is to do her best by India in launching her into her national stage; if India is profitably to utilize in the transition (as she needs to) every scrap of benefit from the past régime, in order to ensure that stability so essential for a propitious start, it is vitally important that both sides should concern themselves, to a far greater extent than they have yet done, with such transplantation as is possible of the roots from which have sprung those services whereby, whatever else Britain has or has not given India, she has at least given her *stability*.

These roots are a unique educational training and tradition

These roots, it is here contended, are a unique educational system, identified sometimes, though quite inadequately, with the British 'public school'. Disregarding the mists of prejudice, both favourable and unfavourable, that gather round that particular term, we shall find that the *differentia* of the system, as compared with those in vogue in most other nation-states, lies in the frank recognition of a distinctive function for a certain proportion of 'secondary' schools — a function well expressed in a recent prospectus of one such school as provision for the education of 'the directing classes'.

—from which has grown up the self-government of Great Britain

Britain may be in the present generation called upon to adjust its public schools to the increasing demands of democratic education, but that should not blind us to the dominant part which the far wider system which embraces these schools has played in the shaping of a nation which, however imperfectly democratic yet, is nevertheless taken by less fortunate nations as a model of self-government. For among such schools must be included not only foundations such as Winchester and Eton, but even more explicitly those 'grammar schools' which arose to meet the needs of the 'middle classes' when those classes first began to 'find themselves' in Tudor times. Behind and beneath the incidental steps which monopolize the attention of the historian of political progress, it was those schools, developing slowly but steadily a distinctive type of training, in responsibility and command, for youths of the 'middle class', which enabled Britain to emerge from a mainly aristocratic government to that degree of popular administration which it now enjoys.

Such administrative functions are no doubt being extended more and more to the so-called 'working' classes, but in applying the ideals of democracy to the circumstances of any country, and particularly to those of India at the present day, it is very necessary to avoid the all too common confusion between the functions of *control* as exercised by votes in elections or in representative assemblies, and those of *administration*, as exercised in directive service under the State. The former may reasonably be claimed as universal from a very early stage, at least for the literate; the latter are essentially dependent on gradual specialization—a

specialization that can be effectively imparted to the individual only at the critical period of his education as an adolescent.

Avoiding then the misleading name 'public schools' in favour of the more comprehensive term 'middle class secondary schools', we can say that their function in Britain has been, above everything else, to train the individual to '*take charge*'; and can further claim (with all due acknowledgements to our hereditary aristocracy) that it was through those schools, not only directly but also indirectly by generations of their influence on social and public standards, that our 'middle classes' became qualified to administer, as they now do, the greater part of that gigantic organism, the British Empire.

Application of this to Indian conditions will take us deeper than politics, down to the very nature of the social organism

The application to present Indian conditions of these considerations, educational and sociological as they are, rather than political, will take us right through that surface of mere political *organization* on which public discussion usually dwells, down to the real *organism* that lies beneath.

The social organism requires differentiation of the civic functions, which involves a corresponding differentiation of training

Whether our philosophy be that of Plato, or Paul, or Manu, essential differentiation of the members in the body politic is accepted almost universally; at any rate it is not in India that equalitarian conceptions will be found. With differentiations of membership follows

inevitably a differentiation of training. Has then the British Government, in its hundred years or so of tutelage over India, not so much discharged as even merely recognized its obligations in respect of such differentiations of social functions?

British educational policy in India has failed to recognize such differentiation

The reply may be found, from the British side, in Mr. Arthur Mayhew's book, *The Education of India*. In that comprehensive and searching survey of the efforts made by the foreign ruling race to inculcate character as well as learning among the race for whose progress it has, however blindly, felt itself responsible, as the record proves, though there are clear-cut issues framed and traced out between male and female, urban and rural, primary and secondary education, one fact which personal experience shouts aloud at one has failed altogether to emerge. And that fact, more damning than any that the most rabid nationalist has yet exploited, is that throughout the complex educational system elaborated with so much honest painstaking by British administrators, past and present, in not one item is any provision worth the name allotted to the special eliciting and training of those 'native' directing classes—'leaders', if you will—to whom, by a series of the most solemn political proclamations, we are pledged to commit, in the rapidly approaching future, the destinies of India for which we have been hitherto responsible. The production of clerks, of 'subordinate services', was the chief purpose for which the system was originally elaborated.¹ From

¹ 'It is not surprising that a system which was designed to turn out office-clerks has failed completely to turn out successful citizens.'—Prof. G. C. Chatterji, Government College, Lahore. *Report of Punjab University Enquiry Committee*, p. 102.

that we have turned, under the influence of the prevailing democratic impulse, to consideration of 'popular' education, viz. the enlightenment of the masses by the spread of literacy. Of these two educational objectives the first is a practical necessity, the second an unquestionable moral obligation. But why the singular omission of this third and seemingly so obvious educational duty, viz. the preparation and training of those who should ultimately supplant us as rulers of the country? It is hard to explain the omission in any other terms than those of the psychologist who explains our mental blindnesses as subconscious unwillingness to see.

This failure has reacted both on Indian political mentality

Looking solely then at our educational record one cannot be altogether surprised if the Indian bitterly complains: 'We are all "just natives"'. Our own aristocracy has been replaced by a foreign aristocracy of so-called "services"; we ourselves are either *babus* or *sepoys* or *coolies*—what else is open to us?

—and on British official mentality

It must be confessed with shame that all too close a reflection of this conception may be heard still in club or cantonment. But nevertheless the Indian who would assert this as the *general* view of the present day would disqualify himself for any profitable argument. Royal proclamations are not really so easily flouted by the British mind as the Indian politician would sometimes contend, and the crustiest die-hard would find it hard to go back on Queen Victoria. The puzzlement—prejudice, if you will—of the unimaginative Briton is no longer directed at the *aspirations* of educated Indians to self-government, but at the apparent absurdity of trying

to realize them. He cannot believe that they are qualified for self-government in the sense in which he understands the term 'qualified'. They, on the other hand, in their understanding of it, are often not only equally 'qualified' but actually superior.

There have been divergent interpretations by the two races of educational qualification

Examinations, degrees, the labels of competitive or academic success, are in India assumed to be the test of the metal. By the Briton they are all regarded, often all unconsciously, as merely the stamp. Hence to the Indian the British officer appears chiefly as a more or less mature *product* of which the creative process behind is, by the force of circumstances, almost entirely hidden or in any case ignored; to the Briton himself, on the other hand, in so far as he thinks about it at all, his character as a finished product, whether as I.C.S. probationer or as newly-commissioned subaltern, is merely an aspect of a *process*, stretching far back into childhood, persistent and continuous throughout life, viz. the development of manhood, or, in one word, education.¹

¹ The Indian Military College Committee of 1931 reflects this outlook very aptly in a passage from its *Report*, quoted by the Punjab University Enquiry Committee (p. 91 of latter *Report*)—

'It is essential that professional education should be based on the firm foundation of general education. . . . There does not seem to us sufficient guarantee that boys have always received an adequate grounding in what are usually considered to be the basic subjects of school education. Again, such general education should be given, in our opinion, in a good and well regulated school, but we observe many boys pass matriculation at the early age of fifteen (or even younger) and then proceed to a college. They thus lose the bracing stimulus of school life and are denied suitable training in those qualities which are so valuable to success in life. However beneficial it may be in other directions, a college education is no substitute for

The term 'education' must be taken in its fullest connotation—'the whole making of man'

Owing, however, to the abuse of that term in politics and policies, it is necessary to insist that 'education' is here used to imply *the whole making of man* and not that mere imparting of information and ideas which passes as education, not only in India but in any other country where the duty of rapid development of the populace to enable it to keep pace with its increasing privileges under democracy has resulted in some sacrifice of quality to quantity. It would be utterly wrong for the educationist who is jealous for his high vocational ideals to gibe at the 'diffusion of literacy among the masses', but it would be equally wrong for him to concede that anything less than the highest of those ideals can meet the needs of those whose destiny is to administer and direct the nation's business.

It is this connotation which the British mind implicitly assumes in its estimate of individual capacities

It is owing to this perhaps inevitable degradation in public and 'practical' affairs of the great name of a great process that the mention of 'education' brings out a curious paradox in India. Nothing is now more frequently discussed in India than education, yet the actual weight it carries when an individual political leader's worth is being estimated is surprisingly small. On the other hand, the British officer, notoriously indifferent to educational questions, will be found, implicitly if not explicitly, basing his judgement of his fellow British officer more on the question of what

a good school education (with its school discipline, its school games, and its school methods of work) for boys who are on the threshold of professional study.'

school he comes from than on anything else. It would be trivial to dismiss this as merely the oft-condemned public school caste-feeling. It is a far deeper and more wide-spread mental habit, covering a social field that extends to the very limits of that very elastic body which we term our British 'middle class', and it witnesses to a faith, inarticulate, may be, but almost universal in the British mind, *in the training of the adolescent as the only reliable guarantee for the probable adequacy of the man.*

It may be contended that this analysis is unduly forced, and indeed we could cite against it, as a generalization, individual exceptions in almost any cantonment or civil station or secretariat. Still, self-examination along these lines will undoubtedly reveal to the ordinary British officer (and thereby incidentally arm him against his detractors) that in the majority of cases it is *not* class, not even race, but just *school antecedents* and *their effect* on character and manners, which he invokes as his criterion in deciding not only whether a man is a gentleman or an outsider, but whether he is likely to make good as a fellow-officer.

How desperately far is this from the usual expectations of the Indian aspirant to the fellowship of the services. What does the honours degree or the M.A. or any other academic distinction, whether one's own or the other man's, signify in such circles? Surely it is time that the British officer first recognized for himself what it is that he unconsciously requires in a fellow officer, and then that he endeavoured to explain and commend his outlook to the Indian colleagues whom officially he is now bound, and yet socially finds so hard, to welcome to his club or mess.

More than this, of course—how is he to help his Indian

colleague, or at least his future colleagues, to acquire the requisite qualifications?

The justification for requiring such British qualifications lies in the organic nature of the British contribution to the formation of Indian nationality

Here, however, arises first the challenge, Why on earth should they be requisite? While the imperial services were purely or predominantly British, the enforcement of a British social standard might be reasonably conceded. But is India bound thus to anglicize her 'directing classes' and accommodate their social standards to the products of an admittedly unique educational system? What of India's own national *ethos*, what of analogies from other nations, such as France, where such class-distinction in education, if admitted at all, exists to a considerably less degree, with apparently no loss of public efficiency and much gain to the democratic spirit?

In the abstract such questions are pertinent; practically, however, circumstances rule them out. The national *ethos*, invaluable as an ideal, is not yet discoverable in the actual cultural practice of the country—Bombay and Bengal, in hard fact, only meet at a *European* table. And that table (symbolic, as India so well knows, of all that makes or unmakes caste) is, by the circumstances of history, a *British* table. While then, theoretically, it is open to India to adapt her future national systems of administration and of social culture either to native models or to patterns chosen from any other country, the hard facts of history compel her, unless she be determined to advance to her goal of nationhood by some form of cataclysmic change still lying unrevealed in the minds of her more visionary

politicians, to accept the natural gradual process of grafting the new upon the old. Once the graft is 'set,' who knows what the tree may bring forth? Till then let the stability of the stock and the delicacy of the graft be both respected, and every effort made to ensure such an organic union that the sap may flow freely upwards from the roots to invigorate the whole new tree. In plainer language, though the ultimate objective is emphatically Indian nationality and nationalism, what actually holds the country together at present is an administrative system of *British* origin manned by individuals trained in and to *British* methods, and unless we are to cut the past altogether, as only a chimerical policy would suggest, the Indianizing process to which we are committed must inevitably proceed, initially at least, along the lines provided by that past.

Distasteful though such an admission may be to the idealistic patriot, with still indeterminate conceptions of *swadeshi* and *swaraj*, the more constructive and historical-minded thinker, acquainted with the extent to which extraneous elements have been absorbed by and have contributed to the formation of some of the most positive national types in Europe, will show his faith in the vigour of the Indian national spirit by fearlessly accepting that which fainter hearts would repudiate as 'foreign' and by wresting it to a far-sighted national end.

It is therefore the educational roots of British rule that must be transplanted if the transfer is to be genuine and sound

We may revert then to the question formulated above, viz. how the present-day British administrator is to help his future Indian colleagues to acquire the qualifications requisite to enable them eventually to supplant him,

with the confidence that what is maintained to be 'requisite' is at any rate no betrayal of true nationalism. And if we are to accept (as who does not?) the commonplace of all modern political discussions, 'that education is the key to progress', it must follow that educational policy in India, on behalf of both political and administrative policy, should accept, adapt, and develop into national forms that foundation of the stability of British rule which we have traced in the British middle class school.

Recapitulation

To recapitulate the argument thus far pursued:

While an appeal to the 'public school spirit' and a demand for the 'public school system' for India are to be deprecated on account of the prejudices aroused by injudicious use of these terms, that demand, not infrequently heard these days, does indicate two important facts—first, that the Briton's scepticism and delay in transferring his responsibilities as ruler are not entirely due to self-interest, but based also to a considerable degree on an honest doubt regarding the training of the men who are destined to take them over; and second, that the Briton implicitly confesses that he has failed to provide that training. Here, in fact, in the failure to *train* for rule, not in the failure to transfer ruling powers, is the real onus of the charge that the Indian politician tries to establish against the 'foreign administration'.

CHAPTER II

THE FAILURE TO MEET THE NEED

No special training for future self-government has been included in educational policy

THIS failure to train for rule is an omission in the discharge of British duty towards India against which the Government cannot honestly set, as it can in the case of most other charges of neglect, a catalogue of facilities, institutions, policies. Ourselves, a self-governing people, and made so, fundamentally, by a wide historic and social foundation of schools which educate the adolescent to 'take charge', schools which attract as their life-work some of the most devoted creative minds and characters in each generation, we have offered India a network of institutions, for the character of the teachers in which Mr. Mayhew's book may be consulted (e.g. p. 73),¹ and in which the highest prospect offered to the people is a clerical or subordinate official post or the entrance to a so-called 'academic' course.

The universities cannot supply the deficiency

As to the possibility of that academic course meeting

¹ Arthur Mayhew, *The Education of India*. Compare also the remarks of the Calcutta University Commission on the lack of influence exercised by the schools upon the character of the pupils: 'The charge . . . implies that the schools have no spiritual life which touches a boy's inner nature, no corporate unity which appeals to and can sustain his affectionate loyalty, no moral or intellectual flame which may kindle his emotions.' (Quoted in *Punjab University Enquiry Report*, p. 34.)

the need we are now considering, the universities have had more than sufficient attention in India in the last fifteen years, and to discuss them here would be of no immediate value. It may be merely stated dogmatically, on the strength of over twenty years' experience of comparatively ideal conditions in a university college with restricted numbers, exceptional staff, and the highest religious, moral and corporate traditions, that no amount of devotion can really effectively reclaim all the admirable material for the highest forms of nation-building that is being yearly wasted or spoilt, intellectually and morally, in the high schools of the prevailing type.

The Punjab University Enquiry Committee confirm this, on a wider field of observation, with the blunt statement (*Report*, p. 38) that the preparatory education for no Indian university is sound and strong; the great weakness at present is the serious absence of that good, general education without which no university can prosper. Indeed, the present position is even less satisfactory in certain respects than before. In most of the universities the old matriculation age-limit (in the Punjab it was fifteen) has been abolished, with the result that many students have been admitted to the universities who are still too young for university education.¹ Similarly, a resolution of the Academic Council of the University of Delhi, in March 1928, dealing with the question of the supply of candidates for military commissions, states that 'the Council considers . . . attention to educational foundations indispensable for the proper inculcation of the qualities essential in an

¹ A witness before the committee, Mr. Malik Barkat Ali, gives a significant explanation. 'The reason why this tendency has come into existence is that the secondary stage is too weak to permit parents to let their children stay there.' *Report*, p. 98.

officer, viz. character, co-operation and leadership, which the university should not be expected, as at present, practically to initiate, but merely to develop and complete.'

Educational policy has failed to recognize differentiations in the social organism

It is really rather singular how the official treatment of education in India has become stereotyped along certain lines of approach. In Mr. Mayhew's great book, already referred to, education is dealt with in relation to politics, material progress, culture, moral progress, the masses, the home, and the future. Yet nowhere, in that comprehensive survey, is the approach made explicitly to India as a social organism in which there are diversities of gifts (but the same national spirit), and the problems confronting education framed accordingly. Because the suggestion of 'class education' awakens democratic apprehension, and because the only such type attempted seriously hitherto, the exclusively aristocratic Chiefs' College, has been, very naturally, criticized by every other class, both British and Indian, educationists have acquiesced in things as they are, that is to say, in the type of general school for all and sundry.

The most far-reaching service, therefore, that the Punjab University Enquiry Committee has rendered is probably the explicit recognition at last that 'all sections of the people, irrespective of their conditions of life and the aptitude of their children, have *a restricted choice of the mode of their education*' (*Report*, p. 81; Committee's italics). The recommendations with which they follow up this discovery, if only there be found educational statesmen with vision and vigour sufficient to carry them out, may well prove to be epoch-making in the national

history. They preface their recommendations with the assertion (*Report*, p. 297) that they have 'reached an early and unanimous conclusion that their basic recommendations must propose a *reconstructed*' [not, mark, merely 'reformed'] 'school system in the Punjab', and proceed, as a body of experts fully alive to the actual conditions to be overcome, to mark out a series of clearly defined stages in schooling, *together with their respective civic objectives*.¹

Such differentiations have meanwhile been developing rapidly in public and social life, replacing the old caste system

Meanwhile, most opportunely, there is increasingly apparent among the adult generation a rapid process of

¹ The Committee's suggested reconstruction can only be outlined here. The stages which they propose are (i) a primary stage of 5 years, (ii) a secondary stage of 4 years, (iii) a higher secondary stage of 3 years, (iv) a degree stage of 3 years. (To meet the objection to (iv), that it would lengthen by one year the attainment of the M.A., they provide that 'students taking a Bachelor's degree shall be eligible to appear for a Master's degree after one year's study, though many students may not ordinarily be capable of taking the higher degree within that time'.) Noting that the two main handicaps from which the Punjab boy suffers under the present system are too frequent examinations and the necessity of changing institutions at many or even all of these stages, the Committee claim (*Report*, p. 330) that they 'have tried to remedy these grave defects by a readjustment of the system, so that each type of institution shall have a definite objective, that no stage of education shall be of less than three years' duration, and that an examination (formal or informal) shall be held only at the end (and not in the middle) of each particular stage'. 'There may be advantages,' they remark, 'in attaching primary departments to secondary schools, but the secondary schools themselves, the higher secondary schools and the colleges should not be intermingled and should each procure a unity of aim, unhampered by a meaningless examination held in the middle of their course.'

similar differentiation in the social sphere. With the steady increase in numbers of professional men, successful merchants, and, especially, of well-paid officials promoted in the course of Indianization of the Services, the old caste system, long since disintegrated as a part of the social structure, is in a fair way now to being replaced by a class-stratification corresponding in its main features with the stratification that obtains in Great Britain. Whether this originates specifically in the British connexion or is merely part of that cosmopolitan 'western' culture that is inexorably spreading round the globe, it means that, unless there be some revolutionary cataclysm, there will indubitably remain as part of the legacy to India from that connexion not only a differentiation of social class among the populace, but also a differentiation of civic function.

Both social and State needs require an educational policy adapted to meet these differentiations

Both social and civic conditions, therefore, would lead us to expect a demand for that particular corresponding educational differentiation, which will meet on the one hand the social and cultural desires of parents for their children, and on the other those higher requirements from the more privileged sections of the community

Cf. Mr. A. C. C. Harvey, Principal of Ludhiana College: 'Students are compelled to concentrate so much and so continuously on negotiating these obstacles that little time or energy is left for education' (*Report*, p. 93). With the educational advantages thus secured comes the all-important civic outlook (*Report*, p. 306): 'In this scheme diversion of the humblest class, who would furnish mistries, would occur at the end of class V; of better educated boys, who would be absorbed in industries, at the end of class IX; and of still better educated boys, for the higher callings, at the end of class XII.'

which the State should make. The former demand has been voiced in the last few years by much vague talk about 'Public Schools for India', crystallizing into the late Mr. S. R. Das' project: the latter, too long overlooked, the present writer now endeavours to set forth.

And particularly to provide for the rapid production of a directing class

It is imperative, as the only solidly constructive solution of all the present political problems, to hasten the establishment of a far-seeing and broadminded educational tradition, specially framed to meet the needs, both present and future, of an Indian ruling class; that is to say, of all those who, by virtue of birth, property or intellect, have a reasonable expectation of finding themselves required, in either a public or a private capacity, to direct their fellowmen.

CHAPTER III

THE RELATION OF GOVERNMENT TO THE NEED

The Briton is accustomed to State education for the lower classes in Great Britain

A PASSAGE occurs in Mr. Mayhew's book (p. 64) where he draws a contrast between the freedom from State control in the educational antecedents of the British officer, and his acquiescence, in India, with an educational system said to be almost Prussian in the extent to which it depends upon the State. This paradox, however, is not as unreasonable as is implied. In the field of 'popular' education State-provision and State-control have been the rule in Great Britain, at least since 1870, *for the 'lower classes'*, and perhaps for that very reason have been accepted by the inveterately 'superior' British mind as the natural thing for Indians. It should be noted that such 'superiority' ought to be credited quite as often to *class* feeling as to race feeling. Hence, when the Briton sees, whether under compulsion of political and official facts or by his own social appreciation, that an Indian 'middle class' analogous to his own is in process of formation, he applies the analogy further, and assumes that it lies with that class to provide 'middle class' education for itself if it wants it. Fortified by the assumption that he is himself free from obligations in the matter, he takes pride in his own advocacy, *per contra*, of the 'education of the masses'. But by the irony of history he is morally bound, as has been already emphasiz-

ed, not only to permit but to *produce* an Indian ruling class to take over the duties and privileges he has hitherto enjoyed, including that very trusteeship of the masses!

But the British Government of India, which already gives State support to upper class education, is morally bound to give it to middle class education also

Have we the right then, as Mr. Mayhew seems to suggest, to apply mechanically to India our British analogies of the relations of private and public education? Because the middle classes in Great Britain built up their own provision for the education of their children unaided by the State, are we justified in leaving to the parallel classes in India a similar task, in which we profess to see no duty, as the dominant race, of giving active aid? On the ground of sheer moral obligation the analogy must be rejected. As a race we are responsible for 'upper class' education in India just as much as for 'lower class'. We have recognized this by State-patronage of Chiefs' Colleges for the 'aristocratic' class. By what argument are we justified in withholding such assistance from that far more vital element in the body politic, the 'middle class'?

Such State support involves much more than mere grants which, if properly presented as nation-building charges, should be readily voted

There is, in short, a case for Government aid, immediate and continuous, in the provision of these specialized educational facilities for the 'directing classes', for which both those classes and the necessities of the State are increasingly crying out. What form that aid should take will be better ascertained when the character of the provision to be made is examined. The

inevitable financial objections, however, may be met thus far at once by emphasizing that Government aid is too often interpreted, both officially and unofficially, in terms of grants, and that these, though usually a necessity, are, or should be, purely secondary and subsidiary to Government policy and propaganda. Further, if political obstruction be anticipated, it may be retorted that once Government can convince the Assembly that the moderate sums required are essentially a nation-building charge, there is likely to be little further difficulty of financial provision from the popular side; rather, indeed, official failure to make such provision will be interpreted as not so much a lack of such conviction on the part of the Government itself as an attempt, directed at the very heart of the problem, to put off the evil day of the transfer of rule. Conversely, however, if Government does willingly adopt and promote such a policy, it will, by such practical proof of its desire to meet admitted deficiencies, very largely reassure that large body of British opinion which does honestly feel apprehensive still about the practical consequences of that transfer.

Both officials and politicians should be readily convinced that such educational provision is nation-building

By what argument then may Government convince itself, and those whose support it is necessary to secure, that aid to middle class education is even more of a nation-building character than the promotion of literacy among the lower classes? First and last, by concentrating attention less on the development of *political rights* and more and more on the transfer of *administrative duties* from the one race to the other. To the British 'sun-dried bureaucrat', we are often told, the official is

always worth more than the politician or the voter. Whether true or not, this implies that he recognizes the importance to the State of *the man who takes charge*. There should, therefore, be little difficulty in convincing the official that the education of the men, who will have to take charge after him, is a nation-building business worth a great deal more attention than he has yet paid to it. The politician, on the other hand, insisting that the official is but a public servant, can surely be relied on to desire that the public servant should be efficient, not merely in routine, but in that constant exercise of responsible supervision and decision on which the daily life and peace of the community depend. The extent to which they so depend has perhaps been hitherto obscure to him, owing to that responsibility lying so much in foreign hands; but with the Indianization of the Services in the official world, and the increase of well-informed criticism of administration in the political, he is appreciating more and more the fundamental importance to the State of the quality of 'the man in charge'. Both the official and the politician then, absorbed in the problems surrounding the destined transfer of rule, may surely be expected to recognize how vitally these problems turn not only on men, but on the making of men.

The Government is morally bound, therefore, to put such provision in the very forefront of its policy

Government's relation, then, to the need set forth above is only too obvious. If it desires to establish unchallengeably its *bona fides* towards the national destiny, as laid down alike by royal proclamation and by history, it is morally bound, without further delay, to put in the forefront of its policy the provision of proper schooling for the directing classes, not merely

as a 'development of education', but as the one solution which goes to the root of all the questions with which the Indian Statutory Commission and the Round Table Conferences have been occupied.

CHAPTER IV

PRACTICAL MEASURES TO MEET THE NEED

The policy proposed would, by its very nature, elicit co-operation in the working out of details

It would be presumptuous to attempt here any elaboration of details for putting into practice the policy advocated above.¹ The very adoption of the policy by the Government, if so promulgated as to carry conviction of its sincerity and goodwill, would surely in this case elicit a responsive belief on the part of Indian leaders in that 'change of heart' so often asked for, and the task of translating the policy into practice would command the co-operation of every patriot far-sighted enough to see in it the boldest of all bids for 'Indiani- zation'.

But principles must be clear

Certain principles, however,

(1) of the policy,

(2) of its application,

must be emphasized as essential.

ESSENTIALS OF THE POLICY ADVOCATED

1. It must not be confused with any project of 'Public Schools for India'

In the first place, all talk or suggestion of devising

¹ More so since the appearance of such an authoritative scheme for school-reconstruction as that of the Punjab University Enquiry Committee.

a 'public school system for India' must be scrupulously avoided. Quite apart from the expression itself eliciting instinctive opposition from a large section of the country in these democratic days, it does not represent at all what is advocated here. The public school, in any recognizable English form, will never be, and ought not to be, transplanted into India. Mr. Das' and similar projects arouse considerable scepticism among experienced educationists who look beyond the mere school horizon to the sociological environment. Such enterprises should, of course, be watched with the sincerest interest and goodwill, both by educationists and by Government.¹ But the Government will be hardly justified if it prejudices the interests of the middle classes by extending anything more than general benevolence to projects framed to meet specifically 'upper class' demands. Once more let it be emphasized that it is the needs of the 'directing' classes that have to be met, i.e. those of that still fluid *middle* stratum in society from which, in the modern world, rather than from the 'upper' classes of high birth and great wealth, the public servants, officers, professional men, and leaders of industry and commerce are drawn.

2. Existing forms of institution should be utilized, but the spirit revolutionized

Though such provision has been hitherto neglected, it can and should be made, at any rate to start with,

¹ Cf. *Report*, p. 309: 'Certain classes of the community have demanded a better type of school, which would be conducted on the lines of the public schools of England, but should not merely imitate them. The foundation of such schools should be encouraged, as their influence on the life of the Province would be very salutary. These schools might include more than three classes, as well as preparatory departments.'

not by pretentious and expensive projects which will alarm the champions of 'popular' education, but by an evolution and modification of facilities which already, in form, exist. Any too sudden and drastic revolution of that form runs considerable danger of retaining the old spirit, so inadequate to meet the need here indicated; let the existing form then be taken as a starting-point and its *spirit* first converted, particularly for pupils whose destiny in life requires, above all else, the inculcation of a spirit.

Hence the range of classes covered must depend at present on university policy regarding the Intermediate

A certain number of important technical points may, therefore, be excluded from discussion here, and first that of scope or range of classes. India will certainly be permanently poorer as a nation if the adolescents, now thrust at the most critical and formative period of their character-development into the quite unsuitable conditions of the Intermediate classes still maintained by some universities, are not enabled ultimately to find their proper expansion normally at the top of schools imbued with the traditions and ideals that we are seeking to establish.¹ But at present there is an impasse, the self-governing universities being unwilling, for reasons, some good, some less creditable, to relinquish this con-

¹ Cf. the Government of India Resolution of January, 1920, on the findings of the Calcutta University Commission: 'The Intermediate section of university education attempts to deal by university methods with large bodies of ill-prepared students and should be frankly recognized as a part of school education, relegated to separate institutions apart from the university organization and placed under a body duly correlated with the Department of Public Instruction.' See *Report*, p. 52, and Note at end of Part IV, on 'The Intermediate Colleges'.

siderable section of their clientele, and also being justifiably mistrustful of the alternative educational conditions to which at present they are invited to commit these boys. The Punjab University Enquiry Committee have now re-affirmed, more emphatically than ever, the recommendation of the Calcutta University Commission, that 'the qualifications of students in universities should be improved by fixing the Intermediate as the test of admission'; and, recognizing that the half measures hitherto attempted have proved ineffective, they propose explicitly not merely that 'the Intermediate classes should be removed from the university course', but that the term 'Intermediate' itself should be abandoned in favour of the far more appropriate designation 'Higher Secondary'.¹ Time alone will show how far and how long tradition and vested interest will be able to resist the logic of their conclusions.

But the Intermediate college, as now in vogue, forms an adequate starting-point, with opportunities for adaptation

In any case, however, the public mind is already accustomed to a stage of secondary education, ranging from the ninth class of the high school to the second year of the present university course, and covering four years at the average age of 15 to 18. It is an open question whether the Delhi plan of beginning with the seventh class is preferable. That, however, is a technical issue. The range of classes, whether four or six, as at present approved by differing localities, can be accepted as in either case an adequate basis till experience indicates by the only sound test, the product, which is the better.

¹ See Note at end, on 'The Intermediate Colleges'.

3. This secondary schooling must be kept absolutely separate from 'primary' education

One thing, however, needs to be eliminated at once from such Intermediate Colleges as already exist, at any rate from those intended to serve the purpose here projected, and that is the practice, said to be followed in some provinces, of including within the same institution children of the earliest school-going age and schoolboys already mid-way in their adolescent development. It is not 'moral dangers' that one has in mind—these can be reduced to a minimum in day schools, such as they are most of them likely to be—but rather the educational inefficiency involved in trying to educate tiny children and schoolboys together in a single institution with a practically undifferentiated teaching staff. By 'differentiated' is of course meant that divergence of vocation which sends one man to devote his life to 'drawing out the best in childhood' and another to 'turning children into boys' and 'boys into men'.¹ So long as the teacher's

¹ Hence the insistence of the Punjab University Enquiry Committee (already quoted) that 'the secondary schools themselves, the higher secondary schools and the colleges should not be intermingled'. And the same principle, as between schools and colleges, is well brought out in the evidence given before the Committee regarding the actual experiences of the Intermediate colleges in the province. It was pointed out to the Committee that many members of the staffs, though men of good qualifications, were deficient in teaching capacity, and therefore adopted the methods of a college instead of those of a school. As the principal of one such Government college observed, 'a lecture at the Intermediate stage is not a suitable form of instruction for boys, who need far more the benefits of class discipline and of class teaching', an opinion with which the Education Department concurred, and which is confirmed by yet another principal of a Government Intermediate college, which was later raised to degree standard: 'Intermediate students are school boys rather than university students, and we are still obliged to drive an

task has to be treated as little more than 'the imparting of instruction' and 'superintendence of games' the wider-ranged institution is a practicable proposition—and may be necessary in order to promote the widest possible diffusion of 'popular' education. But for the objective here in view, the best grounding in character of the younger generation that is destined later to run the country, it is of vital necessity to ensure that each step in psychological growth be explicitly recognized and specifically handled. It is of the essence of the policy here proposed, then, to insist, as the Punjab has already done, on the separation of a 'secondary stage in education, under an entirely different roof and administration and educational atmosphere from those of the junior school classes'.

The primary stage also needs reform, but that can best be approached by reform from above

To those who would demand that we should not stop here but tackle with equal vigour the equally important 'primary' stage, one would reply as follows: Go slow; a complete revolution has to be accomplished in the spirit of school education; take one stage at a time; it may be logical to insist on 'beginning at the beginning', but we have to start from facts, not logic. The facts give us the type of education we are seeking for, in some degree, already in being at the college stage; so work downwards in the application of the new policy. Further,

ill-assorted team.' In the case of some privately-owned Intermediate colleges the case appears to have been even worse, and the associations with university work have caused them merely to 'extend the system of mass lecturing from the Intermediate to the Matriculation classes, instead of providing a judicious transition of teaching methods as the boys advance' (*Report*, pp. 94 and 96).

the facts of Indian homes and home-ties make it most unlikely that we shall be able to commend to parents, for the 'preparatory school', the standards of general educational impact, and also of somewhat more adequate fees, that we desire to introduce, till they are convinced of their value at the period immediately concerned with the still all-dominating matriculation.

4. The vocational ideals at present will require radical reform

Not imitation public schools, then, but special secondary schools developed out of what we already find to hand is what we are to look to for the production of the class that in the next generation or two will have to run the country. But if they are already to hand, why this talk of revolution? Mr. Mayhew's book¹ gives the answer, with more authority than this paper can assume, viz. because these institutions, shaping well enough for our purpose in their *form*, are in *spirit* either hopelessly handicapped by being official or incurably defective in their vocational ideals. Mr. Mayhew indeed almost in so many words declares (pp. 221 ff.) that the solution lies in the hands of the missionary societies. This paper, however, though written from the standpoint of such societies, would not be prepared to endorse that absolutely. While convinced that missionary enterprise, the admitted pioneer of earlier types of education in the country, will be failing India grievously if it abstains from taking the offered lead in meeting this latest need, one would be very short-sighted (quite apart from being impolitic) to advocate or accept any suggestion of a missionary monopoly in the matter.

¹ *The Education of India.*

5. Official institutions are not necessarily deficient in these ideals, but there are good reasons for Government aid rather than Government institutions in this sphere

In the first place, must we accept the thesis that their official character cripples the truly and spiritually 'national' value of Government institutions? On the whole one feels that smacks a little of political sentimentalism—in actual fact good patriots and sound characters are emerging just as much from Government colleges as from anywhere else. Still, though specifically 'class' institutions under direct Government control, such as the Prince of Wales' Royal Military School, are far too full of promise to be condemned, a good deal can be said in favour of the Government abstaining from involving itself *directly* in heavy expenditure on buildings and staffs for schools intended to meet the needs of only a section of the population—and that a section whose capacity for managing the country will largely depend on its capacity for managing its own affairs.

Such Government aid must consist of a directive policy, supplemented by grants both for capital expenditure and for maintenance

Let the Government help, then, in every way it can, short of providing the schools itself. Unofficial enterprise must be looked to for their establishment and maintenance, whether they be owned and manned by missionary societies or by local committees; and behind them must be a Government policy, far-sighted, broad-minded, watchfully insistent on the one essential requirement, viz. 'training for rule', but ready on proof or adequate promise of that to find in the first place unrestrictedly generous grants for approved sites and

buildings, and, in more moderate measure, subsidies for equipment and maintenance.

6. Generous capital grants are needed to encourage private enterprise, still diffident

This demand for generous capital grants is based on the fact that neither private generosity nor public co-operation is yet sufficiently alive to the national need for school education of the type proposed, to produce, unaided, the considerable sums required for suitable sites and buildings. But there is every reason to hope that if Government shows its belief in the need for such schools by assuring to missionary or local enterprise financial aid under capital heads to the full extent permitted by regulations, as a first call on educational funds, a new spirit of educational enthusiasm and self-help will be aroused among that large number of middle class parents who are already looking round anxiously for a lead in providing something better for their children than the existing high schools.

7. But maintenance grants should have regard both to other educational needs and to the encouragement of independence and self-help among the middle classes

The counsel of moderation in the matter of maintenance grants is based on two considerations. First, the external effect of any disproportionate subsidizing of what will inevitably be subjected to some criticism as 'class' schools would be to antagonize unnecessarily that large element in the political world whose vision in education does not extend beyond the 'spread of literacy'. But, more vitally, over-generous grants, as already indicated, tend to pauperize morally that very section of the population of modern India, viz. the middle classes,

which most needs to learn the spirit of self-help. And in nothing is advance in this direction more needed than in the recognition of what similar classes in other countries are prepared to pay, in proportion to their incomes, for the adequate schooling of their children. Hitherto, it must be frankly admitted, such schooling has not been available—hence the steady flow of better class Indian children to schools in England or to European schools in India—but the root of the policy here advocated lies in seeing that they *are* available in future, and, once available, parents must be encouraged to meet a reasonable and perhaps increasing proportion of the maintenance of these schools by fees.¹

¹ The Punjab University Enquiry Committee has some pertinent remarks regarding this question. For instance, on the question of fees and grants, a passage is quoted (*Report*, p. 84) with apparent approval from the Punjab Government's Committee of 1927 on 'educated' unemployment to the effect that 'facilities for higher education should be provided only for the markedly able, who, if poor, should be subsidized by the State, or for those who can pay its full cost'. The Director of Public Instruction developed the same ideas before the University Enquiry Committee (p. 100): 'It is the duty of the State to provide primary elementary education in the vernacular for its future citizens. It is not necessarily the duty of the State to provide cheap secondary education leading to the University. Boys entering the Anglo-vernacular schools should be such as can pay for it or else earn it by their brains. This latter condition involves a more generous scholarship system than exists at present.' *A fortiori*, in expressing his opinion (p. 307) on the proposed new type of 'higher secondary' schools, the Director stipulates that 'the standard of admission should be a high one, and comparatively high fees should be charged'. Concurring with this opinion, the Committee note that 'if these higher secondary schools are to be conducted efficiently, they will entail considerable expenditure', and that 'backward boys of rich parentage should not be assisted in their education by the tax-payer, while backward boys of poor parentage should not be encouraged to

8. Open scholarships and free places in return for State aid will check any tendency to mere social exclusiveness

Enhancement of fees, however, and the special intention of the training in these schools will involve a selection and limitation of entries that may easily tend towards mere social exclusiveness. An important condition of Government grants, therefore, will have to be either a percentage of free places, as required of aided schools in England, or the establishment of scholarships, both private and official, for open competition. In this way admission will be secured to boys of lower social status whose brains entitle them to climb to high directive positions, and the schools themselves will be constrained to witness to the democratic principle of 'opportunity for all'.

This much, then, the Government might more or less directly do to ensure the establishment and maintenance of the type of education which, it cannot be too often repeated, it is morally bound to provide if it is to establish its *bona fides* as a nation-maker.

ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLES IN THE APPLICATION OF THE POLICY

There are also, however, three principles which the Government must insist on seeing observed by the administrators of all these schools, who in general details would of course be left free to make the fullest possible

seek admission to these institutions'. They formulate their recommendations accordingly as follows:

'(a) The students' fees should be uniform and proportionate to the cost of this type of institution.

'(b) Poor boys of capacity and promise should be assisted by liberal scholarships and stipends.

'(c) A maximum age limit for entrance should be imposed.'

use of the educational experience and initiative available in each case. These principles are essential for the effective realization of the object with which the schools are to be promoted, viz. the inculcation by intensive personal and institutional influence of those qualities of character which will fit the pupil for directive responsibilities in after life. They are:

(1) Restriction of numbers, both total in the institution and within each class.

(2) Residential conditions, or the nearest possible equivalent.

(3) A staff possessed of high vocational ideals, and accorded corresponding status as colleagues of the head.

(1) *Restriction of numbers.* The total numbers in a school are, of course, a very important element in its finances, and restriction of them is not likely to need consideration for some years to come. But it will have to be borne in mind that *esprit de corps* depends very largely on the general mutual acquaintance of all the boys and masters in a school, and that many an apparently successful school loses heavily by being so overgrown that its members are entirely strangers to one another. At any rate some requirement should be laid down from the start regarding the proportion of staff (of the type hereafter indicated) to the total number of pupils for whose 'making into men' they are responsible.

For the restriction of numbers in a class the Education Department already has its regulation. If, however, as is hoped, these schools include, immediately or eventually, the present Intermediate classes of the universities, the greatest care will have to be taken to prevent a perpetuation of the current educational crime, which, though widely recognized as such, the universities concerned seem powerless to check, of herding virtual

schoolboys, often not more than 15 years of age and already badly taught and badly trained, in masses of anything from 50 to 100, to be 'lectured to'! Whatever privileges of their past academic status be retained for these Intermediate students, if and when they are reverted to the school status to which they properly belong, this iniquity of over-crowded classes just at the stage when they need most personal attention, must be resolutely rooted out.

(2) *Residential conditions, or 'day-boarder' system for all.* The insistence on residential conditions, or their nearest equivalent, is based on the conception of education, already emphasized, as the making of the whole man—that is to say, the work of the school is not confined to the classrooms, nor to them and the playing-fields merely. It is a psychological commonplace that the unconscious influence of environment tells for far more than conscious impressions, and if the school is to be effective, it must exercise a comprehensive and continuous daily influence, something considerably more than can be obtained by routine attendance at classes and games. It is not the aggregate of such attendances but their totality in a corporate life that will make the influence and spirit of the school, as it does in English schools and as, with a few honourable exceptions, it most certainly does not in India. Mr. Mayhew (p. 116) goes so far as to suggest that the Indian boy-mind is impervious to *esprit de corps* as expressed in loyalty to an institution. That may be, as a matter of experience, challenged; but if true, it must be changed. Personal loyalty, which Mr. Mayhew admits to be strong in the national character, will find plenty of outlet in the new schools; but it is loyalty to the body corporate that will build up the sort of national spirit we desire. The

fact that that national spirit is already widely existent in many forms, seems to belie Mr. Mayhew's interpretation of his observation. Perhaps it is not the instinct for *esprit de corps* that has been wanting, but the institutions worthy to elicit the instinct.

The institutional influence to which the British middle class schoolboy is submitted is not so universally that of a boarding school as is sometimes assumed. To insist on such conditions in our new schools is neither justifiable on the British analogy, in view both of the great City of London public schools and of the many grammar schools throughout the British Isles, nor reasonable in the face of Indian conditions. Where parents appreciate a residential system for their boys and in proportion as they are ready to provide it, let Government by all means supply grants-in-aid on the generous scale already advocated for all capital expenditure. Such accommodation of course must be utilized as a basis for educational supervision and influence of a very different nature from those of the hostels of the present type of high school. But the exact character and impact of such supervision and influence must be left to the educational instinct of the staff, on whose vocational insight will depend the whole value of the school in the last resort. To them also must be left the detailed application to the needs of the place and time of the alternative provision that, in default of boarding facilities, must be strictly required for all pupils.

This alternative provision is a 'day boarding' system which will ensure that the influence of the institution, as conceived above, and its *esprit de corps*, impressed as much by fellow pupils and by atmosphere as by the teaching staff, shall be brought to bear continually on the individual throughout the major portion of his

waking day. Without going further here into technical points, it must be emphasized that the very *raison d'être* of these projected schools would be largely nullified in the absence of a rule, reinforced by Government regulation, if need be, that all pupils must either be boarders or day-boarders.

(3) *A staff with high ideals and adequate status.* It is the character and working conditions of the staff, however, on which the most emphatic insistence must be laid. The objective being the making of men, the efficiency of the new type of school depends first and last on the men who do the making, and it is here that the most definite revolution must be made.

The existing type of schoolmaster in India (always of course making certain honourable exceptions) is very drastically, but only too truly, sketched by Mr. Mayhew. His criticism, which is more or less universally prevalent, applies not only to the official teacher, but to all that large class who have '~~taken to teaching~~' as the last refuge of the destitute. The justice of this implication would be revealed by the tale of the course by which any average B.T. candidate has found his way to the Training College. Let it not be taken, however, for a moment as a condemnation of the class as a whole. On the contrary, it rather enhances the credit due to the great majority of them for the uphill fight they make in the struggle to spread light and learning among their fellow-countrymen. It is not the men who should be blamed for the defects in the present character of school-teaching so much as the conditions to which they are condemned. These conditions are again sufficiently exposed by Mr. Mayhew, but the root of the evil may be located in their status. The teacher is no more than an *employee* from beginning to end of his service, and

nothing could depict with more bitter truth the suppression of all true vocational instinct than the reasons given by Mr. Mayhew (p. 73) in support of his contention that 'it was terribly rare to see a live man at work in an Indian school'. It is the sense of being a mere hireling, which inevitably arises in any self-respecting man in the present conditions of service, that must at all costs be eliminated from the mentality of the staff.

The only way of securing the pick of our graduates for the most creative of all national services is to transfer to the new type of schools, and develop under the inspiration of picked senior educationists who share the vision fully, that concept which does already obtain in many university colleges, that even the most junior teacher is first and last a *colleague*, not a mere employee; a younger member, but essentially a member of a *team*.

How is Government to assist in promoting this new spirit? Primarily, however banal it may sound, by pay, for pay does mean status, not only in India, but throughout the world. Standard rates must be laid down and grants provided to meet them in proportion to the self-help exhibited by the school and its clientele. Government can also help, perhaps even more, by a somewhat intangible but nevertheless perfectly practicable policy of official attitude in a hundred little ways, whereby the senior local officers, if directed to do so, can enhance the social value of the schoolmaster. This enhancement of the schoolmaster's prestige must of course, in the national interest, be extended steadily to cover the entire field of education; but it is not till the middle classes have learnt to insist on proper respect for the teachers in their own schools that we can hope to see them insisting on a similar rise in status and prospects for those engaged in 'popular' education.

Government can assist the unofficial recruitment of British educationists as required

A tacit assumption has been made in this paper that the advances advocated will necessitate some recruitment of first-rate British educationists, as the only men qualified as yet to effect the transplantation of those educational roots of British character which are India's due from Britain. Such recruitment, however, will no longer lie with Government direct, as founding no official institutions of the type proposed, and as having now closed all European recruitment to the educational service. For these very reasons though, as Mr. Mayhew points out (p. 221), it may confidently be expected that India will be all the more ready to invite to her unofficial institutions British educationists inspired with a vision of the possibilities lying in such service; and India is not yet past the time when the good offices of the British element in Government will be gladly sought to arrange or facilitate such appointments. As that decreases, it may fairly be hoped that India herself will progressively be able to provide, from the products of these very schools, the teachers qualified to transmit the traditions there imbibed.

Everything, however, turns on Government appropriating the vision of educating an Indian ruling class

Everything, however, depends on the men, whether foreign or Indian, who are chosen to initiate and shape the first institutions launched in this attempted educational revolution; and the discovery and supply of such men cannot ultimately of course depend on Government, and must be left to private patriotic enterprise or the missionary societies. But for the share that Government can take in the process sufficient has been said to show

that, though apparently indefinite, it may be almost infinite. All turns on the extent to which the vision of educating an Indian ruling class for India is perceived, appropriated and propagated by Government itself; and a policy cannot but develop then automatically proportionate, in vigour and effectiveness, to the depth and sincerity of the vision.

The universities will not be affected adversely, but rather benefited by the differentiation in school education

Before concluding it may perhaps be well to notice and meet an objection that might arise in academic quarters: that the differentiation here advocated in the sources which supply the universities will involve a corresponding differentiation among them. Far from it. In Great Britain, the country whose roots of self-government are to be transplanted into India, though the distinctions between popular and middle class schools are sharp and clear, they very definitely merge to the point of virtual disappearance in the British universities. There, as we have already noted, the 'Board School boy' still finds, as his counterpart in an Indian university will find, entrance to all forms of directive service or authority open to brains and character. The Indian universities, therefore, can in this respect view the proposed changes without apprehension of reaction on themselves, except for that increase in the standard of character and maturity among their students which may be expected to follow from the steady leavening of their masses, drawn as they will be still from every type of school, by the products of these new institutions. And in these institutions they will find, and it is to be hoped support with all the weight of their more favoured educational status, that improvement in the provision

of school teaching for which they have hitherto asked for the sake of their own academic progress, but which is even more the nation's greatest need.

In conclusion, this paper would make one emphatic request, that it be read and considered in the spirit rather than in the letter. It can claim a good deal of experience behind it, of thought on the subject dealt with, and of propaganda already made to forward the ideas presented. But the consciousness is always present that the field here surveyed is a nation, still inchoate and heterogeneous and numbering three hundred million souls, in an area comparable to a continent. The writer's command of data is limited to only a portion of the country, and to a relatively short period of time. If then the data are inadequate or misapplied, let the fault be laid on him, but let the intention of his argument be pursued, irrespective of defects, to the one conclusion which it desires to establish as unavoidable, that in order to give to India that Indian rule which the British race has promised her, it is before all things necessary to provide her with Indian rulers and that they can only be produced by Education.