

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN BENGAL, 1854-1859.

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis is an attempt to examine the development of educational policy in Bengal from 1854 to 1859. In 1854 a new and comprehensive educational policy was outlined in the now renowned Wood Despatch. This policy provided for the establishment of an education department, the founding of a university, the development of elementary vernacular education, and a grant-in-aid scheme. In the years that immediately followed, the Government of Bengal, in endeavouring to carry out this policy, was unable to implement elementary vernacular education and the grant-in-aid scheme fully. The reasons for this were threefold. In the first place, the Court of Directors could not directly communicate its orders to the Government of India, owing to the great distance between them. Secondly, different interpretations were given to the Wood Despatch by the Government of India (the supreme authority in British India) and the Government of Bengal (the provincial government.) Lastly, the eruption of Mutiny in 1857 caused the Court of Directors to reconsider its policy. By 1859, however, the Home Authority had endorsed most of the principles set down in the Wood Despatch and had resolved many of the difficulties which had emerged during the period in question.

## PREFACE

The Wood Despatch, which was issued on 19 July 1854, is generally recognized as the most important decision in the field of education during the British rule in India. While the development of educational policy in Bengal prior to the arrival of the Wood Despatch has been carefully examined by D. P. Sinha in The Education Policy of The East India Company In Bengal To 1854, little attention has been given to educational developments in the years that followed. In fact, most writings dealing with the history of education in India have simply been general surveys. For example, Education of India by A. Mayhew and A. History of Education In India During The British Period by S. Nurullah and J. P. Naik have only dealt with educational developments in terms of India as a whole. Such general treatments of the question of education do not, however, accord to the Wood Despatch the attention it deserves.

This thesis deals therefore, with the development of educational policy in Bengal--the most important Province in India--in the years that followed the arrival of the Wood Despatch. For the purpose of this study only the period from 1854 to 1859 has been considered. In the first place, these years were a period of adjustment in which new administrative techniques had to be evolved to deal with the ambitious programme set out in the Wood Despatch. Secondly, like other areas of administration, education was affected by the eruption

of the Indian Mutiny and its ramifications were dealt with in the Ellenborough Despatch of April 1858. Lastly, the Wood Despatch was replaced by the Stanley Despatch in April 1859. This Despatch was written in light of the results of the Wood Despatch. As such the date of its publication provides a convenient point for the termination of this study.

An attempt has been made in the final chapter to draw together the complex elements of policy by means of a decision making framework. This approach has been further supplemented by the use of the technique of content analysis to analyse the three key decisions of this period (Wood Despatch, Ellenborough Despatch, and the Stanley Despatch).

Available documentary material for this study was plentiful. The most important of this scarcely utilized material was the Bengal Public Consultations, Bengal Education Proceedings, India Public Proceedings, India Education Proceedings, and General Reports on Public Instruction for the Lower Provinces of the Presidency of Bengal.

As most of my research was carried out in London England I am indebted to the various people who assisted me there. I am grateful to Dr. K. Chaudhuri of The School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, for his valuable advice concerning available facilities for research. The members of the staffs of The India Office Library and The British Museum Reading Room were also most helpful.

The Graduate Studies Department of the University of Manitoba by awarding me a graduate fellowship enabled me to carry out my research. I am grateful to Dr. T. F. Carney whose interest in the fields of decision making and content analysis aroused my own interest in these techniques and led me to employ them in this study. Most helpful however, was my supervisor Dr. E. C. Moulton without whose invaluable advice, ready assistance, and constant encouragement this thesis could scarcely have been completed. I should also like to express my appreciation to Mrs. M. Watson, my most competent typist, and to Miss A. Thomson who kindly proof read this thesis.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The two major factors readily distinguishable in the development of eighteenth century India--the decline of the Native States and the rise of the East India Company to a position of political supremacy--resulted in the stagnation of education in India. As the Native States grew weaker, economically and politically, they could no longer support educational institutions; and the newly supreme East India Company, primarily a trading concern, was little interested in assisting non-profit organizations.<sup>1</sup>

The first schools established by the new settlers in Bengal (the stronghold of British power since 1765), were the result of the individual efforts of some of the more enterprising administrators of the East India Company. In 1781, Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of Bengal and a man who had a high regard for Indian culture and learning, founded the Calcutta Madrassa (A Muhammadan College) at the request of a group of Muhammadan gentlemen. Ten years later Jonathan Duncan, the Company Resident at Benares, established a Sanskrit College for Hindus. Both colleges were imitations

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<sup>1</sup>J. M. Sen, History of Elementary Education in India (Calcutta: The Book Co. Ltd., 1933), p. 49.

of the Classical Institutions that existed in England at that time. The colleges served a twofold purpose, for they not only helped to reconcile the most influential classes of the Indian community to British rule by providing the educational facilities they had requested, but also provided much-needed candidates for Indian law courts.<sup>2</sup> However, apart from the commendable efforts of Hasting and Duncan, the East India Company was singularly unconcerned about education between 1765 and 1813. It failed, for example, to assume support of education and to fill the role of patron of education as the Nawabs (Indian prince) had done in former times. This neglect resulted here, as in England, from the philosophy of *laissez-faire* which did not consider education to be one of the duties of government.<sup>3</sup> Private education moreover, was discouraged and missionaries were prevented from establishing schools in British territory by the fear of the government that such a movement (directed as it would be against indigenous religions) would only create unnecessary tensions.<sup>4</sup>

By the beginning of the nineteenth century two strong

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<sup>2</sup>H. Sharp (ed.), Selections from Educational Records, Part I, 1781-1839. (Calcutta: n.p. , 1920), pp. 10-11.

<sup>3</sup>Report of The Bengal Provincial Committee, 1883 (Calcutta: Printed by The Superintendent of Government Printing, 1883), pp. 1-3.

<sup>4</sup>D. P. Sinha, The Educational Policy Of The East India Company In Bengal To 1854 (Calcutta: Punthi Pustak, 1964), p. 3.

pressure groups had emerged in England, both of which were concerned with education. The first of these was an Evangelical Missionary Movement (under the leadership of William Wilberforce), and the second was the Liberal-Utilitarian Movement.<sup>5</sup> In 1813 the year of the expiry of the first Company Charter both of these groups were engaged in agitation for an alteration of the policy of the East India Company. As a result of this agitation two significant changes were made in governmental policy. When the new Charter Bill was passed on the 21 July 1813, it granted to missionaries the right to enter India and to set up schools for the education of the Indians, and recognized the responsibility of the Company towards the education of its Indian subjects.<sup>6</sup> It also stated that out of the surplus from revenues and rents:

A sum of not less than one lac of rupees [100,000] a year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of British Territories in India.<sup>7</sup>

This declaration of policy was reiterated in the first educational despatch to India which followed a year later.

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 5 ff.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>7</sup>H. Sharp, op. cit., p. 22.

Little was achieved in the ensuing years however, mainly because of a shortage of funds owing to the constant political disturbances in India. Nevertheless the Charter ushered in a new era in Indian education: for the first time education was declared to be one of the tasks of the British Government in India.<sup>8</sup>

There were several significant developments in the next decade: the foundation of numerous missionary schools; the establishment of a General Committee of Public Instruction; and, most important, the development of the Anglicist versus Orientalist controversy. The missionaries were now free from the restrictions imposed upon them prior to 1813, and accordingly set about educating the Indians in order to facilitate the teaching of Christian doctrine. They set up a number of elementary vernacular schools, a college for higher learning at Serampore, and the Calcutta Book Society, an organization which was to publish in the vernacular. Indeed by 1820, missionaries had been responsible for most of the developments in education in Bengal.<sup>9</sup>

In the following year however, freed from a prolonged

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<sup>8</sup>D. P. Sinha, op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 29 ff.

series of wars, the Government of India found itself, for the first time, with a considerable surplus of funds. These two factors enabled the government to devote more time to education, and as a result a Committee of Public Instruction consisting of some very distinguished government officers, was set up for the control and supervision of education in Bengal. However, as these officers continued to be committed to other and more important posts, they were unable to devote the necessary time or energy to questions of education.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, educational policy at that point had, as yet, no definite form or direction. This was clearly manifested in a heated debate at the time over certain basic principles to be pursued in educational policy. On one side a group called the Anglicists argued that the Government ought to disseminate European knowledge through the medium of the English language, and on the other a group called the Orientalists claimed that the classical form of Indian education which was imparted in the Tols (A Hindu College) and Madrassas (A Muhammadan College) was the best form of education.

Although the two groups included both Europeans (official and non-official) and some of the more important Indians from the Bengal community, the issue was finally

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 54.

settled in 1835 in favour of the Anglicists. This decision was largely influenced by the Liberal-Utilitarian philosophy which was flourishing in England. The Court of Directors, for example, advocated the dissemination of European learning among Indians, as they felt that it would precipitate an increased demand for English goods. They also believed that the administration could economize by employing educated Indians in Junior posts.<sup>11</sup>

In Bengal three men, who had been strongly influenced by the Liberal-Utilitarian Movement, were particularly prominent in determining the fate of the issue: Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Lord William Bentinck, and Thomas Macaulay. The Raja, born into a wealthy orthodox Brahman family, had rejected many of the superstitious rites that prevailed in the Hindu religion at that time. He advocated modernizing India, and felt that modernization could best be achieved by the dissemination of European learning. Although he died before the issue was resolved, he had given the Anglicist movement justification for its policy.<sup>12</sup> At the same time Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General of India, and Thomas Macaulay, the Law Member of the Supreme Council in India, strongly influenced the decision at the official level. Macaulay,

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 76.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 120.

writing in his famous memorandum of 2 February 1835, argued that Oriental learning was useless and that European learning should be disseminated among the natives.<sup>13</sup> He saw in English education the main key to the westernization of India. "By good government," he wrote, "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."<sup>13</sup> This memorandum paved the way for the adoption by Bentinck's Government on 7 March of a Resolution, which sealed the fate of the Orientalist cause. In this resolution the Government declared that European literature and science should be promoted among Indians, through the medium of English. It also declared that funds previously disbursed to Oriental Institutions were henceforth to be appropriated for English Education.<sup>14</sup> While this decision was a significant landmark in Indian history the Government did little towards organizing and supporting education on a large scale; for it assumed, according to the Downward Filtration Theory which was popular at that time, that if the upper classes were well educated learning would gradually "filter down" to the masses.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately

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<sup>13</sup>H. Sharp, op. cit., p. 116.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>15</sup>H. Sharp, op. cit., p. 147.

this theory proved to be a dismal failure and education made very little advancement at the elementary level. Indeed the few Indians who received an education were more interested in acquiring a position with the government than in passing their knowledge onto those below them.

Educational policy in the period up to 1854 was executed, with only slight modifications, along the lines set out by Bentinck. In 1839 Lord Auckland, Bentinck's successor, introduced a scheme for developing zillah (district) anglo-vernacular schools and colleges. He also provided a few scholarships.<sup>16</sup> In 1842, he replaced the General Committee of Public Instruction with the Council of Education as the main administrative body for education.<sup>17</sup> The newly formed Council, which included a full time secretary, was further supplemented in 1844 by an Inspector of Schools.<sup>18</sup> Yet, given the size of Bengal and the limited expenditure on education, this body could do little more than administer existing educational institutions.

Further reforms were attempted by Lord Hardinge, who was Governor-General from 1844-1848. In 1844, he endeavoured to stimulate education by the implementation of two measures. In the first place, he issued a resolution relating to

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., pp. 147-166.

<sup>17</sup>B. T. McCulley, English Education And The Origins Of Indian Nationalism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), p. 79.

<sup>18</sup>J. M. Sen, op. cit., p. 49.

government employment in which he declared that Indian candidates for the civil service be required to pass an examination, and that in the selection of candidates for any public post preference would be given to those who could read and write.<sup>19</sup> Secondly, he established elementary vernacular schools in more than one hundred villages.<sup>20</sup> Both measures failed to bring about the desired result however; for the employment resolution was never strictly enforced and the Indian people preferred their own patsalas (village schools) to the government elementary vernacular schools. In the following year, Hardinge recommended a plan submitted by the Council of Education for the establishment of a University in Calcutta. This recommendation was not accepted by the Directors, however, for they felt that the Indian people were not yet ready for a university.

In spite of the minor achievements noted above however, by the middle of the nineteenth century, education in India had made very little progress. The usefulness of the Council of Education was limited by the fact that the Home Government was not prepared to provide the qualified staff nor the funds necessary to develop and control education. Nine colleges and forty-three zillah (district) anglo-vernacular schools educating 9,300 pupils had the enormous task of disseminating

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<sup>19</sup> Report of The Bengal Provincial Committee, 1883,  
op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

knowledge among thirty million Bengalis.<sup>21</sup> This lack of progress was the result of a failure on the part of the Court of Directors to lay down a comprehensive scheme of education for the guidance of the Bengal Government and to supply the funds necessary for the development of education.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 9 ff.

## CHAPTER II

### A NEW EDUCATIONAL POLICY

The development of education policy in Bengal up to 1850 followed a pattern closely related to that prevailing in England; and all major educational innovations in Bengal were to a great extent manifestations of similar operations in England. Classical Education in England was represented--albeit imperfectly--by the Oriental Colleges established in Bengal; missionary organizations in England which used education as a medium for the diffusion of Christianity had their miniature counterparts in Bengal; and the period of "modern" as distinguished from classical education in England, had its representatives in Bengal in the years in which English was encouraged as the medium for instruction.<sup>1</sup> This pattern continued to be typical, to a large extent, of developments after 1850.

By 1850 education was beginning to assume an important role in England. owing to factors such as the extended franchise, growing competition from continental manufactures, and the need to prevent crime. In fact education was regarded as a necessary prerequisite for further political, economic, and social developments. Accordingly, education was seen as a

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<sup>1</sup>The Report of The Bengal Provincial Committee, 1883  
op. cit., p. 10.

legitimate and necessary function of the government. From these premises emerged a more active and systematic government educational programme than had previously existed in England: a Department of Public Instruction was set up; the University of London and a number of training colleges for teachers were established, and a grant-in-aid scheme to stimulate private education was introduced.<sup>2</sup>

This growing demand for education soon spread to India and by the early 1850's a fairly definite programme had been outlined. Backing this program were a number of prominent Europeans (official and non-official) residing in Bengal at that time. These included Dr. Alexander Duff, the influential leader of the Scottish Presbyterian Mission; Charles Hay Cameron, former President of the Council of Education in the Lower Provinces; Sir Charles Trevelyan, an administrator particularly interested in the question of education; and John Marshman, the son of a Baptist missionary, an educator and the editor of the influential newspaper the Friend of India. The programme also had the support of two Bengal organizations: an Indian body called the British India Association and the Calcutta Missionary Conference. The British India Association, which had been established in 1851, had as its major objective a larger and more vital role for Indians in the government of

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

their own country. It felt that this could be best achieved through the medium of education and thus it gave strong support to claims for educational reform. The Calcutta Missionary Conference, on the other hand, advocated expanding education in so far as it would aid in the dissemination of Christianity. As a result of these various pressure groups, Lord Dalhousie, who had been Governor-General of India since 1848, presented a programme for educational reform to the Home Government. Among its more important proposals were the foundation of a university; financial aid to missionary and private educational institutions; the extension of education to a much larger proportion of the population; and above all some form of central control to effect stability and uniformity in development.<sup>3</sup>

Dalhousie's proposal proved very timely, for during this period a Committee had also been set up in England to plan the revision of the Charter Act which was due to expire in 1853. In reviewing the administration of the East India Company, the Committee had to deal with the question of education. These developments in England along with the arrival of Dalhousie's official letter set the pattern for the introduction of a comprehensive educational programme into India. This was clearly manifested when Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State for India, in introducing the East India Company Charter Revision

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<sup>3</sup>B. T. McCulley, op. cit., p. 132.

Bill to the House of Commons in June 1853, emphatically declared that

I do not believe...that we should endanger the empire by educating the natives of India. I believe on the contrary, that if the great body of the natives were educated and enlightened and not only educated and enlightened, but still more if bound to us by ties of common faith, we should increase rather than relax our hold upon the Indian empire. But be that as it may, it seems to me that the path of our duty is clear and plain--to improve the condition and increase the enlightenment of the people.<sup>4</sup>

This unequivocal endorsement of the principle that Britain was committed to extend education in India was fulfilled when the principles and recommendations advanced in the course of the hearing before the Select Committees were incorporated in the Educational Despatch delivered in July 1854.

Popularly known as the Wood Despatch after Sir Charles Wood, the document has never been regarded as solely his creation. Various interpretations as to its precise origins have emerged, foremost among these is the theory ascribing the formation of this document to Lord Dalhousie. Correspondence between Dalhousie and Wood, however, indicates that he played little or no part in its genesis. In fact, it has been shown that the document was the work of no one man, and that it embodied the opinions of many men, although it is likely that the most dominant were those of Duff and Marshman. Under the careful supervision of Wood, five drafts were drawn up by

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<sup>4</sup>Cited in Ibid., p. 131.

Thomas Baring, Wood's very able private secretary, before the Despatch was produced in its final form.<sup>5</sup>

The Despatch, which consisted of one hundred paragraphs, widened and enlarged the field of public instruction in India. In the preamble it outlined four fundamental reasons for educating the Indian people. In the first place, it declared that the Imperial Government had a 'sacred duty' to secure the ultimate benefit of the people committed to their charge. Secondly, it claimed that education would confer upon the Indians those vast moral and material blessings which would flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge. Thirdly, it suggested that education would supply the government with 'natives' of intellectual fitness and moral integrity for public offices of all grades. And lastly, it pointed out that education of Indians would help promote the material interests of England by teaching them the marvellous results of the employment of labour and capital which would ensure the increase of wealth and commerce. As a result, England would gain articles necessary for the manufacturing industry and local consumption, besides securing an unlimited market for British products.

These principles according to the Despatch could be best achieved by endorsing and elaborating upon Bentinck's policy.

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<sup>5</sup>For the best discussion on the origins of the Wood Despatch see R. J. Moore "The Composition of Wood's Education Despatch," English Historical Review, Vol. 80 (1965), pp. 70-85.

Accordingly it stated--as Bentinck had done--that the primary object of all educational policy must be the diffusion of European knowledge. At the same time it emphatically declared that this knowledge should be imparted to the "mass of the people" in a more elementary form. This, it suggested, could be best effected by using the vernacular at the elementary level, giving way progressively to English at the secondary level.<sup>6</sup> In widening the base of education the Despatch asserted that the higher classes should henceforth become more self-sufficient and that greater attention should be given to the education of the lower and middle classes.<sup>7</sup>

In order that these objectives be achieved, an Education Department was to be established to replace the Council of Education as the controlling body of educational affairs. A Director of Public Instruction was to be appointed from the Civil Service as the head of this Department and with the aid of four inspectors of schools was to administer all educational operations in his province.<sup>8</sup>

The provision for higher education embodied in the Despatch closely followed the recommendations of Cameron, Trevelyan and Duff. A university based on the model of the

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<sup>6</sup>Court of Directors to Government of India, 19 July 1854, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. XLVII (1854), No. 49, pars. 1-14.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., par. 97.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pars. 13-21.

University of London was to be established at Calcutta, where it would function as an examining body with authority to grant degrees to students from affiliated institutions. These institutions were defined by the Despatch as those colleges capable of imparting a high enough standard of instruction in the different branches of arts and science to enable students to write the University examinations. The function of a university was to be further extended by establishing professorships to meet the needs in such fields as law, civil engineering, and the Oriental languages for which practically no provision had hitherto existed in other institutions.<sup>9</sup> At the level directly below the university the zillah (district) anglo-vernacular schools were to be expanded to meet the growing needs of secondary education. More important, however, as previously pointed out, the Despatch directed that European knowledge was to be extended, in a simplified form, to the mass of the people, through the medium of the vernacular.<sup>10</sup>

In referring specifically to Bengal the Despatch emphasized that while higher education was more extensively developed there than in any part of India, elementary vernacular education had been largely ignored. In consequence, it urged the Government of Bengal to give special attention to this

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pars. 24-40.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., par. 44.

question.<sup>11</sup> It suggested that the Government of Bengal devise a plan similar to the one in the North-West Provinces for the encouragement of elementary vernacular education.<sup>12</sup> In order to facilitate such a development it recommended systematic and extensive translations of European school texts into the vernacular.<sup>13</sup>

The Despatch also stated that elementary vernacular education was to be further developed by the establishment of normal and model schools for the training of masters, and the exemplification of the best methods for the organization, discipline, and instruction of elementary vernacular schools.<sup>14</sup> As it pointed out, this deficiency was sorely felt in Bengal, for there were few trained teachers and no model schools. The Despatch referred the Government of Bengal to the scheme which was in operation in England and suggested that it follow some similar pattern.

In spite of its avowed interest in the question, however, the Court of Directors failed to define clearly what it meant by elementary education. For example, on one occasion it referred to anglo-vernacular and vernacular schools as part

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., pars. 86-89.

<sup>12</sup> The education scheme in operation in the North-West Provinces had been devised by J. Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor. In essence, this scheme was based on indigenous village schools which were developed by visiting inspectors.

<sup>13</sup> Court of Directors to Government of India, op. cit., par. 71.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., pars. 67-68.

of the elementary education programme, yet on every other occasion anglo-vernacular schools were viewed as part of the higher education system. Moreover, it tended to use vague terms such as 'popular education' and the 'mass of the people' without more closely defining these terms.

Interest in education among the people, according to the Despatch, was to be stimulated by revising the policy of scholarships and relating education more closely to employment. In the past scholarships had been appropriated by upper-class babus (learned Indian) who were in no great need of financial aid. Henceforth scholarships were to provide a path for the best students from the lowest to the highest grade. In this way the superior students in the elementary vernacular schools could acquire a higher education.<sup>15</sup> In referring to the question of employment, the Despatch observed that although Hardinge had dealt with it in 1844, except in the case of the Civil Service his resolution had not been adhered to. In consequence, the Despatch ordered that preference was to be given to those persons who could read and write over those who could not, other things being equal.<sup>16</sup>

The Despatch also dealt with special forms of education such as medical, technical (engineering, industry-design, and

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pars. 63-66.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., pars. 73-77.

agriculture), Muslim, female, and religious education. It declared that medical and engineering colleges were to be established and developed to meet the demands for doctors and to supply engineers for the developing public works projects such as railways and canals. Muslim and female education, two elements which were not easily reconciled with the general scheme of the Despatch, (owing to the antagonistic nature of the Muslim community towards western ideas and to the religious beliefs of Hindus relating to women) were to be diplomatically encouraged. For similar reasons the Despatch ordered that government schools were not to use their influence for the purpose of proselytism.<sup>17</sup>

The most pertinent question in the Despatch was that of finance, for past experience had clearly shown that funds were the most important prerequisite of any developmental project. According to the Despatch, this was to be met by a scheme which was based on a combination of government and private resources. In consequence, it outlined a system of grants-in-aid similar to a successful scheme in England in which government aid was to be given to every school which required some small fee from its pupils, was adequately supervised and supported by local management, and imparted a good elementary education. It further emphasized that strict religious neutrality was to be

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., pars. 79-84.

observed in so far as schools were to be accorded grants solely on the standard of the secular education they imparted. The nature of their religious doctrines was to be ignored. The Despatch also suggested that it would not be practicable or advisable to strictly impose these regulations upon the indigenous village schools, for they had neither the funds nor the local management needed to meet the rules. In these cases extra support and supervision was to be supplied by the Education Department. Given the general principle of the grant-in-aid scheme then,--i.e. that of a combination of government and private resources--its eventual aim was the gradual disappearance of direct government education.<sup>18</sup> In this system, like that of elementary vernacular education, the Court of Directors was rather vague in its definition. It never clearly indicated which schools were to be eligible for aid; for it did not go beyond a few general observations in delineating the rules for aid. In fact, in the all important question of finance, it failed to specify to what extent it was prepared to finance the proposed educational scheme. This, of course, precluded a definite plan for the development of the grant-in-aid scheme.

The Despatch concluded by alluding to the immensity of the task and the dangers of expecting immediate results. The

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., pars. 48-62.

benefits of the proposed system, it said, would depend largely upon the Indians; for the Government could do no more than support and guide the various educational measures. By actively supporting education the Despatch claimed that the Indians

will be amply repaid by the improvement of the country; for the general diffusion of knowledge is inseparably followed by more orderly habits, by increasing industry, by a taste for the comforts of life, by exertion to acquire them, and by the growing prosperity of the people.<sup>19</sup>

The Despatch then, resulted from the growing importance which education had assumed in England. In India, strong pressure groups--both English and Indian--had emerged and had systematically enunciated the utilitarian theme that education would ensure the cultural, moral and material advancement of the Indian people. For a similar reason, the British Government had assumed that a more vigorous educational programme would enhance the political and economic position of the British in India.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., par. 100.

<sup>20</sup> The administration of British India was rather complicated. As early as 1773 the British Government had passed a Regulating Act which imposed certain restrictions on the activities of the East India Company in India. In each of the successive revisions of the Charter Act--1793, 1813, 1833, and 1853--further legislative changes were made. By 1854, all important appointments to the Indian Civil Service and all despatches issued by the Court of Directors (the representatives of the East India Company) were subject to ratification by the Board of Control (representatives of the British Government).

Unquestionably the Despatch was the most comprehensive decision on education up to that time; yet it could hardly be considered a watershed in policy; rather it was the consummation of ideas that had been in the process of evolution since the beginning of educational activities in the late eighteenth century. Moreover in failing to precisely define what it meant by elementary vernacular education and the grant-in-aid scheme it was open to interpretation. Nevertheless, it set down for the first time, the general policy which the Directors wished to be followed with regard to education. In so doing it gave much greater emphasis to the question of education than it had hitherto received.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW EDUCATION STRUCTURE IN BENGAL

The possibility of establishing a new education system in accord with the principles of the Wood Despatch was examined by the Government of India and subsequently referred to the provincial governments.<sup>1</sup> The proposed system was whole heartedly endorsed and the Government of India declared that the Despatch

contains so complete an exposition of the wishes and intentions of the Honorable Court of Directors, it lays down so clearly the principles by which the Government of India is henceforth to be guided in regard to education and it indicates so plainly the general form of the system by which the instruction of the Natives of this country is to be carried on; that is quite unnecessary for the Governor-General-in-Council to enter upon any remarks on the subject. It remains for his lordship only to consider the practical measures which should now be taken in the execution of the instructions of the Honorable Court.<sup>2</sup>

According to the Government of India the Despatch divided itself into three principal areas: the establishment of a

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<sup>1</sup>The Government of India (the Governor-General and a Council of ~~Sixteen~~ Members) examined and interpreted all Despatches from England. It then subsequently delivered orders to its five provinces: Bengal, Bombay, Madras, the North-West Provinces, and the Punjab. These orders were carried out in each Province by a Governor or Lieutenant-Governor and Council. See Map of India for administrative divisions in India

<sup>2</sup>Government of India to Government of Bengal, 26 January 1885, Bengal Public Consultations (hereafter referred to as B.P.C.), 26 January 1855, Range 14, Vol. 52 (15 March 1855), No. 114.

university; machinery for managing the department of education; and the grant-in-aid scheme. The establishment of a university was placed in the hands of a special committee (see Chapter V), while the other two questions were to be left largely in the hands of the local governments. Indeed, the Government of India seemed content to make a few general observations regarding the grant-in-aid scheme. It suggested that after the local governments had drawn up a set of regulations based on the principles in the Despatch, and the Government of India had confirmed these rules, the local governments were to be left free to carry out policy. The Government concluded by suggesting that other measures contained in the Despatch such as a system of scholarships, the establishment of Normal Schools, the preparation of vernacular school books, and the bestowal of public patronage could be disposed of by the Government of Bengal.<sup>3</sup>

The Government of India then, seemingly had little difficulty in interpreting the Despatch, and, with the exception of the university scheme, the responsibility for implementing the new education policy was given to the Government of Bengal (see Map of Bengal). Fortunately for Bengal F. J. Halliday, its Lieutenant-Governor, was well versed in matters of education. Prior to his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor, he had occupied a seat in the Council of Education and he had been interviewed

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

by the Select Committee for the Charter Act Revision during a visit to England in 1853. During his stay in England, he absorbed many of the new educational ideas being debated, especially those concerning elementary education and the grant-in-aid system. Upon his return to Bengal, he drew up a plan according to these ideas and laid it before the Council of Education. In the meantime, Halliday was appointed Lieutenant-Governor and the Wood Despatch was delivered to India. Both of these factors increased Halliday's interest in the question of education and made him more determined to strengthen and develop education in Bengal.<sup>4</sup>

The directive of the Government of India arrived on 26 January 1855, and as might be expected Halliday lost no time in setting up the new education department. He appointed Gordon Young as Director of Public Instruction, and at the same time he dissolved the Council of Education. Young was to be responsible for the administration of the financial affairs of the department; the appointment and dismissal of educational officers other than inspectors, principals and professors of colleges; and the general control of all educational operations.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>For further treatment of this question see Chapter IV: Elementary Vernacular Education.

<sup>5</sup>F. J. Halliday to G. Young, 20 January 1855, B.P.C., Range 14, Vol. 52 (15 March 1855), No. 119-121.

Shortly after appointing Young Director of Public Instruction Halliday named four inspectors--H. Pratt, R. Chapman, H. Woodrow, and W. Robinson--to operate under the superintendence of Young. Each inspector with the aid of sub-inspectors, was to carry out duties of inspection, control and general administration in his own districts (to be assigned by Young.) At the same time he was to co-ordinate his activities by making periodical reports on the progress of educational schemes and institutions in his districts. In this way the success or failure of various educational measures might be gauged for all of Bengal and thus a more systematic educational development would be effected. In selecting his educational officers Halliday endeavoured to find men who were both interested and qualified in administration and education. Young, Pratt, and Chapman were chosen from the Covenanted Civil Service for their administrative ability and Robinson and Woodrow were selected mainly on the basis of their educational qualifications. Robinson had held the position of inspector of schools in Assam since early 1854, and Woodrow had held a number of positions in educational institutions including that of secretary of the Council of Education.<sup>6</sup>

Having appointed four regular inspectors, Halliday was anxious to name a special inspector, Pandit Ishwar Chunder Surma,

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., No. 122-123.

to supervise elementary vernacular education. The Pandit, who was Principal of the Sanscrit College in Calcutta, was adequately qualified for such a position in so far as he had an excellent knowledge of the vernacular languages and a keen interest in the question of elementary vernacular education. Nevertheless, such a position was not provided for in the Wood Despatch, and it was only at Halliday's insistence that the Government of India agreed to incorporate the Pandit into the new educational scheme.<sup>7</sup> At the same time however, his duties were limited to experimenting with an elementary vernacular scheme for education on a much smaller scale than had been envisaged by Halliday. As assistant-inspector of South Bengal, the Pandit was to work with Pratt in establishing a Normal School for training teachers, and he was also to develop the indigenous village patsalas (village schools) in certain districts of Bengal for the dissemination of elementary vernacular education.

The foundation of the Bengal Education Department then, was basically the work of Frank Halliday. His keen insight and interest in education were reflected in his discerning treatment of the subject. Apart from a few minor misunderstandings he formed a close working partnership with Young, in whom, as he well knew, he had a conscientious worker who would provide

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<sup>7</sup>For analysis of this question see Chapter IV: Elementary Vernacular Education.

sound leadership for the Department. Indeed Young's interest went beyond his official duties in that he joined various committees for the development of education in Bengal. Halliday's selection of inspectors was also to be vindicated in the ensuing years. With the exception of Chapman all of them displayed a sympathetic attitude towards the prevailing problems and all attempted to institute the principles of the Wood Despatch. If Halliday was open to any criticism it was that he attempted to give too liberal an interpretation to the Wood Despatch and the orders of the Government of India. He never blatantly disobeyed instructions though he certainly endeavoured to achieve as much as possible within the framework of the policy outlined in the Despatch.

In spite of Halliday's efforts, however, the structure of the new education department met with a certain amount of criticism. Reverend J. Long, a controversial Protestant missionary, well known for his interest in vernacular teaching of Christian doctrine, suggested that the new department did not serve the best interests of elementary vernacular education. He argued that the superintendence of all the anglo-vernacular and elementary vernacular schools in Bengal would be too onerous a duty for the four inspectors. He felt that they would have to delegate many of their duties--especially in the sphere of elementary education--to their sub-inspectors. This, he declared, would prevent the full development of elementary vernacular

education for these sub-inspectors were, for the most part Indians, albeit anglicised and retained their 'prejudice' of caste and tended to despise the 'mass of the people' for whom elementary education was intended. The only solution to this problem, according to Long, was to appoint one European Inspector to be solely responsible for vernacular education.<sup>8</sup>

While Long's argument had some validity, it was more the result of a desire to spread Christianity than to improve elementary vernacular education. Indeed, most sub-inspectors carried out their duties responsibly and Long's concern was merely that they manifested little interest in the dissemination of Christianity. Although Halliday saw some merit in several of Long's recommendations he was prevented from giving them any further consideration owing to the orders of the Government of India.

In the meantime Young had assumed control of the new department and had subsequently set about implementing the new policy. In the first place, he had brought the schools and institutions of higher learning administered by the Council of Education under the supervision of the Education Department. At the highest level there were eight government colleges and six private colleges which--with the exception of the Sanskrit College and the Calcutta Madrassa--used English as the medium

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<sup>8</sup> Rev. J. Long to F. J. Halliday, 12 July 1855, B.P.C., Range 14, Vol. 55 (26 July 1855), No. 86.

of instruction.<sup>9</sup> Immediately below the Colleges, were the zillah (district) schools in which students were educated to a college entrance level. These schools were commonly known as anglo-vernacular, for at the lowest level the vernacular language predominated as the medium of instruction progressively giving way to English in the higher grades. At the lowest level middle and elementary vernacular schools<sup>10</sup>--i.e. the remainder of those schools that had been established by Hardinge in 1844--numbered twenty-six and educated children from the elementary level to a level of the lowest grades in the zillah (district) schools. In addition to these government-controlled schools there were numerous patsalas (village schools) and a number of private schools--which were controlled for the most part by

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<sup>9</sup>The names, locations, and foundation dates of the government colleges were as follows: The Presidency College (originally known as the senior department of the Hindu College) Calcutta, 1817; The Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1824; The Calcutta Madrassa, Calcutta, 1781; The Medical College, Calcutta, 1835; Berhampore College, Berhampore, 1826; Dacca College, Dacca, 1835; Hooghly Madrassa, Hooghly, 1836; and Krishnagar College, Krishnagar, 1840. The private colleges, which were all to be found in Calcutta, were established on the following dates: Doveton College, 1823; The Free Church Institution, 1830; La Martiniere College, 1836; London Mission College, 1838; The Baptist Mission College, Scramapore, 1818; and St. Paul's School, 1845. Hundred Years of The University of Calcutta Supplement (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1857), p. 1 ff.

<sup>10</sup>The Report of The Bengal Provincial Committee, 1883 (Calcutta: Printed by The Superintendent of Government Printing, 1883), pp. 13-17.

missionaries--scattered throughout Bengal.<sup>11</sup>

In order to control and develop these schools and to build new ones Young set up an office with eighteen assistants to administer and systematize educational activities. At the same time he divided Bengal into four educational inspectorates and assigned one inspector to each of them. Chapman was assigned to the districts in Bihar and Bhagalpur; Pratt, to the districts in Burdwan and Nuddea (south Bengal); Robinson, to the districts in Rajshahi and the lower part of Assam; and Woodrow to the districts in Dacca and Chittagong (East Bengal). Young's four educational inspectorates did not include all of Bengal; the divisions of Arracan, Cuttack, Chota-Nagpore, and those of Upper Assam lay outside the assigned inspectorates. Young reasoned that communication in these areas was nearly impossible, as they were characterized by rugged landscape, impenetrable jungle, and heavy rainfall. Furthermore, he felt that the customs and languages of the inhabitants were not nearly so well known to the new inspectors as they were to the local authorities. He therefore, left the superintendence of education in these divisions to their respective commissioners.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>By 1855 there were approximately 12,000 boys attending English and Vernacular Missionary Schools. J. Mullens A Brief of Ten Years' Missionary Labour in India (London: n.p., 1863), p. 121, cited by G. A. Oddie, "The Rev. James Long And Protestant Missionary Policy in Bengal, 1840-1872" (unpublished Phd. Thesis, University of London, 1964), p. 73.

<sup>12</sup>G. Young to Government of Bengal, May 1855, B.P.C., Range 14, Vol. 54 (25 May 1855), No. 106.

While difficulties were prevalent in these particular divisions they were also to be found in a modified form throughout Bengal, and especially in Bihar where the majority of the population was either disinterested or antagonistic towards government activities. Such was the antipathy of the Biharis towards government controlled education that when Chapman endeavoured to recruit six sub-inspectors he was only able to find one Bihari who was willing to accept the position.<sup>13</sup>

In spite of these difficulties a new Education Department gradually emerged and by the end of 1855 the basic structure had been established. In the ensuing decades there were no organic changes in educational administration: the department merely expanded to meet new needs. Increases in the number of inspectors, sub-inspectors, and office staff were made as the work load demanded it.

Apart from the inspectors and sub-inspectors all other departments and organizations directly and indirectly related to educational matters were brought into line with the new system. The Local Committees of Public Instruction--already in existence when the Despatch was delivered--were incorporated into the new scheme. As has been noted the Local Committees of Public Instruction were to be found in most zillahs (districts).

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<sup>13</sup>India Office Records (hereafter referred to as I.O.R.), Bengal Selection From Records (hereafter referred to as B.S.F.R.), p. 216.

Before the Education Department had been established however, they had been, in most instances, apathetic in their treatment of education. Chapman, for example, reported the Local Committees of Public Instruction in his districts manifested

little zeal or energy. I believe I should not be far wrong if I said there is not an individual officer throughout Bihar who does not grudge the time and labour that falls to his share as member of these bodies, and the feeling is everywhere strong that their constitution ought to be modified. Even these officers who are the greatest friends to Education lose all heart or care when sitting in Committees.<sup>14</sup>

Young endeavoured to rectify the situation by bringing these Committees into the framework of the new department. He elaborated on the existing set of rules and sent them to all Local Committees of Public Instruction. He stated that the Local Committees were to consist of the Commissioner, Judge, Collector, Magistrate, Civil Surgeon and one or two Indian officials. He also suggested that local English or European residents, who were specially qualified for the position, might be added to the Committees. The chief value of the members of these bodies, according to Young, lay in their role as visitors to the public institutions placed under them, and as officers authorized to suggest and to assist in exercising general measures of education, rather than as controllers of petty

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<sup>14</sup> General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Presidency of Bengal (hereafter referred to as G.R.P.I.) for 1855-56 (Calcutta: John Gray Calcutta Gazette office, 1856), p. 28.

details of schools. He felt that this purpose could be best served if the Local Committees of Public Instruction co-ordinated their efforts with those of the inspectors. He therefore ruled that each inspector was to be a member of all the Local Committees of Public Instruction in his educational division. In this capacity the inspector would discuss educational matters with each Local Committee of Public Instruction as he passed through his districts.<sup>15</sup> By improving the structure of these bodies and by more closely relating them to the department, then, Young hoped to encourage and to develop ~~educational~~ ~~policy wholly~~ in one specific direction and to discourage diversity of goals and means.<sup>16</sup>

Young also endeavoured to bring into the new system organizations indirectly connected with education; especially other government departments. He was aided in this task by W. Taylor, the Commissioner of Patna. Taylor drew Young's attention to the fact that the Education Department was neither closely enough connected with other departments, nor sufficiently assisted by the officers of these departments. In fact, he went so far as to suggest that governmental officers were too

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<sup>15</sup>G. Young to Government of Bengal, 5 June 1856, B.P.C., Range 14, Vol. 64 (5 June 1856), No. 227.

<sup>16</sup>For example, Local Committees of Public Instruction helped to supplement the work of the inspectors by establishing agencies for the distribution of cheap English and Vernacular books.

detached from educational activities and left department members to fight unaided against 'ignorance' and 'hostile bigotry'.<sup>17</sup> While Taylor probably exaggerated the situation he did succeed in drawing attention to the necessity of inter-departmental support for the development of education. Hardinge's resolution relating to employment, for example, had failed largely because Commissioners and Collectors in Bengal Districts had felt little interest or responsibility for education. Young endorsed Taylor's remarks, and in order that this situation be rectified, he recommended that the Education Department endeavour to institute a scheme similar to one <sup>in</sup> the North-West Provinces, where the district collectors formed an integral part of the education system.<sup>18</sup>

Halliday subsequently addressed a letter to all commissioners in which he endorsed Young's proposals. He pointed out that in creating additional machinery to promote education, the government had not intended to exempt commissioners from their responsibility towards education. Without local knowledge and influence, he stated, the inspectors would be severely limited in their operations. At the same time, he suggested that commissioners could also aid educational develop-

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<sup>17</sup>W. Taylor to Education Department, 31 January 1856, B.P.C., Range 14, Vol. 61 (18 February 1856), No. 130.

<sup>18</sup>G. Young to Government of Bengal, 18 February 1856, op. cit., No. 129.

ment by reporting any obvious neglect of duty on the part of the sub-inspectors, village-teachers and so on to the inspector.<sup>19</sup> Such a measure was very judicious in that some of the important principles laid down in the Despatch were highly dependent for their success on the policy pursued by the commissioners; especially the relationship between the development of elementary vernacular education and employment.

The immediate effect of the Wood Despatch in Bengal then, was to be seen in the creation of a new administrative body for the development of education. For the first time a special department had been established, channelling the energy of all its officers into the promotion of education. This sound administrative base provided the means for the systematic co-ordination and implementation of a comprehensive policy of education; peripheral bodies were no longer able to pursue their own courses and ignore their responsibilities. In terms of general structure the Education Department was the result of the decision of the Home Governments to set up machinery capable of implementing a comprehensive policy of education. In terms of effectiveness the Education Department was essentially the result of Halliday's astute judgement together with Young's conscientious approach towards the question of implementing policy.

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<sup>19</sup>Minute by F. J. Halliday, 17 March 1856, op. cit., (27 March 1856).

## CHAPTER IV

### ELEMENTARY VERNACULAR EDUCATION

Prior to 1854 elementary vernacular education had been virtually non-existent in Bengal. The only elementary vernacular schools, other than a few run by the government, were those operated by the missionaries, but they were few in number and thus not capable of disseminating education to the 'mass of the people.' There were also numerous patsalas (indigenous village schools), but the standard in these was very low--so low in fact that they could be hardly called elementary vernacular schools at all.

The Government had not, however, totally ignored the question of elementary vernacular education. As early as 1835, it had commissioned William Adam, a former missionary, to examine the state of general education in certain districts of Bengal. During the next four years Adam produced three detailed and valuable reports on the subject. His ultimate conclusion was that

a great mass of the population was in a deplorable state of ignorance...We rule over them and traffic with them but they do not understand our character and we do not penetrate theirs. The consequence is that we have no hold on their sympathies, no seat in their affections.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>J. 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 Conditions (Calcutta: Home Secretarial Press, 1868), p. 28.

In view of this, he suggested that the Government frame a system of public instruction which would help to draw the Indian people closer to the Government--to produce a closer bond between the subject many and the ruling few.<sup>2</sup>

Adam's proposals were ignored however, until 1844, when Lord Hardinge, who was strongly influenced by Adam's reports, established more than one hundred village elementary vernacular schools under the control of the Board of Revenue. Hardinge's schools were not very successful however, and by 1853 only thirty-four were still functioning. The main reason for this failure was that the Board of Revenue was little interested in education and consequently made no real effort to supervise the scheme efficiently.<sup>3</sup>

In 1852, when it finally recognized this fact, the Government of Bengal transferred the supervision of these schools to the Council of Education, and shortly thereafter the Council decided to examine various possibilities for the establishment and development of an elementary vernacular school system. The most attractive system was found to be that which was in operation in the North-western Provinces. This system, commonly called the Hulkabundi system, had been

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 340.

<sup>3</sup>Council of Education to Government of Bengal, 3 October 1853, India Office Records, Bengal Selections From Records, Nos. 21-23, No. 569.

established by J. Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces. This system was based on indigenous village schools and supported by local rates or cesses.

After thoroughly examining ~~this system~~ the Council of Education drew up a plan along similar lines and submitted it to the Government of Bengal in October 1853. The Council of Education proposed that government model elementary vernacular schools be established in certain districts of Bengal which would provide a model for the patsalas (indigenous village schools), as well as training and organizing the necessary staff to visit and inspect them. It also proposed that the patsalas (indigenous village schools) be supplied with books, and that a curriculum suited to the needs of the people be systematically introduced. In order that the plan might have every chance of success, the Council suggested that the Government might more forcefully implement Hardinge's Resolution of 1844 concerning employment.<sup>4</sup> (See Chapter I)

Shortly after this plan had been submitted to the Government of Bengal, Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General of India, set forth his views on the question of elementary vernacular education in the Bengal Presidency. Alluding to the Council's plan, he stated that it was

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

the plain duty of the Government of India at once to place within the reach of the people of Bengal and Behar, those means of education which notwithstanding our anxiety to do so we have hitherto failed in presenting to them in acceptable form, but which we are told upon the experienced authority of Dr. Mowat [The Secretary of the Council of Education], are to be found in the successful scheme of the Lieutenant-Governor before us.<sup>5</sup>

Dalhousie, an energetic westernizer, suggested that the proposed plan be extended to cover all the districts of Bengal; and further, expressed a willingness to outlay the funds necessary for this extension.<sup>6</sup>

Dalhousie's expressed desire for a more comprehensive scheme than that proposed by the Council precipitated further discussion in the Council. One of its members, F. J. Halliday, had recently returned from England where he had been interviewed fourteen times by the Select Committee of Parliament which was examining the subject of the administration of the East India Company. He dealt at length on this subject in a minute dated January 1854, and contacted a number of prominent educators in Bengal and requested their opinions on elementary vernacular education.<sup>7</sup> Among those he consulted were: Pandit Ishwar Chunder Surma, the Principal of the Sanscrit College and the leading authority on the vernacular in Bengal; James Long, a

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<sup>5</sup>Minute by Lord Dalhousie, The Governor-General of India, 25 October 1853, India Office Records, op. cit., p. 22.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>F. J. Halliday to Council of Education, 24 March 1854, Bengal Public Consultations, Range 14, Vol. 51 (8 March 1855), No. 144.

Bengal missionary who had played an active part in the development of elementary vernacular missionary schools; and Ram Chunder Mitter, a prominent Bengal Babu.<sup>8</sup>

Halliday then incorporated their suggestions together with a number of ideas which he had absorbed during his stay in England, into a comprehensive plan for elementary vernacular education. His plan centered around three major areas: a modified form of the scheme originally proposed by the Council of Education; a grant-in-aid scheme similar to one practised in England; and the appointment of Pandit Ishwar Chunder Surma as superintendent of elementary vernacular education.<sup>9</sup>

Halliday's proposals, especially those concerning grant-in-aids and the appointment of Pandit Ishwar Chunder Surma, were received with mixed feelings by the other members of the Council. J. P. Grant expressed the opinion of the majority of Council members when he claimed that grant-in-aid to missionaries

would be no matter how we might attempt to mistify [sic] the thing in appearance as well as in reality, to appropriate money drawn by taxes from the people.

He also asserted that the grant-in-aid scheme

would tend to reduce the aggregate amount of money spent in education because it always happened that as establishments formerly supported wholly in the voluntary

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<sup>8</sup>Babu was an Indian title of respect applied to persons of distinction.

<sup>9</sup>F. J. Halliday to Council of Education, 24 March 1854, B.P.C., op. cit.

principle are more and more aided by Government they are less and less aided by voluntary subscribers.<sup>10</sup>

Grant felt that a grant-in-aid scheme would be politically dangerous and ethically questionable to tax Hindus and Muslims to further the work of Christian missionaries.

This attack on Halliday's grant-in-aid scheme did not go unchallenged: H. Woodrow, for example, pointed to the success of a similar scheme in England. Such a scheme, he said, if carefully applied would not create dissention over matters of religion, for, as he pointed out, aid was equitably distributed to all religious bodies in England (the Established Church, Roman Catholics and the Dissenters).<sup>11</sup> He suggested that the mistrust between Hindus, Muslims, and Christians could be solved in a similar manner provided that schools in which the Shastras or the Koran were studied should enjoy the same patronage as those where the Bible was studied.<sup>12</sup>

A second issue which divided the Council was Halliday's proposal to appoint Pandit Ishwar Chunder Surma superintendent

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<sup>10</sup>Minute by J. P. Grant, 23 June 1854, B.P.C., Range 14, Vol. 51, (8 March 1855), No. 143.

<sup>11</sup>Minute by H. Woodrow, July 1854, op. cit.

<sup>12</sup>Grant's fear that a grant-in-aid scheme would create dissention did not eventuate; for in 1855, after such a scheme was instituted, the missionaries were not prominent in taking advantage of this scheme. See Chapter VI for further treatment of this question.

of all elementary vernacular schools. Some members felt that the Pandit should not be given this position as a European superintendent would have more authority among the people.<sup>13</sup> This seems to have been merely a rationalization of prejudice against the Indians, however, for the Pandit was highly respected among the people of Bengal. Others felt, (with more justification) that the Pandit in his present position as Principal of the Sanscrit College would not be capable of carrying out the extra duties of Superintendent of elementary vernacular schools. They felt, too, that the Pandit's knowledge should be utilized in some less time consuming capacity.<sup>14</sup>

In spite of the strong objections expressed by the majority of Council Members on these two issues, Halliday's basic plan was finally endorsed by the Government of India on 13 February, 1855.<sup>15</sup> This was largely the result of two significant events which occurred during 1854: namely, the appointment of Halliday to the position of Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and the subsequent arrival of the Wood Despatch on the 19 July 1854. As Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Halliday was in a strong enough position to enforce his claims, and,

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<sup>13</sup>Minute by J. Jackson, June 1854, op. cit.; Minute by J. Grant, op. cit.; and Minute by H. Rickets, 9 July 1854, op. cit.

<sup>14</sup>Minute by Ram Gopaul Ghose, 11 July 1854, op. cit.; Minute by B. Rampersaud Roy, 19 August 1854, op. cit.; and Minute by Sir J. W. Colville, 20 August 1854, op. cit.

<sup>15</sup>Government of India to Government of Bengal, 13 February 1855, India Office Records, op. cit., No. 317, p. 81.

when the Wood Despatch dissolving the Council of Education arrived, he was able to select for the new education department officers who shared his views. His position was also strengthened by the policy laid down in the Wood Despatch which strongly recommended the development of a grant-in-aid scheme. The only major departure from Halliday's original plan was that Pandit Ishwar Chunder Surma was to be used only as an occasional inspector; the main work of inspection being done by four permanent officials under the control of a Director of Public Instruction.<sup>16</sup> In short then, the Wood Despatch was not an innovation in elementary vernacular education; rather it merely reiterated authoritatively a policy that had been carefully thought out in Bengal beforehand. At the same time, however, the government's responsibility toward elementary vernacular education was recognized for the first time, thus providing the means for its subsequent development.

Although the Education Department was established in January 1855, measures for implementing elementary vernacular education were postponed because of the dispute over the grant-in-aid rules,<sup>17</sup> the delay by Pratt and Woodrow in taking up

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<sup>16</sup>See Chapter II for further treatment of this question.

<sup>17</sup>This dispute was the result of different interpretations of the grant-in-aid scheme by the Governments of India and Bengal. See Chapter VI The Grant-In-Aid Question

their posts as inspectors, and the difficulties encountered in obtaining the services of a sufficient number of qualified persons for the important positions of sub-inspectors.<sup>18</sup> At the same time, Halliday and Young, conscious of the Government's failure in the previous experiment under Hardinge, were content to advance cautiously. While different plans were tried in different areas according to local circumstances and customs one general principle was kept in mind: that the people were to be, if possible, induced and assisted to educate themselves.

A feature of the plans for most districts was the use of indigenous village schools, for as Halliday had observed previously:

We have a vast number of indigenous schools. I have carefully enquired about them from several well informed persons native and European and I am assured that these schools are universally in a very low and unsatisfactory condition the office of school master having in almost all cases devolved upon persons very unfit for the business...<sup>19</sup> Our object should be if possible to improve these schools.

The most successful plan based on the utilization of these schools was devised by H. Woodrow in East Bengal. He recognized that it would be impossible to effect large-scale changes in elementary education under a strict interpretation of the grant-in-aid rules,<sup>20</sup> like that of the Government of India; for

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<sup>18</sup>R. Chapman to Education Department, 7 June 1855, B.P.C., Range 14, Vol. 54 (28 June 1855), No. 73.

<sup>19</sup>F. J. Halliday to Council of Education, 24 March 1854, B.P.C., Range 14, Vol. 51, (8 March 1855), No. 144.

<sup>20</sup>See Chapter VI, The Grant-In-Aid Question.

experience had shown him that missionaries were reluctant to accept aid and that educated Indians were essentially interested in setting up English schools. He realized therefore, as Halliday had, that any system of elementary vernacular education must have as its main aim the gradual improvement of the indigenous village schools. Indeed, he saw that no other system was practicable; for he estimated that of the 480,060 boys who were eligible for school, only 2,065 were actually being educated in British supported schools. He therefore proposed to establish a system in which four or five indigenous village schools would be joined together in a "circle," to which a teacher paid by Government was to be attached. This teacher was to successively visit each school in his circle, and at each school he was to instruct the guru (village school teacher) in his duty and to teach the most advanced boys the more difficult subjects. At the same time, he was to distribute books and to examine the guru and the pupils periodically, rewarding them in proportion to the progress made. To begin with, Woodrow recommended setting up thirty circles of about five schools each at a cost of Rs. 10,800. He estimated that when this system was fully developed 760 circles would have been established at a cost of Rs. 273,600 per year. He claimed that in this way education could be structured to reach all of the people and at the same time a gradual improvement in the standard of education imparted in these schools would be ensured. It was

indicative of his success with this scheme that all the inspectors who devised plans based on indigenous village schools eventually adopted the "circle" system.<sup>21</sup>

The system of 'model' elementary vernacular schools, established by the Education Department was another important measure. These schools, which were set up by the Government in the hope that the Indian people would take the initiative and establish similar schools of their own under the grant-in-aid scheme, proved to be very popular.

The people of villages in which they are located as well as those of contiguous places who are benefitted by them look upon the schools as great blessings and feel grateful to Government for them.<sup>22</sup>

Nevertheless, these schools, however popular, failed to serve their primary purpose. In South Bengal, for example, Pratt used these schools at first as the basis of his elementary vernacular school programme. Pratt endeavoured to get Indians to form committees, to set up similar schools under the grant-in-aid scheme. His plan proved to be viable however, only in those districts in and around Calcutta; for elsewhere the Indian people were neither wealthy enough nor interested enough to support the grant-in-aid scheme. Moreover, he was unable to find enough qualified teachers to staff such schools. Pratt's

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<sup>21</sup>H. Woodrow to G. Young, 9 August 1855, B.P.C., Range 14, Vol. 58 (29 November 1855), No. 58.

<sup>22</sup>G.R.P.I. for 1857-58 (Calcutta: Printed by C. B. Lewis, Baptist Missionary Press, 1859), Appendix A, p. 178.

initial plan failed then, largely as a result of the strict interpretation of the grant-in-aid principle by the Government of India (See Chapter, VI The Grant-In-Aid Question.) In consequence, he was obliged to adopt, in the case of those districts some distance from Calcutta, the Woodrow's 'circle' system.<sup>23</sup>

In Assam, Robinson established government elementary vernacular schools, similar to the government 'model' schools, as the basis of his programme; for in Assam, unlike other parts of Bengal, patsalas (indigenous village schools) were virtually non-existent. He was therefore obliged to move very slowly as he had nothing to build upon.<sup>24</sup>

In order to supply staff for the 'model' schools and the 'circles', four Normal Schools were established to train teachers. The most successful of these was one founded by Pundit Ishwar Chunder Surma. He incorporated a normal school into the Sanscrit College where he carefully screened candidates for the position of student teachers, and after six months intensive training in the vernacular, he appointed them to a 'model' school or a 'circle'.<sup>25</sup>

Rewards and scholarships proved to be a useful

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<sup>23</sup>G.R.P.I. for 1856-57 (Calcutta: John Gray, "Calcutta Gazette" Office, 1857), pp. 113-134.

<sup>24</sup>W. Robinson to G. Young, 16 June 1855, B.P.C., Range 14, Vol. 55 (12 July 1855), No. 85.

<sup>25</sup>Pandit Surma to G. Young, 3 July 1855, B.P.C., op. cit., No. 89.

supplementary measure for they encouraged pupils and teachers to improve themselves. Indeed in most districts these measures proved to be popular. In Bihar, however, the scheme failed miserably; partly as a result of the approach of the inspector of schools and partly as a result of the attitude of the Biharis themselves. R. Chapman mistakenly assumed that if he used this principle as the pivot of his system the indigenous schools would improve of their own accord. He therefore attempted to develop the indigenous schools by offering rewards and scholarships to the gurus (village teachers) without implementing any other measures.<sup>26</sup> In Bihar, however, there existed a traditional antipathy towards governmental projects (especially education) which was so intense that even the few among the higher classes who had been educated were loathe to support state education. Indeed, they saw such a project as an infringement upon their religious beliefs, and as a means of destroying their position in the social structure of the country. At the same time the lower classes evidently felt that education was of no use to them. In fact, all classes saw the Government's efforts as an unjustifiable attempt to replace the indigenous school system and its traditional village school teachers; while they, on their part, arrogated the greatest contempt for the scheme.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>R. Chapman to G. Young, 24 May 1855, B.P.C. Range 14, Vol. 54 (28 June 1855), No. 73.

<sup>27</sup>Report by R. Chapman on Vernacular Education, 21 August 1855, I.O.R., op. cit., Nos. 21-23.

In addition to these general obstacles, coincidental events occurred in Bihar which combined to thwart success. The principal of these was the design of depriving gaol prisoners of their lotahs (drinking vessels). This action was believed by most people to be the beginning of a general scheme, of which the new education system was an integral part, for the forcible conversion of Indians to Christianity. This conviction, which was confined to Bihar, manifested itself on the slightest provocation. Then too, the Santal disturbances in Bhagalpur and Monghyr immobilized operations in these districts.<sup>28</sup>

Inevitably then, Chapman's proposed scheme was short lived. By 1856, frustrated by his failure to break down the opposition of the people, he suggested that the Government of Bengal forcibly educate their children. Coming when it did, little more than a year before the Mutiny, this proposal gives some indication of Chapman's lack of insight into the prevailing problems and obstacles facing the Education Department in its efforts to implement vernacular education. Young wisely refused to sanction such a proposal and shortly afterwards replaced Chapman with E. Harrison who, unlike Chapman, proceeded very carefully.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>G.R.P.I. for 1855-56 (Calcutta: John Gray "Calcutta Gazette" Office, 1856), p.?.

In addition to scholarships and rewards publications in the vernacular were also used to encourage elementary vernacular education. The School Book Society and the Vernacular Literature Society both of which were supported by the Government translated numerous texts from English into the vernacular. These books were distributed by agencies and book shops which were established in all the districts of Bengal. At the same time, a Vernacular Newspaper called the Educational Gazette was set up under the patronage of the Education Department. The purpose of this newspaper was to inform the people of departmental proceedings and, hopefully, to develop an appreciation of elementary vernacular education.<sup>30</sup>

Auxiliary to these direct measures the Education Department also endeavoured to emphasize the practical value of elementary vernacular education by relating it to employment. On 9 July 1855, Halliday announced that positions in the Public Service worth more than Rs. 6 a month were only to be given to those persons able to read and write.<sup>31</sup> Halliday's notification, which was to come into effect after 1 January 1857, met with some resistance from the Board of Revenue. It claimed that this principle was already practically in force and that in certain cases a candidate who was unable to read and write was

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>31</sup>F. J. Halliday to Board of Revenue, 13 June 1855, B.P.C., Range 14, Vol. 55 (26 July 1855), No. 77.

preferable to a literate candidate. For example, it suggested that in those areas of Bengal where Bengali was not the vernacular, literacy as such was not a fair criteria. It further submitted that such a rule was ridiculous for positions of manual labour since it would exclude some of the best candidates.<sup>32</sup> Halliday, however, determined that the disadvantages of such a rule would be greatly outweighed by its benefits, ordered that it be enforced on the appointed date.<sup>33</sup>

These various measures for developing elementary vernacular education met with numerous difficulties, especially in the socio-economic sphere. The vast majority of the population, the ryots (peasants) or the cultivating castes, regarded the department's activities with complete indifference, for they were too poor even to pay the guru (village teacher) his quarter of seer (two pounds) of rice and could not afford to dispense with the labour of children in tending cattle, in tillage or rope making. The manager of the Joyne training school clearly expressed the problem when he wrote that:

There is a class whose deplorable condition (an adequate idea of which cannot be sufficiently conveyed) cannot fail to call forth sympathetic feeling even in the most stern hearts--a class whose children are brought up in the utter ignorance and its concomitant evils--a class who cannot

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<sup>32</sup>Board of Revenue to Government of Bengal, 18 May 1855, B.P.C., op. cit., No. 74.

<sup>33</sup>Government of Bengal to Board of Revenue, B.P.C., op. cit., No. 76.

speak for themselves and passively submit to all the hardships and distresses arising from ignorance and poverty. This class consists of a numerous body of men who subsist by the labour of their hands. Unhappily there does not exist sufficient means of education for this great mass. Their low status, and their extreme poverty, do not permit them to educate their children in the indigenous schools or Patshallas existing in the villages, which are most (if not entirely) resorted to by the children only of those who do not derive their livelihood by manual labour.<sup>34</sup>

In such circumstances, the people were unable to comprehend much less avail of the benefits of education.

The group next above the ryots (peasants), that of the petty shopkeepers and traders, who were essentially from the merchant or vaishyas castes, while not satisfied with what the guru taught, showed little interest in sending their children to government assisted schools; partly because they did not see much use of vernacular education and partly because they were unable to pay the higher rates of fees levies in the Government aided schools. Under the aided elementary vernacular school system they were compelled to pay more than was usual to the guru in the village schools. Moreover, they were compelled to pay the fees in cash and at regular intervals, whereas the guru (village teacher) had been paid in kind and at irregular intervals.<sup>35</sup>

Further up the social scale was the more prosperous group of shopkeepers, banyas, money lenders, and small

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<sup>34</sup>G.R.P.I. for 1856-57, op. cit., Appendix A, Annual Report by H. Pratt, Inspector of Schools for South Bengal.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

talukdars (holder of an estate.) Those of this group who sought education for their children did so for a tangible and material reason--employment with the government. They therefore preferred to send their children to an English school, regardless of how cheaply and inefficiently it was conducted, rather than to a vernacular school. Consequently, while the more ambitious members of this class were willing to make some sacrifice for the establishment of an elementary English language school, they were not prepared to move a finger to aid in the establishment of an elementary vernacular school, however efficient or well conducted.<sup>36</sup>

The wealthy Brahman zamindars (large landowners), who formed the apex of Indian society, were in many cases content to rely in the early years on a traditional form of education in which their children were tutored by a Pandit (A Brahman Sanscrit Teacher). The more progressive zamindars however, sent their children to Anglo-vernacular schools and colleges, for this education would enable them to take up prominent positions <sup>in</sup> such professions as law, medicine and journalism as well as in the Indian Civil Service. This group could have acted as vital agents in promoting the establishment of elementary vernacular schools among the poorer classes, had it been so inclined, for if the landlords had wished it the poor would

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

certainly have sent their children to such schools. But the zamindars were, for the most part, profoundly indifferent to the education of the poorer castes. In some cases in fact they were actually opposed to any improved means of popular education, seeing it as a threat to the authority which they enjoyed.<sup>37</sup>

To the problems of poverty and indifference must be added that of the widespread fear that elementary vernacular educational proceedings were connected with a subversive attempt at mass conversion to Christianity. This feeling was particularly in evidence in those areas where Indians of the Muslim religion were predominant. Having been replaced by the British as the ruling elite the Muslims, in contrast to the Hindus, were profoundly distrustful of the British and the elements of westernization which they were introducing into India. The most striking example of Muslim opposition to education was, as has been pointed out, in Bihar, where they were particularly antagonistic to governmental educational proceedings for political and religious reasons.<sup>38</sup>

Language was another problem which impeded the progress of elementary vernacular education; for Bengali was only one of a number of languages spoken in the province of Bengal. Muslims,

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

<sup>38</sup>Report by R. Chapman on Vernacular Education, 21 August 1855, I.O.R., op. cit., Nos. 21-23.

for example, performed their religious services in Arabic, wrote in Persian, conversed with equals in Urdu, and only used Bengali in dealing with servants. In Arracan, a district of East Bengal, Burmese was the popular language, and the inhabitants neither understood, nor felt inclined to learn, Bengali. This multiplicity of languages created numerous difficulties, not the least of which was that of obtaining teachers qualified in the various languages. But it was in Assam that the problem was most manifest, for there was a sharp difference of opinion as to what exactly was the vernacular. In 1854 a group of American Baptist missionaries submitted a report to Robinson in which it was requested that the Assamese language be taught as the vernacular in all schools.<sup>39</sup> This request was made in opposition to an order by Commissioner Francis Jenkin, that Bengali was to be the vernacular of all Government schools. Robinson however rejected the missionary request on the grounds that the language spoken by the Assamese was essentially the same as Bengali. This assertion was disputed by the missionaries who pointed out that all Assamese who were able to read and write in Assamese understood neither written nor spoken Bengali. They convincingly demonstrated that the two languages were essentially different and that it would be unwise to impose

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<sup>39</sup>American Missionary to F. J. Halliday, 13 November 1854, B.P.C., Range 14, Vol. 51 (1 March 1855), No. 93.

Bengali on these people. The missionaries' proposals were rejected however, for the Government of Bengal, like the Government of India, deemed it preferable to use Bengali as the vernacular wherever possible; for it felt that the presence of too many vernacular languages would impede the progress of education in Bengal. Consequently, Bengali became the vernacular in Government schools at least, in Assam.<sup>40</sup> Partly because of this, in the ensuing years vernacular education made little progress in Assam. Indeed the only schools to prosper were those run by the missionaries.

These problems were multiplied in certain areas by the geography of the country. Impenetrable jungles, few roads or bridges, lack of river transportation, and a mountainous terrain, especially in East Bengal and Assam, made communication extremely difficult; and, indeed, inspectors and sub-inspectors were obliged to limit their visits to schools during periods other than the monsoon season.

In spite of these difficulties, the Education Department systematically pursued, as its main objective, the development of elementary vernacular education. It endeavoured, as we have seen, through various measures to improve and to organize indigenous schools so as to impart a simple form of European

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<sup>40</sup>Correspondence Relating to the Question whether the Assamese or Bengali language should be taught in the Assam Schools, 5 December 1854, I.O.R., op. cit., p. 168.

knowledge to a greater number of people. At the same time, it attempted to make vernacular education meaningful to the people by relating it to employment. Yet in all this, the Education Department received little support from the Government of India, which rejected repeated requests by the Education Department that the grant-in-aid rules be made a viable proposition for the development of elementary vernacular education.<sup>41</sup> Indeed by 1857, it seemed to have rejected completely the idea of stressing elementary vernacular education, for it declared that:

The plain fact appears to be that, in the Lower Provinces [Bengal] the lower classes have not yet learned to appreciate or desire Education, and that the higher classes generally are not actually desirous that their inferiors should be educated. All that the government can do in such circumstances, is to set before the people, in everyway the advantage of teaching their children to read and write, to exhort and persuade them to do so, to point the way by opening Normal and Model Schools.<sup>42</sup>

The opposition of the Government of India to this area of education was mainly the result of its disproportionate expenditure on the Presidency College which prevented it from outlaying the necessary funds for developing elementary vernacular schools.<sup>43</sup> This, of course, was contrary to the principles laid down in the Wood Despatch which the Government of India had

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<sup>41</sup>For further development of this question see Chapter VI The Grant-In-Aid Question.

<sup>42</sup>G.R.P.I. for 1856-57, op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>43</sup>See Chapter V Higher Education.

observed to be so clearly defined.<sup>44</sup> Indeed, early in 1857, the Court of Directors reaffirmed these principles when it rebuked the Government of India for not giving greater attention to elementary education.<sup>45</sup>

In the meantime, however, the Mutiny erupted causing the Court of Directors to change its position on this question radically. On 28 April 1858 Lord Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control, issued a Despatch to which was attached a memorandum by his secretary, Sir George Clerk, on the question of education in India. In this Despatch, Ellenborough pointed to the imprudent method proposed by Chapman in Bihar and to its effect upon the Indian people. From this premise, he went on to directly ascribe the Mutiny to the development of elementary vernacular education throughout Bengal and to chastise the Government of Bengal for its policy. He suggested that the people being educated were largely from the 'labouring' class, and that the more wealthy had been left in ignorance. The result of such a policy, he claimed, would be the creation of a discontented body of poor people having, through the education given to them, a great power over the 'mass of the people.' He

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<sup>44</sup> See Chapter III, The Establishment of A New Education Structure

<sup>45</sup> Court of Directors to Government of India, 14 June 1856, Selections from The Records of The Government of India, Home Department, No. LXXVI (1870), A Collection of Despatches from the Home Government on the subject of Education in India, 1854-68, p. 74.

therefore ordered that the elementary vernacular schools which had been closed during the Mutiny should not be reopened unless there was unmistakeable desire for a renewal on the part of the principal landowners and of the people. He further stated that in view of these factors the Government would be well advised to revert to the "Downward Filtration" policy.<sup>46</sup>

Halliday and Young however, having invested much time, energy and interest in the development of elementary education, were loathe to see it fall by the wayside. Both were confirmed in their convictions by their recognition of the fact that Ellenborough had little evidence to support his claims. In fact, Young hastened to direct Ellenborough's attention to Inspector Harrison's annual report for education in Bihar, which stated that

our vernacular schools in the interior, being fed almost exclusively by the population of the places where they are established did not, speaking comparatively, suffer from the disturbances except when any set of rebels actually passed, they went on as before... suffice it to say that generally they have advanced in spite of all difficulties,<sup>47</sup> if not generally in number, yet in the education given.

This and other reports, as Young pointed out, seemed to prove that elementary vernacular education had little or no direct connection with the Mutiny. He also expressed amazement at the charge that it was the desire of the Education Department to

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<sup>46</sup> G.R.P.I. for 1857-58, op. cit., pp. 25-44.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

give a "high degree" of education to the "labouring" class while ignoring the wealthy class. The Education Department had, while extending education to a lower level, continued to develop higher education, and this was dominated by the higher classes. Moreover these people receiving elementary vernacular education were hardly the "labouring" class; nor were they likely to create disruption, for they were essentially the same people who had populated the old indigenous village schools.<sup>48</sup>

Halliday endorsed Young's remarks and added some strong statements of his own. He attacked both Ellenborough and Clerk for having dismissed the principles of the Wood Despatch relating to elementary vernacular education. He dealt at length with the measures taken by Education Department to develop this area of education, and showed how, in spite of the lack of support from the Government of India, it had made substantial improvements since 1854. Like Young, he expressed incredulity at the claim that the Government of Bengal and its Education Department had totally ignored Higher Education. He proved this to be entirely false by referring to the various measures in operation for the expansion of Higher Education.<sup>49</sup> At the same time he expanded on Young's remarks concerning the Mutiny and its relationship to elementary vernacular education in Bihar. In submitting

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid., pp. 27-44.

<sup>49</sup>Minute by F. J. Halliday, 1 October 1858, G.R.P.I. for 1857-58, op. cit., p. 64, and Minute by F. J. Halliday, 29 November 1858, op. cit., pp. 95-124.

that Chapman's proposal to enforce education was contrary to the principles of the Wood Despatch, he also pointed out that they were not sanctioned by the Education Department, nor did they seem to have affected the loyalty of the Bihari people. Bihar, he stated,

consists of eight Districts, seven of which have shown no sympathy whatever of disaffection or hostility to the Government. The eighth is Shahabad, which is a Sepoy recruiting district and has certainly been disaffected though not wholly. But even Shahabad would probably have shown no disaffection but that a large part of it was held for several months by the rebel force.<sup>50</sup>

In conclusion, he reminded Ellenborough and Clerk that a few isolated incidents of imprudence, such as Chapman's, should not be treated as if they were specimens of the constant deliberate acts of the Government and of all its officers. He concluded by suggesting that the Home Government's decision to revise the policy of developing elementary vernacular education was unwarranted.<sup>51</sup>

In the meantime the Government of India, which had refused to liberalize the grant-in-aid rules for elementary vernacular schools, further upset the development of elementary vernacular education by arbitrarily rejecting or ignoring most of the proposals submitted by the Government of Bengal for its development. It dismissed requests for money for model schools

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 122.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., pp. 122-128.

in Assam and for vernacular book depots in four districts of Bengal, and as late as May 1858 had completely ignored a proposal by Pratt to introduce the "circle" system into five of his districts.<sup>52</sup>

This imbroglio along with the sudden reversal in policy by the Court of Directors led Young to review the position of elementary vernacular education in Bengal. In submitting his Annual Report for 1857-58, in October 1858, he declared that his greatest difficulty, as head of the Education Department, was the lack of fixed principles and rules of action, especially in relation to elementary vernacular education. This he declared, was partly the result of differences of opinion on important points in policy which prevailed among those in authority, in spite of the broad and general principles set down in the Wood Despatch, and partly from the difficulty of ascertaining precisely what the views of the higher authorities on any particular question were. The intimate relations that existed between his office and the Government of Bengal, he said, should have made the development of elementary education an easy task; but when he was ordered to shape or to carry out measures, so as also to accord with the views of other authorities, views which were sometimes difficult to reconcile with the Wood Despatch and which were not made known until

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G.R.P.I. for 1857-58, op. cit., pp. 61-63.

some proposal sanctioned by the Lieutenant-Governor was disallowed by a higher power, the task became infinitely more difficult. For Young to be told that after years of action in a certain direction, the Education Department and the Government of Bengal were pursuing an erroneous course, and must desist, or that the measures advocated by one President of the Indian Board (Sir Charles Wood) was considered to be of a 'perilous' nature by his successor (Lord Ellenborough), it was evident that the full development of elementary vernacular education was not possible.<sup>53</sup>

The Government of India rejected Young's argument; for it claimed that he had misinterpreted the Wood Despatch. It implied that elementary vernacular education was not a major consideration of the Wood Despatch; and further submitted that in the Despatch, the grant-in-aid system was confined to schools of a higher level and that the Hulkabundi system, as practised in the North-Western Provinces, was meant to have been introduced very cautiously. The role of the Education Department in elementary vernacular system, it claimed, was essentially that of distributing vernacular books.<sup>54</sup>

Halliday, who had whole-heartedly supported Young in the question of elementary vernacular education, challenged the

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 23-24.

<sup>54</sup>Government of India to Government of Bengal, 7 October 1858, India Education Consultations, Range 188, Vol. 73 (21 January 1859), No. 267.

validity of the Government of India's statement of policy. By carefully referring to the Wood Despatch and the policy followed by the Education Department in Bengal, he clearly demonstrated the inconsistency of the Government of India's remarks. The Wood Despatch had emphasized the importance of elementary vernacular education in Bengal; the Education Department had treated it as such by implementing a programme for its development according to the principles of the Wood Despatch; and this programme had been fully outlined in a minute addressed by Halliday to the Government of India on 11 November 1854. Halliday declared that it was

likely enough that I have erred in my interpretation of the Despatch in question; but if so, I erred in all sincerity from a real inability to understand what has been required of me, and not from any perverseness, and even after all that has been written on the subject, I am not sure that I quite understand it yet. But it seems to me, (I say it with all respect and deference), that residing as I have done the greater part of this time, within earshot (as it were) of the Supreme Authority, it is to be wished that the prevailing forms of business in this country could have allowed of my being personally conferred with, and verbally instructed as to the points in which I was supposed to be in error. I have no wish but to obey orders, though I may have been dull in apprehending them, and I am not sure that half an hour of verbal question and explanation would have at any time sufficed to set me in the right way, speeding the real business in hand and saving many sheets of (on my part) dreary and I fear unprofitable discussion.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>Minute by F. J. Halliday, 29 March 1859, G.R.P.I. for 1858-59, op. cit., pp. 29-39.

Two themes emerge from Halliday's and Young's remarks: the difference in aims according to the Wood Despatch between the Government of India and the Government of Bengal; and the seeming lack of communication between these two bodies. The aim of the Government of Bengal was to develop elementary vernacular education on a firm and systematic basis; and a careful reading of the Wood Despatch would suggest that this was also the aim of the Court of Directors. The Government of India however, which had a more manifest interest in higher education, interpreted the Wood Despatch accordingly. In so doing it ignored the major principle of the Despatch by preventing the Government of Bengal from fully developing elementary education. And with the eruption of the Mutiny its policy was endorsed by the Court of Directors. As a result of this vacillation in policy the Government of Bengal had found it difficult to lay down a permanent plan for the development of elementary vernacular education. Indeed, it was not until the delivery of the Stanley Despatch in April 1859 that the question of elementary vernacular education was cleared up. In this Despatch, the Home Government, which had, by then, observed that the connection made between elementary education and the Mutiny had been greatly exaggerated, once more recognized the importance of elementary vernacular education, though in somewhat less enthusiastic terms. It stated that of all the experimental plans Woodrow's was

undoubtedly the most successful and should therefore be expanded to all of Bengal.<sup>56</sup>

In setting up a system of elementary vernacular education during this period then, the Government of Bengal and its Education Department were confronted with numerous difficulties, the most prominent of which was of course, the inconsistency of the policies of the higher authorities. As a result they were unable to develop elementary vernacular education as fully as had been intended when the Despatch was originally framed. Nevertheless, due to the positivism of Halliday, Young, Woodrow, Pandit Ishwar Chunder Surma and others, elementary vernacular education made substantial progress during this period. Indeed, contrary to the conception popular amongst historians, it was placed on a sound basis during this period.<sup>57</sup> Immediately prior to the establishment of the Education Department in 1854 there were 26 government vernacular schools educating 1,441 pupils. By April 1859, the Education Department was supporting 465 vernacular schools educating 24,000 pupils. This marked increase had been achieved through various means. The Department had

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<sup>56</sup>Secretary of State for India to the Government of India, 7 April 1859, Selections from the Records of the Government of India, op. cit., No. 4, p. 113.

<sup>57</sup>S. Nurullah and J. Naik, for example, in their A History of Education In India (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1951), p. 322 state that the Education Department ignored elementary vernacular education and continued to uphold the 'Downward Filtration' Theory. They also suggest that during this 'period' no important achievements were effected in elementary education.

increased the number of Government schools to two hundred and thirty-eight. It had also provided grants-in-aid to two hundred and twenty-seven private elementary vernacular schools, among which were a number of indigenous village schools. At the same time the Education Department had, through one of its Inspectors, H. Woodrow, introduced a scheme called the "Circle system" which was based on the gradual improvement of indigenous schools through a modified form of the grant-in-aid system. By 1859 there one hundred and sixty-nine indigenous village schools operating under this system.<sup>58</sup> In addition, a number of government vernacular schools had been turned into model vernacular schools in the hope that their example might stimulate a taste for an education of a similar description. This, of course, required much time, and by 1859 in the majority of private elementary vernacular schools, especially those of the indigenous class, the standard of education was substantially lower than that of the model schools. Nevertheless, a number of measures had been initiated in an attempt to bridge this gap. Potentially the most important of these was the Government Order directing that all appointments in the public service exceeding Rs. 6 per month be given only to those who could read and write, but it unfortunately remained almost a dead issue. Two other important measures, however, had proved successful; elementary

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<sup>58</sup>G.P.R.I. for 1858-59, op. cit., Appendix D.

vernacular scholarships of Rs. 4 per month enabled an increasing number of better pupils to proceed to a higher education, and the establishment of four normal schools for teacher training provided an essential base for improving the standard of elementary vernacular education. It should be noted however, that this development was not uniform for all of Bengal. In most districts of Bihar and Assam as well as parts of East and South-West Bengal, elementary vernacular education was still a thing of the future. Conversely in those districts surrounding Calcutta, Burdwan, Hooghly, Twenty-Four Parganas, Nuddea and Jessore, elementary vernacular education had progressed far beyond the average in Bengal. Annual returns indicate that elementary vernacular education was largely the province of Hindu students, for Muslim students, as has been pointed out in Bihar, were opposed to Government education. And although elementary vernacular education had not been extended to the mass of these people, as the Wood Despatch had desired, it was not confined to the upper segments of society. Occasional returns of the castes educated in these schools seems to suggest that the Brahman (priestly order) castes represented approximately 7 percent, of the student population, Kayasths (writer) caste, 12½ percent, Banyas, who were part of the Vaishyas (merchant) caste group, 33 percent, the Sudras (cultivators) castes, 11½ percent, and other minority groups, 36 percent. These figures,

while not conclusive, suggest that the lower orders of castes formed the majority in elementary vernacular schools.<sup>59</sup> The long term results of such a process then, would inevitably be a movement by these groups towards higher education and a modification of the traditional order of society. Judged in these terms then the years 1854 to 1859 must stand as the decisive period in the development of elementary vernacular education in Bengal.

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<sup>59</sup>See Inspectors Reports in G.R.P.I. 1854-55 to 1858-59, op. cit.

## CHAPTER V

### HIGHER EDUCATION

By the mid-nineteenth century higher education<sup>1</sup> was more extensively developed in Bengal than in any other part of India. Noting this fact the Wood Despatch went on to express the hope that,

before long sufficient provision may be found to exist in many parts of the country for the education of the middle and higher classes independent of the Government institutions, which may be then closed..., or they may be transferred to local management.<sup>2</sup>

In this way, it hoped to give much greater attention to the question of elementary vernacular education--a question which had been too long neglected. At the same time however, it provided--through a grant-in-aid system--the means whereby anglo-vernacular schools and colleges could eventually become self-supporting institutions. The Despatch also proposed a university scheme, which was an important innovation in higher education, designed, as it was, to give direction to education at the highest level.

In the years immediately following the delivery of the Wood Despatch, the newly founded education department experienced

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<sup>1</sup>Higher Education refers specifically to two classes of educational institution: one, the anglo-vernacular or zillah (district) school which was essentially a secondary educational institution; and two, the anglo-vernacular college which was a post-secondary educational institution.

<sup>2</sup>The Court of Directors to the Government of India, 19 July 1854, Parliamentary Papers, XLVII (1854), No. 49, par. 86.

little difficulty in developing the lower half of the higher education programme (i.e. secondary education). In the first place, it had inherited forty-three government anglo-vernacular zillah schools (so called because there was generally one such school in each 'zillah' or district) from the Council of Education.<sup>3</sup> And secondly, it found the people more than eager to set up, under the grant-in-aid scheme, schools in which English was taught.

The government anglo-vernacular schools were managed by the Local Committees of Public Instruction, and imparted essentially European knowledge, usually in English. In most cases these schools were reasonably well-developed and were of a moderately high educational standard. During the period under discussion the education department extended these schools to all the chief stations or towns in Bengal; and more important, using such schools as models, it induced the people to set up similar schools under the grant-in-aid scheme. This project was highly successful, at least from a statistical point of view. One of the main reasons for the expansion was the Hardinge Resolution of 1844, which had made English education an almost essential prerequisite for employment in the public service. In fact, whereas the education department experienced great

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<sup>3</sup>Report of the Bengal Provincial Committee 1881-82, (Calcutta: Printed by Superintendent of Government Printing India, 1883), p. 13.

difficulty in inducing the Indian people to establish elementary vernacular schools under the grant-in-aid scheme, it found the same people more than willing to co-operate in setting up schools in which English was the medium of instruction.

This desire of the Indians to learn English in order to secure employment was not without its problems however. Woodrow summarized the most basic of these problems when he stated that

the students value education solely as a means of getting money. English leads to higher education than Bengali, and is therefore preferred. History, Geography, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy etc. lead to nothing pecuniary, and are therefore disliked. They hold in our schools just the position that Christianity does in Missionary schools. Instruction in them must be tolerated by the pupils in order to get a knowledge of the English language--the one thing desired.<sup>4</sup>

This situation, he and other inspectors observed, was particularly true of a number of small English schools which had sprung up under the grant-in-aid scheme. People who could not afford to establish schools modelled exactly on government anglo-vernacular schools set up cheap imitations--imitations which provided only a smattering of English and an even slighter acquaintance with other subjects. The creation of these schools resulted in the development of a class of people who, while lacking a sufficient knowledge of English to be able to gain a position in the public service, had just enough education to be discontented with their

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<sup>4</sup>H. Woodrow to Education Department, Annual Report 1856-57, G.R.P.I. (op. cit.), Appendix A, p. 91.

traditional lot and unwilling to follow in their fathers' footsteps.<sup>5</sup>

In 1856 Young set up a special committee to examine this problem. The committee, in accordance with principles laid down in the Wood Despatch, strongly recommended that while the English language should be taught in these schools, the bulk of instruction should be carried out in the vernacular. It further recommended that grants-in-aid should not be sanctioned for schools of this class, unless the income, inclusive of the grant, amounted to Rs. 80 per month. Unless the budget was at least that large the authorities considered that it would be impossible to provide a fair standard of education.<sup>6</sup> The education department, while it endorsed the proposals of the Committee, was unable to implement all of them, as it lacked the necessary funds. Nevertheless with the introduction of the University Entrance Examination in March 1857, most anglo-vernacular schools endeavoured to raise their standard to that level.

The post-secondary education programme demanded much more organization than did the secondary education programme; for until the arrival of the Wood Despatch no provision had been

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<sup>5</sup>See G.R.P.I. for 1855-56 and 1856-57, op. cit., for Inspectors' Reports.

<sup>6</sup>G.R.P.I. for 1856-57 (op. cit.), pp. 25-29.

made for the establishment of a university. According to the Despatch, a university was to be established in Calcutta and was to be modelled on the University of London. On the basis of this model the university was to consist of a senate appointed by the Government of India. The senate was to manage funds, to frame regulations for courses, to nominate a committee of examiners, and to confer degrees upon successful candidates from the various colleges then in operation. In those areas of professional education--Medicine, Law, and Civil Engineering--where facilities were either poorly developed or non-existent, professorships were to be instituted in connection with the university.<sup>7</sup> In short then, the university was to be, with the exception of the special branches of learning, essentially an examining body. Moreover, unlike other educational operations, it was not controlled by the education department, but rather by a senate directly responsible to the Government of India.

On 26 January 1855 the Government appointed a committee, consisting of the leading educators in Bengal (both English and Indian), which was to prepare a scheme in accordance with the principles of the Wood Despatch, for the establishment of Calcutta University. (see Appendix A for names of Committee members)<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Court of Directors to the Government of India, op. cit., pars. 24-39.

<sup>8</sup>Government of India to the Government of Bengal, 26 January 1855, B.P.C., Range 14, Vol. 52 (15 March 1855), No. 116.

Once constituted, the committee resolved itself into five sub-committees: one for preparing Drafts for the incorporation of the university, and four for preparing Draft Rules in the Faculty of Arts, Medicine, Law, and Civil Engineering respectively. After preparing their reports, the sub-committees sent them to the Local Governments (Bombay, Madras and the North-West Provinces) for observations; and when their replies were received prepared a second and final set of Drafts which were endorsed and submitted to the Government of India by the General Committee.<sup>9</sup>

The final scheme proposed by the committee was essentially in agreement with the principles of the Wood Despatch. The entrance examination was similar to one administered at the University of London, and included questions on mathematics, history, natural philosophy, and languages. In the area of languages there was some divergence; for whereas in Britain English was the only vernacular and Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were the only classical languages, in Bengal there were four main vernacular languages: Urdu, Hindi, Bengali, and Burmese; and three classical languages: Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit; furthermore English was regarded in some cases as a classical language, and in others as a vernacular language. The committee decided therefore, to demand that each candidate pass an

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<sup>9</sup>Papers Relating to the Establishment of the Universities.  
(Calcutta: Issued by Government of India, 1856) No. 1906,  
Appendix F, CXXXIII.

examination in English and one of <sup>the</sup> following languages: Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Sanscrit, Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, and Burmese. Under this rule it was assumed that students of schools where western classics were taught, would pass in English and Latin, Greek, or one of the vernacular languages. Ordinary Hindu students however, would pass in English and in Bengali, Hindi, or Urdu; and Hindu students of the Pandit class in English and Sanskrit. Ordinary Muhammadan students would write in English and Persian or Urdu; Muhammadans of the Maulavi (a learned Muslim) class in English and Arabic; and students from the Burmese Provinces in English and Burmese.<sup>10</sup>

The committee also adopted a plan similar to the one in operation at the University of London governing the relations between the various colleges and the University. Each institution, the curriculum of which enabled its students to pass the examination for a Bachelor of Arts Degree after four years, was to be eligible for affiliation with the University. During this four year period the student was required to pass examinations in at least two languages including English; history (Ancient, Modern Europe and India); mathematics and natural philosophy; natural history and the physical sciences (physiology, physical geography, and chemistry); and the mental and moral sciences (logic, philosophy of rhetoric, moral philosophy, and natural

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., CXXXIV.

theology.) Candidates placed in the first division in the examination for the Bachelor of Arts Degree were to be admitted to an Honors Degree programme which would require an extra year of study.<sup>11</sup> In this way then, collegiate education throughout Bengal would be made to conform to a uniformly high standard.

The requirements for degrees in the professions were also to be based on curriculums resembling those at the University of London.<sup>12</sup> As a necessary corollary to the introduction of degrees in the professions (medicine, law and civil engineering) the Wood Despatch stated that professorships were to be set up in connection with the proposed university; for the Medical College was the only specialist institution in existence.

The Court of Directors elaborated on this question in another Despatch dated 13 September 1854. In this Despatch the Court sanctioned a scheme submitted by the Council of Education--prior to the arrival of the Wood Despatch--which included provisions for professional studies. The Council of Education had proposed to reconstruct the basis of higher education in Calcutta: up to that point the inefficiency of the Calcutta Madrassa and the exclusiveness of the Hindu College--the two main government colleges in Calcutta--had precluded the extension of higher education to the majority of the community. The

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., CXXXV-CXXXVIII.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., Appendices G, H, I, CLIII-CLXVI.

inefficiency of the Calcutta Madrasa largely centred around the unwillingness of the Muhamadan community to accept western learning; and the exclusiveness of the Hindu College was the result of its management committee's policy which excluded lower caste Hindus and members of other creeds from the College. Up to that time the Government had unofficially endorsed this policy by financially supporting these colleges, and by providing no facilities for other members of the community.

By 1854 the Council felt that, owing to these limitations, new developments were urgently needed in higher education. It proposed therefore, to establish a new college which would be opened to all persons of all castes and creeds, and which would combine with a general course of education, special courses of medicine, engineering, and law. This college, to be known as the Presidency College, was, until the erection of a suitable building, to replace the Senior Department of the Hindu College. At the same time, the Council was fully aware that some consideration would have to be given to the socio-religious norms of the Hindu community. It thus decided to leave the junior section of the College in the hands of its old Hindu managers. In this way then the Presidency College would provide a government centre of higher learning in Calcutta.<sup>13</sup>

This project, coming when it did, tied in neatly with

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<sup>13</sup>Court of Directors to the Government of India, 13 September, Selections from the Records of the Government of India, op. cit., No. 29, p. 11.

the proposals of the Wood Despatch; for it provided the means whereby university courses could be standardized for other colleges; and it obviated the necessity of setting up professorships for the professions. Consequently the curriculum of the new Presidency College was set up according to the proposals of the university committee which were finally sanctioned by the Government of India on the 12 December 1856.<sup>14</sup>

At the same time the Government also appointed a vice-chancellor and a senate (both English and Indian) to carry out the duties of administration of the university and to pass other rules as might be necessary. (See Appendix B for names of Senate members.)<sup>15</sup> In March 1857, the first entrance examination was held; and one hundred and fifty-six candidates from twenty-nine anglo-vernacular schools were admitted to university courses. At the same time five Government Colleges--Presidency, Hooghly, Dacca, Krishnagar, and Berhampore--and six Private Colleges--Doveton, St. Paul's, Free Church Institution, La Martiniere, London Missionary Institution, and Serampore--were affiliated to the University.<sup>16</sup> For the best students scholarships were made available. Prior to 1854 scholarships

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<sup>14</sup>Resolution by the Government of India, 12 December 1856, Papers Relating to the Establishment of the Universities, op. cit., ?.

<sup>15</sup>The senate completed the by-laws on 5 September 1857.

<sup>16</sup>G.R.P.I. for 1856-57, op. cit., p. 2.

had been awarded only to the more wealthy students, but in accordance with the principles laid down in the Wood Despatch this was changed, and the opportunity to compete for scholarships was extended to all those who wished to avail themselves of it. For those students who passed their entrance examination 178 junior scholarships at Rs. 8 per month were made available, while for those who had completed two years study towards a degree 24 government and 11 private senior scholarships ranging from Rs. 8 per month to Rs. 40 per month were made available. Thus was added the finishing touch to the long awaited university scheme.<sup>17</sup>

The development of post-secondary education during this period, however, was not without its problems. The idea of extending education to all classes of people for example, was a direct affront to the Hindu Caste system, for higher castes, according to Hindu religious laws, were not to associate with members of the lower castes. This feeling was strongly in evidence in 1854, when the Council of Education set about reorganizing the Hindu College; for the College had, up to that time, been the domain of upper-caste Hindus. Babu Ausootosh Dey, a member of the management Committee of the College, opposed the proposed change. He stated that

however enlightened and liberal may be the views of

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<sup>17</sup>G.R.P.I. for 1855-56, op. cit., Appendix B.

individual Hindus, the generality of them especially the Higher classes, with very few exceptions, are very scrupulous, so that they would not willingly place their children to be entrusted under the same roof with children of all castes and creeds.<sup>18</sup>

This and similar arguments had little effect, however, for the Council went ahead with its plan, and when the Wood Despatch was delivered it clearly stated that higher education was to be opened to all classes and creeds.<sup>19</sup> Upper Caste Hindus quickly adjusted to this change. In the first place, members of the lower castes were precluded from higher education for they could ill afford the expense involved. But the Hindu adjusted essentially because he was prepared to compromise to a great degree in order to acquire the higher education which could lead to government employment. This attitude of compromise was also in evidence in the Hindu domination of the Civil Engineering and Medical Colleges, for the Hindu was also traditionally opposed to active involvement in the physical sciences. Yet in many cases his adjustment to the new conditions ended with his college training. For instance, it was stated by the Medical Board in 1856 that

it has become evident that the caste prejudice of this class of Native Doctor [Brahman] in many cases interferes much with their efficiency...the unreasonable refusal of Juddo Nauth Mookerjee, almost immediately upon his appointment to Beerbhoom to open dead bodies upon the

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<sup>18</sup>Papers Relating to the Establishment of the Presidency College (Calcutta: 1854), No. 1348, p. 300.

<sup>19</sup>The Court of Directors to the Government of India, 19 July 1854, op. cit., par. 39.

pretext that he would thereby lose caste and his subsequent desertion from the station.<sup>20</sup>

For this reason, the Medical Board recommended that subsequent candidates for the Medical College be drawn from lower castes.<sup>21</sup> As previously noted however, financial exigencies made this largely impossible, and the Faculty of Medicine remained the province of upper castes who lost their prejudices very slowly.

While the Hindu compromised, often resentfully, members of <sup>the</sup> Muslim religion were more intransigent. In fact they were openly hostile to western learning. The centre of Muslim learning in Bengal--the Calcutta Madrassa--had, since its inception in 1781, resisted all Government pressure to reform its curriculum. Originally established to educate Muslim officers for the Courts of Judicature, it had gradually become a religious centre in which Muslim students performed public prayers, exhortations, and funeral ceremonies for deceased Muslims.<sup>22</sup> Indeed they were so strongly tied to these practices that they tended to ignore their formal lessons at the Madrassa; while attempts to reform this institution merely increased the antipathy of the Muslims. In fact, in 1850 when Dr. Sprenger--the newly appointed principal--attempted to carry out reforms

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<sup>20</sup>The Medical Board to the Government of Bengal, 10 December 1855, B.P.C., Range 14, Vol. 63 (1 May 1856), No. 104.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.,

<sup>22</sup>Papers Relating to The Establishment of The Presidency College, op. cit., pp. 340-342.

he precipitated a general rebellion in the college, among both students and teachers. In spite of this resistance, the Council of Education decided to overhaul the structure. It did so, by replacing the Anglo-Arabic and the English Departments--both of which were highly unpopular--with an Anglo-Persian Department. At the same time, it retained the Arabic Department. In this way it was hoped that Muslim students, while continuing to study Arabic, would also be guided towards western learning in the new department.<sup>23</sup>

In the ensuing years, however, little progress was made, and the leading Muslims remained opposed to the idea of westernized education.. One reason for their antipathy was their intense pride in their own literature--a literature closely related to their religion--and another was their hatred of the English education, which they closely associated with the demise of their empire. Moreover, they considered English education to be part of a plot to convert them to Christianity.<sup>24</sup> The antagonism of the Muhammadan was most succinctly described by G. Lewis, the Principal of the Dacca College, when he wrote that

since my connexion with this college, I have known but one Mahomedan youth who has evinced a decidedly lively interest in his studies. But he poor fellow, died young,

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., pp. 361-375.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 340.

and it was of course published that he fell victim to the study of English. If he had not read English, his fate would have been more happy. Mahomedan children generally come covered with charms to guard them from the disease so prevalent in the English school room...altogether I think the prospect of educating the Mahomedans in English a gloomy one.<sup>25</sup>

By 1858 the education department had realized with disappointment its complete failure to penetrate the Muhammadan community. Young angrily proclaimed that the learned Muhammadan in Bengal was a man

of extremely narrow, prejudiced and bigoted views even of the subject of Arabic learning itself...Of science he knows nothing, and does not believe in it when it is explained to him...as a politician he abhors with consistent zeal the domination of infidels; and as a theologian he is barren, credulous, and casuistical.<sup>26</sup>

This statement, of course, reveals as much about the English imperialistic mind of this time with its fervent belief in its own intellectual, religious and political superiority, as it does about the opposition of the Muhammadan mind to western ideas. For these reasons then, little progress was made--at least from the English point of view--in Muslim education during the period in question.

In addition to the cultural difficulties finance was a pressing problem, for the expansion of higher education was expensive. Between 1854-55 and 1857-58 the annual expenditure

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 378.

<sup>26</sup>General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Presidency of Bengal for 1857-58, op. cit., p. 13.

increased from Rs. 693,692 to Rs. 1,046,047.<sup>27</sup> Of this amount more than eighty percent was spent on higher education, and over half of this was absorbed by the new Presidency College. This disproportionate expenditure on the Presidency College precipitated a difference in opinion as to educational policy in Bengal. Whereas the Government of India seemed intent on establishing a University in Calcutta equivalent to the one in London, the Government of Bengal and its Education Department felt that this project should not be carried out at the expense of elementary vernacular education. The Bengal authorities felt that, higher education, with the exception of the professional colleges, should be either self-supporting or a part of the grant-in-aid system. In 1857, shortly after the Government of India had ordered that all public works cease (as a result of the Mutiny), Young urged that the proposed building for the Presidency College be permanently terminated. He argued that the planned Presidency College did not seem to be

altogether consistent with the fundamental principles laid down in the Education Despatch regarding Public Professorships, the Grant-in-aid system, the gradual abolition of Government Education Institutions in places where private ones are ready to take their place and so forth. Nor is it by any means clear to me in what way all these can be considered parts of the one consistent whole,<sup>28</sup> or be made to work successfully and harmoniously together.

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<sup>27</sup> See G.R.P.I. for 1854-55, op. cit., CVIII; for 1855-56, op. cit., Appendix D; for 1856-57, op. cit., Appendix D; and for 1857-58, op. cit., Appendix E.

<sup>28</sup> G.R.P.I. for 1856-57, op. cit., p. 2.

He then pointed out that Government schools and colleges whether they be high or low, should not be regarded as permanent institutions and that they should gradually be transformed into private institutions. The policy of the Government of India was not, he asserted, in accord with these principles, for it was essentially concerned with building and supporting an elaborate Presidency College. This, as Young stated, was totally inconsistent with the policy outlined in the Wood Despatch; especially as there were a number of private colleges in and around Calcutta capable of providing higher education. He concluded, therefore, that conditions favoured a gradual withdrawal of government aid in this area of education.<sup>29</sup>

Young's remarks were endorsed by two leading missionary educators: The Rev. A. Duff and Mr. G. Smith. They submitted that the policy of the Government of India was directly opposite to that of the Wood Despatch in that it contradicted the rules of the grant-in-aid system.<sup>30</sup> The Court of Directors also expressed similar sentiments in a letter dated 19 August 1856. Referring to the heavy cost of the proposed site for the Presidency College the Court stated that

at a time when...there is such an urgent demand for the pecuniary assistance of Government in the promotion of education among the masses of population, we should regard

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., pp. 2-3.

<sup>30</sup> See Chapter VI for further discussion of this question.

it as a flagrant waste of public money, were a design sanctioned for any college in Calcutta at an expense at all approaching the sum of twenty lacs of rupees /Rs. 2,000,000/31

The Court of Directors, also took the Government of India to task for purchasing land costing Rs. 550,000 for the Presidency College.<sup>32</sup>

Before the Government of India could be forced to change its policy, however, the Mutiny erupted, and, as has been noted in the previous chapter, this event caused the Court of Directors to radically alter its policy towards elementary education.<sup>33</sup> Indeed in relating the Mutiny to elementary education, the Court assumed that higher education had been ignored. It therefore decided that the Government of Bengal should revert to Bentinck's Downward Filtration Theory and should concentrate on higher education.<sup>34</sup> Aside from the shock of the Mutiny, part of the reason for this drastic change in policy was the presence of new leaders in the Board of Control in England. Lord Ellenborough its President, and Sir George Clerk, its Secretary, were opposed in principle to the policy which had been outlined by Wood and Baring. Ellenborough believed

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<sup>31</sup>Court of Directors to the Government of India, 19 August 1856, Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department, op. cit., No. 36, p. 74.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>See Chapters IV and VI for further discussion of this question.

<sup>34</sup>Court of Directors to the Government of India, 28 April 1858, G.R.P.I. for 1857-58, op. cit., p. 25.

that education in India should be confined to the upper castes.<sup>35</sup> Sir George Clerk, who was Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces until 1843, was also opposed to some of the essential principles of the Wood Despatch, especially the grant-in-aid system.<sup>36</sup> For these reasons then, the Court suddenly changed its policy and allowed the Government of India to implement its project for the Presidency College.

However, the Presidency College did not remain unaffected by the Mutiny, for in May 1858 the Court of Directors issued a Despatch prohibiting further increases in expenditure on education.<sup>37</sup> As a result the Presidency College, which was in the process of expansion, was obliged to raise its fees from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 per month--an unpopular step with the Bengal elite. The British India Association, which regarded higher education as the most important factor in developing a political intelligentsia in Bengal, protested strongly against this move. It pointed out to the Government that while the Presidency College students were drawn from the higher castes they were far from wealthy.<sup>38</sup> These remarks were similar to ones made by

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<sup>35</sup>See A. H. Imlah Lord Ellenborough (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939) for Ellenborough's attitudes toward education in India.

<sup>36</sup>G.R.P.I. in the Lower Provinces of the Presidency of Bengal for 1857-58, op. cit., pp. 35-34.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>38</sup>British India Association to Government of Bengal, 29 June 1858, Bengal Education Proceedings (hereafter referred to as B.E.P.), Range 15, Vol. 64 (7 April 1859), Nos. 7 and 20.

Inspector Woodrow, who claimed that sons of wealthy families rarely passed their entrance examination, as they had neither the desire nor the energy to apply themselves to their studies. Conversely he suggested that those who entered the College did so because a superior English education enabled them to secure a good position with the public service. In spite of these petitions, the fee remained at Rs. 10 per month, for the Government could not afford to give any more support to the Presidency College.<sup>39</sup> The essential problem then, given the amount of money available, was the unrealistic plan for developing an elaborate Presidency College; for not only had it deprived elementary education of necessary funds, but it had also created an institution which even its higher caste students found difficult to support.

This problem of finance was also manifest in other colleges in Bengal, both government and private. The Government of India had attempted to set a standard in the University of Calcutta similar to that of the University of London, a standard which the other colleges had also to achieve if they were to provide candidates for university examinations. This, of course, necessitated financing facilities beyond their means with the result that the majority of students that sat for examinations were unable to pass. Consequently, in 1859,

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<sup>39</sup>H. Woodrow to Education Department, September 1858, B.E.P., op. cit., No. 13.

the University Senate was compelled to lower the standard for all examinations.<sup>40</sup> In retrospect then, it would have been wiser to have spent less and not to have expected such high standards from higher education as was originally done. On the other hand, this problem of finance could easily have been solved if the Government had been prepared to increase its expenditure on education. For, although it had substantially increased its expenditure after 1854, its outlay, when compared to other spheres of administration was still very small. In fact, educational funds during this period amounted to less than one percent of the Governments total expenditure. By comparison, the army absorbed twenty-five percent.

In spite of these difficulties, however, the results of higher education during this period were far reaching. The long delayed university scheme was at last sanctioned and by March 1859 its third entrance examination and its second Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Law examinations had been held. Its progress--in spite of the Mutiny--was encouraging. By providing a base for professional studies the scheme also directed higher education towards more practical spheres of education for the first time. Nor was the impulse given by the university to higher education confined to collegiate students; for the annual university entrance examination soon became the standard by which

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<sup>40</sup>General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Presidency of Bengal for 1858-59, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

every anglo-vernacular school throughout Bengal regulated its curriculum. Whether a boy was able to study at the university or not, success in the entrance examination was regarded almost as positive proof that he had made proper use of his schooling, and that he was suited for employment with the public service.

Directly related to this increased desire for an English education, of course, was the expansion of the anglo-vernacular schools under the grant-in-aid system. In the four year period from 1854-1859 the number of anglo-vernacular schools increased from 47 to 156 and the number of pupils from 7,412 to 15,781. But, as was the case in elementary vernacular education, the majority of these schools were to be found in districts close to Calcutta--Burdwan, Hooghly, Twenty-Four Parganas, Nuddea, and Jessore--in fact, eighty percent of those sitting for the entrance examination came from these districts.<sup>41</sup>

The most significant result of this expansion was the emergence of an educated elite. Most historians loosely refer to this class as being composed of upper and middle class Hindus;<sup>42</sup> yet given the distinctive cultural system of India, it hardly seems adequate to describe this group in Western terminology.<sup>43</sup> Essentially India can be culturally subdivided

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., Appendix D.

<sup>42</sup> See B. Misra, The Indian Middle Classes (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

<sup>43</sup> T. B. Bottomore, Elite and Society (New York: Penguin Publications, 1964).

into two major religious bodies--Hindus and Muhammadans--and a number of minor religious bodies such as the Jains, Parsees, and Sikhs. As has been noted, the Mahomedans did not readily accept western learning--with the result that most of the students were drawn from the Hindu community. The social structure of this community was a mosaic of complex interrelationships commonly known as the caste system.

This sociological jigsaw puzzle, and the lack--in education reports--of any systematic breakdown of the figures into castes, precludes a comprehensive analysis of the social base of the educated elite. Nevertheless, examination of occasional analyses of castes made by inspectors and principals of colleges and schools enables one to come to some general conclusion as to which Hindus were being educated in the anglo-vernacular schools and colleges during this period.<sup>44</sup> Although the banyas (merchant) caste formed a significant minority in a number of cases, higher education was largely the province of the higher orders of caste. Anglo-vernacular schools were populated for the most part, by vakils (lawyers) and amlahs (government officers) essentially from the Brahmanical order and the kayasth (writer) caste from the Kshatriya order. In the colleges the same two groups were again prominent with the

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<sup>44</sup>These conclusions are drawn from occasional breakdowns into caste grouping in the Annual Reports of H. Woodrow and E. Harrison.

Brahmans in the majority. Yet as has been noted previously, these groups were not wealthy. In fact, they looked to education as a means of acquiring wealth, for an English education provided the avenue to employment with the government. Such was the singular importance of this factor that it was argued that

if employment requiring educated men can be found for five percent of the entire population, the progress of education will never be checked until it reaches, or rather until it somewhat overflows that level.<sup>45</sup>

Other changes also accompanied the spread of western learning. The 'moral progress' that the Wood Despatch had hoped might be effected as a result of education was partially achieved, and public abuses such as the oppression of ryots (peasants) by zamindars (landlords), the corruption of amlahs (government officers), and police methods of torturing prisoners were on the decrease by 1859.<sup>46</sup> In addition, a number of superstitious rites associated with Hinduism were being questioned. The reduction of traditional abuses within Indian society was to a certain extent, however, counteracted by the introduction

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<sup>45</sup>"Education in Bengal," Calcutta Review XL (1864), P. 145.

<sup>46</sup>If the British had hoped that this 'moral' regeneration would eventually lead to a large scale conversion to Christianity, they were sadly mistaken; for western learning not only opened the doors to Christianity, it also furnished the key to the eighteenth century philosophers (Voltaire, Hume, Rousseau etc.) Strongly influenced by these thinkers most of the Hindus who revoked their religion did so for Deism, and not for Christianity. In fact, in later years the educated elite used their polished intellect to defend Hinduism and to question finer points of Christian theology.

of new ones. One contemporary Englishman, for example, found it rather disturbing that

the causation...between Shakespeare and drunkenness, between English literature and intoxication is overwhelming indeed. Is not Shakespeare the English poet, are not the English one of the most drunken nations in Europe? English literature is engrafted in India; at once a race of wine drinking Baboos are emerging and spouting Goldsmith and declaiming with Burke.<sup>47</sup>

Drunkenness then, was said to have increased with the spread of western learning.

The most far reaching effect of higher education, however, was undoubtedly socio-polical in nature, for by creating an educated elite the British Government had introduced a powerful reforming group into a society previously lacking such an element. As has been noted previously, this element had its roots in the 1820's with Raja Romohun Roy; yet it was not until this elite acquired a substantial base of educated men with the expansion of western learning in the 1850's, that it emerged as an influential force in Indian society. Even then it was not generally recognized as such, although a few observers were perceptive enough to note that this group was potentially the most powerful force in society. Indeed by 1859, all socio-political movements in Bengal could be related to the development of western learning.

In the beginning this educated elite had adopted the

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<sup>47</sup>"Education in Bengal," op. cit., p. 148.

superficial manners and customs of the British, but eventually it began to seriously examine the import of western ideas. Such works as Montesquieu's Spirit of the Laws, and Mill's writings on liberal utilitarian ideas were not quickly forgotten; in fact, their practical implications for Bengal itself were becoming obvious. The avowed policy of the British Government was to treat all races and all classes of its subjects with strict equality, and it was here that the educated elite was able to demand changes in Bengal; for this doctrine of equality was not strictly adhered to by the Government of India. In the first place, Europeans were accorded special privileges, (such as trial only by a Presidency Court), which were a violation of this principle of equality. Then too the Government showed a marked preference for Europeans in its choice of officials (as made evident by the formation of a class of Covenanted Civil Servants chosen entirely from England.) It was clear that as the numbers and influence of the educated elite increased these were the sort of issues into which they would direct their energy.

By 1859 this new force was manifested in the emergence of strong all Indian associations and journals.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> For a more complete examination of these questions see N. S. Bose, The Indian Awakening and Bengal (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1960); and H. M. Ghose, The Newspaper in India (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1858).

The British India Association, for example, had as its major objective--as previously noted--a more important role for Indians in the government of their country. A vigorous Indian press headed by the Hindoo Patriot used all the power of the English language to attack English racial exclusiveness and the failure of the Government to protect Indian rights. Starting from the premise that reforms could take place within the boundaries of the law, these bodies had begun to set in motion all the powers of argument and persuasion, of intellect and judgment, freedom of speech and pertinacity, agitation and association, and thus to fight the battle of their claims wherever they had even a remotely convincing ground for doing so. In this way then, the spread of western learning not only upset the social structure of India, it also provided the political rationale for modern India's independence.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE GRANT-IN-AID SCHEME

The crux of the new education system was the grant-in-aid scheme, for it was upon this scheme that any large expansion of education eventually depended. Based on the liberal-utilitarian idea that education should not be solely the responsibility of the Government, it was designed to be supported by a combination of government and private resources.<sup>1</sup> This grant-in-aid system, the Despatch stated, was meant to encourage self-reliance in the Indian people and to foster progress in educational activities. At the same time, it was not to be considered a permanent measure, but rather, the means whereby the Indian people would eventually support education without the aid of the Government.

The principles outlined in the Wood Despatch then, were shaped to meet these requirements. To qualify for government grants schools were required to have adequate local management; they were to demand a small fee from their pupils, to be judged on the basis of the standard of secular education, and to submit their records to the Government for regular inspection. Beyond these few general observations the Despatch was not very explicit

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<sup>1</sup> Court of Directors to Government of India, 19 July 1854, Parliamentary Papers, XLVII, No. 49, par. 51.

in outlining what schools were to be eligible for aid. Indeed it declared that these principles were to be applied alike to "all schools and institutions, whether male or female, anglo-vernacular or vernacular."<sup>2</sup> In a subsequent paragraph however, it stated that patsalas (indigenous village schools) would need additional aid; for they had neither the facilities nor the funds to provide a good elementary education.

The Government of India, as has been noted, saw little need to elaborate on these principles. Accordingly, when it delivered its orders to the Government of Bengal on 26 January 1855 it charged the provincial government with setting up a scheme to suit local conditions.<sup>3</sup> Halliday was particularly interested in the grant-in-aid scheme, realizing as he did, that it was crucial to the development of education in Bengal. He observed that if this scheme was to succeed, its regulations would have to be limited; for in most parts of Bengal people were indifferent--in certain areas they were even hostile--to education, and were not likely to accept readily the idea of developing education in conjunction with the government. With this in mind, he drew up for grants-in-aid a set of rules which would best suit the needs of Bengal. In essence, they were

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pars. 52-62.

<sup>3</sup>Government of India to Government of Bengal, 26 January 1855, B.P.C., Range 14, Vol. 52 (15 March 1855), No. 114.

similar to those suggested in the Despatch. In the case of patsalas (indigenous village schools), however, he felt that the payment of fees should not be an arbitrary rule; for he recognized, as had been done in the Despatch, that these schools were in need of extra support.<sup>4</sup> He subsequently forwarded a copy of his proposed rules to various European and Indian educators.

Missionaries who were consulted on this question were divided in their opinions. Those from the London Missionary Society and the Baptist Missionary Society declined to offer any suggestions, as their societies were part of a "dissenting" tradition which believed that it was the role of voluntary organizations rather than the State to provide education. Missionaries from the Church Missionary Society, on the other hand, welcomed Halliday's proposals and suggested that the rules could be further liberalized.<sup>5</sup> One of its leading members, the Reverend J. Long, succinctly described the inherent dangers of applying the grant-in-aid rules too stringently to elementary vernacular schools.

The mass of the people he declared

were too ignorant to understand the evils of ignorance and too poor even if they did to be able to remove them.

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<sup>4</sup>Minute by F. Halliday, February 1855, B.P.C., Range 14, Vol. 52 (25 March 1855), No. 122.

<sup>5</sup>Reverend J. Long to F. Halliday, March 1855, B.P.C., Range 14, Vol. 54 (25 May 1855), No. 111.

Thirty millions of people using the Bengali language are immersed in the deepest ignorance no rays of historic or geographic light ever penetrates its gloom.<sup>6</sup>

Long went on to point out that in light of these conditions the majority of Indian people were not likely to subscribe to a fee paying scheme, nor were the zamindars interested in supplying funds to educate the lower castes. As a result he concluded that if the grant-in-aid scheme was to develop elementary vernacular education successfully subscriptions would have to be lowered and a more discretionary approach taken toward fees. Anticipating the Government's objection to an increased financial burden, he suggested that anglo-vernacular schools, which would be readily supported by the more prosperous Indians, should contribute more money for their upkeep, leaving the government with extra funds to develop elementary vernacular education.<sup>7</sup> Although Long's suggestions were endorsed by most of the Indian and European secular educators whom Halliday had consulted on this question, Halliday felt obliged to work within the framework set down by the Court of Directors in the Wood Despatch. He therefore forwarded his proposed set of rules to the Government of India for its approval.

Whereas Long and others felt that Halliday's proposed rules could be made more liberal, the Government of India

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., No. 113.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

claimed that he had interpreted the principles of the Despatch too freely. It stated that the Court of Directors had laid down the principle that students should pay fees, as an absolute rule.<sup>8</sup> As such, it stated that Halliday's proposal that fees should not be an arbitrary rule was unacceptable. It then proceeded to lay down a set of rules which were as follows:

1. The Local Government at its discretion and upon such conditions as may seem fit in each case, reference being had to the requirements of each district as compared with others, and to the funds at the disposal of Government, will grant aid in money, books or otherwise, to any school in which a good Secular Education is given through the medium of English or the Vernacular tongue, to males or females or both, and which is under adequate local management.

2. In respect of any such school for which application for aid is made full information must be supplied on the following points.

- I. The pecuniary resources, permanent and temporary on which the school depends for support.
- II. The average annual expenditure of the school.
- III. The average number of pupils instructed, the ages of the pupils and the average duration of their attendance at the school.
- IV. The persons responsible for the management and permanence of the school, and the time for which they will continue to be responsible.
- V. The nature and course of instruction imparted.
- VI. The number, names and salaries of the Masters and Mistresses and subjects taught by each.
- VII. The books in use in the several classes of the school.
- VIII. The nature and amount of aid sought and the purpose to which it is to be supplied.

3. Any school to which aid may be given shall be at all times open to inspection and examination, together with all its accounts books and other records, by any officer appointed

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<sup>8</sup>The Government of India conveniently ignored paragraph 60 of the Wood Despatch in which it was clearly stated that a more liberal approach ought to be taken towards elementary schools.

by the Local Government for the purpose. Such inspection and examination shall have no reference to religious instruction but only the Secular Education.

4. The Government will not in any manner interfere with the actual management of a school thus aided, but will seek upon the frequent reports of its inspectors, to judge from results, whether a good secular education is practically imparted, or not and it will withdraw its aid from any school which may be for any considerable period unfavourably reported upon in this respect.

5. In giving grants-in-aid the Government will observe the following general principles. Grants-in-aid will be given to those schools only, with the exception of normal schools, at which some fee however small is required from the Scholars, and wherever it is possible to do so, they will be appropriated to specific objects, according to the peculiar wants of each school and district.

6. No grant will in any case exceed in amount the sum expended in the institution from private sources and the Government will always endeavour so to give its aid that the effect shall not be the substitution of public for private expenditure, but the increase and improvement of education.

7. It is distinctly understood that grants-in-aid will be awarded only on the principle of perfect religious neutrality, and that no preference will be given to any school on the ground that any particular religious doctrines are taught or not taught therein.<sup>9</sup>

As the Government of India was the supreme authority in British India, its rules prevailed and the education department was obliged to operate the grant-in-aid scheme according to these rules. In the ensuing months, however, it became evident that these rules were far from ideally suited to the situation in

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<sup>9</sup>Government of India to Government of Bengal, July, B.P.C., Range 15, Vol. 55 (19 July 1855), No. 112.

Bengal. Indeed, as Halliday had predicted, they proved to be viable only for anglo-vernacular or secondary schools; and by May 1856 these schools had absorbed over seventy percent of the allotted grants. The elementary vernacular schools operating within this scheme were, for the most part, located in or about Calcutta. In fact, five districts of Calcutta--Burdwan, Hooghly, Jessore, Nuddea, and Twenty-Four Parganas--accounted for sixty-six percent of the grants given to elementary vernacular schools. The main reason for this was that in these districts education had been fairly well developed in the past, and the people willingly supported educational activities. In the districts some distance from Calcutta, however, educational operations had been virtually non-existent up to 1854, and the people were not prepared to meet the stringent conditions of the grant-in-aid rules--especially for elementary vernacular schools.<sup>10</sup> It was therefore, as Young pointed out, "not possible to devise any set of rules that shall be found equally applicable to all parts, to Calcutta and Assam, to Hazareebangh and Hooghly."<sup>11</sup>

As a result of the failure of the grant-in-aid scheme to stimulate elementary vernacular education, Young requested that the rules be modified. The primary concern of the Wood Despatch, he pointed out, was to see that every aided school

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<sup>10</sup> G.R.P.I. for 1855-56, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

derived support from local resources in a certain specific proportion, in addition to aid derived from the state. He claimed, therefore, that it mattered little whether the local contributions came in the form of fees as long as the people themselves were induced to pay a fair proportion of its costs. This he concluded, would serve the purpose of building up a spirit of self-reliance in the Indian people and would thus fulfil the fundamental principle of the grant-in-aid system.

Young's suggestions found strong support in special reports written on elementary vernacular education by the inspectors of schools. In these reports the inspectors declared that the system of grants-in-aid had failed as a means of disseminating elementary vernacular education among the people, and that unless the present rules were modified it would continue to fail. Pratt observed that

the mass of the population cannot possibly be affected so long as the Government limits its assistance by the terms and conditions laid down in the grant-in-aid rules. It appears to me that such rules are out of place in a country where the value of Education is utterly unfelt by the mass of the people, for the rules presume the highest appreciation of the value of education.<sup>12</sup>

According to Woodrow grant-in-aid rules "have failed and will utterly fail for purely vernacular schools."<sup>13</sup> In Assam Robinson noted that grants-in-aid "have not been so generally

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<sup>12</sup>G.R.P.I. for 1856-57, op. cit., p. 23.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

applied as far as perhaps it might have been expected."<sup>14</sup> And in Patna, Harrison had not been able to establish a single elementary vernacular school under the grant-in-aid system.<sup>15</sup> The opinion that grant-in-aid rules for elementary vernacular schools were inadequate was shared not only by the inspectors and the Director of Public Instruction, but by everyone directly engaged or interested in the development of education in Bengal. Indeed in view of the fact that the Despatch directed that special emphasis be given to elementary vernacular education (especially in Bengal), these criticisms seem to have been justified.

The Government of India, which by this time was mainly concerned with establishing a university in connection with the new Presidency College, refused to change the rules. Consequently by 1857, with the exception of the five districts in and around Calcutta--Burdwan, Hooghly, Jessore, Nuddea, Twenty-Four Parganas--there was an average of only one aided school per district. Indeed, in eighteen of the forty districts in Bengal not a single elementary vernacular school had been brought under the rules of the scheme.<sup>16</sup> Conversely, anglo-vernacular schools had grown considerably in number under this scheme.

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

This marked failure of the scheme to provide the necessary means for the development of elementary vernacular education led Young to conclude that the Government of India must act on one of two alternatives. As he saw it, the Government could either abolish the grant-in-aid scheme completely and substitute some other system for it, or it could modify the rules so as to bring a greater number of schools into its framework. Young preferred the latter course; for he felt that the principle on which the rules were based seemed very sound. He claimed that slight modifications would rectify the prevailing deficiencies in the system. In the first place, he suggested that no distinction ought to be made between school fees and other private sources of income. Secondly, he stated that all English and Anglo-vernacular schools, as well as the elementary vernacular schools in the four districts around Calcutta, should continue to subscribe one-half of the entire cost of the school. And lastly, he proposed that for elementary vernacular schools in all other districts, the rules ought to be so modified as to vest in the Government a discretionary power to adapt the amount of the grant to the peculiar circumstances of the school, provided, however, that it in no case exceed three-quarters of the entire cost of the school.<sup>17</sup>

Halliday endorsed Young's remarks and submitted them to

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

the Government of India for its approval; for he assumed by then that the failure of the grant-in-aid scheme, as set down by the Government of India, would have been apparent. But, as previously noted, the Government of India had by this time committed itself to an elaborate programme for the development of the Presidency College. Consequently, it refused, once again, to make the rules more liberal. This disproportionate expenditure on the Presidency College was strongly criticized by two leading private educators: G. Smith, the Principal of the Doveton Missionary School, and the Reverend A. Duff who was, as has previously been noted, very influential in shaping the policy of the Wood Despatch. They claimed that the Presidency College ought to be brought under the grant-in-aid scheme, or that it ought to be, like the private colleges, left to its own independent resources.<sup>18</sup> Young, in submitting these opinions to the Government of India, pointed out that he had suggested on previous occasions that its policy of direct support of the Presidency College was in antithesis to the principles laid down in the Wood Despatch--the combining of private and government resources for the development of education, and the general withdrawal of government aid from institutions of higher learning. At the same time, he alluded to another ideal set down in the Wood Despatch--the principle that elementary education was to be given special attention in

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<sup>18</sup>G.R.P.I. for 1857-58, op. cit., Appendix D, p. 37.

Bengal.<sup>19</sup>

In spite of these repeated requests to make the grant-in-aid scheme more viable, the question remained unresolved. Indeed, in order that elementary vernacular education might be developed, Young was forced to provisionally sanction applications for grants to eighty-four elementary vernacular schools, which were unable to meet the strict requirements set down by the Government. He hoped that the Government of India when presented with this proposal would accept it as a special case.<sup>20</sup> Halliday endorsed Young's proposal and subsequently submitted it to the Government of India on the 9 October 1857. This letter was not answered until the 15 February 1858, when the Government of India refused to sanction the pending applications.

In the intervening period however, a Despatch dated September 1857, had arrived from the Court of Directors in which they expressed the opinion that

at present as regards vernacular schools it might be sufficient to require that the amount of local contributions from all sources should equal the government grant.<sup>21</sup>

It seemed evident then, that the Government of India would have to alter its rules. Indeed in another Despatch delivered in July 1857 it would seem that the Government of India had too

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., op. cit., pp.5-6.

<sup>20</sup>G. Young to Government of Bengal, July 1857, I.E.C., Range 188, Vol. 73 (3 December 1858), No. 5.

<sup>21</sup>Court of Directors to Government of India, 18 September 1857, I.E.C., Range 188, Vol. 73 (3 December 1858), No. 5.

arbitrarily interpreted the principle of grants-in-aid, for in this Despatch the Court of Directors stated that

the time has arrived when the amount available for such grants may be fixed on a consideration of the reasonable requirements of each presidency, and not on the merely arbitrary grounds which have hitherto been assumed, the mode in which it is sought to promote vernacular education differs widely in the several presidencies, and the extent to which the contributions of the Government will be required under the grant-in-aid rules will vary in corresponding degree.<sup>22</sup>

By the time Halliday had received the orders of the Government of India of 15 February 1858, he had sanctioned Young's application for grants to eighty-four elementary vernacular schools on the basis of the Despatch of September 1857. Upon informing the Government of India of this action he was told that the statement in the Despatch concerning grants-in-aid was no more than an incidental remark--an indication of opinion by the Court of Directors, not an order meant to be put into effect.<sup>23</sup>

This reply did not satisfy Halliday and he questioned the action of the Government of India. He stated that he could not understand why some of the opinions of the Court communicated to him in the Despatch were meant to be regarded as no more than mere remarks, while others were meant to be acted on, whereas

<sup>22</sup>Court of Directors to Government of India, 15 July 1857, Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department, op. cit., No. 96, p. 70.

<sup>23</sup>Government of India to Government of Bengal, 19 February 1858, I.E.C., Range 188, Vol. 73, (3 September 1858), No. 1.

it was usual for the Government of India to deliver the Despatches from England, without any order for carrying them out. Such orders were only given, he added, in peculiar cases.<sup>24</sup>

The Government of India dealt at some length with Halliday's reply. It agreed that the Lieutenant-Governor appeared to have reason on his side when he said that he could hardly be expected to regard one of the paragraphs of the Despatch as merely opinion not to be acted upon, while regarding another as an order meant to be immediately carried out. On the other hand, it was pointed out that Halliday could hardly have regarded the Court of Directors' Despatch, which was delivered on the 18 September 1857, as an order superceding the orders of the Government of India, or he would not, on 9 October 1857, some days after he had received the Despatch, have requested to be instructed as to whether the prohibition of the Government of India was to be held applicable to the grants already recommended. From this the Government of India concluded that the imperative nature of the Despatch had not been recognized by the Government of Bengal when it was first received. It went on to censure Halliday for acting before he had received an answer to the letter of the 9 October. The Government therefore reprimanded him for sanctioning grants to the eighty-four elementary vernacular schools without its approval.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Government of Bengal to Government of India, April 1858, op. cit.

<sup>25</sup>Government of India to Government of Bengal, 7 May 1858, op. cit.

Halliday expressed concern over the general tenor of the attitude of the Government of India; for it seemed to him that his actions had been misconstrued. The assumption that he had written the letter dated 9 October 1857, after having received the Despatch, he claimed, was incorrect. He went on to point out that it was then a practice in the Bengal secretary's office (since altered), that ordinary Despatches (relating to a variety of subjects) were broken up into paragraphs according to subjects and departments, and were submitted piecemeal, to the secretaries, together with the references belonging to each paragraph or subject. The secretaries then submitted them separately to Halliday, or otherwise dealt with them as might seem fit. This process took some time, and in this instance the paragraphs of the Despatch, which were relevant to the subject of grants-in-aid did not arrive in the office of the Bengal Secretary, C. Buckland, until the 26 October. Even at that time, owing to the general policy then in operation, the extract by-passed the Lieutenant-Governor and was sent directly to the Director of Public Instruction; but as Young was away at the time he did not see it until he returned in January. Upon his return, however, he lost no time in pointing out to Halliday the bearing of the Despatch on the question of grants-in-aid. After receiving this notification, Halliday sanctioned the pending orders, a great majority of which were carried out before the arrival of the Government of India's letter of

15 February prohibiting such grants.<sup>26</sup> It would seem then, that Halliday's actions had been misconstrued by the Government of India, and the truth of this was shortly afterwards recognized when the Government of India extended its apologies to him, and sanctioned the grants-in-aid to the eighty-four elementary schools which he had approved. At the same time, the bureaucratic procedure of delivering Despatches to the Government of Bengal was clarified so that henceforth its policies would not clash with those of the Government of India.<sup>27</sup>

Although the Government of India sanctioned the grants which Halliday had approved--according to the more liberal interpretation given to this scheme by the Court of Directors in September 1857--it did not alter its original rules. The main reason for this, of course, was the reversal in policy by the Court of Directors. As has been noted, the Mutiny caused the Court, under the conservative leadership of Lord Ellenborough, to reconsider seriously the principles of the Wood Despatch. Along with elementary vernacular education, the grant-in-aid scheme was considered by the Court to have been partially responsible for the Mutiny, especially as it was used to develop elementary, female, and missionary education. In the first

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<sup>26</sup>Minute by F. J. Halliday, 15 September 1858, I.E.C., Range 188, Vol. 73 (3 December 1858), No. 2.

<sup>27</sup>Government of India to Government of Bengal, October 1858, I.E.C., Range 188, Vol. 73 (3 December 1858), Nos. 4-6.

place, the Court assumed that the Education Department had forcibly collected subscriptions from the Indian people in order to implement the grant-in-aid scheme for the development of elementary vernacular schools. Secondly, it suggested that females attending government schools did so involuntarily; for according to the Hindu religion female education was forbidden. Lastly, it claimed that the Education Department had alienated a large section of the Indian population through its support of missionary schools. It subsequently ordered that, in light of these developments, grants-in-aid should be confined to anglo-vernacular schools.<sup>28</sup>

To Young these views came, as a severe blow, particularly since the Directors in their Despatch of September 1857 had observed the necessity for a more liberal interpretation of the grant-in-aid scheme for Bengal. As he pointed out, although the grant-in-aid scheme had experienced limited success in the sphere of elementary vernacular education under the prevailing rules, it still remained the most obvious means of developing a desire for education and a spirit of self-reliance amongst the Indians. By modifying the regulations slightly, he declared, the grant-in-aid principle could--as the Wood Despatch had intended--become the pivot for the development of education in Bengal. The claim of the Court of Directors that this scheme

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<sup>28</sup>G.R.P.I. for 1857-58, op. cit., p. 24 ff.

had alienated the people from the government, he stated was absurd. With the exception of Bihar, Young continued there had been no evidence of the use of force; and even in this instance the Education Department had prevented the particular inspector (R. Chapman) from pursuing such a policy. Indeed, in those districts surrounding Calcutta the grant-in-aid scheme had successfully set up elementary vernacular schools, despite the strict rules. Female education, he claimed, had not been extensively developed except for the few schools which had been set up under the grant-in-aid scheme; and in these schools the majority of students were daughters of westernized Indians who voluntarily sent their children to them. Similarly, he pointed out, that the assumption that the Education Department had fostered Christianity by wholeheartedly supporting missionary schools was false. In fact, certain missionary organizations would have little to do with this scheme; for they did not desire government interference. Again, of the two hundred and two schools which had been given grants, only nineteen were run by missionaries; and in each case they had met the rules set down by the Government of India. He concluded by stressing the difficulties arising from the indecisive policy which he had been obliged to follow since the inception of the education department. Educational operations, he said, had seriously suffered as a result of the protracted discussions and differences of opinion which had beset the grant-in-aid

question.<sup>29</sup>

In endorsing these remarks Halliday added a minute, dated 1 October 1858, in which he submitted that his business, as Lieutenant-Governor, was not to assist in determining the general policy of the Government of India, but rather to carry into effect only such policy as the Government of India might think fit to adopt. According to the instructions he had received in 1855, he had hitherto been occupied in putting into effect the policy of 1854.<sup>30</sup> If a different policy was then to be decided upon, it would be his duty to give it effect as fully as possible. He observed that the ruling system of grants-in-aid had been prepared and carefully examined by the Government of India and finally sanctioned for the guidance of the Government of Bengal. The latter body, he said, had since acted upon these rules, and in only one particular had this scheme failed. Experience, he argued, had shown that elementary vernacular education was unlikely to become fully developed; for the rules presumed greater interest in the advancement of the lower classes, than really existed in the more prosperous Indians. Moreover, these rules demanded larger contributions to the schools than could be afforded by most people. The grant-in-

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Halliday had, of course, attempted to get the Government of India to alter its policy, while working within the rules set down.

aid scheme had not, therefore, affected as great a number of people as the Despatch of 1854 seemed to have expected. Like Young then, Halliday concluded that the system should not be dismissed but merely modified to meet conditions peculiar to Bengal.<sup>31</sup>

This plea by Young and Halliday did little to change the attitude of the Home Government. Alarmed by the financial exigencies attendant upon the Mutiny, it had issued orders prohibiting any increase of expenditure in India without authority from London. In addition it prohibited any increase in grants-in-aid above that already being incurred. It therefore, dismissed the request of the Government of Bengal that rules for grants-in-aid be extended to meet the problems of elementary vernacular education. Indeed the Home Government reaffirmed the policy which the Government of India had pursued from the beginning by declaring that the

grant-in-aid system is not to be applied to any but schools for promotion of a higher order...they will be confined to English or Anglo-vernacular schools, and to Vernacular schools, at which a good elementary education is imparted, and not extended to the indigenous or ordinary vernacular schools of the country.<sup>32</sup>

The Government of Bengal continued to debate the issue, and it was not until the delivery of the Stanley Despatch, dated 7 April 1859, that the question was largely cleared up. The Court stated that the grant-in-aid scheme then in operation

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<sup>31</sup>G.R.P.I. for 1857-58, op. cit., p. 64 ff.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 88.

was henceforth to be confined to anglo-vernacular schools. Elementary vernacular schools, it suggested, could be best developed by reverting to Woodrow's scheme. In addition it proposed that the Government of Bengal introduce an education rate to defray the expenses of these schools. These proposals then, would enable the Education Department to develop elementary vernacular education under a modified form of the grant-in-aid principle.<sup>33</sup>

In summation then, the decision of the Home Government (in the Wood Despatch) to implement a grant-in-aid scheme was subject to two interpretations: that of Government of India and that of the Government of Bengal. The Government of Bengal had correctly interpreted the Court of Directors wishes, as the Court itself pointed out in a Despatch in July 1857. The Government of India was, however, able in the beginning at least to prevent the implementation of the Government of Bengal's interpretations, for the Government of India was the supreme authority in India, and besides, the difficulty of communication precluded interference from England. By the time the Court of Directors' approval of the interpretation of the Government of Bengal had arrived, the Mutiny had erupted and caused the Court to reverse its decision. This led to further bureaucratic tangles and the question was not resolved until the arrival of the Stanley Despatch. The result of this was, of course, the

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<sup>33</sup>Secretary of State for India to Government of India, 7 April 1859, Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department, op. cit., No. 4, p. 113.

prevention of the full development of elementary vernacular education during this period.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE CONCLUSION

The development of education policy in Bengal between 1854-59 then, was characterized by two significant factors. In the first place, it was the manifestation of complex interrelationships; and secondly, it was continually in the process of change. In this, the final chapter, an attempt will be made to bring these two factors together and to give an overall meaning to questions discussed in previous chapters. In short, an attempt will be made to present a rationale for the development of educational policy in Bengal during the period in question.

One of the alternative conceptual approaches to the study of the development of policy is the decision making; approach (seen as a flow chart). This approach has been examined at length by social scientists, and it seems for the purpose of this study to provide the best answer to the development of educational policy; for it depicts the sequential nature of the policy in its total environment. At the same time, however, it is not intended that the issues involved should be forced into a rigid framework; but rather, that from the several available decision making approaches a new one be set up to fit the issues involved. Again, wherever possible, the jargon, that is sometimes associated with such a study will be

avoided.<sup>1</sup>

The decision making approach devised for this study has seventeen phases (see Appendix C). The first six phases deal with the background to the major decision; phase seven is the actual decision (the Wood Despatch); phases eight to fourteen look at the implementation of this decision, the subsequent reaction to it, the feedback of information to the decision makers, and their reappraisal of the Wood Despatch followed by a new decision (Ellenborough's Despatch); the last three phases examine a second reaction, further feedback of information, another reappraisal, and a final decision by the Home Authorities (The Stanley Despatch). Applied to the present study this framework shows how the various elements involved in the development of policy were linked (see Appendix D). Incorporated into this decision making approach is the use of content analysis.<sup>2</sup> (see Appendix E) This technique has been employed to define more clearly the policies outlined in the three key decisions (phase seven, fourteen, and seventeen). Like the decision making approach, this technique is merely a guide and has been used as a means of clarifying the material at hand.

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<sup>1</sup>The decision making approach devised for this study was largely drawn from lectures given by Dr. T. F. Carney.

<sup>2</sup>The technique of content analysis used in this study has--like that of decision making--been drawn from lectures given by Dr. T. F. Carney.

The need (tension) in Bengal society for educational reform was first acknowledged by the Home Government in 1813. This was partly the result of the growing interest in England in the question of education; and partly the result of the interest shown by Europeans--official and non-official--in Bengal. From this time on the development of educational policy in Bengal was usually the result of these two forces. By the 1820's this interest in education had been reinforced by the emergence of a body of Indians, led by Ramohun Roy, who advocated reform of Indian society through education. During this period the development of educational policy was manifested in a struggle between two groups: the Anglicists and Orientalists. Greatly influenced by the Liberal-Utilitarian movement in England, Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General of India, resolved this question. In 1835, he issued a resolution in which he stated that Government education was to take the form of western learning imparted through the medium of English to the upper classes of Bengal society.

While Bentinck's Resolution resolved one question, however, it helped to create a number of new issues; and by 1844 the second phase in the decision making process had begun to emerge--around this time questions that were to become major planks in the policy during the mid 1850's were articulated. The most important, of course, were elementary vernacular education and the university scheme. (see Appendix D phase II).

But it was not until the early 1850's that these issues were drawn together in a comprehensive programme and supported by a number of influential pressure groups, one of which was the British India Association, an exclusively India body. Such was the strength of the case presented for change that Lord Dalhousie the Governor-General of India, decided to submit a proposal to the Home Government for consideration (see Appendix D, phase 3).

These proposals arriving when they did provided the necessary stimulus for change; for at that time a Parliamentary Committee had been set up in England to revise the Charter Act which was due to expire in 1853. In reviewing the Charter Act, the Committee had to deal with the question of education. The proposals forwarded from India provided a guide for the necessary changes. At the same time, these proposals were most agreeable to the Committee; for they were based on educational principles that had won acceptance in England (see Appendix D, phase 4, 5).

The key decision makers Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State for India, and his private secretary, Thomas Baring, incorporated most of the proposals put forward by the Committee into a series of drafts for a new educational charter. This generous treatment of educational reform was largely the result of Wood's favourable attitude towards the question, for he assumed that large scale reforms in education would strengthen England's position in India (see Appendix D, phase 6).

The decision, commonly known as the Wood Despatch, was

spread over one hundred paragraphs. The Despatch was significant in that it outlined, for the first time, the policy of the Home Government toward the question of education in India. Among its most important principles were a new education department, the development of elementary vernacular education, the establishment of a university, and a grant-in-aid scheme. With the exception of the education department, however, it did not specify exactly what was to be done with reference to the major issues. Content Analysis of the Wood Despatch (see Appendix E) indicates that while higher education was dealt with at greater length than was any other subject, it was observed to be fairly well developed, and not in urgent need of attention. Elementary vernacular education, was discussed on fewer occasions, but on a majority of these occasions it was viewed as a very urgent need; especially when it was compared to higher education. When discussed in conjunction with higher education and the grant-in-aid scheme, however, its definition tended to be only vaguely defined. For example, on one occasion it referred to anglo-vernacular schools as part of an Elementary Education system, yet on every other occasion anglo-vernacular schools were viewed as part of the Higher Education programme. Again, the Despatch repeatedly used vague phraseology such as the "mass of the people" and "popular education" without defining these terms more closely. The question of policy was further complicated by the grant-in-aid scheme. Like elementary vernacular education it was treated

positively but was vaguely defined. It was never clearly indicated which schools were to be eligible for grants-in-aid; nor did it go beyond a few general observations in delineating the rules for aid (see Appendix II, phase 7).

This brief analysis of the Wood Despatch gives some indication of its imprecise nature and the latitude which it allowed for various interpretations. Indeed, beyond the fact that 'popular' education was to be given priority over other forms of education, the policy outlined was rather vague. This of course created a problem in communication, particularly as India was over 12,000 miles from England, and the only means of communication was the mail boat. Consequently, the Government of India was unable to refer questions back to the Home Government without holding up the implementation of policy for a period of months (see Appendix II, phase 8).

As has been observed in previous chapters, the Wood Despatch was interpreted by two major bodies in India: the Government of India and the Government of Bengal; and although the Central Government was the supreme authority it has further been seen that the provincial government of Bengal was given a certain latitude in interpreting orders. Owing to the diversity in their interests a distinct difference in opinion arose between these two bodies as to the major principles of the Wood Despatch. On the one hand, the Government of India saw higher education--especially the university scheme--as its most important feature.

On the other hand, the Government of Bengal saw elementary vernacular education as the key feature. A careful reading of the Wood Despatch suggests that the latter body had correctly interpreted the Despatch. Yet, as shown in the Content Analysis of this Despatch, policy was not clearly defined with the result that various interpretations could be given to it. The major reason behind the Government of India's interpretation was that the university scheme was its own project while all other educational measures had been handed over to the Government of Bengal. The Government of Bengal, or more specifically F. J. Halliday, strongly endorsed the principle of developing elementary vernacular education; for he had been closely associated with its development prior to the Wood Despatch. (see Appendix II, phase 9).

The different interpretations of the Despatch by the Indian and Bengal Governments caused considerable problems in the implementation of policy.<sup>3</sup> In fact, this difference, more than any other factor, impeded the Education Department of Bengal in its attempt to implement policy according to the spirit of the Wood Despatch. Consequently, by 1857 educational policy was in a state of flux. During that year and the early part of 1858 the department submitted twelve major proposals, all of which

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<sup>3</sup>The members of the Education Department who had been selected by Halliday closely associated themselves with this policy.

(with the exception of one that went astray) were endorsed by the Government of Bengal. Only four were passed by the Government of India, however, and three of these were directly related to higher education. Seven proposals relating to the development of elementary vernacular education and one suggesting that expenditure on the Presidency College be decreased were not given approval (see Appendix D, phase 10).

In the meantime, the Government of Bengal attempted to convince the Government of India that the grant-in-aid rules for elementary vernacular schools must be liberalized. For while Indians interested in the question of education were more than willing to support the grant-in-aid scheme for anglo-vernacular schools (owing to the fact that it practically guaranteed government employment), they were reluctant to support elementary vernacular schools under the grant-in-aid scheme. In addition, the "mass of the people" to whom vernacular education was supposed to be imparted, were unable to afford to pay even the nominal fees required in grant-in-aid schools. Indeed, it was only in those districts surrounding Calcutta that the scheme found any support at all. The Government of India, however, refused to alter the rules for grants-in-aid and it was only by liberally interpreting governmental orders wherever possible that the Government of Bengal was able to develop elementary vernacular education. (Appendix D, phase 11).

During this period the Court of Directors seemed to

support the Government of Bengal's argument against the Government of India. It rebuked the Government of India for its large expenditure on the Presidency College, and it endorsed the idea of liberalizing the grant-in-aid rules for elementary vernacular schools. Before the Court's orders could be implemented, however, the Mutiny erupted and completely distorted the Home Authority's views on education, for, while it had previously seen education as a means of consolidating its position in India, the Mutiny caused it to treat this question very cautiously. (see Appendix D, phase 12).

The reappraisal of policy however, was largely guided by the personalities of the new key decision makers who had replaced Wood and Baring. Lord Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control, and Sir George Clerk its Secretary, did not favour the policy outlined by Wood and Baring in principle. Thus when the Mutiny broke out, they carefully selected information (from educational reports etc.) which tended to affirm their own convictions (see Appendix D, phase 13).

Their views were recorded in a Despatch issued by the Court of Directors on 28 April 1858. This new decision delineated a policy which completely reversed the one outlined in 1854 (see Appendix E). In this Despatch the great increase in educational expenditure between 1854 and 1858 was considered to have been injudicious; for these funds had been spent on the elementary vernacular education which had been partly

responsible for the Indian Mutiny. In consequence its treatment of elementary vernacular education--unlike that in the Wood Despatch--was extremely negative. In addition, the Ellenborough Despatch failed to clearly define what it meant by "higher" and "elementary" education. Indeed, it did little more than falsely assume that the former had been completely ignored in favour of the latter. This assumption was rather strange considering that up to this time the Court had, in its correspondence with the Government of India, made reference to the Government's exorbitant expenditure on the Presidency College and the need to develop elementary education more fully. In addition it was assumed in the Despatch that the grant-in-aid scheme had been an unqualified failure and had, by its support to missionary schools, been largely responsible for the Mutiny. This conclusion also contradicted earlier statements made by the Court of Directors in which the grant-in-aid scheme was seen as highly successful for anglo-vernacular schools and in need of liberalization for elementary schools. Nevertheless, as a result of these selective observations, it was stated in the Ellenborough Despatch that educational policy should once more revert to the "Downward Filtration" theory in which a chosen few from the upper classes would be educated (see Appendix D, phase 14).

The obvious political bias of this Despatch, and its reliance on fragments of information to disprove the soundness

of the policy of the Wood Despatch, precipitated an angry reaction on the part of the Government of Bengal. Both Halliday and Young protested strongly against the Ellenborough Despatch. They clearly demonstrated that higher education had continued to develop since 1854, and that it had been largely dominated by the upper castes. They also showed, that while elementary education had substantially improved since 1854, it had done so with only a small percentage of the educational funds. And lastly, both men asserted that the grant-in-aid scheme had been used mainly to develop anglo-vernacular schools controlled by Indians, while the missionaries had controlled only a small number of these schools. In other words, they proved that there was no connection between the Mutiny and developments in education (see Appendix II, phase 15).

This information, along with its newly clarified understanding of the causes of the Mutiny, induced the Home Government to once more review educational policy in Bengal. And under the guidance of a new key decision maker, Lord Stanley, the Secretary of State for India, Ellenborough's policy was reconsidered. The result was a more realistic decision than that outlined by Ellenborough and a more lucid description of policy than that outlined by Wood. The major principles of the Wood Despatch--higher education, elementary vernacular education, and the grant-in-aid scheme--were all endorsed. At the same time they were more clearly defined. The grant-in-aid scheme

was to be confined to anglo-vernacular schools where it had proved highly successful; and elementary vernacular education was to be developed according to Woodrow's plan supported by local rates (see Appendix D, phases 16, 17). In spite of its clarity however, it still failed to estimate the amount of funds that the Indian Government should spend in developing education in the near future; nor did it indicate what percentage of the total amount was to be spent on the various measures. This, of course, would lead to further tension; for new conditions, new policy makers, changing governments, and especially the emerging elite of educated Indian, would make educational policy an increasingly important question.

In view of these decision making problems then, it was hardly surprising that the actual expansion of education between 1854 and 1859 was far from that expected by the Wood Despatch. Nevertheless, this period certainly marked the beginning of modern education in Bengal and indeed in India. A new Education Department had been created. The development of higher education was rounded off by the establishment of the University of Calcutta; the foundation was laid, despite numerous difficulties, for the development, of elementary vernacular education; and after protracted discussion over the grant-in-aid scheme the means had been provided for the development of all educational measures.

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## APPENDIX

## APPENDIX A

## Members of the University Committee

Sir J.W. Colville	* F.J. Mowat
Hon. J.P. Grant	Lt. W.W. Lees
D. Elliott	* The Rev. W. Kay
C. Allen	* The Rev. A. Duff
* P.W. Le Geyt	* The Rev. D. Ewart
H. Ricketts	* The Rev. J. Ogilvie
* W. Ritchie	* The Rev. J. Mullens
C. Beadon	* The Rev. W. Stephenson
* C.B. Trevor	H. Woodrow
Lt. Col. H. Goodwyn	J. Marshman
Lt. Col. W.E. Baker	Baboo Prosunno Comar Tagore
W.G. Young	Baboo Ramapersaud Roy
K. MacKinnon	Baboo Ram Gopal Ghose
* H. Walker	Pandit Ishwar Chunder Surma

\* Members subsequently added to the Committee.

## APPENDIX B

## Fellows of the Senate of the University of Calcutta

Ex-officio Fellows:

Governor-General of India; Chancellor of the University of Calcutta.

Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

Chief Justice of Bengal.

Bishop of Calcutta .

Members of the Supreme Council of India.

Fellows:

Sir J.W. Colville, Kt.; Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature of Calcutta, and late President of the Council of Education; Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta.

C. Allen, Member of the Legislative Council of India.

H. Ricketts, Esq. Provisional Member of Supreme Court of India.

Prince Gholan Muhummed.

W. Ritchie, Esq. Advocate General of Calcutta.

C. Beadon, Secretary to the Government of India.

Colonel H. Goodwyn, Chief Engineer of Bengal.

W.G. Young, Esq. Director of Public Instruction.

Lieutenant-Colonel A. Scott Waugh, Surveyor-General of India.

K. Mackinnon, Esq. M.D.

H. Walker, Esq. Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in the Medical College of Bengal.

T. Thomson, M.D. Superintendant of the Botanical Garden at Calcutta

APPENDIX B  
(cont'd)

F.J. Mowat, Esq. M.D., Fellow of Royal College of Surgeons.

Lieutenant W.W. Lees of the Bengal Infantry.

The Rev. W. Kay, D.D., Principal of Bishop's College.

The Rev. A. Duff, D.D.

T. Oldham, Esq. Superintendant of the Geological Survey of India.

H. Woodrow, Esq. Inspector of Schools.

L. Clint, Esq. Principal of Presidency College.

Prosunno Comar Tagore; Clerk, Assistant of the Legislative Council of India.

Ramapershad Roy, Government Pleader in the Sudder Court of Bengal.

The Rev. W. Stephenson, Rector of St. John's College.

The Rev. J. Ogilvie, M.A.

The Rev. J. Mullens, B.A.

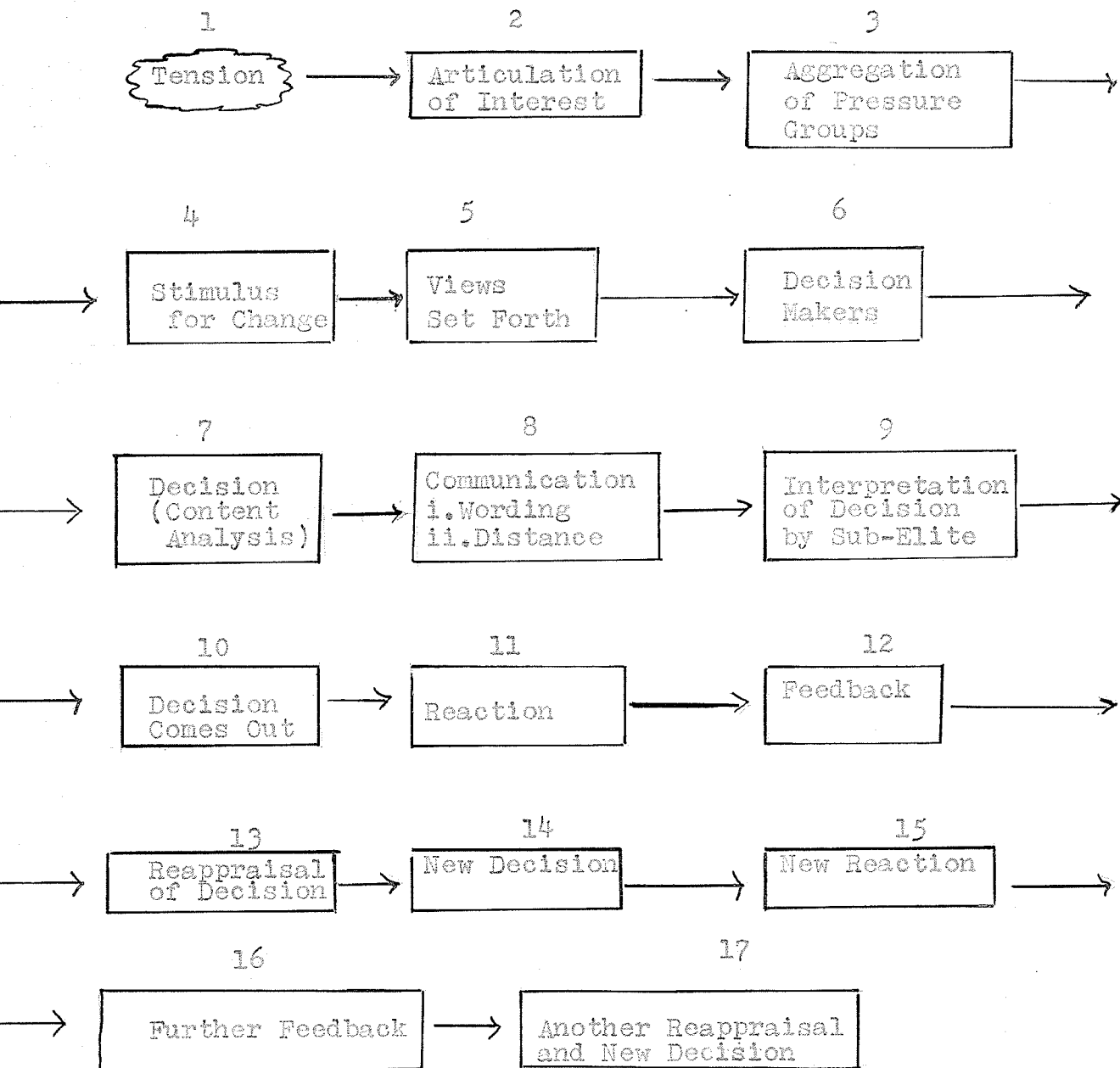
Moulavy Muhammad Wugeeh, Principal of the Calcutta Madrassa.

Pandit Ishwar Chunder Surma, Principal of the Sanskrit College.

Ramgopaul Ghose, Formerly a member of the Council of Education.

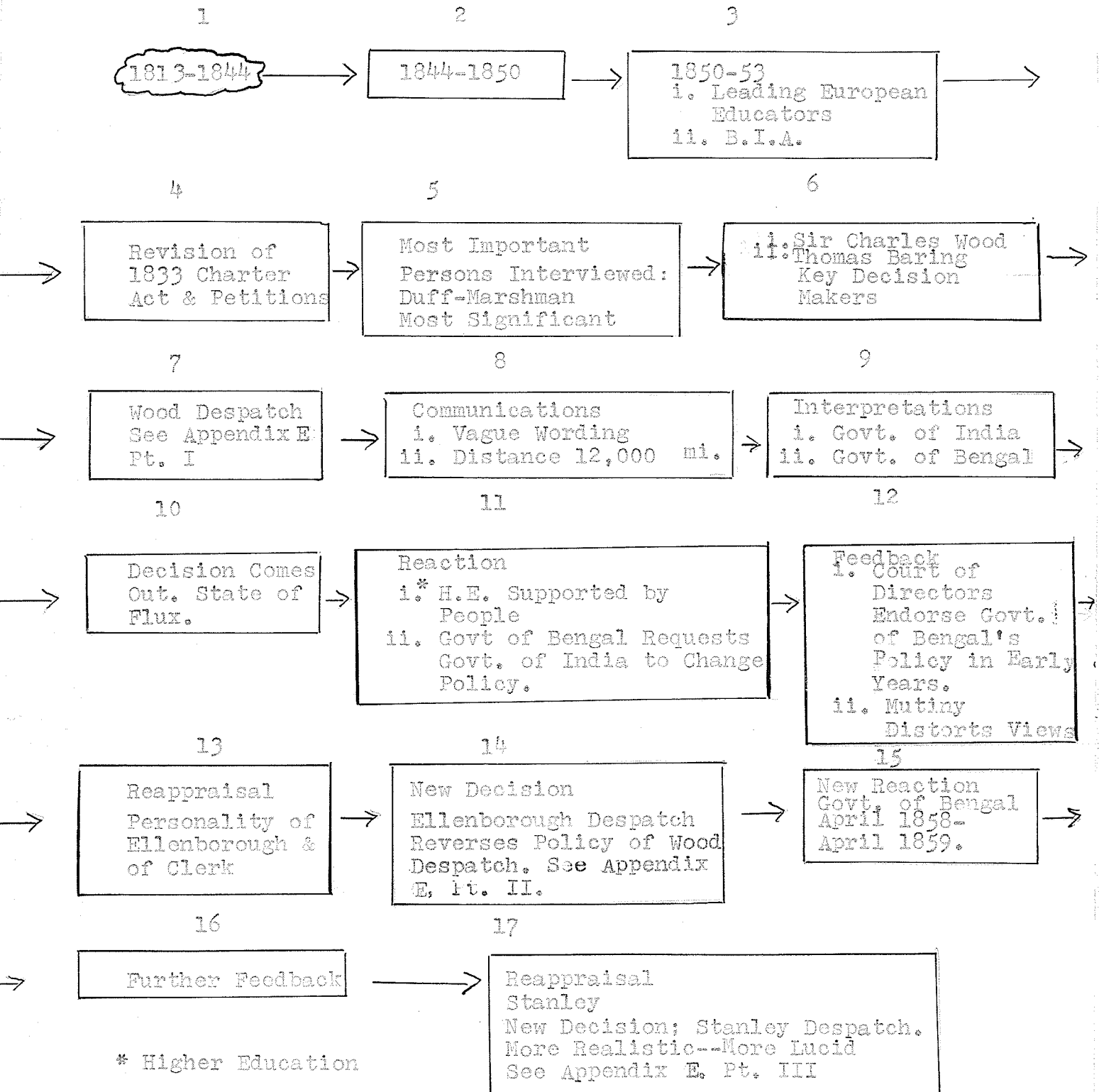
## APPENDIX C

## Decision Making Framework As Flow Chart



## APPENDIX D

## Decision Making Framework Applied to Thesis



APPENDIX E  
Explanatory Note

The key issues of each despatch have been analysed under the following headings: frequency of mention of each issue; scope of development of each issue: (full or skimpy); degree of clarification of each issue (clear or hazy); and the attitude (positive, neutral, or negative,) taken towards each issue. A full statement has been defined as one which is more than a sentence in length. Clarity has been defined as the degree to which the statement made in the despatch can be understood by the reader. A positive statement has been defined as one which implies urgency, priority, preferential treatment, or an emphatic endorsement of the question discussed. A neutral statement has been defined as one which is unemotive and mainly descriptive. And lastly, a negative statement has been defined as one which when compared to another, is viewed as the unimportant, or less important issue.

## APPENDIX E

## Part I

## Content Analysis of the Wood Despatch

ISSUE	No. of times mentioned	No. of times fully de- veloped	No. of times skimpily de- veloped	Clear state- ment	Hazy state- ment	Pos- itive state- ment	Neu- tral	Neg- ative
Higher Education mentioned itself.	19	19	0	19	0	4	12	3
Elementary Vernacular Education when mentioned by itself.	12	12	0	7	5	7	5	0
Higher Education mentioned in connection with Elementary Ver- nacular Education.	7	6	1	6	1	0	3	3
Elementary Ver- nacular Education mentioned in connection with Higher Education.	7	6	1	6	1	6	1	0
Free grant-in-aid scheme	13	11	2	6	7	7	6	0

## APPENDIX E

## Part II

## Content Analysis of the Ellenborough

## Despatch

ISSUE	No. of times men- tioned	No. of times fully de- veloped	No. of times skimpily de- veloped	Clear state- ment	Hazy state- ment	Pos- itive	Neu- tral	Neg- ative
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Higher Education  
when mentioned by  
itself.

Elementary  
Vernacular  
Education when  
mentioned by itself.

Higher Education when  
mentioned in  
connection with  
Elementary Vernacular  
Education.

Elementary Vernacular  
Education when  
mentioned in  
connection with Higher  
Education.

The grant-in-aid scheme.

6	6	0	0	6	6	0	0
8	8	0	0	8	0	0	8
5	5	0	0	5	5	0	0
5	5	0	0	5	0	0	5
15	15	0	12	3	0	0	15

## APPENDIX E

## Part III

## Content Analysis of the Stanley Despatch

No. of times men- tioned	No. of times fully de- veloped	No. of times skimpily de- veloped	Clear state- ment	Hazy state- ment	Pos- itive state- ment	Neu- tral state- ment	Neg- ative state- ment
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## ISSUE

her Education  
n mentioned by  
elf.

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tioned by itself.

her Education  
n mentioned in  
nection with  
mentary Ver-  
ular Education.

mentary Ver-  
ular Education  
n mentioned in  
nection with  
her Education.

e grant-in-aid  
eme.

13	12	1	13	0	1	12	0
12	11	1	12	0	2	9	1
1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
15	15	0	15	0	4	7	4

