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A History of Education in Tamil Nadu, India

Savarimuthu Savarimuthu
Loyola University Chicago

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A

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN TAMIL NADU, INDIA.

BY

SAVARIMUTHU SAVARIMUTHU

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School
of Loyola University, Chicago
In Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements of the Degree of
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in
Education
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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

SAVARI MUTHU SAVARI MUTHU received his Vidvan of Tamil Language and Literature from the Madras University, India, and his Bachelor of Oriental Learning and Bachelor of Education degrees from the Annamalai University, India. He taught at High School and College levels for about ten years. Besides being a teacher, he was also an editor, writer, poet, broadcaster and translator. He edited two monthly magazines: 'Tozhan' (Friend), a Catechetical magazine, and 'Poochendu' (Bouquet), a literary magazine, and a non-partisan political weekly, 'Tondan' (Server). He published many literary articles, poems in the above mentioned magazines and in others like 'Sentamil Selvi', 'Sarvavivabi', 'Sevai', etc. His columns on social, economic and political subjects regularly appeared in Tondan. His poems, talks on literature and musical features were broadcast by All India Radio, Madras, India. He assisted the Translation Committee of the Biblical Commission of Tamil Nadu, which translated the Bible into modern Tamil.
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ABBREVIATIONS

Akan - Akananuru
Kural - Tirukkural
Puram - Purananuru
Murun - Kuruntokai
Porul - Porulatikaram, Tolkappiyam.
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INTRODUCTION

Tamil Nadu, one of the four States in Southern India, is located in the south-eastern part of peninsular India. The area of Tamil Nadu is 50,331 square miles and it consists of the districts of Madras, Chinglepet, South Arcot, North Arcot, Tanjaur, Madurai, Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli, Kanniyakumari, Salem, Tiruchirapalli, Coimbatore and the Nilgiris. The population, according to 1961 census, is 33,636,953 (estimated population in 1969 is 38,627,000). The Capital of Tamil Nadu is the city of Madras. The language of the people is Tamil which is the only modern Indian language with a classical past.

Ancient Tamil Nadu extended over entire peninsular India with the Venkata hills (The Tirupati hills in Andhra Pradesh) as its northern border. Southern India is geologically the more ancient part of India and it was the cradle of the most ancient civilization in India. The Classical or the Sangam period (from 3rd century B.C. to 3rd century A.D.) was the Golden age of Tamil Nadu. The great culture and civilization of Sangam Tamils was unique in the cultural history of India. It was also a period of great literary activity and every line of the classical poems reflects their great civilization. Their life was secular, humanistic and optimistic and was the basis of their educational philosophy. Everyone in their casteless society sought education without restriction. The first chapter of this thesis deals with the educational ideas of the ancient or the classical period of Tamil Nadu.

By the end of the third century of the Christian era the cultural conquest of Tamil Nadu by the North India religions began. The Buddhists,
Jains and the Brahmins of Northern India sought supremacy in Tamil Nadu, and Brahminism was victorious. The period of great social, religious and political changes began with the beginning of the seventh century. Tamil Nadu lost its uniqueness, and Tamil society was Aryanised. The educational philosophy and systems of the medieval period reflect this change. Education became religious and discriminatory. The imposition of the caste system on Tamil society and the denial of education to lower castes left the bulk of the people ignorant. This situation continued until the arrival of the Westerners at the end of the fifteenth century. The second and third chapters of this thesis deal with the educational history of Tamil Nadu in the medieval period.

The modern educational history of Tamil Nadu begins in the sixteenth century. The Portuguese, Dutch, French and English Trading Companies were fighting for a trade monopoly in Tamil Nadu. The English ultimately succeeded. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the English bought some land in the east coast of Tamil Nadu and built their first trading post, Fort St. George. This became their political headquarters from which they commanded the whole of Madras Presidency of British India. From the days of the arrival of the Western Companies, the Christian missionaries were active in Tamil Nadu and were the pioneers of western education. The English company and the British Government took interest in education only later on. Thomas Munro, the enlightened Governor of Madras, tried to build the educational edifice from the bottom; but unfortunately his noble task was abandoned and the system was built from the top. Western higher education through the English medium was dominant, and only the high castes were generally benefited.
by the new education. The poor at the bottom remained as impoverished and ignorant as ever. The educational system of the "Inverted Pyramid" was the legacy India inherited from the British. This story of English education in Tamil Nadu—or rather of Madras Presidency—is told in chapters four to eight.

Tamil Nadu, after independence, has begun a new era in its history. It could be said as the beginning of a period of renaissance. The Tamils are awakening socially and politically, and have begun to modernize their society. They now realize that education is the great instrument of change. Their ancient culture and civilization constantly provide inspiration. They have begun to reconstruct the ignorant, castoridden and pessimistic society that they inherited because of long religious, cultural and political domination into a secular, humanistic and optimistic society. The science and technology of the modern world and the spirit of the ancient Tamils are the guiding lights in their venture to build the new society. The last chapter deals with the story of this new beginning.
CHAPTER I

EDUCATION IN ANCIENT TAMIL NADU

THE SANGAM PERIOD:

The period between second century B.C. and second century A.D. is generally known as the Sangam age. Sangam means 'Academy', an association of poets. In this period there was a large output of literary works, of which unfortunately only 30,000 lines of poetry survived. They were composed by nearly some five hundred poets, many of whom were the members of the Sangam. These poems were collected into the Ten Idylls (Pattuppaattu) and the Eight Anthologies (Ettuttokai). These and Tolkappiyam are often referred as Sangam Literature.

These Sangam poems are refreshing, pure and precise reflecting the life and culture and civilization of the Tamil people of that period. It is something unique, much different from what was generally known as Indian culture. Their life and achievements seem to be great, the equivalents of which could only be found with the ancient Greek and Romans. They seem to be the real products of the mother nature and every line of

1 The Tamil tradition speaks of three Literary Academies of which the first two ended of some geological upheavals that caused the loss of all the literary and other evidences of those epoch. What generally known as the Sangam always refers to the third academy. K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar in 'The Age of Imperial Unity'(p.293), tries to fix the date of these academies saying, "It seems to be reasonable to assume that the three academies comprised a period of about one thousand years... and we shall not be wrong if we fix 500 B.C. and A.D. 500 as the extreme limits of the Sangam age". But there are others who go beyond that 500 B.C. as the beginning of the first academy.

2 Tolkappiyam, a grammatical treatise is supposed to have been written at the end of the second academy. It argues the existence of numerous grammarians, literature and the anterior literary culture.
the poems reflect their civilization. Because of this height of their achievement, Tamilians are proud of calling it the Golden Age of the Tamil Civilization.

THE GOLDEN AGE:

As there is no other evidence for us to study their life, except a few references about the existence of Tamil kingdoms of Chola and Pandya and Chera in South India from the Asokan Rock Edict II (middle of the 3rd century B.C.), we largely have to rely on the Sangam Literatures to study the life of the ancient Tamil people. The Sangam literatures reveal their political divisions, the systems of government, their economic activities and their social life.

The ancient Tamilians had extensive and flourishing trade with the ancient Greeks and Romans. There are numerous references of this trade in Sangam literatures and in the writings of Strabo, a Roman, Pliny, also a Roman (77 A.D.), Ptolemy, the Alexandrian Geographer (150 A.D.), and in Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (80 A.D.), and in the Pentingerian Tables. Scholars think of the probability of Tamil Madu exporting the gold and

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3 N. Subrahmanian, Sangam Polity: The Administration and Social Life of the Sangam Tamils (Madras: Asia Publishing House, 1966), p. 19. See also:

"Strabo (IV.4.73), mentions an embassy from 'King Pandion' to the Emperor Augustus in 20 B.C. Pliny (VI, 23), the Periplus (54) and Ptolemy (VII) all agree in their accounts of the prosperous trade at the seaports on either side of Cape Comorin. It was a trade largely in the products of the Chola textile industries and pearl fisheries, in the gems and spices of the Chera and Pandyan hills and in the gems and pearl fisheries of Ceylon, then controlled by the Pandyan King."

silver, ivory, apes and peacocks that Tarshish ships used to bring to King Solomon (about 1000 B.C.) because the names of the last two objects 'Kapim' (ape) and 'Tukim' as found in Hebrew Bible are the same as those still used in Tamil, namely 'Kavi' (ape) and 'Thokai' (peacock). Trade with Greece also flourished. Greek trading agents were stationed at the seaports of Tamil Nadu. The Greek name for rice (Oryza) is identical with Tamil Name 'Arisi'. Greeks were mentioned as 'Yavanar' in Sangam poems. They brought gold and horses for Tamil Nadu spices, pearls and textiles. Some of the Roman soldiers were enlisted in the Pandyan army and also they were employed as guards at the gates of the fort of Madurai. The trade between Rome and Pandya Kingdom of Tamil Nadu was so flourishing, that the Pandya King realized the benefits of sending two of his trade delegations to the court of Augustus Caesar in the years 26 B.C. and 20 B.C. Strabo mentions the Pandyan embassies to Augustus and describes those ambassadors. Coins of Augustus Caesar were found buried in different parts of Tamil Nadu. With such a busy trade, Tamil people were masters of the eastern sea with their fleet and numerous seaports.


5 'Yavanar' is the Tamil form of the Greek work Ioanes. The Romans also were known as 'Yavanar' as they were also from West.

6 Akam. 149, 9-10. "மூர்த்தம் எதிர் மிளிப்பே காந்தா கவ்வா கிளை களையா தேன்கே தேன்கே ஏனாவே குண்டா ஏனாவே

7 Mallappattu, 59-65.

8 Chilappadikaram, Canto XIV, 66-67. Madurai was the Capital of Pandya Kingdom.

9 Kanakasabhai, p. 37.

10 Subrahmanian, p. 19.
on the west and east coasts of Tamil Nadu. 11

Though ancient Tamil Nadu was ruled by hereditary monarchs, 12 the small villages and towns and cities had their own autonomy. They were ruled by the council of elders and they were elected by the people. 13

The Tamil country was also divided into five geographical regions: Kurinci (the mountains), Mullai (the forests), Marutam (the pasture-lands), Nettal (the coastal regions), and Paalai (the desert regions). People were also divided according to those geographical regions and occupations which were peculiar to them. The Aryan caste-system was unknown to Tamilians of this period, though the Brahmins of the north had already started trickling down to the south sometimes after 300 B.C. and settling down in the Tamil country.

11 "From the Tamil poems we learn that the Chola State maintained a considerable navy which was used for commercial purposes, trading across the Bay of Bengal and as far as the straits of Malacca, and we know from the Periplus that the products of this far eastern trade were transhipped in the south Indian ports for delivery to the Roman world," Schoff, *American Oriental Society Journal*, 7. 33, p. 211.

12 There were three well known kingdoms. They were the Pandyas, Cholas and Cheras.

13 *Akam*, 77, 7-8. “இய்யார் உள்ளே இருந்த இலங்கையின் மேல் தெரு தொடர்வலியால் வந்து, தென்பெணுக்குறையுடன் குன்று என்று வெள்ளிட்டு வந்தது.”

Like the Officials who, to collect the votes, Break the seal on the mouth of the mudpot.


This is to be compared with the Inscriptions of Udhramerur of the Chola King Paranthaga, I (877-955 A.D.), which speaks of the similar way of electing the members of the village administration.

See also K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Studies in Chola History and Administration* (Madras: University of Madras, 1932), p. 149.
V.A. Smith observes:

The Tamils had developed an advanced civilization of their own, wholly independent of North India. Immigrants from the north, who had settled at Madura and some other cities, sought to introduce Hindu notions of caste and ceremonial, but met with much opposition, and the caste-system, which for many centuries past has been observed with special strictness in the south was then inchoate and imperfect.

Though there were references of Aryan settlements in Tamil country during this period, the Tamil people were still free from their hold. Tamil civilization was unadulterated by the Aryan Hindu notions and castes which, later on, engulfed the whole Tamilian south and made their great civilization a thing of the past.

**IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION:**

This great Tamil people, who were "... the finest fruit of the life and history of the Dravidians, the first people as we pointed out, of Indian history", considered education as the pivotal to their achievement, and regarded education as the greatest wealth. They respected learned men. Learned men considered any country and town as their own as they were welcome everywhere. As they considered the science of

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16 Kural, 400. One's learning is to one a fortune great that decay not. The rest of all the things one owneth are of fortune naught.

17 Ibid., 397. Since all the learned what'er land or town could deem their own Why won't throughout one's life time go on one quite learning alone.
numbers as well as the arts of letters as the two eyes of men, every one wanted to learn. The illiterate were considered not different from animals.

EDUCATION FOR ALL:

The Tamil society, which was free from the Aryan casteism (which forbids education for the lower castes) considered education essential for everybody. Though we do not have any direct evidence regarding the system, method and content of instruction, we could still reasonably suppose that education was very much sought after by people for its universal value and hence was popular. The Pandya King, Aryappadaikatantha Neduncheshian speaks of the importance of formal education. From his poem we can infer that every one had the right to education:

It is good to learn though it may involve a humble discipleship, humble service and paying an emolument. A mother among her many children is apt to like him most who is distinguished (by learning); among a group or class the king is apt to follow the counsel not of the eldest but of him who is well instructed, and even among those (Aryans) who preserve a fourfold division of society, suppose one of a lower

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18 Ibid., 392. The science of numbers as well as the arts of letters rare
Are both of them the eyes of men alive, the wise declare.

19 Ibid., 410. Besides the men of learning bright, the untaught are at least
As are the human beings too the best beside the beast.
caste were to be known for learning, one of
a higher caste would be compelled to respect
him (or seek his help). 20

Every parent considered it his duty to educate his son who could
take the chair in the company of learned men. 21 Puranamuru describes that
the duty of father is to make his son a perfect man - a man of virtue, a
learned man. 22 Many of the Sangam poets, whose poems are available to us,
were men of different trades and walks of life, like carpenters, blacksmiths,
goldsmiths, masons, cloth merchants, grain merchants, astrologers, astro-
nomers, physicians and even hunters and men of many other trades. The
poetic contributions of many poetesses make itself clear that there was no

20 Puram., 183. (Puranamuru is one of the Eight Anthologies) Trans-
lated by Thanl Nayagam Xavier, S. in his article "Ancient Tamil Poet-

There are other Scholars who say that the four-fold division of
people refer to the Tamil four-division of Anthanar (ascetics) Arasar
(kings), Vanigar (merchants) and Velalar (agriculturists). And others say
the people who lived in the four main geographical divisions of Tamil
country, as the last division Paalai was only a temporary phenomenon. For
casteless ancient Tamil society, also see: "Varna came to the Dravidian
South comparatively late, for the earliest Tamil Literature shows a society
divided into tribal groups with little sense of the precedence of one over
the other. Succeeding centuries saw the gradual hardening of class, until
south Indian Brahmins became even stricter in their ritual observance and
the untouchables even more debased than in the North," A.I. Basham, The
Wonder that was India (New York; Grove Press Inc., 1959), p. 138.

21 Ibid., 67. The duty good a father owes his son is just to see
That in the council of the wisemen precedence takes
he.

22 Puram., 312. "நீர் புயல் பொழுது ஞாதின் நினைவு மலைக்
குறிக்கும் குறிக்கும் மலைக் குறிக்கும்."
Give birth to the child and raise him is my (mother’s)
duty
And make him a perfect man is the father’s duty.
sex discrimination to the right to education. From all these we can infer that Tamil people enjoyed the privilege of education irrespective of their status in life.

**SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS:**

Education in those days was very much different from what is today. There were no huge educational institutions. They were not government subsidized but were largely supported by local people as the villages and towns and cities were autonomous. "The village without a teacher" was considered unfit for human habitation. So every village had some sort of educational institution. The schools, known as Palli, were mostly in the house of the teacher or the public building of the village. The range of knowledge must have been limited. In any case they could not have been so vast as it is today. But still there are evidences to show that they had knowledge of mathematics, astronomy, astrology, logic, philosophy, medicine and fine arts like music, dance, drama, drawing, painting, sculpture, architecture and so on. Though many of these fine arts could have been specialized by hereditary artists, (and also there might have been places to learn these arts), language and literature, mathematics and its allied subject like astronomy, were taught in schools. Knowledge was understood of two kinds: the Humanities and the Sciences, the Humanities being represented by language and literature.

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24 Thirikadukam, 11 "நோய் கார்பே காமா இரவே, மணிகள் காசறை கேட்டெயல் பெருவத்தை...நொய் நன்று.

The village without a teacher and the council without elders who could settle the disputes... are useless.

25 Devanayan, pp. 144-193.
where as the sciences consisted of mathematics. These two were considered as the two eyes of human beings.

The teachers were very much respected by people. There were three types of teachers: Kanakkayar, Asiriyar and Kuravan. Those teachers who taught literature and grammar based on alphabets and also mathematics were known as Kanakkayar. Asiriyars were those who taught advanced grammar and major literary works. Teachers of philosophy were called Kuravan or Kuru. The schools of the Kanakkayars were the ones commonly found in all the villages.

Students were called by different names. The students of Kannakkayar were called Mani, Sattan and Olikkanakkan; the students of Asiriyar were known as Manavan, Kalapulavan. The philosophy students were called Ketopon. The students respected their teachers and they were the personal disciples of the teachers. They did whatever they could for their teachers. The following Kural could explain how earnest and humble the students were in obtaining knowledge from their teachers:

Who humbly learn just like the poor who beg the rich, are great
The men who have not learnt like this are men of low estate.

Kural, 392.

Nikandu means dictionary. In those days meanings of the words (synonyms and antonyms) were written in the form of poetry which the students had to memorise.

Devarayan, p. 139.

Ibid., p. 141.

Kural., 395.
The teachers were paid by the pupils both in cash and in kind. And also they never considered it a lowly task to serve the master. Some students stayed in public rest houses like the Manram and they led a mendicant life for their education.  

TEXTBOOKS AND METHODS OF TEACHING AND LEARNING:

There were no printed books in those days. The teachers and the students wrote in dried and cut palm leaf-bits used in long and narrow strips. These leaves were known as ìlalí. These leaves were punched either at one end or at both ends and held together by tying them with strong strings and the entire stack of these leaves were bound together between two planks of the same size. This was the book and it was known as Suvadi or Pottakam. The writing pen was a long and sharp iron needle attached to a wooden handle, which was known as āḷuttānī, literally meaning 'a writing nail'. Holding this pen between two fingers and tightening it with the thumb, the students used to write on the dried palm leaves. They wrote on only one side of the leaf. In this way, the textbooks and, for that matter, any other books were written. And so the student did not have a copy of the textbook for himself.

Because of this lack of copies of text books, the method of teaching was invariably oral. The teacher used to lecture and the students had to listen intently and learn the content by heart. Training of memory was an important aspect of their education. The students were able to memorize thousands of verse by heart and were able to reproduce

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31 Kurup. 33
32 Pottakam later on became puttakam meaning 'book'.
THE CULTURE OF THE SANGAM TAMILS AND THEIR AIMS OF EDUCATION:

The Tamils of Sangam age considered every one equal by birth; in other words all men are created equal; Kural reflects this basic concept:

The human beings, one and all, are equal in their birth

Thru' difference in their deed' nature springs difference in their worth.

Another poet in Puranamuru says that there is no difference between the king and the illiterate hunter as they both eat the same measure of food and dress the same length of garment. In all respects they are the same human beings. But yet, people differed in their capacities and this difference they recognized and every one fitted into that Sangam society which in every respect seems be closer to nature and very humane in outlook. Having this outlook they tried to establish the oneness and the unity of all human beings. Though they were different in talents and separated by space, but still they considered each other their kith and kin. The space and birth never erected a wall between them. They, hence, considered:

Every country is my country
And every man is my kinsman.

This is the height of their civilization. The outlook of oneness of humanity and the world is their greatest achievement.

33 Subrahmanian, p. 329.
34 Kural, 972.
35 Puram, 189.
36 Ibid., 192.
The foundation of this achievement is their philosophy of life. To them life is to live. Being part and the finest product of Mother Nature, they always lived in great harmony with nature. Every line of Sangam poetry glitters with the beauty of nature. Nature played the background of their life activities, be they love or warfare; secular or spiritual. Through life affirmation, but not through life negation, they tried to attain oneness with the Supreme Being. The great Tamil ethic Kural is a treasure-house of that humanity exemplified by the Sangam civilization. Speaking about the life affirmation present in Kural, Albert Schweitzer says:

With sure strokes the Kural draws the ideal of simple ethical humanity. On the most varied questions concerning the conduct of man to himself and to the world its utterances are characterised by nobility and good sense. There hardly exists in the literature of the world a collection of maxims in which we find so much lofty wisdom.37

This is the type of society the Sangam Tamils wanted to build. To that end their educational system worked and poetry seemed to be the educational technique they used to achieve that aim. As Professor Thani Nayagam observes:

The ideal of the poetic state of education is a preparation for prominent civic life and the scene of intellectual activity shifts from village community centre (manram) to the royal courts and assemblies of learned men. The life of learning is for the purpose of service to the community, and if time is expended in the acquisition of wealth it is in order that the wealth may serve those who are in want and that hospitality may be increased.38

CONCLUSION:

The glorious Sangam period stands out fresh and unique and Tamil people could justly be proud of it. It was fresh because human life was simple and natural and, yet, it was unique as it was so well ordered to include the entire humanity in kinship. Humanism was their educational philosophy and the children were educated to be honourable contributors of their unique civilization, which was based on the oneness of humanity.

This uniqueness and freshness began to change by the religious philosophies of Jainism and Buddhism. The process of change almost started at the very end of Sangam age.
CHAPTER II

JAIN AND BUDDHIST EDUCATION IN TAMIL NADU

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION:

We have seen in the foregone chapter that education in ancient Tamil Nadu was secular in character and humanistic in outlook and poetic in technique. But, by the epic period towards the end of the Sangam age, education had reached the philosophic stage of development. What was secular became religious. This stage of development is very much represented by the great twin epics, Silappatikaram and Manimekalai:

The Manimekalai speaks of "teachers of philosophy, politics, logic and religion," of "knowers of tradition" of "those learned in hoary sciences". The word "pulavar", which once meant mostly a poet, now undergoes a semantic expansion to include a philosopher, and the Buddha is apostrophised as the "Great Pulavar" meaning the Great Philosopher, in the same manner Mahavira is termed the Great Knower.1

During the Sangam period the Tamil country became the great 'Vineyard' for the religions of Vedic Brahminism, Jainism and Buddhism. They were all of North Indian origin. They were institutionalised. The Tamil people had their own natural religions like Saivaitism and Vaishnavism. The intruding institutionalized religions were busy winning over the Tamil people to their respective faiths through the process of adultration, incorporation and annihilation. The acute competition between North Indian religions was not so conspicuous during the Sangam period, but after that period was over, it came up to the surface, each one having its ups and downs.

JAIN TEACHINGS AND ITS CONTRIBUTION TO EDUCATION:

Jainism was one of the first challenges to Vedic Brahminism. It was founded by a scion of the Kshatriya caste, by name, Vardhamana, later known as Mahavira and came into being in the middle of the sixth century B.C. He is the first Jain, because "Jain" means one who is victorious by a course of asceticism. The Jains founded monastic communities all over India. Jainism attacked the animal sacrifice of the ancient Hinduism and preached 'Ahimsa' (which means renunciation of the will to kill and to damage). As Albert Schweitzer observes:

Jainism, then, is not confined only to the ethics of tradition as are the Brahminic and Samkhya systems, but seeks in addition to give ethical significance to world and life negation. This endeavour explains how in Jainism not to kill and not to harm living creatures (Ahimsa) first becomes a great commandment.

This religion came to Tamil Nadu, very early, probably during the Mauryan Empire. The Jains established monasteries (Palli) in Puhar, Uriyur and Madurai. There were Jain nunneries too in Puhar and the Jain nuns were instructing the laity in their religious doctrines. The Caranas who are mentioned by Silappatikaram, might be wandering

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2 Schweitzer, p. 61.

The Samkhya doctrine undertakes to investigate the relation of the soul to the world of the senses in such a way that its imprisonment within that world and liberation from it will become comprehensible.

3 Ibid., p. 79.

4 Thani Nayagam, Tamil Culture, VIII, No.4, 346.

See also Smith, The Early History of India, p. 453.

5 Jain Monasteries were known as 'Palli' (so also of Buddhists) and as 'Palli' was the place of instruction and learning, the school was later on known "Palli" (பள்ளி).
When we are told of the Caranas, who course through the heavens and who descending to earth at will, instruct human beings, we are probably to understand that there were numerous peripatetic instructors of doctrine who criss-crossed the country with no other purpose than to teach the doctrine as revealed in the life of Mahavira and in the Jain sacred books.6

The Jain monks used to live in the shady groves, probably outside the village or city, and instructed the laity (who were known as Savakar). The monks were great intellectuals and men of virtues.7 Probably the greatest contribution of Jainism during this period could be their great ethical principle of Ahimsa, which is very much found in Tamil ethics like Tirukkural and others. Apart from this information, we know little about their educational systems.

The influence of Jainism among the Tamil people progressed by leaps and bounds during the post-Sangam period—the period which brought confusion in Tamil Nadu, and which is generally known as the dark age of Tamil Nadu history—until it reached its zenith in the early part of the seventh century A.D. during the Pallava rule.8

There was a Jain monastery at Pataliputra in Pallava kingdom, with which the Pallava king, Mahendravaraman I, was connected. The Jains converted the king to their faith and so also the Pandya king, Nedumaran

6 Thanvi Nayagan, Tamil Culture, VIII. No. 4, 341.
7 Maduraiikkkanobi.., 475-487.
and the great poet Nāvukkarasu, who later on became a saivite saint. Jain
monasteries were also founded in different places of Tamil Nadu like Vedhal
in North Arcot district, Sittannavasal, Tenimalai and Narattamalai near
Pudukkottai of Tamil Nadu. The large caverns with Brahmi inscriptions,
and stone beds and the beautiful colour painting on the roof, were the abode
of the Jain ascetics and these cavern monasteries served as the schools
for the laity.

The Jain monks of this period were great scholars in Tamil, Prakrt
and Sanskrit. They were great debaters and indulged in theological
disputations with other religious leaders. They generally lived in
mountain caves, on seaside resorts or on the river banks—the serene places
for their meditations and worship—.

Again little evidence exists to explain the Jain systems of educa-
tion. But, perhaps, the Jains and the Buddhist were largely responsible
for elementary education in those days. The teaching of ethical maxims
like "Athichudi" and "Konrai Venthan" and so on in the elementary schools
at present, as part of the language training is, probably, a legacy of the
Jain and Buddhists educational techniques.

Buddhism also was a jolt to Vedic Brahminism and it was founded
by another scion of a Kshatriya class in Bihar, Prince Siddharta, about
450 B.C.

9 Minakshi, pp. 231-237.

10 Ibid., p. 238.
It taught kings and people to love peace and toleration. It preached equality between classes and persons and benevolence and beneficence to all. It denounced the inequalities and tyrannies of caste. It substituted individual and personal morality, determined by conscience, for the institutional morality of the customs and practices of caste. It substituted the morality of good work for the morality of good birth. It threw open the doors of its monastic life to the lowly as to the high born.11

Buddhism came to Tamil Nadu during the time of the great Asoka, who himself became a Buddhist. There is little evidence of the impact of Buddhist and Jain thoughts in Sangam anthologies. But the epics have many references to Buddhism and Jainism. Manimekalai is Buddhist epic. According to Manimekalai and Silappatikaram, there were Buddhist monasteries and nunneries in Puhar, Kanchi and Vanci. There are archaeological evidences to show that Buddhist monks occupied the pre-christian era caves in southern districts of Madurai and Tinneveli of Tamil Nadu.12 There were wandering Buddhist monks who preached their religious doctrines to the people.

Buddhism started losing grounds to Jainism and Vedic Brahminism. The Brahmins thought Buddhism was their biggest enemy and they did everything in their power to eradicate it. By the ascendency of Pallavas of Kanchi, Buddhism started declining as the Pallava kings were much devoted to Brahminism.13

11 Ruthnaswamy, India from the Dawn, p. 54.
12 Thani Nayagam, Tamil Culture, VIII, No. 4, 343. Also see Minakshi, p. 223.
13 Minakshi, p. 218.
And yet, Kanchi, the Pallava capital, was a great centre of Buddhist learning. The accounts of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang who visited India in the 7th century and the Tamil epic Manimekalai clearly state that the centre at Kanchi was an important one and that it was a meeting place for scholars from all over India. Hiuen Tsang accounts:

The Chola country was the country of Tirthikas with the Buddhist monasteries in ruins, but Buddhism was more flourishing in the Dravida country with more than 100 monasteries, with above 10,000 brethren, all of the 'Stavira School' with its capital Kanchipuram, famous as the birth-place of Dharmapala. The capital had a large monastery which was a rendezvous for the most eminent of the country.

Dharmapala, who was the eldest son of a high official of the Pallava King, became a student of the great Buddhist University of Nalanda, of which he subsequently became the head. He was a great logician and grammarian and the author of many works in Sanskrit. The Buddhist monasteries served as schools. The students learnt Buddhist philosophy, logic, engaged in propagating their faith, and participated in philosophical controversies with scholars of other religious, most particularly with the Brahmins.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS OF BUDDHIST EDUCATION:

Buddha challenged the divinity of the Vedas and all the other scriptures and his ideals were directed against the elaborate rituals and the caste-system. He stressed the centrality of love and charity and

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15 Minakshi, p. 225.
equality. He thought life was sorrow and our sorrow was caused by desire. To overcome this craving he preached the eight-fold path:

(i) Right Belief
(ii) Right Resolution
(iii) Right Speech
(iv) Right Behaviour
(v) Right Occupation
(vi) Right Effort
(vii) Right Contemplation
(viii) Right Concentration

The Enlightenment Buddha sought had great significance to religion and education. The development of right concentration, which leads to 'nirvana' (Bliss), depends upon the education of the mind. The third part of the Buddhist scriptures, which are known as Tripitakas (three baskets), deals with the training of the mind. The name of the third part is 'Abhidhamma'. The 'Dhammapada', a section of the third part combines psychology, ethics and education. 16

MONASTERY: THE CENTRE OF LEARNING:

The Dhammapada advises:

A wise man should leave the dark state of ordinary life, and follow the bright state of the Bhikshu. After going from his home to a homeless state, he should in his retirement look for enjoyment where enjoyment seemed difficult. Leaving all pleasures behind, and calling nothing his own, the wise man should purge himself from all the troubles of the mind.17

Renunciation is the ideal to reach Nirvana. Young men and women joined the Buddhist monasteries. The young student joined the monastery at the age of eight. He had to choose one of the monks as his teacher.


17 Ibid., pp. 71-72.
The teacher was responsible for his education until he was twenty years old. Only at the age of twenty he was accepted as a full-fledged monk.

**THE TEACHER:**

The teacher was responsible for the education of the student. This was the rule of the monasteries. He was supposed to educate the students like his own sons and to provide them the daily necessities of life. He had to take care of their mental development as well as their physical development. In short he was their father.

**THE STUDENT:**

The students served their master. They had to get up earlier and prepare everything for him. Cooking food also was part of their duty. They had to keep his house clean. They washed his utensils clean after the master took meals first. They kept ready his alms-bowl and dress. If he permitted them, they also went begging with him.

When the teacher asked them to be ready for lessons, they were ready. The custom then prevailed was that the students put questions to the teacher and the teacher answered them as his instruction. 13

**THE TEACHER - PUPIL RELATION:**

The teacher-pupil relation in the monastery was cordial and was based on the principle of equality. Each one had his own duties to be performed. The teacher being a monk was the model to the students. The

teacher was expected to be exemplary in everything. The Dhammapada says:

If a man makes himself as he teaches others to be, then, being himself well subdued, he may subdue others; for one's own self is difficult to subdue.19

The teacher had a very personal relationship with his students. They knew each other well and they helped each other in every way.

The student had to serve the preceptor, afford him mental peace, and to work for his reformation if there was a need. On the other hand the preceptor was responsible for the physical moral, intellectual and spiritual development of the pupil.20

THE CURRICULUM:

The curriculum of the Buddhist education was basically religious. Main emphasis was given to philosophy and logic. Buddhist scriptures, and other practical knowledge of the constitution of the monasteries and maintenance of accounts of the charitable receipts to the monasteries were some of the other subjects taught. The monasteries were very heavily endowed by kings, landlords and other men of eminence and wealth. Though the curriculum was religious in character, but, nevertheless, there were other secular subjects learnt. The monks were expected to lead a simple life and were trained to help themselves. They did manual work and learnt to sew, knit and spin their garments. They also were well acquainted with the knowledge of house-building because the unearthed Buddhist Universities like Nālanda and other Buddhist monasteries show their architectural skill. Medicine and surgery also were taught as there were famous physicians and surgeons who were students of the famous Buddhist Universities.

19 Mayer, p. 76. 20 Chaube, p. 90.
METHODS OF TEACHING:

To Buddha ethics, not metaphysics, was the most important subject. Good conduct was emphasised in Buddhist education. The attainment of happiness through the cultivation of virtues rather than through elaborate rituals was the great aim of education. The Dhammapada again preaches:

Mean is the scent that comes from Tagara and sandalwood; the perfume of those who posses virtue rises up to the gods as the highest.21

In the primary education religious subjects were taught. Probably the students memorized the religious lessons by hearing and repeated them. As they progressed they learnt the bases of the religious doctrines and equipped themselves for the propagation of their faith. At this point philosophy and logic were taught. The Buddhist monks were great debaters. They practised the art of debate in groups, by putting questions and entering into discussions. There were rules laid down in Buddhist scriptures for such discussions.22 These discussions should take place in the right place and in useful subjects. The places were the assembly of learned people, the royal palace and so on. The thesis to be proved in the debate, according to the treatise on the art of debate,

21 Mayer, p. 69.

22 Mookerji, Ancient Indian Education, p. 453. The Buddhist treatise on the subject of debate is Sapta-dasa-bhumi-sastra-yogacharya of Maitreya of about A.D. 400, which was translated into Chinese in A.D. 646. The fifteenth volume of this treatise speaks of the art of debate in seven chapters.
depended upon the following eight proofs: 23

1. Conclusion - "Siddhanta"
2. Reason - "Hetu"
3. Example - "Udharana"
4. Affirmative example - "Sadharmya"
5. Negative example - "Vaidharmya"
6. Perception - "Pratyaksha"
7. Inference - "Anumana"
8. Scripture - "Agama"

Though writing was common during this time, still oral was the method often used. Buddhism, in any sense, was the religion of the common man, unlike Brahminism, which was the religion of a few. Hence Buddhism used the language of the people and Sanskrit did not occupy the place of importance in their educational scheme. Vedic mantras were forbidden to be written down in the Brahminic education whereas in the Buddhist education writing was encouraged.

CONCLUSION:

From the early centuries of Christian era, Tamil Nadu became the target for North Indian religions. Their missionaries were busy converting the Tamil people to their faith. The simple, natural life of the Tamil people was greatly influenced by the cross currents of these conflicting philosophies. The humanistic ideals had started getting into the religious mold. This period, due to the great influence of Jainism and Buddhism, had seen the appearance of great many Tamil ethics. Ethical poetry or maxims were taught and memorised by students. The influence of Jainism and Buddhism continued until the beginning of seventh century. Afterwards, Brahminism started rising stronger, polarizing Tamil people into the social grooves sanctioned by the divine Laws of Manu.

23 Ibid., p. 454.
CHAPTER III

BRAHMINIC EDUCATION IN TAMIL NADU

BRAHMINISM IN TAMIL NADU:

What was started on the banks of Sind (Vedas), and was developed on the banks of Ganges (Upanishads), and completed on the banks of Cauvery (Advaita) by Sankara (9th century A.D.), who is called the completer of the Brahmin doctrine.\(^1\) Brahminism which was severely attacked by Jainism and Buddhism was in shambles. Brahminism was forced to define its doctrine, and so the Vedanta Doctrine, was finally fixed in the Brahma-sutra of Badarayana around the fourth century of the Christian era.\(^2\) Sankara came to be the Thomas Aquinas of Brahminism.\(^3\) His doctrine of Advaita (Non-duality) brought a great renaissance to Brahminism. He, "with his tactful compromising attitude, succeeded for the time being, at least, in welding the philosophical system into a unified whole, in changing the aim of life, and restoring the Dharma on a modified basis."\(^4\)

WHAT IS DHARMA?

Dr. C. Radhakrishnan says:

Dharma is right action. In the Rig Veda, 'Dharma' is the order of the universe. It stands for both the satya or the truth of things as well as the dharma or the law of evolution. Dharma formed from the root dhr, to hold, means that which holds a thing and maintains it in being. Every form of life, every group of men has its dharma, which is the law of its being. Dharma or virtue is conformity with

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1. Schweitzer, Indian Thoughts..., p. 164.

2. Ibid., p. 157.

3. Ibid., p. 159.

the truth of things; adharma or vice is opposition to it. Moral evil is disharmony with the truth which encompasses and controls the world.5

Dharma means many other different things too. According to Rgveda (I. 22:18; V. 26,6; VIII. 43,24) it means, "religious ordinances or rites," (IV. 53,34; V. 63,75; VI.70,16; VII. 89,57) and "fixed principles or rules of conduct," "merit acquired by the performances of religious rites" and "the whole body of religious duties."6 Chandogya Upanishad (2, 23) refers to Dharma as the four stages in life.

BRAHMINIC WORLD-VIEW:

The Brahminic world-view, according to the Laws of Manu, as applied to ordinary life, is based on the caste system. These laws, written between the 200 B.C. and 200 A.D., have divine sanction. The society was based on the caste system outlined by the Laws. The Laws of Manu clearly define the duties, the rights and privileges of the four different castes.

According to Manu, the Brahmans are appointed by the Brahma and they are the lords over all that the world contains. "They are to be venerated as god-like beings. A Brahmin at ten years old must be as much respected as if he were the father of a hundred-year-old member of the warrior class."7 If a man dies without leaving natural heirs to his


property, that property shall go to the Brahmins. If a Brahmin finds buried treasure, it belongs to him entirely and if a king finds it he will share it with the Brahmins. A member of the lower caste can attain reincarnation to a higher life, by his deferential treatment to a Brahmin.

The laws also defines the duties of the Brahmin. He must be without avarice, arrogance, and be hospitable and kind.

The king must protect his people. The maintenance of the laws and the protection of the weaker against the stronger are his duties. He will consult the Brahmin for all external affairs.

The code of Manu speaks of the duties of all the other castes. In short it indicates that everything—the judicial procedure, borrowing, contract, selling and buying, property inheritance, etc—is based on the caste system. "Society and the State were ruled by it and according to its principles and practices."

Since an individual's Dharma is his caste and since his caste is his world, and since his life in the family and in public is governed by his caste, this is an important institution to be taken into consideration when we study the Brahminic education.

This was the Dharma, Sankara restored, though in a modified way as the time warranted it. He wanted action not renunciation as the Buddhist preached.

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8 Ibid., chap. IX, 193.
9 Ibid., chap. VIII, 37.
10 Ibid., chap. VIII, 38.
11 Ibid., chap. VII, 37, 38, 145.
12 Ruthnaswamy, p. 33.
To guide man in his action, God had revealed the proper ways, the Vedas,—he entrusted everyone with a duty in life, the castes, and the four stages in each man's life, the 'asramas,' of a student, house-holder, forester, and the recluse.  

**TWO FACTORS:**

There are two important factors that we have to bear in mind, when we study the state of education of a thousand years of history of Tamil Nadu, which came under the sway of the Brahminic system. One of them is the administration—the state at the top—and the village councils at the bottom.

The king, as head of the state, ruled in consultation with a cabinet. According to Manu the council of ministers must be seven or eight. The most important member of the cabinet was the Purohit (Family Priest). The Purohit, at least during the middle ages, functioned as the minister or religion and education. The Purohit, who occupied the eighth rank in the cabinet of Asoka, moved on nearer and nearer to the Royal house-hold and closer and closer to the administration, until he reached a position above the Prime minister. And in some cases, the Purohit was the Prime minister. Being the minister in charge of Dharma and education, he had the powers to enter into agreement with village...

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13 Patwardhan, p. 19.
14 *Manu*; Chap. VII. 54.
15 Patwardhan, p. 44.
18 Minakshi, p. 54. Brahma Sri Raja was the Purohit and as well as the Prime Minister of Nandivarma Pallava II.
The village councils were at the bottom of the administrative ladder. They were autonomous with royal sanction. The greatest impact on the individual village citizen was Government or State taxation. For the ordinary villager, "the village, its lands, its life, its assembly, its administration, its problems were all in all to him." And again, in the Brahminic system, his village was governed by the Varnashrama Dharma—the caste-system.

The second factor was the method of supporting educational institutions. Though the central Government, during the medieval period, was far removed from the village people and though education was not a government department as it is today, nevertheless, educational institutions were supported by the king and the village councils. The system of supporting educational institutions was to endow them with lands. In these days when there were no banks and when the political fortune of the country was determined by warring feudal lords, land was the only means of securing permanency to a public grant. Nobody ever dared to touch it, as every inscription of such grants warns in the end of grave punishment of the offender, in the name of Dharma.

THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION:

Manu, in principle, gives the privilege of Vedic education (the study of Vedas) to the first three castes. But, in practice, only the

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20 Rupnaswamy, India from the Dawn, p. 45.
Brahmin had the right to formal education and teaching. The Brahmin was the priest, the philosopher and the guide to the other castes and he only needed to study and teach—to study the holy scriptures so that he could interpret them to others. The four stages in life belonged to him only.

There are references of Kshatriya—the kings—getting education. The education of the kings was mostly on principles of government and warfare. The Vaishya and the Sudra, in practice, never had the privilege to education.

The scriptures were in Sanskrit, and so Sanskrit was the divine language. And in the Brahminic system Sanskrit had the place of pride and importance over any other language.

**BRAHMINIC EDUCATION UNDER THE PALLAVAS**

When Brahminism was attacked in the North by the Kshatriya kings and by Buddhism and Jainism, South India provided the serenity and fertility for Brahminism to take deep roots and grow. During the glorious Tamil Sangam period and the ensuing period of confusion and calamity, Brahminism established its supremacy over its rivals of Jainism and Buddhism. That period was the time of the 'melting pot' when Tamil society was undergoing a new colour and attaining a new philosophy. The Tamil religious were Aryanised and the Tamil natural gods of 'Seyon' had already become 'Subramanya' and 'Mayon' had become 'Vishnu'.

21 Tholkappiyam, Porul, 5. "\(\text{தோல்கப்பியம் பொறுள், மேன் பொறுள் முதல் பொறுள்} \)"
The forest region of Mayon
And, the mountaneous region of Seyon.
At this stage the Pallava rule was a great boon to Brahminism for further stability and consolidation. The Pallava kings were of the "intrusive dynasty" who established themselves firmly in power around the end of the sixth century. Perhaps, they were of North Indian origin and so they were foreign to Tamil culture. Their earlier charters were in Prakrit language, and they were great patrons of Sanskrit language from the very beginning. Their power was felt throughout Tamil Nadu until they were overthrown by the Cholas by the end of ninth century.

THE GHATIKA OF KANCHI:

The capital of Pallava kingdom was Kanchi. Kanchi was a great centre of learning. There were Jain and Buddhist monasteries. The Pallavas were great supporters of Brahminism. Since it was the court language, Sanskrit learning flourished and there were many centres of Sanskrit learning throughout Pallava country. One among them, rather most important of them, was the Ghatika of Kanchi. It was a place or institution where scholars and students strove after knowledge. This institution consisted of a great many number of Brahmin scholars. It was so famous that it attracted scholars from many parts of the country. The successive Pallava kings patronised this institution.

This institution was devoted to the critical study of the sacred scriptures and the study of the four Vedas was specially emphasised. Many

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22 V.A. Smith, p. 466.
23 Minakshi, p.10.
24 Ibid., p. 4. The Chola dynasty is one of the three that ruled Tamil Nadu from ancient times.
25 Ibid., p. 186. 'Ghat' - the Sanskrit root means 'to be busy with'; 'Strive after'.

scholars sought to join this Ghatika to complete their studies as it maintained a very high standard. 26

The Ghatika also seemed to have had some political influence. It exerted its influence in the succession of Nandivarman and also the Ghatikaiyar took part in the coronation ceremony. 27

CHATIKACHALA:

Ghatikachala means the hill of the Ghatika. There are evidences to show that on the Scholingar hill, which was known as Chatikachala, in North Arcot District of Tamil Nadu, there existed another Ghatika during the time of Pallava Malla (Nandivarman). It probably was an institution of learned Vaishnava Brahmins who carried on their studies. 28

THE SANSKRIT COLLEGE AT BAHUR:

Probably as early as the 5th century there existed another Sanskrit College at Bahur (near Pondicherry). An endowment of three villages was made to this college by Nripatungavarman. 29

This college consisted of only Brahmin scholars and they specialised in the study of four Vedas, six Angas, Mimamsa, Nyaya, Dharma Sastra, Purana, Ayurveda, Dhanurveda, Gandharva and Arthasastra. 30

26 Ibid., pp. 192-93.
27 Ibid., p. 197.
23 Ibid., p. 199.
29 Ibid., p. 205.
30 Ibid., p. 207.
On the request of the district officer, the Pallava king appointed a minister to carry out the order of transferring three villages, namely Chettuppakkam, Vilangattankaduwanur, and Iraippunsicorei to the college. The scholars of the college had the right to enjoy the revenue of the three villages and engage in studies.

**ROYAL PATRONAGE OF INDIVIDUAL LEARNING:**

Pallava kings encouraged and patronized individuals of intellectual eminence. The scholars were granted lands free of all taxes and the grants were technically known as 'Bhattavritti', which means 'a gift to a Brahmin in recognition of his learning.' There were many such grants offered by the Pallava kings during their reign. Another kind of gift was called **Agrahara**. Agrahara means a settlement of learned Brahmins. By this endowment granted by the kings, the learned Brahmins were settled in a village which was again free from all taxes and which contained all the facilities. Many such Agraharas were granted by the Pallava kings. The Pallava king Nandivarman II created two agraharas, one near Kumbakonam and another in the Nagapattinam Taluk of Tanjore district.

**TEMPLES AND MATHAS AS CENTRES OF LEARNING:**

On the ascendency of Brahminism, the temples gained importance as centres of learning, culture, and education.

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31 Ibid., p. 199.
32 Still today, the Brahmin settlement—usually a part of the village or town—is known as Agrahara.
33 Ibid., p. 201.
Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, who visited the Pallava kingdom around 640 A.D., observed temples of the Hindu gods in hundreds. In these temples flourished the arts of music and dance. The temples were and still are the monuments of art and architecture, painting and sculpture. They also served as the centres of learning. Scholars are of the opinion that the Kailasanatha temple was the meeting place of the famous Shatika of Kanchi. The temples were the places of Vedic studies and the meeting places for people to listen to the lectures of Puranas like Mahabharata. Arrangements were made and gifts were given to famous Brahmin scholars of Puranas to import such knowledge of the puranas free to the public.

Mathas were another important institution for our study of education during the medieval ages in Tamil Nadu. A matha was an abode for scholars and others which also served as feeding places for the poor and the rest houses for the pilgrims. But above all they served as centres of learning.

From the beginning of eighth century, mathas were established. There is evidence for a Matha attached to the Tirumerrali Siva temple of Kandhi, during the Palla rule. There were many such mathas established during the life time of the well known Saivite saints like Appar and Sambandar. Evidences are plenty for such mathas in Periyapuranam.

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34 Smith, p. 472.
35 Minakshi, p. 191.
36 Ibid., p. 204.
37 Ibid., p. 207.
38 Ibid., p. 208.
39 Periyapuranam is a Tamil epic on the lives of the sixty-three Saivite saints.
Sankara, who lived between 600 and 900 A.D. established many such mathas. Probably these mathas were the replicas of the monasteries of Jains and Buddhists whom the Brahmans defeated in the struggle for supremacy.

**BRAHMINIC EDUCATION UNDER THE CHOLAS**

During the Pallava rule, the Cholas remained unimportant and the Pandyas were tributaries of the powerful Pallavas of Kanchi. But by A.D. 900, Aditya Chola put an end to Pallava rule and regained the Chola supremacy. His son Parantaka I, defeated the Pandya in the south and invaded Ceylon and made the Cholas the big power in Tamil Nadu. His inscriptions are very important particularly for the study of village institutions during the Chola period.

Though the Chola kings were Tamil kings, they were also part of the change Tamil Nadu had undergone almost for a thousand years and they were also very much conditioned by the encompassing Brahminism. They behaved like the Ksatriya kings of the Brahminic mold and their activities—most particularly of their educational activities—bear testimony to their Aryanised thinking. The temples and mathas and the agraharas and caturvedimangalams of the Chola inscriptions were enough proof of that thinking. The Cholas were Saivites and they, like their counter parts in the North and elsewhere, had Purohits, known as Raja-gurus to provide them advice.

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41 A village endowed to a scholar of four Vedas ('Catur' means 'four' and 'Vedi' means 'a scholar of Veda') is known as Caturvedimangalam.
The names of Isana Siva and Sarva Siva stand out from the inscriptions of the reigns of Rajaraja I and Rajendra, and bear testimony to the North Indian connection of the Saivism of the Cola court.  

**ELEMENTARY EDUCATION**

Our evidences are very few to throw any light on the condition of elementary education during the Chola period. Children received their elementary education at home or at the village schools, which were probably supported by the village councils. An undated inscription at Panaiyavaram, South Aroot, speaks of a free school at that village. Probably these schools were supported by the income of the common lands of the village. The school teacher was known as 'Vatti'.

Tamil literatures like *Periyapuranam* and *Civakaointhamani* have some references about the existence of elementary schools. 'Upanayana' was an important ceremony for the Brahmin children. At the age of seven, they were given this 'spiritual rebirth' and taken to the teacher for Vedic instruction. Upanayana means 'to take one near'. It was customary for the parents of the children to offer presents to the teacher. Rich parents even offered gold rice and gold leaf and writing nail.

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44 17 of 1920, A.R.S.I.E., 1920, p. 52. Still teachers are known by the name "Vattiyan".
45 Chaube, p. 27.
46 *Civakaointhamani*, 369. *Civakaointhamani* is a Jain epic poem on the romantic exploits of the mythological hero 'Civakan'.
The Jains and Buddhist who were the pioneers of elementary education in Tamil Nadu, used Tamil language as the medium of instruction and wrote books in Tamil. But the Brahmins taught in Sanskrit and wrote in Sanskrit. And so, we have to surmise that both Tamil and Sanskrit were the mediums at this level.

HIGHER EDUCATION:

We have got evidence in abundance for Sanskrit higher education during the Chola rule. Sanskrit learning got the royal patronage and encouragement as well as the support of the village councils. The seats of higher learning were usually attached with the temples and mathas.

Higher education in Sanskrit was pursued under individual teachers and in established colleges. The learned teachers, who were experts in different branches of study like the Nigamsa of Prabhakara and Vyakarana (grammar), taught students. These teachers were granted lands as recognition of their scholarship and also as means to support their teaching.

There is evidence of a Vedic school at Kamappullur (the present Koppalur of North Arcot district), which was supported by a member of the village council. The Mahasabha of Aniyur (now Anur of Chinglepet district), gave a 'bhattavritti' for the teaching of Vedas and grammar and other subjects. It laid down the qualification of the 'bhattar' who had to teach. There were many inscriptions to prove that entire villages were given as endowments to Brahmins for their study and teaching. Those villages were known as Agraharas, Brahmadayas and Caturvedicangalams.

During the reign of Rajendra Chola I, there existed a Sanskrit college at Ennayiram, is South Arcot district. The village was known as Rajarajacaturvedimangalam. The village council, in the presence of the officer of the king, and in accordance with the terms of an order made by the king himself, resolved to make an endowment of 45 'veli' of lands (nearly 300 acres) for the maintenance of the college and the feeding of the students and for the remuneration of the teachers. Professor K.A.N. Sastri thinks that it was a Vaishnava college. The college consisted of 270 junior students and 70 senior students and 14 teachers.

TABLE I

THE SUBJECTS OF STUDY AND NUMBER OF STUDENTS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Juniors</th>
<th>Seniors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rig Veda</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yajur Veda</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandogasaman</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talavakarasaman</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vajasaneeya</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atharva Veda</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandhayaniya-Grihya-Kalpa and Gana</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rupavatara</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vyakarana</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prabhakara Mimamsa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vedanta</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forty junior students learnt the elements of Sanskrit grammar according to *Rupavatara* and the rest of them were learning the Vedas by rote. But the senior students were engaged in advanced studies. There were 14 teachers staffing the college.

**STUDENT STIPENDS:**

Each junior student was given six nalis (\(\frac{3}{8}\) of a measure) of paddy per day and the seniors were allowed ten nalis and every student was given \(\frac{1}{2}\) kalanju of gold (about 25 grains of gold) per year. This was given, probably to meet the cost of their clothing.52

**TEACHERS' REMUNERATION:**

The teachers were remunerated according to the subject they taught. The teacher of *Vedanta* received a daily allowance of a kalam (12 measures) and a third of paddy per day, where as the teachers of *Mimamsa* and *Vyakarana* received a kalam each and the rest of them received the fourth of the kalam each per day. Besides paddy each teacher received the allowance of gold. All teachers except the teacher of *Vedanta* received gold. The teacher of *Mimamsa* got 12 kalanjus per year, where as the teacher of *Vyakarana* received 8 kalanjus and the rest of them received half kalanju each. The allowance of gold was a kind of bonus to the teachers.

**TRIBHUVANI:**

From another inscription issued on the thirtieth year of Rajendhira, A.D. 1048, there is evidence of the existence of another Sanskrit college at Tribhuvani, near Pondicherry. This was a college for 260 students.

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staffed by 12 teachers.\textsuperscript{53} This college also was a residential college. In addition to the subjects taught at Ennayiram, the following new subjects were also taught: \textit{Satyasadhasutras}, \textit{Manusastra}, and \textit{Vaikhanasa-sastra}. Of course \textit{Ramayana} and \textit{Mahabharata} were expounded to public by the school. There was a separate department of Sastra. This college again was endowed with a land of 72 'velis' of lands.

There is a very interesting point to note regarding this college. In accordance with the resolution of the village council, the inscription states that the staff and students of this college were exempted from taking active part in the village administration. The students and the teachers received allowances in varying measures in paddy.

\textsc{Thirumukkudal:}

The inscription of Virarajendra Chola, A.D. 1067 mentions the existence of a college with hostel and of a Hospital at Thirumukkudal.\textsuperscript{54} The college was for teaching of Vedas and Vyakarana. The students were provided free food and light. They were also given mats to sleep on. The teachers received a remuneration of one \textit{Padakku} (2 measures) of paddy a day and four gold kasus (coins) per year.

The hospital was called Vira Chola. There was provision for fifteen beds and a staff of one physician, one surgeon, two servants for fetching drugs, fuel and for other work for the hospital, and two maid


servants as nurses and one general servant for the entire establishment. This inscription also gives a list of drugs available at the hospital.

**Thiruvottiyur:**

There was a school of grammar at Thiruvottiyur. The inscription of A.D. 1213 records this special school which was endowed with 65 velis of lands for its maintenance. This school was attached to the temple of Thiruvottiyur. In this school Paninis grammar was taught and the Grammar Hall was known as 'Vyakarana-danavyakhyana Mandapam'. This school was further supported by other gifts. The endowment was exempted from taxes.

**Medical School at Thiruvaduturai:**

We do not have direct evidence to say anything definite about medical education. But, nevertheless, there are references in the available inscriptions of the Chola period to suppose the existence of medical knowledge. By the fact that there was a hospital at Thirumukkudal and it was staffed by a physician, a surgeon and two nurses, make us to think that there must have been some kind of arrangements to impart medical education. The inscription at Thiruvaduturai, issued on the third year of Vikramachola, A.D. 1121 (159 of 1925), mentions the provisions made for the feeding of students of medicine and grammar at the matha of that place. They were students of Vagbhata's Astangahrdaya, of Carakasamhita and of Rupavatara.

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56 Astangahrdaya and Carakasamhita were medical treatises. Carak, one of the great medical scholars of ancient India, discusses in his book the causes of disease its prognosis, diagnosis and the prescription for treatment.
The physicians were known as 'Vaidya'. There are inscriptive references of the physicians receiving land endowments.

**Tamil Studies**

Regarding the state of Tamil studies during this period, Professor K.A.N. Sastri observes:

While we thus find much evidence on the nature and organization of higher studies in Sanskrit, it is somewhat disappointing that we are left with practically no tangible evidence on the state of Tamil learning...

But, yet, the Siva and Vaishnava mathas that were attached to the temples, probably provided facilities for Tamil studies, both secular and religious. There was a sudden growth of these mathas around the tenth century. They were in greater number and spread all over Tamil Nadu. There was a great output of religious literatures in Tamil. The mathas served as the centres of religious learning. Training was given to competent people to sing Thévaram and Thiruvacakam. The Nayanmargars and Alvars toured Tamil Nadu, getting the people into the 'Bakthi' movement.

The beautiful Saivite lyrics were set to tune and were sung to the people. The mathas also provided opportunities for scholars to engage in literary discussions. There are many references about them in literatures like Thévaram, Periyapuranam and Ramayanam. Probably this was the only education the general public had.

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The Chola kings patronised many Tamil poets. Great poets like Kambar, Ottakkutthar and Jayankondar were court poets. The great literary activities and the appearance of many Tamil Literatures and the commentaries written for ancient grammatical works were proofs for us to suppose that there was some kind of higher studies in Tamil. But the religious character of those literatures--mostly of Brahminic ideas--and the adoption of Sanskrit literary and epic themes into Tamil show the hold that Brahminism had on Tamil people during this period. That may be one of the reasons why Tamil had occupied the second place, and lost the royal patronage and encouragement.

TAMIL NADU AFTER THE CHOLAS:

The power of the Chola ended at A.D. 1237 and then the Pandyas gained upper hand until the Moslem expedition of Malik Kafur in the south in A.D. 1310. There was a brief period of Moslem occupation of Madurai of Tamil Nadu and Brahminism was shaken. By A.D. 1370, Vijayanagar empire restored its supremacy. This continued until the end of the Vijayanagar empire in A.D. 1565.

Brahminism was weakened by the attacks of Moslems in the North, and this process started in A.D. 712. But in the South, it started growing stronger almost around the same time. The Moslem rule in the North and the undisturbed Brahminism in the South continued until they both met the entirely new attack of the West. The undisturbed supremacy of Brahminism explains why one of its main foundations of castesim and all the evils

60 Smith, p. 400.
61 The Arabs, under the leadership of Mohammed Bin Qasim invaded Sind.
attached to it remained stronger in the South than in the North.

And so education in Tamil Nadu, after the Cholas also remained the same as it was under the Pallavas and Cholas.

**BRAHMNIC SYSTEM OF EDUCATION**

**THE GOVERNING IDEA:**

Brahminic system of education, in its own merits, seems to be an excellent one if one considers its antiquity and its capacity to carry through thick and thin. From the Vedic period, through the periods of Upanished, of Sutras, of Puranas and of other Sastras and down to the end of medieval period, the one governing idea seems to be the connecting thread: that is the idea of "the emancipation of the natural atman and its reunion with the supreme atman." The natural atman is the immaterial part of the individual, and the supreme atman is the Brahman, the Supreme Being. So the highest aim of this spiritual pantheism is absorption in the Pure Being. The transmigration is only a step in this process of absorption. The practical effects of this is life negation and the insignificance of the individual. Speaking of the effects of this idea on the individual and society W.I. Chamberlain observes:

Such an idea, if rooted in the nature of a people, is an effective check to all self-reliant activity, weakens all senses of individual responsibility and destroys the ambition of excellence. Ascetic contemplation becomes the supreme virtue in religion. Thus the ethical virtues of a people whose deepest convictions are pantheistic, and whose highest hopes are of personal absorption in the universal, are such as temperance, patience, docility, gentleness and resignation.

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These are naturally accompanied by politeness, respect for parents and elders and obedience to the powers that be, both civic and ecclesiastic.63

THE AIDS OF EDUCATION:

The first and foremost aim of Brahminic education is the attainment of the knowledge of the Truth, the Truth being the Brahman. All others were considered illusions. By realizing the Brahman, one was supposed to get rid of worldly things and be delivered from rebirth. This knowledge could be attained through meditation. The Vedas and the Upanishads speak of meditation. Of meditation, Chandogya Upanishad says:

Meditation is in truth higher than thought. The earth seems to rest in silent meditation; and the waters and the mountains and the sky and the heavens seem all to be in meditation. Whenever a man attains greatness on this earth, he has his reward according to his meditation.64

The second aim was the development of leaders of the society who would possess the desirable habits of life, observation, meditation and other creative efforts specially in regard to religion and philosophy. This was achieved in Vedic and Upanished periods in the arhrams which were situated in the midst of natural surroundings. The teacher was the model to follow.

The third aim was the development of self control in the students. The student's life was simple and free from luxury. His food was simple and his clothes were meagre and all the other activities were so carefully selected to teach him the simplicity in life which developed in him the


control over physical desire and also over mental and emotional excesses.

The fourth aim was the cultivation of the attitude of obedience, patience and willingness to work and also of reverence for constituted authority. The student obeyed his master in the 'ashramas' and also in the mathas in the later periods. He served his teacher and did menial works. He was trained to accept the authority of the teacher and of the authority and divinity of the Vedas, Sastras and of all the scriptures. He never questioned them.

THE CENTRES OF LEARNING:

During the pre-Buddhist period, the ashramas, which were far away from the madding crowd, were the centres of Brahminic education. But during the medieval period, due to Buddhist influence, the mathas attached to temples, became the centres of learning. There were individual colleges and schools also during the Pallava and Chola periods and also later on. Sometimes, the homes of individual teachers functioned as places of learning, as the students used to go to such teachers for some specialised subjects. There were many such teachers during the medieval period.

THE TEACHERS:

In the Vedic and post-Vedic period, the teachers were great sages, who used to have their ashramas outside the village, in a forest or a shady grove or on the banks of a river or stream. They were very much respected and venerated and their ashramas were considered sacred like the temples and were called Gurukulas. Even during the period of Upanishad and Sutras they held their stately positions. During the post-Buddhist period, the
teachers of the temples, and mathas were mostly Brahmins. They were known as Acharyas, Gurus and Joadhyayas. The kings had their own Rajagurus. They gave the kings religious education and remained their advisors. Dandin was the royal tutor and court poet of the Pallavas. 

Rajendira Chola I, brought some Acharyas from North India and settled them down in Tamil Nadu, and many of them were the Rajagurus of the Cholas. 

The individual scholars were known as 'Bhattar' and inscriptions mention their qualifications. Some others were known as 'Caturvedis' (Catur means four) and 'Thirivedis' ('thirl' means three) depending upon the number of Vedas they had mastered. These teachers, apart from their teaching, also served in the temples as priests and in other capacities in temple administrations. In the villages, they were held in great esteem and often presided over the village councils.

In ancient days, the teachers expected nothing from the students. They considered teaching their religious duty. But the students worked for the teachers and always they gave their teachers gifts. But during the medieval period, the teachers were paid in kinds and in gold as we have seen in the previous pages.

During the Pallava and Chola periods, the Saivite and Vaishnavite saints were great teachers of religion. By their poems and hymns they educated the people. Apart from them, the great Tamil poets were used to be great teachers who were very much sought after by students.

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65 Minakshi, p. 118.
also see Patwardhan, p. 93.

66 Nannittwami, Araiich, p. 370.
THE STUDENTS:

The students, in ancient days, stayed in the teachers ashramas and were trained in theory as well as in practice. The students served their masters. When they entered the ashrama or the school, the entrance ceremony was performed. For the Brahmin boy it was the 'Upanayana' ceremony at the age of seven. In the post-Vedic period this ceremony was extended to the next two castes. The Kshatriya had his 'Upanayana' ceremony at the age of eight and the Vaishya at the age of nine.67

The student remained with the master, served him and learned from him. He did everything for him. He considered him his father and almost equal to god. He obeyed him in every respect. Strict discipline was enforced in the schools.

We have seen in the previous pages, that during the Chola period, the students were given stipends for their studies and there were hostels for them.

THE TEACHER - PUPIL RELATION:

The teacher--pupil relation was one of intimacy. It was like that relation between a father and son, master and disciple. The students sought the teachers for knowledge and so they got the paternal attention of the teacher. This type of personal attention was possible as there were not many students. In the Gurukulas, the atmosphere of a family prevailed. In the temple and mathas of later period, the same relation between the master and his disciple continued. The relationship, however, was not that of equality as it was in the Buddhist monasteries.

67Chaub, p. 52.
THE SUBJECTS OF STUDY:

The subjects were religious and philosophic in essence. The Vedas, the Upanishads, the Vedangas and the other Sutras, the grammar and Puranas were studied. In later periods there were specialised studies in different branches of Vedas. In the post-Vedic period there was the study of phonetics and prosody. There are evidences of the study of subjects like logic, mathematics, astronomy, astrology, medicine and music and dance. In Tamil Nadu, during the Pallava and Chola periods, the above mentioned subjects were studied. There is evidence of a school of dance at Tanjore, Tamil Nadu, founded by Raja Raja Chola.68

By the establishment of castes, there were different subjects of study for different castes. The Kshatriyas (kings) were taught military science, history, the art of Government, and some knowledge of economics and so on. All other trades and arts were a matter of caste and family tradition and training.

THE METHODS OF TEACHING:

During the Vedic period, and also later on, the methods of teaching the Vedas were oral instruction and contemplation. The proper pronunciation and correct intonation of the 'Vedic mantras' were important. So the students were repeatedly taught pronunciation. This essentially was followed by the grammatical study of syllables and words. And so, memorization and contemplation of the meaning of texts were the greatest steps to further learning. The knowledge of Nyaya Sastra ('Nyaya' means method).

which was based on logic and psychology, was essential for teachers. This Sastra contains of rules for correct thinking, arguing and inferring. 69

But in the time of Upanishads, apart from meditations and contemplation, the question and answer method also was followed. Students were taught with illustrations. During the Sutra period strict codes of conduct were made for the teachers and students. Violation of this code was considered sin. The students, before the beginning of the class respected the master by touching his feet and then occupied their seats. Then they begged the teacher with great reverence to start the lessons. The teachers sang the Vedic mantras and they repeated until all of the students engrossed in them. In that atmosphere of great sanctity and solemnity the teacher taught the lessons portion by portion. 70

Probably, this was the methods of teaching even during the seventh century, when Huen Tsang visited India. He says:

These teachers (Brahmans) explain the general meaning (to their disciples) and teach them the minutiae; they rouse them to activity and skillfully win them to progress; they instruct the inert and sharpen the dull; when disciples, intelligent and acute, are addicted to idle shrinking, the teachers doggedly persevere, repeating instruction until their training is finished. When disciples are thirty years old, their minds being settled and their education completed, they go into office, and the first thing they do then is to reward the kindness of their teachers. 71

This being the methods of teaching in Brahminic education during the seventh century, probably this was the method followed during the Pallava, Chola periods and also on later periods. The essential

69 Patwardhan, p. 107.
70 Chalube, p. 54.
71 Patwardhan, p. 107. – as quoted by the author.
See also Mookerji, p. 506.
aspects of study were as follows:—

1. Servitude to the preceptor
2. Hearing
3. Understanding and absorbing
4. Meditation
5. Clarification of doubts
6. Discussion and argumentation
7. Real attainment of wisdom.\(^2\)

**EDUCATION IN NANNOOL**

Nannool is a Tamil grammatical treatise, written by Pavanandhi Munivar, a Jain scholar, who flourished at the court of the Ganga King, Amarabharanan Ceeya-Ganga, a feudatory of Kulothunga Chola III (A.D. 1178-1216).

The general introductory part of Nannool, speaks of the qualifications of the teachers, of the students, and the methods of teaching and of learning. This throws some light on the educational practices of the said period.

**THE QUALIFICATIONS OF THE TEACHER:**

The teacher should be a man of good birth, of sympathy and of faith in God. He must be good principled and exemplary in character. He should be profound in scholarship and eminent in exposition. He should be a man of good common sense and of great virtues.\(^3\) He should be like the earth for its qualities of enormity, strength, patience and seasonal

\(^2\)Chaube, pp. 54-55.

\(^3\)Nannool., 26.
fertility. He also could be favourably compared to a mountain for its 
magnanimity and abundance of wealth, and for its unshakable stature and 
appearance and ever yielding fertility even there is a drought. The 
teacher should be like a scale. The scale is precise and impartial. He 
should be like the flower for its qualities of indispensability, likability 
and cheerfulness. The flower is considered indispensable in suspicious 
occasions.

Nanmool considers that the man, with above mentioned qualities and 
qualifications, an ideal teacher. It specifically states that a man of 
jealousy, greediness, fear and of confused thinking and of other bad quali-
ties should not be a teacher. Inability of expression is a disqualifica-
tion.

THE STUDENTS:

The students could be the teacher’s own son, the son of his master, 
the prince, the sons of wealthy people who could pay the teacher, and the 
one who could serve the teacher, though they might not be able to pay.

The drunkard, the lazy, the lustful, the thief, the sick, the poor, 
the angry fellow, the sleepy, the dull and the one who fears the subject 
and the stupid should not be accepted as students, according to Nanmool.

74 Ibid., 27.
75 Ibid., 28.
76 Ibid., 29.
77 Ibid., 30.
78 Ibid., 31.
79 Ibid., 37.
80 Ibid., 39.
THE THREE CATEGORIES OF STUDENTS:

Nannool divides the students into three categories: the top, the mediocre and the bottom. The top students are those who are like the swan and the cow. They will be able to differentiate the desirable from the undesirable like the swan is able to drink the milk separating it from water. They are like the cows, who ruminate what they have learnt.

The mediocre students are the ones who just repeat what is learnt. They are like the parrots.

The bottom students are the ones who could not keep anything in their mind. They are like the porous pot and the filter. Either they forget whatever learnt or remember only those that are unimportant.

THE PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES OF TEACHING:

The method of teaching, according to Nannool, is very interesting. The teacher should carefully select the right place and time to teach. The place should provide the conducive atmosphere for learning and the time also must be most opportune for students to learn effectively. The teacher should place himself in the right place and conduct the prayers to his God. Before he presents his subject, he should have put them in his mind in the correct order. When he teaches he should not be fast, neither should be be angry, but he should be kind and smiling and teach the students. Knowing their individual indifferences and capacities, he will make them understand what he teaches.

\[\text{Ibid., 33.}\]

\[\text{Ibid., 36.}\]
THE PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES OF LEARNING:

Equally interesting are the principles and practices of learning as explained in Nannool. The student should be punctual and should never fail to respect and render the required services to his teacher. He should be observant and understand his teacher’s qualities and adjust himself to his personality. When the teacher asks him to sit, he sits and when he asks him to give out the previous day lesson, he gives out. The student should be earnest and to learn as the thirsty person is eager to quench his thirst. He should be quiet like the figure on a painting and store up everything he has learnt in his mind and leave the class, when the teacher tells him to do so.33

Nannool further explains some interesting principles of learning. It is important for the student to learn the lessons repeatedly and ponder over what he has learnt. When doubts arises, he should get them cleared by his teacher. Discussing the lessons with his fellow-students will be eminently beneficial. He must question and be able to answer the questions. Nannool says that the student will grow in knowledge if he cultivates the above said learning practices and follow the learning principles. 34

Since the predominant method of teaching was oral in those days, Nannool says that frequent listening will enhance understanding. 35 It is interesting to note that, according to Nannool, one becomes a full scholar only when he teaches what he has learnt. Nannool says that by listening to the teacher one acquires only one quarter of scholarship, and the other

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33 Ibd., 40.
34 Ibd., 41.
35 Ibd., 42, 43.
quarter he acquires when interacting with his fellow students and the other half comes to him when he teaches to others what he has learnt. 36

Nannool, perhaps, speaks of the ideal teachers and students. But, nevertheless, we could safely suppose of the then expected qualifications of the teachers and students and of the methods and principles of teaching and learning. The further scrutiny of the Sutras 37 of Nannool reveals that education was restricted to a few and that only the rich few had the privilege of education and that the Brahminic ideals have deep rooted in Tamil society of the Nannool time. Probably there were not very many organised colleges as the ones at Ennayiram and Thirumukkudal. But perhaps there were centres of higher learning at different places and they were perhaps at the residences of individual teachers. What Nannool speaks of may be of the later types.

THE DECLINE:

From the end of the 13th century, Brahminic education started declining. The reasons are the political instability, the accumulation of material wealth by the temples and mathas which generally neglected their educational responsibilities, the evergrowing aristocracy of the Brahmins as a caste by virtue of their birth and of their rich endowments as scholars and teachers and their general neglect of their sacred duty of teaching, and the increasing rigidity of castes with ever growing ignorance which accompanied by fear and superstition. This may seem a paradox but a fact.

36 Ibid., 45.
37 Sutras are grammatical rules written in the form of verses. Ancient and medieval grammarians wrote grammar in Sutras.
After the Chola empire, the Pandyas ruled for a brief period, then Tamil Nadu was in a political chaos. The only remaining institution was the village council, popularly known as 'Panchayats' which were functioning on democratic lines. The temples were once centres of learning, but owing to the great accumulation of wealth, they largely ceased to be centres of education. Some of the mathas were great estates and remained so even to this century. The Brahmins who were teachers and scholars started neglecting their duties. The teachers were once servants of the village council, but later on they became the owners of the village, as they were richly endowed by the kings.

The Agrahara came to be a purely sectarian body, where Brahminic bigotry took deep root. As we have repeatedly explained the grant of lands and villages was in the name of the Dharma, for the stability of the teaching professions—to which Brahmins formed a part. Had the Brahman teachers made the proper use of their rich grants and had they taught the populace, their work and name would have lived to this day along with their grants. The evil of the agraharam system was the unhappy fusion of professional and administrative duties. However, from the tenth century onwards, agraharas seem to be an accepted policy. In Kashmir, we find King Tasmakar bestowed on the Brahmins fifty-five villages along the Vitasta river. Far down in the South, the Cola Emperors at the height of their power, granted village after village to Brahmins for the Dharma. The practice of agrahars resulted in creating a richly endowed order of zamindars (landlords), who were already superior to their fellow men by virtue of their birth. The agrahars were soon to prove to be a danger to the local councils of which they were independent, and to the State, which if weakened, would be overshadowed by the Brahman aristocracy.88

The other castes remained ignorant. As the darkness of ignorance increased fear and superstition dominated them. As the Brahmins being ceased to be teachers, a large band of other teachers, almost from

88 Patwardhan, p. 60.
every other caste, with their half-education, started cashing in on
the ignorance of the people. They functioned as private tutors,
astrologers and lecturers of Puranas and Kathakars who gave musical
discourses to people on Puranas, and of mythical heroes. The poor
village teachers and the wandering Kathakars were the only teachers we
inherited from the medieval period. It is true that every village
had some sort of school, and here and there, there were other centres
of higher learning, but they were only for the rich few. But the
general public was soaked in ignorance, caste traditions and religious
superstitions.

This was the end-picture of the great civilization when the
West met the East. The picture was one of a few stars shining brightly
on the vast dark horizon.
CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION IN TAMIL NADU UNDER THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

PRIOR TO A.D. 1813.

THE POLITICAL CLIMATE:

As we have observed in the previous pages, after the brief rule of Pandya kings, Tamil Nadu was in political chaos. The warring Pandya princes invited Malik Kafur to Madurai in A.D. 1310. That paved the way for a brief period of Moslem rule of Madurai. Moslem rule was overthrown by the Vijayanagar Empire. As a result of this Tamil Nadu came under the rule of Nayaks who were tributaries of Vijayanagar empire. The Nayaks were ruling from Madurai, Tanjore, Gingee and Vellore. Their rule continued for more than two hundred years. By the end of the Vijayanagar empire, in A.D. 1565, the Nayak rule disintegrated and Tamil Nadu again became the battle field for various feudatories. Tamil Nadu was also invaded by the Hoysalas and the Kakatiyas from the north and by the kings of Mysore from the west. From the 16th century onwards, for about 180 years the western part of Tamil Nadu was under the kings of Mysore. In A.D. 1648 the Sultan of Bijapur invaded the northern part of Tamil Nadu. In A.D. 1675 the Marathas invaded Tanjore and established their rule there.1

After A.D. 1765, the condition in Tamil Nadu became still worse. Hyder Ali, who was a soldier in the Mysore army, and who later on became the royal resident at Coimbatore of Tamil Nadu, became the King of Mysore. His

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ascendancy to the throne sparked off a series of wars against the French and the English. Hyder Ali and his son Tipou Sultan fought against the English. Tipou Sultan was killed in his capital by the English in A.D. 1799.

And so, from the end of the Chola period until the beginning of the nineteenth century the political condition in Tamil Nadu was one of confusion and constant wars. During the Vijayanagar empire, Telugu people migrated in hundreds of thousands to Tamil Nadu, and during the rule of the Mysore kings, the Kanarese settled down in Tamil Nadu in thousands. The numerous petty kings, and the invading foreign powers plundered the people. Because of heavy taxation, the people gradually became poorer and poorer. This situation made even more worse from the beginning of the seventeenth century by the coming of the various Portuguese, Dutch, English and French Trading Companies from the West. The Dutch East India Company established a fortified factory at Pulicat in A.D. 1609. The French and the English were fighting for supremacy until the French were defeated by Sir Eyre Coote, in A.D. 1760 at Wandiwash. The French lost everything except Pondicherry and a few other places. The Portuguese were contained with their few pockets of land on the westcoast of southern India. The Dutch left India because of the competition of the powerful French and English East India Companies. Finally the English became superior and established their empire in India. Throughout the eighteenth century the English East India Company engaged more in attaining political gains rather than commercial gains.

A group of enterprising merchants of the city of London, received a charter for the monopoly of trade with India and the East from Queen Elizabeth, on 31st December A.D. 1600, in the 43rd year of her reign. Thus the East India Company was formed and they came to India in A.D. 1615. In A.D. 1626, they first set up their trading post on the east coast of Tamil Nadu, at Aragon, a few miles north of the Dutch settlement of Pulicat (Pala-verkkadu). They soon found out that Aragon was unsuited for trade. In A.D. 1639, Francis Day negotiated with Venkattappa Nayak, son of Cinnappa Nayak and acquired a site for a new post south of Pulicat. On that site the present Fort St. George was built and the Company occupied it in A.D. 1639-40. "Its site was the first territorial acquisition of the English in India." It was raised to the rank of a Presidency only in A.D. 1653-54.

By A.D. 1813, the political affairs of the English East India Company were separated from its commercial affairs. But in A.D. 1833, the English East India Company became a political force rather than a commercial concern. It ruled India, in a rather comparatively uneasy calm until the Crown took over the administration of India in A.D. 1858.

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4 Ibid., p. 216.

THE VILLAGE COUNCIL AND EDUCATION:

Fortunately in spite of all this political chaos, the village councils remained intact in Tamil Nadu. Though they had to bear the stress and strains of political instability and of the wars, the councils provided some order and protection to the villages. Education, also in its declining and weaker stage, tried to enlighten the younger generations of the villagers. There were many reasons for the weaker condition of the village councils. We have mentioned a few in the previous chapters. The others were the general poverty of the people, the evergrowing rigidity of the caste-system which denied education to the lower castes, the unqualified teachers and the absence of proper text books. The teacher was still the important person in the village, but his economic status was miserable. This was generally the condition in the beginning of the 19th century, when Governor of Madras, Sir Thomas Munro ordered for a survey of the indigenous education of the Madras Presidency.

THREE TYPES OF SCHOOLS:

Prior to the renewal of the Charter of the Company in A.D. 1813, three types of schools existed in Tamil Nadu: indigenous schools, missionary schools, and Company-supported schools which were attended by the children of the servants of the Company.

The condition of education during this period could be conveniently studied under the following headings:

1. The Indigenous Education
2. The Madras System of Education
3. The Missionary Education
4. The Educational Activities of the Company prior to 1813.
1. THE INDIGENOUS EDUCATION

SIR THOMAS MUNRO:

Sir Thomas Munro who became Governor of Madras in A.D. 1820, had served the Company in various capacities before he became Governor. He had intimate knowledge of the Indian people and their culture and admired Indian civilization. He testified before the House of Commons in April 12, 1813:

With regard to civilization I do not exactly understand what is meant by the civilization of the Hindoos; in the higher branches of science, in the knowledge of the theory and practice of good Government and in an education, which, by banishing prejudice and superstition, opens the mind to receive instructions of every kind, from every quarter, they are much inferior to Europeans; but if a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to convenience or luxury; Schools established in every village, for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic; the general practice of hospitality and charity among each other; and above all, a treatment of the female sex, full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilized people, than the Hindoos are not inferior to the nations of Europe.6

On becoming Governor of Madras in 1920, Sir Thomas Munro determined to survey the actual state of education in Madras Presidency. In a Minute dated June 25, 1822, he recorded:

Much has been written, both in England and in this country, about the ignorance of the people of India, and the means of disseminating knowledge among them; but the opinions upon this subject are the more conjectures of individuals unsupported by any authentic documents, and differing so widely from each other, as to be entitled to very little attention. Our power in this country, and the nature of its municipal institutions, have certainly rendered it practicable to collect materials from which a judgment might be formed of the state of the mental cultivation of the people. We have investigated their resources, and endeavoured to ascertain their population; but little

or nothing has been done to learn the state of education. We have
no record to show the actual state of education throughout the
country. 7

And so, on the Revenue proceeding of the 2nd July, 1822 he
recorded a minute:

recommending as an object of interest and importance that the best
information should be obtained of the actual state of education in its
various branches among the native inhabitants of the province under
the Madras Government. 8

A circular letter was sent to all the collectors of the Presidency
accompanied by a blank form, which requested them to furnish the lists of
schools in their collectorates, the number of students, Vedic students,
Sudra students, and the students of all castes, both male and female, in
those schools; also of Moslem students and the population of their res-
pective districts. The collectors were also requested to furnish informa-
tion regarding the names of text books used in those schools, the monthly
or yearly tuition fees the students had to pay and also whether any of
those schools were publicly endowed and if so, the nature and the amount
of the endowment. Sir Thomas Munro also observed in his minute that:

Where there are colleges or other institutions for teaching
theology, law, astronomy, etc., an account should be given of them.
These sciences are usually taught privately, without fee or reward,
by individuals to a few scholars or disciples; but/ there are also
some instances in which the native governments have granted allow-
ances in money and land for the maintenance of the teachers. 9

7 A.N. Basu (ed.), Indian Education in Parliamentary Papers, Part I
(1832) (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1952), "Minute of Sir Thomas
Munro, Governor of Madras, June 25, 1822," p. 176.
8 Ibid., p. 33.
9 Ibid., pp. 176-177.
He also directed the collectors to furnish information regarding the education of different castes in different districts and also of female education, if any. Columns were provided in the blank form for these informations. Regarding education of the castes he recorded his observation:

In some districts, reading and writing are confined almost entirely to Brahmans and the mercantile class. In some they extend to other classes, and are pretty general among the portails of villages and principal ryots. The mixed and impure caste seldom learn to read, but as a few of them do, columns are left for them in the form.

Sir Thomas Munro specifically stated that his intention, in ordering this enquiry, was not to interfere in the native schools, and that he wanted the people to manage their own schools in their own way. But all he wanted to do:

is to facilitate the operations of these schools by restoring any funds that may have been diverted from them, and perhaps granting additional ones where it may appear advisable. But on this point we shall be better able to judge when we receive the information now proposed to be called for.

The Report of the Collectors:

The report of the collectors gave very interesting informations regarding the indigenous systems of education though there bound to be some errors:

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10 "ryots means farmers".
11 Ibid., p. 177.
12 Ibid.
### Table 2

The following Statements give the result of the population of COLLECTORATES under MADRAS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Note</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tenasserim</td>
<td>5,490,660</td>
<td>12,494,155</td>
<td>8,530,941</td>
<td>12,850,941</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: This table includes the population of various districts under the Madras Collectorates, as per the census data.*

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### Information furnished by the Collector of Education

Extent to which means of instruction are enjoyed in the several Collectorates under Madras:

#### Hindu Scholars

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collectorate</th>
<th>Hindu Scholars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Muhammadan Scholars

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collectorate</th>
<th>Muhammadan Scholars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Total

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collectorate</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: This table provides a breakdown of educational resources available to Hindu and Muhammadan scholars across different Collectorates under Madras.*

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**Source:** Indian Education in Parliamentary Papers, pp. 36-37.
SCHOOLS WITH ENDOWMENTS:

On the school that were endowed by the public and kings, the collectors gave the following informations:

In the North Arcot district there were 23 colleges supported by Maniums (free land), granted by the former Government, yielding Rs. 516 per year. And six Persian schools maintained at the public expense, at an annual change of Rs. 1361.

In Salem district, there were 20 teachers of theology who were supported by Enam (free) lands, yielding Rs. 1109 per year, and one Moslem school supported by land yielding Rs. 20 per year.

There were in Tanjore district 44 schools and 77 colleges supported by His Highness the Raja (king). It is interesting to note that the collector stated that the free schools maintained by the mission established in Tanjore, possessed a Survamaniyam (tax free land), the annual value of which was estimated at Rs. 1100.

The Collector of Trichinopoly district reported that there were seven schools, which possessed an endowment of 46 Kanis granted by the former governments.

The Collectors of the Salem and Coimbatore districts admitted that the public endowments to the schools had been diverted from their original purposes. And it was estimated that the value of land so diverted was estimated as Rs. 384 in Salem district and in Coimbatore district it was at Rs. 2208.

13 Ibid., pp. 34-35. 14 One Kani (d. aro) is little more than an acre of land.
In the absence of informations regarding the endowed schools and colleges in South Arcot and Chinglepet districts of which we have discussed in the foregoing chapter, one has to wonder what had happened to them after the Chola rule.

**SIR THOMAS MUNRO'S OBSERVATIONS:**

On receiving the reports of the collectors from the Board of Revenue on February 21, 1826, Sir Thomas Munro wrote a minute on March 10, 1826, in which he gave his observations regarding the state of indigenous education in Madras Presidency.  

In the Minute, Sir Thomas Munro remarked from the report:

It appears that the number of schools, and of what are called colleges, in the territories under this Presidency, amount to 12,493 and the population to 12,350,941; so that there is one school to every 1,000 of the population; but as only a very few females are taught in school, we may reckon one school to every 500 of the population.  

The Board of Revenue observed that the population receiving education did not exceed the 1 to 67 proportion. Sir Thomas Munro remarked that it was correct in regard to the entire population and stated further that it could not be correct, when one took into consideration the male population alone because of the fact that very few females were taught in schools. Half of the estimated population of 12,350,000 about 6,425,000 would be males. He reckoned one-ninth of them or 713,000 as school-going boys, if all the ten year old boys were educated, as the male population "between the ages of five and ten years, which is the period which boys in

general remain at school." 17 But the actual number attending school was only 134,110 which was a little more than one-fourth of the male children of school-going age. Sir Thomas Munro wrote that he was inclined to fix that proportion to one-third, "because we have no returns from the provinces of the number taught at home." 18 The Collector of Madras gave 26,903 as the number of children taught at home. In those days it was customary that boys were taught at home by their relations or private teachers. In conclusion, on the state of education, Sir Thomas Munro observed in his famous minute:

The state of education here exhibited, low as it is compared with that of our own country, is higher than it was in most European countries at no very distant period. 19

THE STUDENTS AND TEACHERS:

The monthly rate paid by each student was from four to six of eight annas (sixteen annas made one rupee). The number of scholars attached to each school was generally few and hence their payment was not sufficient enough to "secure the services of able teachers." 20 The teachers generally did not earn more than six or seven rupees (the present exchange rate of a rupee is estimated to 13.3) a month and this was sufficient to attract "properly qualified men to follow the profession." 21 The teachers themselves were generally ignorant and poorly trained and this was also one of the reasons for the low state education during that time.

17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid., and also see Ibid., 'Fisher's Memoir', p. 39.
21 Ibid., p. 183.
But the main causes, Sir Thomas Munro considered, were "the little encouraging which it receives, from there being but little demand for it, and the poverty of the people." 22

RELIABILITY OF THE ENQUIRY:

There was a controversy regarding the statistics of the enquiry. Sir Philip Hartog contrasted the statistics of the collector of Bellary with that of Munro's conclusions regarding the number of schools and said that the statistics were overestimated. 23 There were not that many schools, he concluded. He was vehemently disputed by Indian scholars. Syed Nurullah and J.P. Naik hold the view that the statistics Munro received from the collectors were largely underestimated because of the fact that the number of students receiving domestic education was not called for. 24 Only the Collector of Madras gave the number of students receiving education at home.

TWO TYPES OF INDIGENOUS SCHOOLS:

The indigenous educational institutions could be divided into two types: Elementary Schools and Schools of Learning.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS:

Elementary Schools were generally known as Patasalas. 25 These schools existed almost in every village. The school assembled, generally

22 Ibid.


24 Nurullah and Naik, p. 8.

25 Chamberlain, B. 21. Still in Tamil Nadu schools are generally called 'Padasalai' - படசாலை '.
in the village shed, or in the house of the teacher or the patron of the
school or under a shady tree. The children were taught in their mother
tongue.

The Collector of Bellary was the only one among the collectors, who
gave interesting details regarding the nature of learning in elementary
schools. The children commenced their education at the age of five:

... on reaching this age, the master and scholars of the school
to which the boy is to be sent, are invited to the house of his
parents; the whole are seated in a circle round an image of Gunasee,26
and the child to be initiated is placed exactly opposite to it; the
schoolmaster sitting by his side, after having burnt incense and
presented offerings, causes the child to repeat a prayer to Gunasee,
extreating wisdom. He then guides the child to write with its finger
in rice the mystic name of the deity, and is dismissed with a present
from the parents according to their ability. The child next morning
commences the great work of his education.27

The school schedule was almost the same in all schools, except
some variations according to the local conditions. The school opened at
six o'clock in the morning. "... The first child who enters has the name
of Saraswatte, or the Goddess of Learning, written upon the palm of his
hand as a sign of honour..."23 The children were divided into several
classes according to their attainments. The lower in attainment were
under the care of the monitors, who were normally senior pupils, and the
higher ones were under the direct supervision of the teacher. He also
took care of the whole school. A.D. Campbell said that "the number of
classes is generally four, and a scholar rises from one to the other

26 Gunasee is Ganesh, an Hindu God with the head of an elephant.
27 Basu, "Report of A.D. Campbell, esq., the Collector of Bellary,
28 Ibid.
The child in the elementary school was taught in four stages. On entering the school, the child learnt the alphabets tracing them with his finger on the ground in sand. This was the first stage. On completing the first stage, the child was taught to write on the palm leaf with an iron style or with a reed on paper. It would be very interesting to note the observation of A.D. Campbell regarding the writing materials that were used in Bellary district. He reported that the child wrote:

...sometimes on the leaves of the Aristolochia Indica, or with a kind of pencil on the Muligi or Kadala, which answers the purpose of slates. The two latter in these districts are most common. One of these is a common oblong board, about a foot in width and three feet in length; this board when planed smooth has only to be smeared with a little rice and pulverized charcoal, and it is then fit for use. The other is made of cloth, first stiffened with rice-water, doubled into folds resembling a book, and it is then covered with a composition of charcoal and several gums. The writing on either of these may be effaced by a wet cloth. The pencil used is called Sultapa, a kind of white clay substances somewhat resembling a crayon, with the exception of being rather harder.

During the second stage, the child learnt to write the formation of vowel-consonants, the formation of syllables, and then they were also taught the names of men, villages, animals and etc. After mastering of the second stage, the child moved on to the third. In this stage he was taught the arithmetical signs, and taught to memorize the addition

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29 Ibid., p. 179.
30 Chamberlain, p. 21.
31 Basu, p. 179. The words that are underlined are in italics in the text. 'Muligi' in Kannada language means 'Board or Plank', and it is the Kannada form of the Tamil word 'Palagai - பளாகை'. 'Kadala' in Kannada means 'dried leaf' (kadu+ ele).
Sultapa in Tamil is 'Palappam' (பலப்பம்) which is still used to write on the slates in elementary schools, especially in village schools.
tables, subtraction and then the multiplication tables. He was then taught the "... threefold measures of capacity, weight and extent."

The last stage was more advanced. That consisted in:

...deciphering various kinds of handwriting in public, and other letters which the school-master collects from different sources, writing common letters, drawing up forms of agreement, reading fables and legendary tales and committing various kinds of poetry to memory, chiefly with a view to attain distinctness and clearness in pronunciation, together with readiness and correctness in reading any kind of composition.32

These schools were generally attended by the children of the merchants and banking classes and well-to-do farmers. The children of the poor generally dropped out in the early stage. A.D. Campbell pathetically observed the reasons for the growing poverty of the people and its effects on education:

I am sorry to state, that this is ascribable to the gradual but general impoverishment of the country. The means of the manufacturing classes have been of late years greatly diminished by the introduction of our own European manufactures in lieu of the Indian cotton fabrics. The removal of many of our troops from our own territories to the distant frontiers of our newly subsidized allies has also, of late years, affected the demand for grain; the transfer of the capital of the country from the native governments and their officers, who liberally expended it in India, to Europeans, restricted by law from employing it even temporarily in India, and daily draining it from the land has likewise tended to this effect, which has not been alleviated by a less rigid enforcement of the revenue due to the State. The greater part of the middling and lower classes of the people are now unable to defray the expenses incident upon the education of their offspring, while their necessities requires the assistance of their children as soon as their tender limbs are capable of the smallest labour.33

32 Ibid., p. 179.

33 Ibid., p. 181.
When the general public, poor as they were, were even unable to acquire the "...advantages of this system, defective as it is," the condition of the teacher was even worse. He was paid very little as we had observed before, and they almost belonged to the poorer strata of the society. Many of them, in general, belonged to the caste of writers, or scribes. Some of them "... followed some other profession or trade for their maintenance and conducted the school only as a side business."35

The chief merits of the indigenous system of elementary schools were their adaptability to varying local conditions and their vitality to carry through many centuries in varying economic and political changes. The chief defects of it were the absence of female education, the exclusion of untouchable castes, the lack of training of the teachers, the narrowly limited curriculum, the lack of suitable textbooks, and the severe forms of punishments.37

Regarding punishments in the elementary schools, A.D. Campbell wrote:

This custom, as well as the punishments in native schools, seems of a severe kind. The idle scholar is flogged, and often suspended by both hands and a pulley to the roof, or obliged to kneel down and rise incessantly, which is a most painful and fatiguing but perhaps a healthy, mode of punishment.38

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34 Ibid.
35 Chamberlain, p. 21. The caste of writers are known in Tamil as 'Kanakkapillai' caste
36 Nurullah and Naik, p. 40.
37 Ibid., pp. 40-41.
38 Basu, p. 173. And also see Nurullah and Naik, p. 41.
SCHOOLS OF LEARNING:

These schools were equivalent to the modern colleges. They were generally known as Tols. These schools were entirely unconnected with the village schools or Patasalas. The preliminary instruction to enter these colleges were obtained, not in Patasalas, but at home. Such was the total severance of these colleges from the elementary schools.

While, theoretically the study of grammar, rhetoric, poetry and astronomy was open to the inferior caste, all higher education, except medicine, was imparted by Brahman teachers and received only by Brahman boys.39

The language of instruction was Sanskrit and the education in these schools were religious in character. The students were taught theology, astronomy, logic, law, literature, and mythology. The individual teachers and the institutions were generally endowed by the previous native governments of which we discussed in the previous chapter. The main aim of these schools seemed to be producing Pundits (Religious and literary scholars). These Pundits were very much respected. Nurullah and Naik observe about this school system as follows:

Although they were highly venerated by the people, they were really the weaker and less useful part of the educational system on account of their exclusive character, conservative tone and obsolete ideals and methods of instruction.40

COULD THE INDIGENOUS SYSTEM OF EDUCATION HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED INTO A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION?

A careful observer of the reports of the enquiries in Madras Presidency as well in other Presidencies of Bombay and

39 Chamberlain, p. 22. See also Nurullah and Naik, p. 39.
40 Nurullah and Naik, p. 39.
Bengal would arrive to the conclusion that it could have been developed into a National System of Education. The Indigenous system of education had the potentialities. Nurullah and Naik are also of the same opinion because of the following reasons: (1) In almost all the countries of the world the National System of Education is based on the foundations of the traditional systems; (2) The British investigators in the three Presidencies, most particularly Mr. William Adam, who investigated the educational system in Bengal, agreed that the indigenous system of education with suitable expansion and improvement could be developed into a National System of Education. In fact Mr. W. Adam submitted a working plan for the improvement of the indigenous schools.

But the recommendations of Mr. W. Adam and also of Governor Munro, and of Governor Elphinstone were unheeded and the indigenous system was allowed to die. But, although the indigenous system died in the soil of its origin, many of its principles gave birth to the Madras System of Education of Dr. Andrew Bell, who successfully propagated it in England for the cheaper and quicker expansion of elementary education to the poor in that country.

2. THE MADRAS SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

THE MADRAS SYSTEM:

The Madras system was also known as the Mutual System, or the Monitory System, or the Bell System, or the Pupil – Teacher System. The

41 Lord Elphinstone ordered for an enquiry of indigenous education in Bombay Presidency in 1823. In 1835, Lord Bentick appointed Mr. W. Adam to investigate the state of education in Bengal. Mr. W. Adam submitted three reports in 1835, 1836 and 1838.

42 Nurullah and Naik, p. 48.
main principle of the Madras System is the using of senior pupils instructing the juniors.

A portion of the inscription on the tablet that was placed in honour of Dr. Andrew Bell in Westminster Abbey reads as follows:

Andrew Bell, D.D., LL.D.

........................................
The eminent founder of the Madras System of education,
who discovered and reduced to successful practice
The plan of mutual instruction,
Founded upon the multiplication of power and division of labour
In the moral and intellectual world
Which has been adopted within the British Empire/
As the national system of education
Of the children of the poor,
........................................43

Dr. Andrew Bell, the Presidency Chaplain at Madras, was the first to introduce the Madras System of Education in England and advocated its adoption. The universal acceptance of this system helped England to expand elementary education quickly and cheaply between 1801 and 1845.

Dr. Bell, who was in charge of the Military Male Orphan Asylum of Egmore at Madras, had for a long time observed the educational system pursued in the village schools in southern India and adopted that system and experimented on it in that school. He explained that system in his book entitled An Experiment in Education published in A.D. 1797. A new edition of it with additional documents and records was published in A.D. 1813 under the title Elements of Tuition. These books attracted the attention of the English public.

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It almost immediately came to the notice of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, in London, who enquired more about the village schools and village teachers of India in one of their letters dated 3rd June, 1813 and directed to the Governor-General in Council of Bengal. They wrote in that letter of the village school teachers and the mode of their instruction:

The mode of instruction that from time immemorial has been practised under these masters has received the highest tribute of praise by its adoption in this country under the direction of the Reverend Dr. Bell, formerly chaplain at Madras; and it is now become the mode by which education is conducted in our national establishments, from a conviction of the facility it affords in the acquisition of language by simplifying the process of instruction.  44

Commenting on the wisdom of the adoption of the Madras system in England, A.D. Campbell wrote in his report on the indigenous education to the Board of Revenue, at Fort St. George at Madras, in August 17, 1823:

The economy with which children are taught to write in the native schools, and the system by which the more advanced scholars are caused to teach the less advanced, and at the same time to confirm their own knowledge, is certainly admirable, and well deserved the imitation it has received in England.  45

THE MALE ASYLUM AT MADRAS:

In the British settlements in India considerable number children were born annually, whose fathers were Europeans and mothers were natives. It was estimated that annually not less than 700 children were born at Madras and on the coast of Coromandel.  46 It became the duty of the Company to make arrangements for the education of those children. A Female

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44 Basu, p. 150.
46 Law, p. 40. Cholamandalam, meaning the Chola kingdom was pronounced as Coromandel by the Europeans.
Orphan Asylum was founded under the patronage of Lady Campbell in A. D. 1797, at Fort St. George, with 62 girls to start with. A similar Asylum became a necessity for male children. The Male Asylum was started in 1797 and provision was made for 100 children and the Madras Government sanctioned a monthly allowance of Rs. 500 at the rate of Rs. 5 a month for each boy in the school.47 This school was strictly for children born of European fathers. The order given by the Acting Secretary of the Male Orphan Asylum, Mr. Frederic Pierre, runs as follows:

That no boy be eligible to this charity whose father is not an European; that legitimate have the preference of illegitimate children...48

Dr. Andrew Bell became the master of this school. He soon found those 'half-caste'49 boys, in general, were stubborn, perverse and obtinate; much given to lying, and addicted to trick and duplicity.50 He wanted to instill in their minds the principles of religion and morality.51 And so he was contemplating the best method to do the job. He found out in his experiment that the "...new mode of conducting a school through the medium of scholars themselves,"52 was the best. According to this new method the school teaches itself and the school-master is needed only to maintain the observance of the rules.53 Of the great advantage of the system,

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47 Law, p. 46.
49 Ibid., pp. 20-21.
50 Ibid., p. 22.
51 Ibid., p. 19.
52 Ibid., p. 24.
53 Ibid., p. 41.
Dr. Bell himself wrote as follows:

The great advantage of the system is that you have a teacher and an assistant for every class, who have not yet begun their career of pleasure, ambition, or interest; who have no other occupation, no other pursuit, nothing to employ their minds, but this single object. Add to this, that your ascendancy and dominion over the young mind is complete, and easily maintained; that these children can only do what is assigned to them to do and succeed the better in teaching others; that they themselves know no more than what is level to the capacities of their pupils; and therefore lose no time in teaching what is beyond the comprehension of their scholars, which is often no small impediment and hindrance of education.54

Dr. Bell observed the method of teaching alphabet in Tamil schools in the village, and he adopted it in his school:

I had, at first sight of a Malabar55 school, adopted the idea of teaching the letters in sand spread over a board or bench before the scholars, as on the ground in the schools of the natives of this country.56

On speaking of the advantages of teaching the alphabet by writing the letters on the sand with fingers, he wrote: "It engages and amuses the mind, and so commands the attention, that it greatly facilitates the toil, both of the master and scholar."57

Dr. Bell, loved their children in the school and he called them their own by a thousand ties. He said that he would think of them when, "...I shall cease to be their protector, their guide and their instructor."58

Dr. Bell's successor to the Asylum, Mr. James Gardiner, who took charge of

54 Ibid., pp. 41-42.
55 Early Europeans called Tamil language 'Malabar'.
56 Bell, p. 24.
57 Ibid., p. 25.
58 Ibid., p. 56.
the school in June 18, 1898, was full of admiration for the system. He wrote in detail about the working of the school in his book *Voyage to India*. Of the system he wrote:

> It (the system) creates general activity and attention, it gives, as it were, to the master the hundred hands of Briareus, the hundred eyes of Argus, and the wings of Mercury.59

**ADOPTION OF THE SYSTEM IN ENGLAND:**

Education in England in the latter part of 18th and the early part of the 19th centuries were not, qualitatively, very much different from India. Quantitatively it was much ahead of India. The children of the rich, in England, were educated at home and sent to the richly endowed public schools. The middle class children were given instructions in the Dame schools or the Private schools. The Church, generally, with help of humanitarians, took up the task of educating the poor in its charity schools, schools of industry and Sunday schools.60 The Government did not conduct any elementary schools of their own, nor it helped the private charitable agencies which provided elementary education.61

Dr. Bell, on his return to England, introduced his method in 1798 into the Protestant Charity School of St. Botolph's, Aldgate, and in 1799 into certain industrial schools at Kendal.62 The church party formed in 1811 a society called, the "National Society for Promoting the Education

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59 Law, pp. 50-51. Quoted from Cordiner, *Voyage to India*, p. 37.
60 Murullah and Naik, pp. 43-44.
61 Ibid., p. 43.
of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales," which was incorporated by Royal Charter in 1817. The society's schools, during the life of Dr. Bell increased in number to about 12,000.

Dr. Bell's Madras System of education received enthusiastic support from eminent men in England. Wordsworth, for example, "... was an enthusiastic supporter of that system as it was propounded by Bell and maintained by the Church of England." Wordsworth declared education a "sacred right" of every one and he looked forward to the "glorious time" when,

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However destitute, be left to droop
By timely culture unsustained; or run
Into a wild disorder; or be forced
To drudge through a weary life without the help/
Of intellectual implements and tools;
A savage horde among the civilized,
A servile band among the lordly free.
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63 Ibid.

Wordsworth praised it too high that he wrote to Poole, in March 13, 1815: "If you have read my poem, THE EXCURSION, you will there see what importance I attach to the Madras System. Next to the Art of Printing it is the noblest invention for the improvement of the human species."

Mr. Harvey Marriott, in his *Essay on the Madras System of Education*, wrote that many of its features could easily be recognized in the "...sayings of the Wise King, in the well grounded axioms of Heathen Quinctilian,[56] or in the more recent studies of Locke and Barrow." But he wrote:

SELF TUITION is the peculiar feature, in the Madras system, which distinguishes it, as a system, from every other. Partial application of this power has unquestionably been made and still continues, in cases where the Madras system has not be known. But never, till the introduction of that system into this country, has Europe known of the plan as an organized arrangements for systematic and universal instruction. This is its peculiar, its own basis, as a system of education; and upon this is founded every human hope of its being ultimately adopted as the effectual means of imparting sound and useful knowledge for the best interests of man.67

THE MONITORIAL SYSTEM IN THE UNITED STATES:

While Dr. Bell was busy propagating the monitory system, another London School teacher by name Joseph Lancaster claimed credit to the discovery of this system in the year 1793. There was a controversy between the two. The Monitory system was best known as the Lancasterian plan in the United States. The first Lancasterian school was opened in the city of New York on the 6th of May, 1806.68 Speaking on the Free School Society's move to the new quarters in 1809, DeWitt Clinton, the then Mayor of New York city mentioned the controversy between Lancaster

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67 Ibid., p. 15.

and Dr. Bell in his address:

...attempts have been made to transfer the entire merit of his great discovery to Dr. Bell. Whatever he borrowed from that gentleman, he has candidly acknowledged. The use of sand in teaching, undoubtedly came to him through that channel, but it has been practised for ages by the Brahmins. He may also be indebted to Bell for some other improvements, but the vital leading principles of his system, are emphatically an original discovery.69

This system spread from Massachusetts to Georgia and to some other big cities of the west. North Carolina and Maryland proposed a State system of school under this plan. Maryland actually undertook a State system of schools under the Lancasterian plan. Lancaster himself came to the United States about 1818 and spent many years in this country.70

The Monitorial system, though it disappeared by 1820 due to many of its inherent defects, it awakened public interest in, and provoked discussion on questions of education. It greatly promoted the idea of public supporting education. "The Lancasterian system disappeared; but it had served a step, if feeble, toward the American free-school system that would be."71

THE MERITS AND DEMERITS OF THE SYSTEM:

The greatest of the merits of Dr. Bell's Madras System was that "it made education a kind of cheap, and created a demand for elementary education throughout the country."72 The other of its claims that it led

69 Ibid.
71 Ibid., p. 167.
72 de Montmorency, p. 207.
up to the system of pupil-teachers was questioned by modern educators. The deserts were its inferior quality that resulted in its quantitative expansion. The inspection after the great expansion of Dr. Bell's system showed that in every part of England the schools were "...in a deplorable state, with ignorant teachers and with monitors who merely taught by rote." 73

CONCLUSION:

While, thus, England and the United States where busy benefiting from the Indian indigenous system for the expansion of mass education, in India, the Christian missionaries were, inspired by religious zeal, busy introducing a new system of education based on Western philosophy for the conversion of the 'heathens' of India.

3. THE MISSIONARY EDUCATION

Missionary Education in Tamil Nadu almost started from the beginning of sixteenth century. Evangelization was the prime motive of the missionary educational activities. They had to start schools for the new converts to keep their faith alive, and also to attract the others to embrace the new faith. Whatever their motives in the beginning, the facts that the missionaries were the pioneers in the field of education and that the true foundations for the modern system of education were laid by them, were very hard to deny.

THE PORTUGUESE MISSION:

One of the first to arrive into this field were the missionaries from Portugal. Vasco Da Gama, landed at Calicut, on the west coast of

73 Ibid.
southern India, in the year A.D. 1498. From that year onwards, the Portuguese started trading posts in India, chief among them was Goa on the west coast. The Portuguese brought missionaries with them for the propagation of the Christian religion. The greatest of those missionaries were St. Francis Xavier, Robert De Nobili and Beschi, who worked in Tamil Nadu.

"Francis Xavier landed in Goa on May 6th, 1542 and before the year was out he was already working in the Fishery Coast." The Fishery coast was the south eastern part of Tamil Nadu. He was a zealous missionary and he was said to walk along the streets of the villages ringing the bell, and collect the people, young and old, to teach Christianity. His new converts needed new prayers. He, with great difficulty, translated them from Latin. He wrote:

The language of the Christians of Cape Comorin is the Malabar (Tamil) mine is Basque. They did not understand mine, nor did I understand theirs. I assembled, therefore, the most intelligent among them and sought out men who knew their language and mine. After this, in numerous interviews and with great difficulty, we drew up the formulas of prayers. Copies of the prayers and other religious materials were left in each village and overseers were appointed to teach the people the tenets of the new faith. Thus the schools were started. By A.D. 1530 there were, in Thutthukkudi, an elementary school for Portuguese and Indian children, a Latin school and a seminary with 30 pupils.

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74 John Correia Afonso, Jesuit Letters and Indian History (Bombay: Indian Historical Research Institute, 1955), p. 47.
75 Joseph Dahlman, Missionary Pioneers in Indian Languages (Trichinopoly: The Catholic Truth Society of India, "Rays" supplement, 1940), p. 3.
Robert De Nobili was cleverer than Xavier. He worked around Madurai between 1605 and 1656. He posed himself as a Sanyasi (Monk) and dressed like the Hindu sages and preached the Gospel, especially to the Brahmans. He described himself a Brahmin from the west, bringing back to India the last 'Veda'. He was a great scholar of Tamil, Sanskrit and Telugu languages. He wrote many books in Tamil and he was known as the Father of Tamil Prose.

Joseph Constantine Beschi was another Jesuit from Italy. He worked in many parts of Tamil Nadu. He was a great poet of the Tamil language, whose poetical, prose and grammatical works ranked him as one of the great poets of Tamil language. His epic poem Thembavani (the Unfading Garland) is the best known and widely read of his works.

Only during the religious and educational activities of great Portuguese Jesuit missionaries, printing was introduced in India. The first book ever published in any Indian language was published in Tamil in A.D. 1577. It was a book of Christian Catechism (the catechismo da Doctrina Christiana) printed at Cochin. This work was followed by many religious treatises, catechisms, translations of the Bible and dictionaries.

There was a reference of a school at Mylapore in A.D. 1576. Mylapore was one of the important centres of Portuguese missionaries. At Madurai, in A.D. 1595, there was another school in which a Brahmin teacher taught Tamil and Telugu.

77 Dahlmann, p. 5. also see Law, p. 101.
78 Ruthnaswamy, The Jesuits in India, p. 7.
79 Ibid.
By the end of the Vijayanagar Empire, the activities of the Portuguese missionaries also were curtailed. The suppression of the Jesuit order in the later part of the eighteenth century also affected their work. But the most important reason was the competition of the Protestant missionaries, who worked under the protection of the East India Company, which was becoming powerful in Tamil Nadu from the second half of the seventeenth century. The Protestant missionaries increased their activities and became more successful. Yet, the educational activities of the Catholic missionaries again became conspicuous from the middle of the nineteenth century.

THE FRENCH MISSION:

The French East India Company was formed in 1664 and they started trading with India. They established factories in different places, chief among them was at Pondicherry. Pondicherry became their administrative center. Pondicherry and Karaikal, another of their settlements, are Tamil speaking areas. The French missionaries established schools like the Portuguese and the English. The instruction, in the primary schools, was in the local languages. Indian teachers were employed. At Pondicherry there was a secondary school, where French was taught to children of French settlers and Indian employees.

The French tried to build an empire in India, but their efforts were ultimately defeated by the English. But still, the educational activities of the French missionaries were spearheaded from Pondicherry into

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80 Basu, p. 268.
the neighbouring districts of Tamil Nadu. The French Jesuits, and then the Paris Foreign missionaries carried on their educational work in the districts of North and South Arcot and Salem.

THE DANISH MISSION:

The Danes organised factories at Tranquebar near Tanjore, in Tamil Nadu, and at Serampore near Calcutta. They were never a political power and the factories were ultimately sold to England in 1845. But the Danes are better known for their missionary works in Tamil Nadu. The King of Denmark, Frederick IV, established evangelical mission in south India. On July 9, 1706, two young German missionaries, Bartholomew Ziegenbalgh and Heinrich Plutscho, landed at Tranquebar and that was the "birthday of Protestant mission in India proper." These missionaries immediately began to learn Portuguese and Tamil languages, and set up schools. In 1713, Ziegenbalgh received Tamil type from Europe and set up a press which helped their literary and religious work. Ziegenbalgh and Schultz made a Tamil translation of the New Testament, which is still used in South India.

Rev. Grundler, one of the co-worker of Ziegenbalgh, got permission from the English Governor at Madras, in 1717 to open two schools, one for the Portuguese and the other for the Tamils at Madras. An extract from the Proceedings Book of the Madras Government reads as follows:

The President lays before the Board a paper of proposals delivered him by Mr. Grundler, one of the Danish missionaries lately arrived in the city. It is agreed that liberty be given to him for erecting two

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33 Vakil, p. 50.
charity schools—one for the Portuguese in the English Town and another for Malabars (Tamils) in the Black Town.\textsuperscript{34}

The Danish missionaries started 17 schools in 1725 for 'heathen and Mohammedan' children and four missionary schools for Christians. They were not able to teach religion in the schools for Hindus and Mohammedan due to the opposition from the parents of the children and also from the non-Christian lay teachers they were forced to employ. And so they slowly lost interest in the former schools, and concentrated on the missionary schools for Christians.\textsuperscript{35}

The work started by Ziegenbalgh was continued, even after his death in 1719, by his co-workers in the field—Schults, Gercke, Kiernander, and Schwartz. The Danish mission was often supported by the Society for Promoting Christian knowledge, which established the first English Mission in India in 1727. The society supported the labours of many missionaries and encouraged them to extend their work in the English settlements. Chief among them was the Rev. Frederick Schwartz.

In 1742, Geisler and Kiernander founded charity schools for Eurasians as well as for Indians in and near Fort St. David at Devanampatnam near Cuddalore. His work at Cuddalore was so very well known that Clive invited him to Calcutta to carry on his educational work.\textsuperscript{36}

Schwartz started a school at Trichinopoly, in about A.D. 1772, for the European and Eurasian children who were orphaned by the accidental blow

\textsuperscript{34}Manickam, p. 2. Quoted from Minute dated March 27, 1717.
\textsuperscript{35}Siqueira, p. 22.
\textsuperscript{36}Nurullah and Naik, p. 62.
up of a powder magazine on January 14, 1772.\textsuperscript{87} He soon founded another
English Charity School at Tanjore with the purse presented to him by Hyder
Ali of Mysore.\textsuperscript{88}

Schwartz had made Tanjore his headquarters in 1774. Mr. John
Sullivan, who then was the representative of the Fort St. George Govern-
ment at the court of the Raja of Tanjore, came under the influence of
Schwartz, and became interested in education. Till then, as advocated
by the earlier missionaries and also as required by the clauses of the
Charter of the Company renewed in 1698, the missionaries adopted the
policy of the vernacular medium in the schools they started. The mediums
were English for the English, Portuguese for the Portuguese and Tamil for
the Tamils. But this policy underwent a change, at the insistence of
Mr. Sullivan. He wanted to open English schools for all children, which
he thought, "...would help not only the Company and the people to under-
stand each other but would also facilitate dealings of all kinds between
them."\textsuperscript{89} Schwartz accepted his suggestion. The plan for such English
schools was submitted to the Rajas of Tanjore, Ramnad and Shivaganga and
also to the Governor, Lord Macartney and to the Nawab of Arcot. The Rajas
were impressed and promised financial help for the schools. The three
schools were established at Tanjore, Ramnad and Shivaganga in 1785. The
Court of Directors, in 1787, authorized a permanent annual grant of 250
pagodas for each of the three schools and they expressed their hope
"...that our example will excite the Native Princes in alliance with us to

\textsuperscript{87}Law, 35.
\textsuperscript{88}Ibid., p. 36.
\textsuperscript{89}Law, p. 65.
similar and more extensive benefactions.\textsuperscript{90}

Mr. J.C. Kohlhoff, one of a missionary at Tranquebar, was appointed superintendent of the Tanjore school, and Mr. William Wheatley of the Ramnad school and the Rev. C. Pohle of the Shivaganga School. These schools were meant for the higher classes only. The Raja of Ramnad sent his son to the Ramnad school for education.\textsuperscript{91} But the schools at Ramnad and Shivaganga had to be closed owing to financial difficulties. The Indian rulers were unable to continue their financial help and the Directors also took no steps to lessen the financial burden of the missionaries. After 1790 the two schools at Ramnad and Shivaganga ceased to exist. In the same year Schwartz started another school at Kumbakonam with help of the Raja of that place. The school at Tanjore and at Kumbakonam, being permanently endowed, continued to provide English education for Indian high class children. Christianity was not expressly taught in these schools though they were managed by the missionaries. But, Schwartz hoped "...that the schools would have some indirect effect upon the students."\textsuperscript{92}

The mission schools were different, in many of their educational features, from the schools conducted by the Company's chaplains. The mission schools used the vernacular medium, and education was extended to Indian children. The missionaries were pioneers in printing and they printed books in Indian languages. But the Company schools, conducted by


'Pagoda' was the name of the coin used at that time. It was also known 'Varagan', '\textit{वरागन}' (equivalent to Rs. 3.25).

\textsuperscript{91} Law, pp. 66-67.

\textsuperscript{92} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 68.
chaplains were mainly meant for children of employees at the factories and garrisons.

4. THE EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE COMPANY
PRIOR TO 1813.

THE INITIAL ACTIVITIES OF THE COMPANY:

The English East India Company, like all the other Western Trading Companies, brought missionaries along with them and they were allowed to carry on their propagation of the Gospel among Indians. The Company fostered their activities. The Company even engaged in recruiting and educating, at Company's expense, Indian youth to be Christian missionaries among their own countrymen.93 In 1659, the Court of Director explicitly declared that it was their earnest desire to propagate Christianity among the people of India and allowed missionaries to embark on their ships.94

In 1670, the Directors made inquiries about the education of the children at Fort St. George at Madras and in 1673, appointed a Scotch preacher named Pringle to teach the Portuguese Burasians, the British Burasians and the children of a few Indian subordinates through Portuguese medium. A form of Portuguese language, which was a combination of many languages of which pure Portuguese was nothing but a frame work, was then the lingua franca of all the European settlements in India.

Mr. Lewis, who was Company's chaplain at Fort St. George (1691-1714) studied Portuguese and was imparting religious education to the children. He himself translated prayer books and catechism in that language. He recommended to Mr. Pitt, Governor of the Fort (1693-1709), the foundation

93 Law, p. 7.
94 Sharp, p. 3.
of two Nurseries, one for boys and one for girls, where the children would receive secular and religious education. He wanted to make Portuguese the medium. But his plan was not carried out, because his successors preferred English, rather than Portuguese.

Meanwhile, the Charter again came up for renewal in 1693. By the influence of church men in England the famous missionary clause was inserted in it by the Parliament. According to that the Company was directed to maintain minister in all their garrisons and factories and to take a chaplain for every ship of 500 tons or more. The ministers, according to this charter, were:

...obliged to learn/ within one year after their arrival the Portuguese language and shall apply themselves to learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoo that shall be the servants or the slaves of the Company, or of their agents, in the Protestant Religion.95

According to this directive, the education of the children of the employees of the Company, including that of the children of the few Indian subordinates became the responsibility of the Company. As a result of this St. Mary's Charity School was founded in Madras, in 1715 by Rev. Mr. Stevenson, Chaplain of the Fort. Mr. Stevenson was the successor to Mr. Lewis, and he wanted English school instead of a Portuguese school.

ST. MARY'S CHARITY SCHOOL:

This school was opened in December, 1715 with 13 boys and 12 girls. This was an English school. The children were instructed in the doctrines

95 Law, pp. 18-19.
of the Church of England. The children were taken at the age of 5 and were "...put out to service or apprenticeships when they are about 12 years old." 96

The boys were taught to read and write and cast accounts and whatever they were capable of, and the girls were "...instructed in reading and the necessary parts of house-wifery." 97

This school was managed by a body of seven persons—2 ministers, 2 church wardens and 3 overseers elected by the vestry—and they were to consult the Governor in Council for all matters of importance. This school was financed by legacies, gifts and other benefactions and occasional grants from the Company.

Similar charity schools were also established under the patronage of the Company in other Presidencies.

THE ORPHAN ASYLUM:

In 1787, a Female Orphan Asylum was founded at Fort St. George, under the name of Lady Campbell, the wife of the Governor, who took a leading part in its establishment. It was meant for the children of European and Eurasian soldiers. It was supported by the Company. It gave a grant of Rs. 5 per student per month. In the same year the Military Male Orphan Asylum was started at Egmore, Madras, by the Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell. Provision was made for 100 children and it also received a grant of Rs. 500 a month at the rate of Rs. 5 per child. It

96 Ibid., p. 20. Quoted from Wheeler, Madras in the Olden Times.
97 Ibid., p. 21.
was here, Dr. Bell experimented his Madras system of Education, which was later introduced in England.

THE CHANGE IN COMPANY'S ATTITUDE TO MISSIONARIES:

The Company, which was only a commercial concern in the beginning became a political power. After 1765 the Company's educational policy and its attitude towards missionary enterprises underwent a change. The Company was hitherto, interested only in the education of the children of their European and Eurasian employees. But now, being the successor to native governments, it started feeling its educational responsibilities to their Indian subjects, though they refused to accept that responsibility openly, until they were forced to in 1813, when the Charter came up for renewal. The Company was concerned with consolidating its newly acquired political power in an alien country, and it started viewing with alarm the evergrowing religious and educational activities of the Christian missionaries. The Company not only disassociated itself from the missionaries, but also discouraged, and in some cases, turned hostile to their activities.

It was the avowed policy of the Company at this time not to interfere with the customs and habits of the Indian people but to encourage ancient learning in India. Hence, Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of India (1773-84) in 1781 started a college at Calcutta called Calcutta Madrasa, for the Moslems. In 1791, the Banerese Sanskrit college was started for the Hindu higher learning.

This change in attitude, and the Company's hostility towards missionaries almost created a storm among the Churchmen in England. Church leaders started criticizing the new policies of the Company.
Meanwhile, the Company's Charter came up for renewal in 1793. Wilberforce, the champion of the missionary cause, moved a Resolution in the House of Commons and tried to insert a clause in the Company's Charter to the effect that:

the Court of Directors of the Company shall be empowered and commissioned to nominate and send out from time to time a sufficient number of skilled and suitable persons who shall attain the aforesaid object by serving as schoolmasters, missionaries, or otherwise.98

This was violently opposed by the Court of Directors, who not only did not want to take upon themselves the education of India, and also, due to the fear of losing their power, did not want to interfere with the system of faith and morals and of education of the Hindus. The proposal of Wilberforce was negated by Parliament.

This was a great set back to missionary activities. Their educational and religious enterprises fell out of favor. But the fight went on until 1813, when the Charter again came up for renewal. Wilberforce and Grant carried on the fight to a successful conclusion. They revived the educational clause again. The Charter Act of 1813 became a turning point in the history of Indian Education, because, according to its provisions, the education of Indian people became the duty of the Company. It directed the Court of Directors that:

...a sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the

98 Nurullah and Nair, p. 67. Quoted from J.A. Richter, A History of Mission in India.
introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the science among the inhabitants of the British territories in India.99

CONCLUSION:

Tamil Nadu became the battle-field for the warring factions from within and from without. The invading forces plundered the people. The divided house attracted the Western Companies, who first came as traders and then tried their luck in political fortunes. The English succeeded in establishing their empire. Everything crumbled under this chaos, including education. What little means of education left for the lower orders by the Brahminic system slowly disappeared.

The East India Company did nothing to educate the people, though Governor Munro tried to do something in vain. Only the Christian missionaries laboured in many parts of Tamil Nadu to educate the people. Their prime motive was conversion. This alarmed the Company and they tried to curb the activities of the missionaries. This started the fight between the Company and missionaries over the responsibility of educating Indians. Through the British Parliament the missionaries succeeded in putting that responsibility on the shoulders of the Company. The unwilling Company tried to impose the new knowledge through a new medium from the top. Thus, Tamil Nadu was again in an educational confusion.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATION FROM MUNRO TO WOOD'S DESPATCH (1812-1853)

INTRODUCTION:

Education during the period between 1813 and 1853 began with belated but a bold initial experiment, but diminished into continued official vacillation, and lack of vigour that made the Madras Presidency fall behind the other two Presidencies of Bengal and Bombay. This educational paucity made Madras known as the "benighted province". The efforts of Sir Thomas Munro to establish a national system of education from the bottom was given up due to his untimely death and due to the half-hearted implementation of his plan by his successors. The ideas of Macaulay and the ascendancy of the Anglicists in Bengal, and the anxiety of the Court of Directors to follow the theory of Downward-filtration for political expediency, brought entire Southern India to a new course, which led Tamil Nadu nowhere except to educational confusion and continued official vacillation.

But, fortunately, the deficiency was compensated to a greater extent by the missionary educational activities in Tamil Nadu. Because of missionary efforts the benighted province was able to catch up with, in some cases even excel, the rest of India in educational expansion from the middle of nineteenth century.

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1 Bruce Tiebout McCully, English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism (Reprinted; Gloucester, Mass: Peter Smith, 1966), p. 118. Madras Presidency of British India consisted of the present four Southern states, of which the author is interested in the state of Tamil Nadu.
For our purpose, we could study this period conveniently under the following headings:

1. Munro Plan.
2. The Official Vacillation.
3. The Relieving Factor.

1. THE MUNRO PLAN

THE PERIOD OF INACTION:

Nothing was done by the Government of any Presidency to effect the educational clause of East India Company Act of 1813, until after ten years of its adoption by the British Parliament. The Court of Directors did nothing more than sending the first educational despatch to the Governor-General in Council of Bengal on the 3rd of June, 1814, expressing their intention of encouraging the learned natives of India. They wrote:

We are inclined to think that the mode by which the learned Hindoos might be disposed to concur with us in prosecuting those objects would be by our leaving them to the practice of an usage, long established amongst them, of giving instruction at their own houses, and by our encouraging them in the exercise and cultivation of their talents, by the stimulus of honorary marks of distinction, and in some instances by grants of pecuniary assistance. ²

This sort of inaction was criticised by responsible Officials of the Company and others. Lord Moira, the Governor-General of India (1813-1823), for example, proposed that the sum of a lakh of rupees ($13333.30 according to present rate of exchange) should be spent "...in the improvement of Schools than in gifts to seminaries of higher degree. He wrote:

The moral duties require encouragement and experiment. The arts which adorn and embellish life, will follow in ordinary courses. It is for the credit of the British name, that this beneficial revolution

² Sharp, p. 23.
should arise under British sway. To be the source of blessings to
the immense population of India is an ambition worthy of our country.
In proportion as we have found intellect neglected and sterile here,
the obligation is the stronger on us to cultivate it. The field is
noble; may we till worthily! 3

Protesting voices like that of Lord Moira and Sir Charles Metcalfe 4
and the influence of the spirit of reform and liberalism that ruled the
life of England in the third decade of the nineteenth century, made the
Court of Directors and the Governments in India to realize their responsi-
bility of educating Indians. In Bengal, the Government took the first steps
of constituting the General Committee of Public Instructions in 1823 5
and the Governor-General, by a Resolution dated January 17th, 1824, appropriated
the grant for its proper use, 6 and put the one lakh of rupees at the
disposal of the Committee. On the 13th of February, 1824, the Court of
Directors, in a despatch to the Governor-General in Council, Bengal, showed
their willingness to do something for the education in Indian people. 7

... We wish you to be fully apprised of our zeal for the progress and
improvement of education among the natives of India, and of our willing-
ness to make considerable sacrifices to that important end, if proper
means for the attainment of it could be pointed out to us.

Only after ten years of the adoption of the Act of 1813, the
initial steps for education of the people were taken in all the three Pres-
sidencies. Each one of them was following its own course in the matters
of educational policies. The educational expansion in the Presidency of

3 Ibid., "Lord Moira's minute dated 2nd October, 1815", p. 23.
5 Sharp, p. 69. Also see Basu, "Fisher's Memoir", p. 23.
6 Ibid., p. 71. See also Basu, "Fisher's Memoir", p. 23.
7 Ibid., p. 92.
Madras was so slow and the progress made at the turn of the second half of the nineteenth century was almost next to nothing.

The following table will show the amount of money spent on native education from the year 1813 to 1830. Note the sudden increase of educational expenditure from the year 1824. Also note the little amount that was spent in the Presidency of Madras in comparison with the other two:

TABLE 3 * (* Sharp, p. 29)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bengal</th>
<th>Madras</th>
<th>Bombay</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1813</td>
<td>4,207</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>5,129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1814</td>
<td>11,606</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>12,585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1815</td>
<td>4,405</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>5,422</td>
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<tr>
<td>1816</td>
<td>5,146</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>578</td>
<td>6,204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1817</td>
<td>5,177</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>795</td>
<td>6,452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1818</td>
<td>5,211</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>630</td>
<td>6,321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1819</td>
<td>7,191</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>1,270</td>
<td>8,441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>5,307</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>1,401</td>
<td>7,208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>6,832</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>7,526</td>
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<tr>
<td>1822</td>
<td>9,081</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>10,155</td>
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<tr>
<td>1823</td>
<td>6,134</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>7,208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1824</td>
<td>19,970</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>1,434</td>
<td>21,804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1825</td>
<td>57,122</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>8,961</td>
<td>66,163</td>
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<tr>
<td>1826</td>
<td>21,623</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>3,009</td>
<td>27,632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1827</td>
<td>30,077</td>
<td>2,140</td>
<td>13,096</td>
<td>45,313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1828</td>
<td>22,797</td>
<td>2,980</td>
<td>10,064</td>
<td>35,841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1829</td>
<td>24,663</td>
<td>3,614</td>
<td>9,799</td>
<td>38,076</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>23,748</td>
<td>2,946</td>
<td>12,636</td>
<td>44,330</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
George Norton, writing on the progress of Native Education in the Madras Presidency observes:

Before the time of Sir Thomas Munro but little attention was given, in either of the Presidencies, to the subject of National Instruction. I have shown that this enlightened Governor entertained correct and liberal ideas on the objects and policy of promoting Native Education.

This enlightened Governor, Thomas Munro, on receiving the report of the Collectors, of which we have seen in the previous chapter, focused his attention to the improvement of the native education, which would form the basis for future development. In his Minute, dated March 10, 1826, outlined his educational plan.

His first proposal was to start a Central school or College at Madras for teacher education. The teachers were to be trained to teach in the Collectorate and Tahsildary schools that he proposed to start in the different Collectorates and Tahsils of the province. Two principal schools, one for the Hindus and the other for Mahomedans, were to be started in each Collectorate. There were 20 Collectorates and 15 Tahsils in each Collectorate at that time. And so his proposal was to start 40 Collectorate and 300 Tahsildary schools in the province. Munro proposed to secure the teachers from Government a moderate allowance "sufficient
to place them above want”:

The monthly salaries of the teachers of the Collectorate schools might, on an average, be 15 rupees to each, and those of the Tahsildary nine rupees each. These allowances may appear small, but the Tahsildary schoolmaster who receives nine rupees monthly from Government, will get at least as much from his scholars, and, considering all circumstances, his situation will probably be better than that of a parish schoolmaster in Scotland.11

The total expense for the schools and for the subsidy to the Madras School Book Society for the translation, adoption and composing of school books, as he estimated would be Rs. 43,000 per annum. A sum of Rs. 50,000 was granted for the new system, by the Court of Directors in their letter to the Government in Council of Fort St. George, dated 16th April, 1828.12

To carry on the scheme effectively, Munro proposed:

To appoint a Committee of Public Instruction, in order to superintend the establishing of the public schools; to fix on the places most proper for them, and the books to be used in them; to ascertain in what manner the instruction of the natives may be best promoted, and to report to Government the result of their inquiries on this important subject.13

The following gentlemen were appointed to the Committee:

H.S. Graeme, President, and W. Oliver, John Stokes, and A.D. Campbell, members. H. Harkness served secretary to the Committee.14

THE EXECUTION OF THE PLAN:

After a year of the proposal, in 1827, the Committee turned to the task of organizing the Central School or College at Madras for teacher training. A circular letter was sent to all the districts on 24th June, 1827. 

11Basu, "Minute by Sir Thomas Munro March 10, 1826", pp. 188-89.
12Ibid., p. 190.
13Ibid., p. 139.
14Ibid., "Circular letter of the Committee to the several Officers to the interior", pp. 111-13.
1826, and requested the collectors to send two candidates, one Hindu, preferably a Brahmin, and the other a Moslem, for the admission into the training school, to be trained as Collectorate teachers, who would in turn instruct the teachers of the Tahsildary school.  

The response was not very good. In January, 1827, the Committee reported that there were only ten candidates in the college for situations as Collectorate teachers from Rajamundry, Vizagapatam, Chinglepet, Salem, Cuddalore, Masulipatam, Cuddapah and Tanjore. The Committee also reported that eight Tahsildary schools were established of which three were Tamil schools.

The course of studies proposed comprised reading and writing in the English, Tamil and Telugu languages, together with grammar, arithmetic, geography and history. In addition to that the Committee on Public Instruction also recommended the study of Sanskrit for the Hindus, and Hindustani, Persian and Arabic for the Moslems.

According to the reports of the Committee, some progress was made in the establishment of more Tahsildary schools; in April 1827, two Tahsildary schools for Moslems were started at Chittoor and at Arcot; in 1828, two schools were opened at Calicut and Pauluchateherry and in 1829 two Moslem

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15 Ibid., p. 113.
16 Ibid., "Fisher's Memoir", p. 115. The districts of Chinglepet, Salem, Cuddalore and Tanjore are now in the State of Tamil Nadu.
17 Ibid., p. 115.
19 Ibid., "Fisher's Memoir", p. 112.
schools were opened, one at Combaconum and the other at Trichinopoly.

Eventually some 100 Tahsildary and Collectorate schools were established in the Presidency.

THE FAILURE OF THE PLAN:

The grand plan of Sir Thomas Munro—the plan of vernacular education for the mass of the people—largely failed, or allowed to fail, because of various reasons. His untimely death in 1827 brought a slackening in the efforts. George Norton thinks that the faulty plan of the scheme brought its failure. 21 H. Sharp considers that "the excellent intentions of those who initiated those movements were defeated by the vastness of the task, the paucity of available funds, and the growing demands for concentration of efforts in institutions of higher learning." 22 According to Sathianadhan, ineffective supervision and the unwise plan of allowing the natives to select the Tahsildary teachers, who were inferior in every respect, caused the failure. 23

Before the scheme really began to work, the Court of Directors sent a despatch to the Madras Government on September 29th, 1830, complaining about the lack of provision for higher education in the Presidency.

They wrote:

The improvement in education, however, which most effectually contribute to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of a people, are those which concern the education of the higher classes; of the persons possessing leisure and natural influence over the minds of

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20 Ibid., pp. 117-13. The towns of Arcot, Combaconum and Trichinopoly are in the State of Tamil Nadu.
21 Norton, p. 36.
22 Sharp, p. 50.
their countrymen. By raising the standard of instruction among these classes, you would eventually produce a much greater and more beneficial change in the ideas and feelings of the community than you can hope to produce by acting directly on the more numerous class.

You are moreover acquainted with our anxious desire to have at our disposal a body of natives, qualified by their habits and acquirements to take a larger share and occupy higher situation in the civil administration of their country than has hitherto been the practice under our Indian Governments. The measures for native education which have as yet been adopted or planned at your presidency, have had no tendency to produce 'such persons.'

The Directors concluded that the Madras Government must follow the Supreme Government at Bengal in educational matters. Thus the fatal blow was struck at Munro's scheme and the "Downward-filtration" theory prevailed.

The Committee of Public Instruction at Madras did nothing until after four years, when they received another despatch dated February 5, 1834 from the Court of Directors. The Committee, then, drew up a report reviewing their educational activities, and proposing a new plan of public instruction, according to which the Central School at Madras would be remodelled and thereafter devoted to instructing the candidates for teaching positions at Collectorate schools in mathematics, astronomy, natural philosophy, history and European literature under the direction of an English master and an assistant. The report also proposed to establish a separate English School at Madras for free instruction to general students under an English master. The Report also proposed other measures for a system of inspection and the encouragement of schools supported by natives.

Before taking any action on this proposals, the Madras

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Government sent them to the Supreme Government at Bengal for the opinions of the General Committee of Public Instruction at Calcutta. There the matter rested while the controversy between the Anglicists and Orientalists was reaching a climax.

2. THE OFFICIAL VACILLATION

THE ANGLICIST AND ORIENTALIST CONTROVERSY IN BENGAL:

The controversy between the Anglicists and Orientalists exited almost from the appointment of the Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal in the year 1823. This Committee, entrusted with the educational affairs of the Presidency, followed the policy of patronizing Oriental learning in the tradition established by Warren Hastings. However, it also fostered English education in the Lower Provinces. At the time the Committee had, under its care, one English College and six Oriental Colleges and a number of elementary schools in Bengal. And also they published oriental books.

Simultaneously, many primary schools were conducted by the missionary societies, which provided English education. These schools were the forerunners of the later English High Schools and Arts Colleges. The Hindu College of Calcutta was started in 1817 and the Baptist Mission College at Serampore, and Bishop’s College at Calcutta were founded respectively in 1818 and 1820.

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26 Warren Hastings founded the Calcutta Madrassa in 1781, for the education of Moslem gentlemen for offices in the State. In 1792, the Banarese Sanskrit College was founded for the Hindus.
27 McCully, p. 55.
28 Chamberlain, p. 31.
29 Sharp, p. 73.
Although the two systems had peacefully coexisted, the Government Resolution of August 21, 1821 regarding the proposed Hindu Sanskrit College caused a collision. The controversy between the Anglicists and Orientalists surfaced, and there were violent differences among them regarding the interpretation of the Education clause of the Act of 1813 and the use of the one lakh of rupees appropriated by that Act.

Meanwhile, the growing success of the few English colleges, and the strong support for European learning by men like Raja Ram Mohan Roy tilted the balance in favour of the Anglicist. In a letter, dated 11th December 1823, to the then Governor-General, Lord Amherst, the Raja wrote:

When this Seminary of learning was proposed, we understood that the Government in England had ordered a considerable sum of money to be annually devoted to the instruction of its Indian Subjects. We were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum would be laid out in employing European Gentlemen of talents and education to instruct the natives of India in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy and other useful Sciences, which the Nations of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world.

We now find the Government are establishing a Sanscrit [sic] school under Hindu Pundits to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. This Seminary (similar in character to those which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to lead the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practicable use to the possessors or to society. The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtleties [sic] since produced by speculative men, such as is already commonly taught in all parts of India.31

Bentinck, who became Governor-General in 1823, sympathised with the Anglicist position. With the appointment of men like Trevelyan,

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30 Ibid., p. 79.
31 Ibid., "Address, dated 11th December 1823, from Raja Ram Mohan Roy", pp. 99-100.
Wilberforce Bird, and John R. Colvin, to the Committee of Public Instruction a vigorous Anglicist faction was built up. The controversy increased and reached a climax in 1834 when the Committee was evenly divided and failed to agree on the plan of instruction the Government had requested for a college it had proposed at Agra.

**THE TRIUMPH OF THE ANGLICISTS:**

At this point, Bentinck approached Macaulay, the new Law member of Supreme Council, whom he appointed the President of the Committee of Public Instruction, for a ruling on the debated sections of the educational clause of the Act of 1813. This occasion gave rise to the famous Macaulay's minute of 2nd February 1835.

In his Minute, Macaulay, an accomplished essayist, gathered all the English rhetoric at his command and poured out all sorts of invectives and ridiculed Indian culture, languages, literatures and religion. Instead of being an umpire, who was asked to make a ruling, he allowed his personal feelings to cloud his judgement and ruled in favor of English education.

He argued:

> What then shall that language be? One-half of the committee maintain that it should be the English. The other half strongly recommend the Arabic and Sanscrit. The whole question seems to me to be—which language is the best worth knowing?

> I have no knowledge of either Sanscrit or Arabic. But I have done what I could to form a correct estimate of their value. I have read translations of the most celebrated Arabic and Sanscrit works. I have conversed, both here and at home, with men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern tongues. I am quite ready to take

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32 McCully, p. 66.

33 Ibid., p. 67.
the oriental learning at the valuation of the orientalists themselves. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia.\textsuperscript{34}

As T.N. Siqueira observed: "Weak as the premises were, sweeping as were the generalizations, patent as was the ignorance and prejudice behind the judgement, the conclusion carried conviction."\textsuperscript{35} Lord Bentinck gave his entire concurrence to the sentiments expressed in the minute,\textsuperscript{36} and issued his Resolution of the 7th March 1835:

His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone.\textsuperscript{37}

He also directed the Committee to refrain from granting new stipends to future students of the Oriental institutions and stop subsidizing the printing of Oriental works.

The impact of Macaulay's ruling was great in all the three Presidencies and English education and the theory of Downward Filtration were the order of the day.

\textbf{THE END OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION:}

The effect of Bentinck's resolution in Madras was immediate. Exactly at the time of Macaulay's minute and the ensuing Bentinck's resolution, the proposals of the Madras Committee of Public Instruction were in

\textsuperscript{34}Sharp, Selections from Educational Records, "Minute by the Hon'ble T.B. Macaulay, dated 2nd February 1835", p. 109.


\textsuperscript{36}Sharp, Selections from Educational Records, p. 117.

\textsuperscript{37}Sharp, "Lord Bentinck's Resolution of the 7th March, 1835", p. 119.
the hands of the General Committee of Public Instruction at Calcutta. In July 1835 the Committee at Calcutta sent its opinion about the proposals. It advised the Madras Committee to drop the proposals for elementary education and withdraw the aid to the Collectorate and Tahsildary schools immediately. The Supreme Government, concurring with the General Committee's opinion, advised the Madras Committee to concentrate all its efforts in establishing a Central English School at Madras and spend the surplus funds, if any, in providing competent English masters for the schools that were contemplated for the interior.

The Collectorate schools and the Tahsildary schools were abolished accordingly in 1836 as was also the Committee of Public Instruction. A new Committee entitled the Committee of Native Education was constituted. One of the members of Council was appointed President and a Presbyterian Presidency chaplain, the Maratta translator to Government, the Deputy Judge advocate, the company's Astronomer and Solicitor were appointed members. The Committee was given instructions to draw up proposals for the establishment of a Normal school for the training of teachers for English schools that were to be established in the province.

The Committee submitted a comprehensive plan. It provided no place for vernacular education. Instead it proposed, as a first step, four English schools, to be opened at Madras in different parts of Black Town (now known as 'George Town'), Triplicane and SantThome. These schools

38 McCully, p. 119.
were to prepare pupils to qualify themselves for admission into the Normal school and College that were to be opened at Madras in future. Three years passed before any notice of this grand plan was taken by the Government.

AND THE PERIOD OF CONFUSION AND CONTINUED OSCILLATION:

The educational activities of Madras Government between the years 1839 and 1854:

...consists chiefly of minutes by successive Governors, Lord Elphinstone, Lord Tweeddale and Sir Henry Pottinger, outlining policies which were never fully adopted, of reports from the educational board submitting schemes which were never brought into effect, of orders of the local Government constituting new educational authorities each of which was short lived, together with despatches from the Court of Directors criticising the policies framed by the Governors, rejecting the schemes submitted by the educational board and dissolving the new educational authorities constituted by the local Government...

In view of the constant changes both in the policy of the local Government and in the personnel of the authority whose duty it was to carry out that policy, it is not a matter for surprise that the educational activities of the Madras Government were not fruitful in results or that we find in 1852 but one single institution in the Presidency founded or under the immediate control of Government.41

This oscillation started almost after Munro's plan for elementary education was abandoned. He tried to build the 'pyramid' on its board base but the Downward-filtration theory, forced on the educational scheme after Macaulay's minute, inverted that 'pyramid' and balanced it precariously. The oscillation was so conspicuous in Madras Presidency that the net result was its educational backwardness.

"THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY":

Lord Elphinstone became Governor of Madras in 1839. He was a strong advocate of the "policy of directing our exertions in the first

41Ibid., p. 177.
instance to the enlightenment of the upper classes" through the medium of English language; he brushed aside the proposals of the Committee of Native Education and proposed his own new scheme for national education.

Elphinstone proposed to establish an "University" at Madras which would consist of two principal departments:

...a college for the higher branches of literature, philosophy and science and a high school for the cultivation of English literature and of the vernacular languages of India, and the elementary departments of philosophy and science.

The most important aspect of this plan was the anticipated cooperation and pecuniary support of influential natives. On hearing the Government's plan of establishing a National University, more than 70,000 persons signed and presented an address, in English, Tamil, and Telugu, in which they expressed their gratitude, but cautioned the Government against any religious motives and petitioned for a voice in executing the intended measures:

We have learnt with feelings which this address can but weakly display, that your Lordship in Council contemplates some effective and liberal measures for the establishment of an improved system of National Education in this Presidency. It is our hope that these, the united sentiments of all classes, which such an announcement has instantly called forth, will at least prove to your Lordship the gratitude of a whole people.

We pray that your Lordship will not impose as a condition for any measure of national education that the people should act as if they renounced the religious faith in which they have been brought up.

But your Lordship will not be unmindful that on the voice and love of the Native people must depend the greatest glory of Government.  

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42 Ibid., "Extract from a minute by Lord Elphinstone, dated the 12th February, 1841", p. 191.
43 Ibid., "Minute by Lord Elphinstone, dated the 12th December, 1839", p. 143.
44 Norton, pp. 31-34.
Lord Elphinstone appointed a "Board of Governors", under the Presidency of the then Advocate General, George Norton, to carry out the scheme.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE "UNIVERSITY":

The "University" opened its doors, with some pomp, on the 14th April 1841. But its operations were confined to the high school department, as the Board of Governors decided that, on account of the educational backwardness of Madras, there was hardly a sufficient number of students qualified to carry on the higher branches of studies in the collegiate department. E.B. Powell, a Wrangler of the University of Cambridge, was appointed the headmaster of the High School.

The high school department was under a Head-master and Tutors. The collegiate department, which was not fully organized until 1853, was to be under the Principal and Professors.

The University, in its internal organization and curriculum, was planned on the model of the Hindu College at Calcutta. The subjects taught in the High School were grammar and reading exercises in both English and Vernacular, arithmetic, writing, morality, history, geography, mathematics including algebra, plane and spherical trigonometry and the principles of mechanics, natural philosophy, moral philosophy, reciprocal translations, abridgments or abstracts, compilations, compositions and

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45 Ibid., p. 47.
46 Ibid., p. 51.
47 Bichey, p. 179.
48 Ibid., p. 186.
elocution. In view of the delay in the establishment of the collegiate department to enable the fourth (which was the highest) class students of the high school to cultivate a taste in studies appropriate for the higher branch of the institution, the following subjects were temporarily added to the list: higher mathematics, physics, astronomy, and political economy.

This scheme of the Madras University was based on the principle that the intellectual cultivation of the higher classes was more important than the education of the masses. The promoters of this scheme were guided by this principle; and to use the figure of Norton, they believed that "the light must touch the mountain tops, before it can pierce to the levels and depths." 49

THE PROPOSED PROVINCIAL SCHOOLS:

Lord Elphinstone proposed to give the same educational facilities to the country by the establishment:

... at some of the principal towns in the interior of superior schools, which eventually might be raised into colleges, each the centre of a circle of Zilla51 schools, as the Madras University would be the centre of the Provincial college and of the whole system of education throughout the Presidency; thus the link of connection between the Zilla schools and the University would be obtained...52

The district schools were to follow the curricular pattern of the High School at Madras, and the medium of instruction had to be English. According to Lord Elphinstone's plan, the Superior provincial schools were to be opened at Trichinopoly, Masulipatam, Bellary and Calcutt for the respective

50 Ibid., pp. 50-51.
51 Sattianadham, p. 25.
52 *Zilla* means district.
53 Richay, *"Extract from a minute by Lord Elphinstone, dated the 12th February, 1841"*, p. 192.
Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, and Malayalam districts in which these provincial towns were to be situated. The Court of Directors, in their despatch of 30th December, 1842, generally approved this plan, but cautioned the Madras Government "to mature the organization of the Madras High School" before planning for the establishment of the Provincial Schools. 53

The plans for the schools were made and the provincial Committees were formed, but the establishment of the schools were delayed. 54 One of the difficulties expressed was the impossibility of getting competent headmasters from England for a lower salary that was proposed.

THE FIVE YEARS' FEUD:

The period between 1843 to 1848 was a period of great confusion and continuous feuding between the Government and the University Board. In June 1843, the President of the Board of Governor of the University drew the attention of the Government to the prevailing unsatisfactory conditions of the University and requested that the Government initiate the collegiate department of the University without delay and establish new facilities for the study of medicine and engineering. 55 The Board also submitted to the Government: (1) the cost of operating the four Provincial Branch schools that were proposed by Lord Elphinstone; (2) expenditure for the new collegiate classes of medicine and engineering; (3) the charge of Test Examinations for certificates of qualification for Government employment. The annual cost suggested, however, exceeded by about Rs. 15,000 than the

53 Ibid., p. 193.
54 Ibid., p. 179. See also Satthianadhan, pp. 22-23.
55 Ibid., pp. 179-80.
annual grant of Rs. 50,000 already allowed for the Presidency. The
then Governor, the Marquis of Tweeddale, who was not very much pleased
about the progress of the University, took the opportunity to write a long
minute expressing his dissatisfaction. He expressed the disappointment
of the Government regarding the failure of the promises of the natives of
higher classes, who, when the 'University' was established, expressed their
support and promised liberal pecuniary aid. They withdrew their children
and gave no aid. Hence, the Governor thought the University made little
progress.

Dissatisfied by the progress, the Governor referred the Board's
proposal to the Court of Directors, who in a despatch dated the 23rd
August, 1844 negated the proposals for establishing provincial schools and
also advised the Government to direct the Board of Governors to confine
themselves to the running of the High School by saying:

It is manifestly premature to found Colleges for scientific and
professional objects, or to establish tests for public employment,
while the means which are so imperfect, and so little resorted to by
those for whose benefit they are intended. We must repeat our
injunctions to you to direct the Governors to confine their attention
to the fuller development of the establishment over which they
already preside.

The differences of opinion that existed between the Government and
the University Board regarding educational matters increased still further
in 1845. In 1844, Lord Hardinge, in a resolution, promulgated the

56 Norton, p. 67.
57 Richey, "Extracts from a minute by the Marquis of Tweeddale,
Governor of Madras, dated 23rd August, 1843", p. 194.
58 Ibid., "Despatch from the Court of Directors dated 23rd August,
59 Ibid., "Resolution of the Government of India, dated the 10th
October, 1844", pp. 90-91.
Government’s intention of encouraging educated Indians by employing them in Government service. To give effect to this proposal, the Madras Government approached the University Board to submit proposals for the examinations and selection of candidates for public service. Accordingly the Board submitted its proposals. But, the Government, not being satisfied by the Test Rules framed by the University Board, created a new educational board called the Council of Education in 1845. The new Council of Education was entrusted with the affairs of Test Examination, as the establishment of Provincial Schools then, "had been disposed of" and hence the University Board was directed by the Government to confine itself to the affairs of the High School.

The new Council of Education brought back again the idea of establishing Provincial schools. The secretary of the Council proposed to start nine schools, but the Governor reduced the number to six on account of the impossibility of immediately securing competent masters. The course of studies proposed by the Council for these schools included instruction in the Bible. These proposals for these schools were referred to the Court of Directors for their approval. Replying to the scheme, the Court of Directors, in a despatch dated 15th September, 1846, disapproved the plan and asked the Government to furnish them with an:

...account shewing [bid] the appropriation of the grant of rupees 50,000 which we sanctioned in our despatch of 16th April, 1828, from the period of the formation of the Madras University to the latest period.61

60 Ibid., p. 180. Also see Norton, p. 70.
61 Ibid., "Despatch from the Court of Directors, dated 15th September, 1846", p. 200.
The Court of Directors strongly disapproved Bible study even as an optional subject:

We cannot consider it either expedient or prudent to introduce any branch of study which can in any way interfere with the religious feelings and opinions of the people. All such tendency has been carefully avoided at both the other presidencies where native education has been successfully presented. We direct you therefore to refrain from any departure from the practice hitherto pursued.\footnote{62}{Ibid., p. 201.}

In a subsequent despatch, dated 9th June, 1847, the Court of Directors recommended the dissolution of the new Council of Education as there was already a Board "for the superintendence of the Madras University, the only educational institution immediately connected with Government..."\footnote{63}{Ibid., p. 202.}

The Council was abolished and its duties were again given back to the University Board. The Court of Directors also suggested the reorganization of the Board and the enlargement of its activities.

Thus five years were spent in frequent controversies between the Board and the Government, and nothing was achieved in the field of education except the voluminous correspondences and despatches. The Presidency remained where it was and even that one Institution under the care of the Government made very little progress.

\textbf{THE CONTINUED CONTROVERSY:}

Sir Henry Pottinger, who succeeded to Governorship in April 1848, proposed to remodel the Council of Education, as suggested by the Court of Directors. The new Council would include the members of the Board of Governors of the University, with a member of Government as President. But there was such a great controversy between the Board and the members of
Governor's Council regarding the soundness of providing liberal education to higher classes to the neglect of mass education, that he put his views regarding the issues in a minute dated 6th June, 1851. Like his predecessors he reviewed the poor progress the Presidency had made in the field of education. He compared the only Institution, namely the 'Madras High School', under the direct care of the Government, to similar institutions in other Presidencies and said that it "falls much behind-hand as to numbers; and also so far as I can judge, in general proficiency."\(^65\)

The proposed new Council of Education, he hoped, would do something about improving the situation. He wanted to give some further consideration about starting Provincial Schools at eight provincial towns including Trichinopoly and Combaconum in Tamil Nadu. He proposed to form a Normal School at Madras "exclusively for bringing up well qualified school-masters to be employed in the Provincial and other seminaries." He favoured vernacular medium in the Provincial Schools:

...but my own firm persuasion is, from past personal experience, as well as from enquiry and reading the reports of which I have adverted above, that good and careful translation from English into the vernacular dialects must, after all, be the chief channel of instruction, and of the communication of knowledge to the great body of the population of South India.\(^67\)

But, still the controversy that started in the previous administration was very much alive. Some of the members of the Governor's Council opposed spending money for higher education, when there were no lower institutions in existence for the people to acquire elementary education.

\(^{64}\)Ibid., "Extract form a minute by Sir Henry Pottinger, dated the 6th June, 1851", p. 203.

\(^{65}\)Ibid.

\(^{66}\)Ibid., p. 204.

\(^{67}\)Ibid., p. 205.
Mr. Thomas, a member of the Council, and who was also a champion of women's education, wrote a minute on 26th June, 1851, saying:

I will first express my decided conviction that a system, which contemplates only the imparting of a high measure education to a few, exclusively through the medium of English, must fail to produce any great or general effect upon the national mind. It appears to me to reverse the natural order of things and that the attempt to educate and enlighten a nation through a foreign language, is one opposed to the experience of all times and countries. English must even be in this land to the mass, an unknown tongue. 68

The controversy continued till 1852. The Governor dropped the idea of constituting a new Council, but reorganized the University Board with thirteen new members. The Board again prepared some proposals for the expansion of education. This game of constituting new Councils of education and of submitting proposals by them and of their subsequent rejection either by the Government or by the Court of Directors went on so long that very little was accomplished to improve education. 69 Because of continued controversy regarding educational policies and plans, the Government never had the chance to spend the full amount of Rs. 50,000 that was appropriated for the Presidency and by 1853 there was a balance of Rs. 300,000. 70

TWO SCHOOLS AFTER TWELVE YEARS:

But, on the basis of Sir Henry Pottinger's minute of 1851, the Government opened two Provincial Schools, one at Cuddalore in June, 1853 and the other at Rajmundry in July, 1855, on the lines of Elphinstone's 71

68 Ibid., "Extract from a minute by Mr. Thomas dated the 26th June, 1851", p. 266.
69 For the submission and resubmission of proposals by the University Board and the rejection of them by the Members of Council see Satthianadham, History of Education in the Madras Presidency, pp. 32-34.
70 Richey, p. 131. And also see Namullah and Naik, p. 104.
71 Ibid., p. 132.
plan of twelve years old. Meanwhile, the Government also recorded, in February, 1853, its decision about sanctioning the University Board to promote a collegiate department in the Madras University.

After fifty years of educational wrangling, the Madras Government had, on the eve the Wood's Despatch of 1854, one Central High School at Madras under the designation of the Madras University, and two provincial schools at Cuddalore and Rajmundry under its direct control. It also had the plan to establish four more schools at Coimbatore, and Calicut and at Sellary and Chittoor.

While, thus, the Government was vacillating for half a century, it was fortunate for the cause of education in Madras that missionary enterprise was very active. This was a great relieving factor that advanced educational progress in Madras in the second half of the nineteenth century.

3. THE RELIEVING FACTOR

A WORD OF PRAISE:

The Court of Directors, in their educational despatch of 1854, recorded their special recognition of the educational efforts of the missionaries in Madras:

In Madras where little has yet been done by Government to promote the education of the mass of the people, we can only remark with satisfaction that the educational efforts of Christian missionaries have been more successful among the Tamil population than in any other part of India...
When the official educational efforts were almost next to nothing, the missionaries did commendable work for the progress education in Tamil Nadu. Their contribution to mass education was pioneering. Madras Presidency was the scene of great missionary activities in contrast with the other Presidencies. Perhaps the reason was that Madras was chronologically their first field of educational activities.

THE EARLY EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES:

We have seen in the previous chapter, how the Danish missionaries and subsequently the missionaries supported by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, spread their educational activities from Tranquebar to neighbouring districts of Tamil Nadu; and how Schwartz, the pioneer of English education in India, had established English Schools in Tamil Nadu in 1785.

In the second decade of the nineteenth century, the missionaries of the S.P.C.K. organized combined English and Tamil elementary schools in Tranquebar and in the neighbouring districts as far as Trichinopoly. The demand was so great that the missionaries received requests to open schools in different parts in the region.

Between 1810 and 1814 the schools in the Tranquebar region rose to six in number. These schools were turned over to the Church Missionary Society. The Society started their vigorous educational work and opened more schools. They proposed to start a seminary at Tranquebar where the native boys from Tanjore and Tranquebar could be trained to serve as missionaries and teachers among their countrymen. The curriculum for these schools

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75 McCully, p. 54.
would include universal history, church history, geography, natural history and special stress would be placed on Divinity and Christian Scriptures. 76

This seminary was started at Tranquebar and fulfilled the hopes of the founders as it was able to supply trained native teachers to staff the English free school that the Society opened at Coimbatore. 77

In 1817 and 1818, two free schools were opened respectively at Palamcottah and Tinnevelly of Tamil Nadu under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society. The Rev. Hough, Chaplain at Palamcottah, in 1819, sought pecuniary aid to the extent of 25 pagodas per month for the two schools from the Government of Madras. He said that the schools were attended by pupils of all castes and that the text-books used in them were the New Testament, Seltare’s History of the Bible, the Psalter, Lindley Murray’s Grammar and the usual English spelling books. He also observed that the introductions of Christian Scriptures aroused no alarm among the native population. His request met with a negative answer from the government. 78 But the missionaries, nevertheless, were widening their field of activities.

In the third decade of the nineteenth century another missionary Society—the London Missionary Society—joined their fellow-workers. They also organized English and Anglo-vernacular schools. But they started their work in Telugu country and extended it from Vizagapatam to Nagercoil, in Tamil Nadu, and from Bellary to Madras in the east coast.

76 Ibid.
77 Ibid.
78 Sasu, p. 32.
Both of these Societies extended their educational work to the city of Madras. They organized elementary schools in Black Town of Madras. The Church Missionary Society opened a seminary in 1822 in Madras to provide instruction in 'general knowledge' and 'science'. This seminary in six years contained a native student-body of twenty three, half of them were drawn from the schools run by the Society in Tranquebar. The London Missionary Society planned similar instructions and opened many vernacular schools. It also founded a central school with an English department for the purpose of training native teachers for mission schools.

The Wesleyan missionaries entered the Black Town of Madras and established schools. They first started Tamil Schools, and the students drawn from these schools formed the nucleus of an English school at Madras. The seminaries that the missionaries were running, were hardly offering anything more than an elementary knowledge of European sciences, and their Anglo-vernacular schools, in some instances served as feeder schools to these seminaries. But, nevertheless, these schools did pioneering work in the spreading of English education and European knowledge in Tamil Nadu and the rest of Madras Presidency. Though the city of Madras received the educational attention of the missionaries a little latter, nevertheless, by the end of 1835, there were a number of missionary schools in the city of Madras as there were in the provincial towns and the countryside. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel supported many schools, and the majority of them were in the districts of Tinnevelly, Madurai, Trichinopoly and Tanjore of Tamil Nadu. The schools of the Church Missionary Society were mainly in Tinnevelly district. In 1852, it was reported that the

79McCully, p. 56.  
80Ibid.
Mission societies were maintaining about 1135 schools with 39,005 pupils in the Madras Presidency whereas in the other Presidencies of Bengal and Bombay the aggregate number of mission schools where only 472 with 26,791 students. In the vernacular schools, as well as in the great majority of the English schools, the course of instruction was elementary in character.

But the attention of the Missionaries was not in elementary education alone. They paid great attention to higher education too. But it was in the city, the most advanced missionary educational institution arose after 1835 due to the favourable social and economic surroundings it offered.

THE ATTENTION TO HIGHER EDUCATION:

The pronouncements of Macaulay brought a new turn to the educational activities of the missionaries. Their educational efforts during the period between 1835 and 1854 assumed two distinct aspects: the first was the vast territory that came under their educational operation and the second was their attention to higher education. One of the motives of establishing higher educational institutions was the missionaries' desire to attract higher classes to the new Faith. The result of this new thrust was that in 1854 the education of the Presidency was entirely in the hands of the missionaries, except the three institutions under the Government's direct control and a few native institutions, the most celebrated among them was the Pachaiappa's School started in 1842.

81 Satthianadhan, p. 39.
82 McGully, p. 124. For Pachiappa's Educational Trust and the school see Norton, Native Education in India., pp. 27-31.
Two years after Macaulay's minute and in the same year that English substituted Persian as Court language, the city of Madras saw a new educational adventure. Rev. John Anderson of the Church of Scotland started the General Assembly's School. The school offered a great wide range of subjects, with the object of attracting the higher classes of the native community. The prospectus that he issued declared that classes would be formed to teach English, including grammar and composition, writing and accounting, history, geography, arithmetic, mathematics and algebra, elements of astronomy and political economy, logic, moral philosophy and natural theology and evidences and doctrines of Christianity. Later on vernacular languages also were added to the above mentioned subjects. This school was a great success and in a few years it had a student strength from two to three hundred. This General Assembly's School of Rev. Anderson, later on took the name of the Madras Christian College, which still remains one of the greatest educational institutions in Tamil Nadu.

Encouraged by the success of the school at Madras, Rev. Anderson opened branch schools at Canjeevaram in 1839, at Chinglepet in 1840 and at Triplicane in 1841. He was soon joined by two other enthusiastic missionaries, the Rev. Robert Johnston, and the Rev. John Braidwood.

The Charter of 1833 opened India to Christian mission from all countries. German and American missions entered into India. The Protestant Lutheran Mission Society, founded at Dresden in 1836, came to

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83 Ibid., p. 127. Also see Manikam, Missionary Collegiate Education in the Presidency of Madras, India., p. 7.
Tamil Nadu, and joined hands with Tranquebar mission and spread their educational activities into Southern India. The American Congregationalists selected Madurai as their centre in 1834. They organized the American Madura Mission, which later on founded the present American College at Madurai. The American Congregational Board opened stations at Madras, Madurai (1834), Dindigal (1835), Thirumangalam (1838), Pasumalai (1845), Periacoppam (1845), and in other places of Tamil Nadu. The Dutch Reformed Church, in 1853 formed its own mission, known as "The Aroot Mission" as their work were mainly concentrated in the Aroot districts of Tamil Nadu. The missionaries of the Reformed Church entered these districts in 1850 and did excellent work. They now maintain a college at Vellore.84

The Jesuits also were back to their old Madurai Province, in 1841, and St. Joseph’s College was founded at Nagapattinam in 1844 and later on in 1883 it was moved to Trichinopoly, and now it is one of the oldest and largest Christian Colleges in India. The missionary educational activities of all sorts were so vigorous that by 1854, there were missionary educational institutions in the villages and in all the chief towns of Tamil Nadu. The new education was very much sought after for its economic value and the missionary schools were always crowded. According to statistics given by Sherring for 1851, in the Madras Presidency alone there were 1155 Protestant educational institutions (excluding Sunday Schools) with 36,939 students in attendance.85 This does not include the educational institutions of the Catholic mission. This would give an idea of

84 Manikam, pp. 9-10. And see Nurullah and Naik, A History of Education in India, p. 170.
the extent of missionary educational work at the time of the Despatch of 1854.

**PROFESSIONAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION:**

Mention must be made regarding the provision for professional and vocational education in Madras Presidency prior to the Despatch of 1854.

A Medical School was opened at Madras in 1835 for the training of apprentices of European descent and of native medical students. This school was under the control of a Medical Board. It was raised to the status of a college in 1851 and in 1857 it was recognized by the Royal College of Surgeons of London "as one of the Colonial Schools of Medicine and Surgery."

Attempt was made to start an Engineering class in the Madras University, but it did not materialized before 1857. However, there was a Survey School in Madras under the Board of Revenue, established in 1793 and this formed the nucleus of the College of Engineering. A School of Ordnance Artificiers was opened in Madras in 1840 by Major Maitland, Superintendent of the Gun Carriage Manufactory. Dr. Hunter opened a School of Industrial Arts at Madras in 1850 and in the next year he founded a School of Industry in order to train up young people in the skills of manufacturing articles of domestic and daily use and to provide them opportunities and means of acquiring various useful handicrafts.

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86 Richey, pp. 329-30.
87 Ibid., pp. 334-45.
Thus, at the time of the famous Educational Despatch of 1854, the education of Tamil Nadu was almost entirely in the hands of the Christian missions and of a few native educational bodies.

CONCLUSION:

The four decades of educational history of Tamil Nadu—and of the Madras Presidency—was one of confusion. Nothing worthwhile was done by the Government. The great Governor of Madras, Thomas Munro planned well to build the educational edifice from the bottom. But that great opportunity was lost because of his untimely death and of his successors' half-hearted measures to implement his plans. Meanwhile the controversy between the Anglicists and Orientalists was raging in Bengal. The Orientalists were trying to prop up the "dead horse" and, prompted by political expediency, the Anglicists were moving to bring in English into the educational system. At the proper time Macaulay appeared on the scene and decided in favor of English. But the real issue was side-tracked. Neither the classical languages nor English, but the languages of the people should have been the media of education.

The decision was made and English ascended the throne. The Madras Presidency which was lagging behind in education fell in line with the rest of India. And yet the Government continued its policy of vacillation. Fortunately the Christian missionaries were continuing the educational work all over Tamil Nadu and in the rest of the Madras Presidency. When the Wood's Despatch came as the Company's first consolidated educational policy for India, the Madras Presidency was ready to march ahead in educational developments.
CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION FROM WOOD'S DESPATCH TO LORD CURZON (1854-1901)

INTRODUCTION:

The period between 1854 and 1901 marks the beginning of the era of consolidation of Indian education. The official vacillation and the lack of definite educational policies that marked the previous periods came to an end and in a sense the foundation of the modern Indian education was laid by the famous Despatch of 1854 of the Court of Directors of East India Company. This famous document was also known as Wood's Despatch, because at that time Sir Charles Wood (afterwards Lord Halifax) was the President of the Board of Control. H.R. James observes of this Despatch:

"The Despatch of 1854 is thus the climax in the history of Indian education: what goes before leads up to it, what follows flows from it." 1

The successive educational documents, modified certain policies, according to the needs of the time, but preserved the original outlines demarcated by the Despatch of 1854. For almost three quarters of a century the Despatch of 1854 provided the frame of reference for any dispute regarding the educational policies.

This period could be conveniently studied under the following heads:

1. Wood's Despatch.

2. The Progress of Education between 1854 and 1881.

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3. Indian Education Commission (1832-33).

4. The Progress of Education between 1882 and 1901.

1. WOOD'S DESPATCH

ORIGIN OF THE DESPATCH:

The time for the renewal of the Charter of East India Company came in 1853. As in previous occasions of the renewal of the Charter in 1813 and 1833, this time also the Select Committee of the House of Commons held a thorough enquiry into developments in India. Alexander Duff, the famous educational missionary of Calcutta was already in England in 1851. He had many plans for Indian education. He was determined to get his plans pushed through. He contacted the members of the Court of Directors and the members of the Parliament to bring pressure "to secure for missionary and private institutions an equal standing with Government schools and Colleges." Alexander Duff was invited to give evidence before the Select Committee. He effectively brought before that body the importance of establishing Universities and adopting the system of grants-in-aid in India. The other important witnesses like Sir Charles Trevelyan, John C. Marsham and Wilberforce Bird and Charles Hay Cameron also brought pressure almost on the same lines of Duff.

Sir Charles Wood introduced the new East India Company Bill on June 2nd 1853, but he mentioned little on the native education. That really created some commotion in India. But a year after, on 19th of July 1854, the famous despatch came to light.

2 McCully, p. 132.
3 Ibid., p. 134.
There is still a dispute about the authorship of the Despatch. Some suspect the handiwork of Duff and yet others consider "that the Despatch was the outcome of a group of minds, however considerable Duff's contribution may have been."

Whatever may be the truth of the authorship, the Despatch was acclaimed as the "Magna Charta of English Education in India". It is of immense historical importance; and its significance pervaded the portals of Indian education. It is a long document of a hundred paragraphs and deals with many questions of great educational importance.

**Reasons for Developing Education in India:**

At the outset the Directors declared that it was "one of their sacred duties" to confer "upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge..." And they emphatically declared that 'useful knowledge' would be "European knowledge". By this education, they hoped to get natives of great intellectual fitness and moral integrity for public service.

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4Sir Charles Wood wrote to Dalhousie on August 19, 1853 and asked for information and advice regarding the question of education, as he was "a good deal at sea" and did have "no time to look into it" himself. See footnote 15 of McCully, p. 136.


6McCully, p. 137.

7Richey, Part II, pp. 364-393. "Despatch from the Court of Directors of the East India Company, to the Governor-General in Council, dated the 19th July, 1854", par. 2.

8Ibid., Despatch, par. 7.
The Directors did not forget the material advantage of this education:

...this knowledge will teach the natives of India the marvellous results of the employment of labour and capital, rouse them to emulate us in the development of the vast resources of their country, guide them in their efforts, and gradually, but certainly, confer upon them all the advantages which accompany the healthy increase of wealth and commerce; and, at the same time, secure to us a large and more certain supply of many articles necessary for our manufacturers and extensively consumed by all classes of our population, as well as an almost inexhaustible demand for the produce of British labour.9

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION:

The Directors sought to dispel the fear that the introduction of English as the medium of instruction was to suppress the native languages. They showed how both English and Indian languages together could spread education in India:

It is neither our aim nor desire to substitute the English languages for the vernacular dialects of the country. We have always been most sensible of the importance of the use of the language, which alone are understood by the great mass of the population...10

This is a departure from the existing practice. Until then, European learning was the privilege of a few, and the mass of the people had no part in it; but now, the Despatch had made it available to the people. For those who aspire to higher education, English continued as the only medium. For the mass of the people, this new knowledge could be conveyed only through one of the Indian languages which they understood. Hence:

In any general system of education, English language should be taught where there is demand for it; but such instruction should always be combined with a careful attention to the study of the

9 Ibid., Despatch, par. 4. 10 Ibid., Despatch, par. 13.
vernacular language of the district, and with such general instruction as can be conveyed through that language; and while the English language continues to be made use of as by far the most perfect medium for the education of those persons who have acquired a sufficient knowledge of it to receive general education through it, the vernacular languages must be employed to teach the larger classes who are ignorant of, or imperfectly acquired with, English...

We look, therefore, to the English language and to the vernacular languages of India together as the media for the diffusion of European knowledge, and it is our desire to see them cultivated together in all schools in India of a sufficiently high class to maintain a school-master possessing the requisite qualifications.11

Thus expressing their views on the medium of instruction, the Court of Directors then turned their attention to reorganization of the existing educational machinery and came up with some new plans for effective state control and expansion of education in the future.

THE CREATION OF THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT:

In place of the old Councils of Education in different presidencies, the Directors proposed to create a new Department of Public Instruction in each Presidency, which would be placed under a Director of Public Instruction. He was to be assisted by Inspectors who would conduct and assist at the examination of the scholars at the different institutions and also generally advise managers and schoolmasters in conducting colleges and schools of every description throughout the country.

UNIVERSITIES:

The Directors also proposed to create new Universities in India. They directed that Universities be established at Calcutta and Bombay and were also ready to sanction another one for Madras. These universities

11 Ibid., Despatch, par. 14. Words underlined are in Italics in the text.
were modelled after London University, which was then an examining rather than a teaching University. So also the new Indian Universities were to hold examinations and confer degrees. Provisions were made for University Professorships for law, civil engineering, and Oriental languages.

THE PROVISION FOR PRIMARY EDUCATION:

The Despatch was more significant on the point that, at last, the Directors accepted the fallacy of the theory of Downward-filtration, and that they promised to make any sacrifice to extend education to the great mass of the people. They said:

Our attention should now be directed to a consideration, if possible, still more important, and one which has been hitherto, we are bound to admit, too much neglected, namely, how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life, may be best conveyed to the great mass of the people, who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts, and we desire to see the active measure of Government more especially directed, for the future, to this subject, for the attainment of which we are ready to sanction a considerable increase of expenditure.

In view of the above mentioned proposal, the Directors drew the attention of the Government of India to encourage the indigenous elementary schools with suitable grants-in-aid.

GRANTS-IN-AID:

The Directors knew the task of educating the millions of Indian people would be next to impossibility. They did not propose to carry that burden alone, but saw the wisdom of inviting and encouraging the initiative of the people themselves to the partnership in the efforts of extension of education. England provided a model for this.

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12 Ibid., Despatch, par. 41.
That was the system of grants-in-aid:

We have, therefore, resolved to adopt in India the system of grants-in-aid which has been carried out in this country with very great success; and we confidently anticipate by thus drawing support from local resources, in addition to contributions from the State, a far more rapid progress of education than would follow a mere increase of expenditure by Government; while it possesses the additional advantage of fostering a spirit of reliance upon local exertions and combination for local purposes, which is of itself of no mean importance to the well-being of a nation.13

Grants-in-aid were to be given to all schools which imparted "good secular education" under 'adequate local management', provided those schools would agree to accept Government inspection and "any conditions which may be laid down for the regulation of such grants."14 The Provincial Governments were to frame their own rules of grants-in-aid.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION:

The observations of the Despatch regarding religious instruction in the schools—both aided and Government schools—are very interesting and also important, because these provisions were interpreted in many different ways and were involved in the controversy regarding this subject for many years after the appearance of the Despatch.

The Despatch says:

The system of grants-in-aid, which we propose to establish in India will be based on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the school assisted.15

13 Ibid., Despatch, par. 52.
14 Ibid., Despatch, par. 53.
15 Ibid.
This meant that the aided schools could teach any religion they wanted. The Despatch also advised the Government inspectors that "in their periodical inspections, no notice whatever should be taken...of religious doctrines taught in any school." 16

The Court of Directors rejected the idea of imparting religious instruction in Government schools as "...those institutions were founded for the benefit of the whole population of India; and in order to effect their object it was and is, indispensable that the education conveyed in them should be exclusively secular..." 17 But, nevertheless, they did not have any objection for the Bible to be placed in the school and college libraries, facilitating the pupils to freely consult it. They also expressed that they had no desire to prevent or discourage any master giving any explanation to any pupil, who, out of his own free will would ask his master anything on the subject of Christian religion, provided that such information be given out of school hours.

The missionaries, who demanded that the Bible be introduced as a class-book into the English classes of Government institutions, 18 were disappointed by the attitude of the Court of Directors, but they were favorable to the principle of non-interference in the religious instruction given in aided schools. At that time most of the private schools were mission schools.

16 Ibid., Despatch, par. 56.
17 Ibid., Despatch, par. 84.
The Despatch advocated the plan that was followed in Great Britain for securing qualified teachers. According to this plan the prospective students were to be selected and given stipends as pupil-teachers; if they proved to be worthy, they were to be admitted into a normal school, where, on completion of their training, they would be issued certificates. Afterwards they were to be employed as school-masters. The directors expressed their hope that, in future, many young natives would be attracted to the teaching professions.

The Directors directed their attention to the importance of female education. By educating the women of India, they hoped that the educational and moral tone of the people would be improved. They hoped that the schools for females would greatly increase under the grants-in-aid system and expressed "our cordial sympathy with efforts which are being made in this direction."

This important document, which was the first great authoritative declaration of the educational policy to be followed in India, surprisingly ends with the words of Sir Thomas Munro, who almost thirty years before this document, took the first step in the right direction of building the educational edifice from the bottom. The Director concluded this Despatch by saying:

...we are convinced, with Sir Thomas Munro, in words used many years since, that any expense which may be incurred for this object, "will be amply re-paid by the improvement of the country; for the general

Ibid., Despatch, par. 68.  
Ibid., Despatch, Par. 83.
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." 21

2. THE PROGRESS OF EDUCATION BETWEEN 1854 AND 1851.

On receipt of the Despatch of the Court of Directors dated 19th July, 1854, the Madras Government, like the other Provincial Governments, proceeded to carry out the directions of the Despatch. As a first step the Department of Education was created. A.J. Arbuthnot became the first Director of Public Instruction and three Inspectors were appointed to assist him.

The new department at that time (1854-55) had, "the collegiate institution under the designation of an University at Madras" and two provincial schools at Cuddalore and Rajmundry. And its operation was "extended by the establishment of three additional provincial schools at the stations of Coimbatore, Calicut and Bellary, and of two elementary vernacular schools at, and in the immediate neighbourhood of Cuddalore." 22 Subsequently the provincial school at Cuddalore was reduced to a Zilla (District) school and two other Zilla schools were established at Salem and Chittoor. The scheme of establishment of vernacular Taluk schools commenced during this year. Out of 100 such schools contemplated by the Government, 20 were established during the year 1853-54. These schools were to serve as model vernacular schools. 23

21Ibid., Despatch, par. 100. See Basu, Part I, Minute by Sir Thomas Munro, March 10, 1825, p. 189.
22Riceley, p. 182.
23Taluk is the smaller administrative unit within a district.
24Satthianadhan, p. 43.
THE DESPATCH IN OPERATION:

With above-mentioned education asset the new department proceeded to implement the directions of the Despatch.

In 1855, the so-called "Madras University" was reorganized under the new name of Presidency College. Mr. Powell continued as its principal. Although it was intended to have four departments of General, Medical, Legal and Civil Engineering, only the General and Legal departments were actually opened. Professorships for Law, for Vernacular Literature and for Moral and Mental Philosophy and Logic were established. The General branch consisted of Senior and Junior departments. The Medical College, which was under the Medical Board, was transferred to the Education Department.

During the year 1855-56 another important step had been taken. The Normal School, under a European Principal, was established in 1856 for the training of teachers for employment in Anglo-Vernacular Training Schools.25

Among the provincial schools, the school at Combaconum progressed very well. The intention of the Government was to raise the provincial schools eventually to Provincial colleges. In addition to the Zilla schools at Salem and Chittoor a few more schools were started at Madurai and other places, where English was the medium of instruction. But in the Taluk schools that were started at Tanjore, Madurai and South Arcot, vernacular language became the medium of instruction. They were to be model vernacular schools.

25 Ibid., p. 48.
To give effect to the grants-in-aid system, proposed by the Despatch, the Government published the first Grants-in-aid Rules for Madras in August 1855. The first grants-in-aid in Madras Presidency was a building grant of Rs. 7,000 to Harris School, which was started for Moslems in Madras by the Church Missionary Society.  

At the time of the Despatch, the Province was covered with mission schools. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had an English School and vernacular schools for girls in Tanjore in 1855-56. They had a seminary for native catechists at Vediyar puram and also their work was extended to Trichinopoly. At Trichinopoly they had an English school. The Wesleyan Mission had elementary English schools at Mannargudy and Nagapattam. But the district that benefitted most by the missionary educational work was Tinnevelly. The Church missionary society and the S.P.G. maintained many schools in that district. The Church missionary society had English schools at Palamcottah and Srivilliputhur and it maintained 317 elementary vernacular schools containing 7,302 pupils of whom 5,116 were Christians and 2,186 were Hindus. The S.P.G. also had many elementary English schools at Ramnad and also maintained a seminary for catechists at Sayerpuram.

But in the city of Madras, during this period, the four mission societies, namely the Wesleyan mission, the London Missionary Society, the Free Church and the Church of Scotland maintained a number of educational institutions.

On the eve of the establishment of the University of Madras, there were one Government College with 302 students, seven Provincial and Zilla.

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26 Ibid., p. 52.  
27 Ibid., p. 53.
schools with 1062 pupils and about 20 schools of lower order with 1028 pupils. But there were 14 private schools of higher order, mostly under mission management, with 1500 students, besides numerous other elementary schools the missions were running in different parts of the Presidency.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS:

The University of Madras was incorporated by an act of the Legislative Council of India, dated 5th September, 1857. The University, like the other Universities of Calcutta and Bombay, was modelled after the University of London. Its function was to hold examinations in Arts, Law, Medicine and Engineering and confer degrees. The University consisted of a Chancellor, the Governor of the Presidency ex-officio, a Vice-Chancellor and Fellows, who constituted the Senate. The total number of Fellows, including the Chancellor and the Vice-chancellor were to be not less than thirty. It is interesting to note that the first two Indian members of the Senate were Mr. P. Subrayaly Naidu, President of Pachaiyappa's Institution, and Mr. Chittur Ranganatha Sastri, Head Interpreter. The Senate was divided into four Faculties, namely the Faculties of Arts (which included Science as well), Law, Medicine and Engineering. The executive Government of the University was vested in a Syndicate composed of the Vice-Chancellor and six Fellows. The Syndicate was to hold the examinations and appoint members of the various faculties from among the Fellows, who in turn recommended the examiners for appointment by the Syndicate. At that

28 Ibid., p. 55.
time the plan for affiliation was not adopted by the University as it was thought that merely instituting University examinations and degrees would fully meet the purpose of the proposed plan of affiliation. And so the actual teaching was done in the higher institutions that were managed by the Government and other private bodies—mostly then by the missionaries.

The first Entrance examination of the University which was called the Matriculation was held in September, 1857 and the B.A. Degree examination was held in February, 1859. There were only two candidate for the B.A. Degree examination and both were from the American Missionary Seminary, Jaffna, and both of them passed. They were Mr. C.W. Thamotharan Pillai and Mr. Viswanatha Pillai. Mr. C.W. Thamotharan Pillai later on became the Fellow of the University of Madras during 1885-1901.

**LORD STANLEY'S DESPATCH:**

One of the important directives of the Despatch of 1854 was the emphasis it attached to elementary education. The old downward filtration theory was scrapped, and the Government had to give its earnest attention to the education of the people through vernaculars. The popular support to this great cause was sought through the means of generous grants-in-aid. But this was exactly the area in which the Government was very slow. Its lukewarm attitude displeased the champions of popular education, who visualized a vast net-work of schools in all the Indian villages. The Government complained of the lack of cooperation of the natives in expanding elementary education. The missionaries, who were already involved in elementary education, complained of the Government's unwillingness to supply proper and generous grants-in-aid. The natives

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*Ibid., p. 21.*
suspected the entire grants-in-aid system as they viewed it a conspiracy
between the Government and the mission to convert Hindus to Christianity.
At this point the implementation of the directives of the Despatch was much
impaired by the Great Indian Mutiny of 1857. The thoroughly shaken Court
of Directors sought to reverse the policies of Wood's Despatch. But in
1858 the Governance of India was transferred from the Court to the Crown.
The first Secretary of State for India under the Crown was Lord Stanley,
who sent a Despatch on April 7, 1859, which reviewed the progress made in
education after 1854. He confirmed the principles of the Despatch of
1854, thus expelling the confusion and doubt created by Lord Ellenbourough's
Despatch of 1858. But Lord Stanley's Despatch struck down the hopes of
many friends of the poor of India who hoped to see a great network of
village schools for the education of the mass of the people. The Despatch
of Lord Stanley ruled that "the means of elementary education should be
provided by the direct instrumentality of the Officers of Government..." by
means of a compulsory rate. The Director of Public Instruction,
Mr. Arbuthnot thought it premature to impose the rate to support village
education and said that it "would be incompatible with any extension of the
grants-in-aid system..." This gave the Government a further reason to
continue their old practice of supporting higher education at the expense
of elementary education. The poor Indian villager was still left in

31 Despatch dated 28th April, 1858 from Lord Ellenbourough, the then
President of the Board of Control.

32 Richey, 'Educational Despatch, No.4., dated India Office, London,
7th April 1859 from the Secretary of State of India', par. 50.

33 Satthianadhan, appendix E - 'Letter from the D.P.S. to the Govern-
ment, dated 24th September 1859'.
ignorance. Only the missionaries and a few native groups continued their work in the village to provide education for the people.

The GRANTS-IN-AID SYSTEM:

One of the important features of the Despatch of 1854 was the system of grants-in-aid. In August 1855, the first grants-in-aid rules were published in Madras. To receive the grant, the school had to be managed by a group of persons, who, in the capacity of proprietors, patrons or trustees of a committee, were required to guarantee the permanence of the school in a given time and were to superintend it. Grants-in-aid were given to erect or repair school-buildings, to provide school furniture, school books, maps and other apparatus, and to augment teachers salaries and provide stipends to student teachers.

The rules of 1855 were found defective and so a second set of rules were published in 1858. The main feature of those new rules was the salary grant system. According to this system, grants were sanctioned to schools in different proportions according the qualifications of the teachers. The certification of qualification was determined by departmental examinations which tested the general and professional attainments of the teachers. As we have seen before, the downward filtration theory was very much alive in the minds of the administrators and "in Madras the grants under the grants-in-aid rules have been for the most part made to schools of a higher class..." until 1859.

\[^{34}\text{Ibid., appendix D, "Educational Despatch, No. 4., dated India Office, London, 7th April 1859".}\]
Until 1865, primary education received the least attention, and the grants-in-aid hardly reached elementary education. This brought very severe criticism from many quarters. On the 1st of January 1865, the Madras Government published the third set of rules regarding grants-in-aid. The most important feature of this new code was the Results Grants System for elementary schools. According to this system, grants were given to schools according to the number of pupils who had passed the Government examinations. As the standards prescribed for this system were unduly high, these rules remained inoperative until a new set of revised rules for the scheme of payment by results was again issued in 1868. This gave a new impetus to primary education which was consolidated in 1871 by the Local Fund and the Town's Improvement Acts of 1871. The Grants-in-aid rules of 1868 continued, with some modification made then and there, until 1880.

THE PROGRESS OF HIGHER EDUCATION:

At the time of the inception of the University, there were already in existence the Madras Medical College, the College of Engineering and the Law classes. And so examinations were conducted for the degrees in Medicine, Engineering and Law. The Degree of M.D. was first awarded in 1858. The Degree of Bachelor of Law and the Degree of Bachelor of Civil Engineering were awarded first in 1860 and 1864 respectively.

From the inception of the University, the colleges grew in number. By 1870-71, it was reported that there were five Government colleges with a total number of 288 students. Two of them were first grade colleges. 35

35 Colleges were classified as first and second grade according as they prepared students for Bachelor's degree or First Arts or Intermediate examinations. They correspond to the Senior and Junior Colleges of the United States of America.
Besides the Presidency College, four colleges came into existence during this period. The provincial school at Kumbakonam was raised to a college in 1867, and the other high schools at Calicut and Bellary were raised to colleges in 1867-68. Another college was established at Bangalore.

During this period the private colleges also rose to seven in number, of which the Free Church Mission Central Institution, which was later on known as the Madras Christian College was the only first grade college. These seven colleges had a student strength of 151. Three of the seven private colleges were in the city of Madras. They were the Free Church Mission Central Institution, the Doveton Protestant College and the Sullivan's Jarden Seminary which was partly a theological Institution. The other four were the Gospel Society College at Tanjore, the St. Joseph's College at Nagapatnam, the Church Missionary Society's College at Masulipatnam. There was another private college at Coimbatore, established by Mr. Staines, in 1868-69. It was a second grade college. 36

The F.A. or the First Examination in Arts.--an examination that fall between the Matriculation and B.A. Degree examinations--was introduced in 1863-64. In 1871 the candidates for University examinations increased considerably. The Law class, which was closed in 1870, because of small attendance was reopened in 1873. Only in 1891, the separate Law College was sanctioned and until then it was part of the Presidency College.

Mr. E.B. Powell left the Presidency College in 1862 to become the Director of Public Instruction. Mr. Edward Thomson took his place as

Principal of the Presidency College. Mr. H. Porter became the Principal of the Government College at Kumbakonam and improved the college so very well that "under whom this college promises to become the Cambridge of South India." 37 Another important personality who was known as the "Prince of Educationists" 38 and who did great service to the cause of higher education in the Madras Presidency was Rev. William Miller. Under his able guidance, the Free Church Mission Central Institution became in interdenominational institution with the name of the Madras Christian College in 1877.

The most important private institution of higher learning, other than the missionary institutions, was the Pachaiyappa's school which became a High School in 1890 and a second grade college in 1890. The other important college was the Hindu College at Tiruchirapalli which was affiliated with Madras University in 1878. 39 These two institutions and another Hindu College at Vizagapatam were the three colleges that were run by Indian management in the Madras Presidency in 1881-82. All other colleges were under Government and mission management.

The number of colleges steadily increased in number and Madras could boast of a total number of twenty-four colleges in 1881, of which seven were first grade colleges and seventeen were second grade colleges. Ten of these colleges were Government institutions with a total number of 621 students and fourteen of them were under private management with 890 students. On the seven first grade colleges, three were Government

37 Satathianadhan, p. 13.
colleges, and four were mission colleges. They were:

1. The Presidency College, Madras.
2. Government College, Kumbakonum.
4. The Madras Christian College, Madras.
6. The Devoton Protestant College, Madras.

Of the seventeen second grade colleges, the Government maintained seven. They were at Cuddalore, Salem, Madurai, Calicut, Bellary, Mangalore and Berhampore.

The growth of secondary education was rapid after the Wood's Despatch. The Government opened many schools and also encouraged private enterprise. But the unfortunate influence of the University and colleges on the Secondary schools made them merely appendages. Instead of preparing the students for life which they were supposed to do, they prepared them for University education which brought lucrative Government jobs.

And again the dominance of English, not only as a subject, but also as medium of instruction had its repercussions in the high schools. The high schools Anglicized themselves because the knowledge of English was the surest passport for getting Government jobs or entering the University. This beneficent effect was strong in those days.

In the year 1865-66, there were thirteen Government and fourteen private high schools in the Madras Presidency with a student population of

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40 Satthianadhan, p. 87.
2821 and 2834 respectively. During this period, the high schools, being feeders to the University classes, contained the higher two standards, the highest being the Matriculation class. The middle schools contained the next three standards below the high schools and they were either part of the high schools or were complete in themselves. There were 237 such schools in 1865-66, of which 63 were conducted by the Government and 169 were under private management. The growth of private secondary education was impressive and by 1870-71 the number of private high schools in Madras Presidency rose to 39. In contrast there were only fourteen Government high schools. A decade later there were fifty-four and twenty-two respectively.

One important factor in the growth of secondary as well as primary education is to be mentioned. Until 1854 the private educational enterprise was almost entirely in the hands of missionary bodies, but after 1854 Indians also entered into the field. By 1882 the aided schools under Indian management constituted the bulk of the private enterprise. In the Madras Presidency in 1881-82, there were 693 secondary schools under Indian management as against 418 under other than Indian management. Here again Madras was more advanced in private education than were any of the other Presidencies.

42 McCully, p. 165.
43 Nurullah and Naik, p. 297. This statistic has been taken by the authors from the Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882-83 - General Table No. 5.
The Progress of Primary Education:

Primary education was neglected throughout most of the history of Indian education. Although the Despatch of 1854 had recommended the extension of mass education, a chain of village schools did not result. The poor of India had to wage a long battle to get their education.

Until 1857, nothing was done for primary education in the Madras Presidency as the Government continued to foster a few institutions of higher learning. Lord Stanley's Despatch of 1859 produced another controversy in the area of primary education. Stanley's Despatch was skeptical about providing grants-in-aid for the expansion of vernacular education of the mass of the population. It suggested that elementary education be provided by the direct instrumentality of the Officers of Government by means of a compulsory rate.

There was a year long discussion about this special rate. The Director of Public Instruction, Mr. A.J. Arbuthnot, who felt that the time had not come for adoption of this compulsory taxation, suggested that it be tried on an experimental basis, in the districts of Rajmundry and South Arcot. It was rejected by the Government which was, then, opposed to any kind of compulsory taxation for educational purposes. But, yet, the Government neglected its duty of extending primary education until 1868, partly because of its exclusive attention to higher education and partly due to the want of adequate funds.

The new scheme of Results Grants which was issued on the 1st of January, 1963, was of historical value, as under this scheme... elementary

44 Satthianadhan, pp. 63-64.
education in the Madras Presidency received its first great development..."  

The expansion of primary education was conspicuous after this scheme and the number of primary schools rose from 494 in 1863-64 to 1,606 in 1870-71. By this form of grants-in-aid indigenous and other private schools were very much encouraged and the spread of education was rapid.

The Town's Improvement Act III and the Local Fund Act IV of 1871, were great important events in the educational history of the Madras Presidency. By these Acts, Local Boards and Municipalities were allowed to levy a certain tax for the purposes of education. In the case of Local Fund, the Act allowed the Boards to levy a rate of one anna (one sixteenth of a rupee) on land revenue per annum, and a house-tax ranging from four annas to five rupees annually and tolls on carriages and animals at the rate ranging from one anna to one rupee. From these funds thus levied, the Local Board were required to support elementary education mainly of the lower order. The lower class schools were defined as the Third Results' Standard inclusive of English. The Municipalities also were supposed to maintain elementary schools under the Town's Improvement Act, from the funds that they were supposed to collect. But unfortunately the Local Fund and Municipal Boards were not bound by any specific prescription that they required to spend a definite proportion of the fund on education. At least this was very much so in the case of Municipalities. The result was

45 Ibid., p. 66.
46 Ibid., p. 67.
47 Ibid., appendix. F.
48 Ibid., p. 83.
that Municipalities spent little on education. But most of the schools were established in towns and the money to support these schools came, not from the taxes raised in the area of towns, but from the taxes levied in the villages. There were complaints about this injustice. Rev. James Johnston wrote:

"To supplement the small amount spent on elementary instruction, a special tax is imposed for their support, which falls, directly or indirectly, chiefly on the humbler classes, while by far the greater part of the imperial funds, spent so largely on the higher education, is drawn from these same poor and neglected classes." 49

The Indian Education Commission also took notice of this complaint.

Despite these disparities, elementary education did make some expansion. As of 1872-73, 4,061 schools with 110,078 pupils were supported by the Local Fund and Municipal Boards, as against 2,361 schools with 63,878 pupils in 1871-72. 50 In the next ten years after the passing of the Acts of 1871, elementary education in Madras Presidency made greater strides. Writing on this progress in 1881, Mr. H.B. Grigg observed:

"Taking schools of the three classes together, there were in all 12,292 or one school for about every 2,550 people, or one school for every 450 children of school going age; or considering that few of the schools are Girl's schools, about one school for every 200 boys. In the ten years ending 1879-80 the number of pupils receiving elementary education in schools connected with the department increased from 90,605 to 247,771..." 52

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49 James Johnston, Our Educational Policy in India (2d ed., Edinburgh: John Maclaren and Son., 1880), p. 27.
50 Satthianadhan, p. 85.
51 The three classes were Government schools, including Local Board and Municipal schools, Aided and unaided schools.
52 Satthianadhan, pp. 115-16.
THE PROGRESS OF FEMALE EDUCATION:

Though the Despatch of 1854 recognized the importance of female education and the frank and cordial support that it should have received from the Government, it was not until 1866 that the subject of female education came under its serious consideration. As in other fields of education, the missionaries were the pioneers in female education. It was estimated that 10,305 girls were under instruction in the Presidency by March 1868, of whom 4,295 girls were in mission schools.\footnote{53}

Female education got a new thrust by the visits of Miss Mary Carpenter, who had a great reputation as a social worker in England. Her four visits between 1866 and 1876 stimulated the Government to do its duty regarding female education. Miss Carpenter found that lack of trained women teachers was the most powerful cause for the backwardness of women's education. She advocated the opening of women's training schools. The Government of India decided to support a Government Female Training School in each Presidency town. Accordingly, the Female Training School was opened at Madras in December 1870 under the Superintendence of Mrs. Brander. In the next decade, female education made some progress. In March 1881 the number of girls receiving an education was 32,355. At the closing of 1881, there were eight high schools and twenty-five English and seven Vernacular Middle schools for girls.\footnote{54}

Of the training schools for girls mention must be made of the Sarah Tucker Institution, now the Sarah Tucker College, Palayamkottai. It was one of the earliest institutions for the education of women in South

\footnote{53}{Ibid., p. 199.} \footnote{54}{Ibid.}
India, and it turned out 35 trained female teachers in 1880. There were other few mission training schools for girls. In 1880 an Inspectress of Girls' Schools was appointed and Mrs. Brander was the first person to hold the post. 55

3. INDIAN EDUCATION COMMISSION (1882-83)

ORIGIN OF THE COMMISSION:

The Despatch of 1854 clearly recognized that the expansion of elementary education was an important duty of the Government which was to withdraw from higher education in favor of private education supported by suitable grants-in-aid. But it did not do so. The Government neglected its duty towards mass education and spent more on higher rather than on primary education. The complaint was most severe from the missionaries, who were hard hit. They began to suspect the intentions of the Government. The missionaries criticized the Government's policies which were unfavorable to primary education and private education. Such policies, they said, rendered the Despatch a dead letter.

In Madras Presidency, where missionary enterprise was great, the change in the Government's educational policy announced in 1873, brought protest from the missionaries. According to this announcement, the grants made to leading aided colleges were restricted to the amount they were then receiving. A few years later the restriction was also imposed on the secondary schools. In 1879 the grants were not only restricted but also reduced. 56 This prompted the missionaries to form the Missionary

55 Ibid., p. 111.

Educational Council, on June 11, 1879, at Bangalore conference, "...to watch over the interests of missionary education throughout the Presidency." This Council made representations to the Governor-in-Council and also appealed to the Secretary of State for India in England.

Meanwhile, the General Council on Education in India, of which Rev. J. Johnston was the Honourary Secretary, made a deputation to the Marquis of Ripon, on the 7th of May, 1880, on the eve of his departure to India. He promised a thorough enquiry to determine the extent to which the principles of the Despatch of 1854 had been implemented. He said:

It will be my duty when I get out to India, to examine all such matters carefully in the light of the information which will then be at my disposal; but I do not think that I shall be guilty of any indiscretion if I tell you even now how much I sympathize with your desire to promote the extension of elementary education among the poorer classes.

Lord Ripon kept up his promise and he appointed the Education Commission on the 3rd of February, 1882. With twenty members, the Commission was appointed under the Presidentship of Sir W.W. Hunter, member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council. Four of the members were from Madras. They were: J.T. Fowler, Inspector of Schools, Madras, Rev. W. Miller, Principal of the Madras Christian College, P. Ranganada Mudaliar, Professor of Mathematics, Presidency College, Madras and Rev. A. Jean, Rector of St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly. This Commission was also known as Hunter Commission.

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57 Ibid., p. 136.
58 It would be interesting to note that Lord Halifax, who was supposed to be the author of the Despatch of 1854, was one of the members of the Council.
TERMS OF REFERENCE:

The Hunter Commission was directed to inquire into the implementation of the Despatch of 1854 and to suggest more effective methods of carrying out its policies. The Commission was chiefly directed to study the present state of primary education and suggest means for expansion and improvements. It was also instructed to consider: (1) the extension of the Grants-in-aid system; (2) the steps necessary to encourage Indians to establish schools under the grants-in-aid system; (3) the rates of fees and scholarships; (4) the condition and improvement of indigenous schools; (5) the improvement of the quality of secondary schools and the extension of female education. The subjects of Universities, technical education and the education of European and Eurasians were excluded from the purview of the Commission.

The Hunter Commission began its work on the 10th of February, 1882, toured the country, examined witnesses, collected provincial reports, evidences and other materials. On the 16th of March 1883, the Commission submitted reports of more than 500 folio pages and two hundred and twenty-two recommendations.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

POLICY:

The Hunter Commission critically examined the Government's educational policy. After careful investigation, the Commission inferred that the reversal of the policy of the Despatch of 1854 was more striking in Madras, where higher education was provided more and more by means of departmental agency, and where lesser encouragement was given to private
managers of advanced institutions. Hence the Commission urged that the Despatch of 1854 be followed in this regard. It urged the Government to withdraw from direct educational enterprise and stressed the need for developing a proper grants-in-aid system so that private enterprise would be encouraged and expanded. Regarding primary education the Commission declared that:

... the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension, and improvement to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed in a still larger measure than heretofore.

It suggested that the Government should withdraw from direct activity in primary education and hand over the State schools to local boards. But as for Collegiate and Secondary Education was concerned, it unanimously favored the Government's withdrawal in favor of private bodies other than the missionary bodies. After reviewing the various systems of grants-in-aid that were followed in different provinces, the Commission concluded that each province should be allowed to adopt any system that was suitable to local conditions. But it stressed that recognized aid-receiving private institutions should have the same status and privileges as Government institutions.

**INDIGENOUS EDUCATION:***

The Hunter Commission defined an indigenous school as "one established or conducted by native of India on native methods." It recommended the recognition and encouragement of indigenous schools. It also said that schoolmasters in indigenous schools should be encouraged to undergo

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60 Ibid., p. 71. Quoting from the Report.
61 Ibid., 'The Recommendations of the Education Commission', p. 159.
63 Johnston, p. 157.
training. The Commission further observed that the indigenous elementary schools, whether aided or unaided, be entrusted to the registration and supervision of the Municipal and Local Boards, and that the aided indigenous schools, not registered as special schools, be open to all classes and castes of the community. 64

**ELEMENTARY EDUCATION:**

The Hunter Commission defined primary education as "the instruction of the masses through the vernacular in such subjects as will best fit them for their position in life, and be not necessarily regarded as a portion of instruction leading up to the University." 65

The Hunter Commission declared that primary education be part of the whole system of public instruction, which possessed an exclusive claim on local educational funds and a large claim on provincial revenues. 66 The Commission felt that the area of any municipal or of local Government should be declared a school district and that primary schools in each district be under the control and supervision of the Local Municipal Boards which, with the help of the school-boards that were to be constituted, would provide for the educational needs of the communities, either by aiding the existing schools, or by creating their own schools. 67 The schools were to be open to all castes and classes of the community, unless they were registered as special schools. The Commission clearly specified the various sources of

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64 Ibid., p. 158.
65 Ibid., pp. 159-59.
66 Ibid., p. 161.
67 Ibid., p. 182.
revenue which consisted of the Municipal and Local School Funds.

The Hunter Commission recommended the adoption of "Payment-by-Results" Grant system in primary schools. Under this system, the individual students were examined annually by an inspecting officer and a fixed grant was given to each student who was adjudged by the inspector to have reached a certain prescribed standard of efficiency. This system proved to be a failure later on. The Commission could have been a little more liberal in suggesting a better system of grants-in-aid for primary schools.

Regarding the curricula in the primary schools, the Commission favored the larger introduction of practical subjects like native methods of arithmetic, accounts and mensuration, the elements of natural and physical science, and their application to agriculture, health and the industrial arts. It also allowed elasticity in the development of the curricula according to the needs of the different parts of the country and warned against the attempt for uniformity throughout India. The Commission did not forget the physical development of the pupils. It said that it should be promoted by the encouragement of native games, gymnastics school-drill and other exercises.

For the training of primary teachers, the Commission favored the establishment of at least one normal school in each division to provide for the local requirements of all primary schools.

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SECONDARY EDUCATION:

Regarding secondary education, the Hunter Commission felt that except for a few model secondary schools, the Government should withdraw from direct enterprise, leaving private enterprise to enter the field with suitable grants. It recommended:

That it be distinctly laid down that the relation of the State to secondary is different from its relation to primary education, in that the means of primary education may be provided without regard to the existence, to local co-operation, while it is ordinarily expedient to provide the means of secondary education only where adequate local co-operation is forthcoming; and that therefore, in all ordinary cases secondary schools for instruction in English be hereafter established by the State preferably on the footing of the system of grants-in-aid.69

Another important recommendation regarding secondary education was the bifurcation of secondary courses. The Commission proposed two divisions in the upper classes of high schools: one leading to the entrance examination of the Universities and the other comprised or more practical subjects, intended to prepare youths for commercial or other non-literary pursuits in life. This was a contribution, as at that time, as well as today--everyone was seeking admission to higher education because a University degree was a sure passport for lucrative jobs, chiefly under the Government.

But, the Commission was disappointing in one respect. It did not mention the medium of instruction to be used in the secondary schools. The order of the day was English education through English medium. But, the dream of the Despatch of 1854 that the difference between the Anglo-vernacular and Vernacular schools would disappear "by the gradual enrichment of the

vernacular language in the work of education" did not materialize and the hope that English and the Indian languages together would be media for the diffusion of European knowledge was a mirage, because English was favored at the expense of Indian languages. It was surprising that the Commission said nothing in favor of making the mother tongue the medium in secondary schools. By being silent, it favored the English medium.

COLLEGIATE EDUCATION:

Though University education was precluded from its inquiry, the Hunter Commission made some recommendations regarding collegiate education. The Commission reviewed the history of collegiate education in different provinces. Regarding the Madras Presidency the Commission stated that while in other provinces higher education had "started with the attempt to cultivate the classical language of the East", in Madras it was recognized from the first that the only sound basis for the higher education lay in attaining knowledge according to European method. One of the reasons for this difference was that institutions of higher education were developed after the famous minute of Macaulay, which tilted the balance in favor of Anglicists. Here again as in the case of secondary education, the Commission felt that the Government should withdraw from direct involvement in collegiate education in favor of private schools, supported by suitable grants-in-aid. It recommended:

That the rate of aid to each college be determined by the strength of the staff, the expenditure on its maintenance, the efficiency of the institution, and the wants of the locality.  

70 Satthianadhan, "Appendix. C. The Despatch of 1854", p. XXVIII.
71 Ibid., p. XXII. The word underlined is in italics in the text.
72 Ibid., p. 152.
Some of the other important recommendations were the need for provision of alternative courses "to encourage the diversity of culture", the preparation of "a moral text-book, based upon the fundamental principles of natural religion" to be taught in all colleges, and the fixing of a proportion of free studentships in each college.

The recommendation of the Hunter Commission that "no aided college should be required to levy fees at the same rate as that charged in a neighbouring Government College" was criticised because it gave unnecessary competition between aided and Government colleges. The Commission had some special recommendations for Madras Government. It recommended raising the fee in the Presidency College of Madras, on a par with the other colleges of other Presidencies. It also urged the liberalization of scholarship system to be open to general competition, tenable in any college, not necessarily only in Government colleges as was the existing practice.

SPECIAL EDUCATION:

The Hunter Commission considered the education of classes requiring special education. It stressed the need for special schools and colleges for native chief and noblemen. To remove the disparity in education between Hindus and Moslems, it stressed the need for the special encouragement of Moslem education which should be "regarded as a legitimate charge on local on municipal and on provincial funds."  

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74 Ibid.
75 Ibid., pp. 166-67.
76 Ibid., p. 177.
The other important recommendation related to the need for educating the aboriginal tribes and low castes. Children of aboriginal tribes were exempted from fee payment and if necessary were to be given extra allowances to attend ordinary schools. Regarding the education of children of low castes, the Commission reemphasised the principles already laid down by previous educational documents. It said that "no boy be refused admission to a Government college or school merely on the ground of caste," and that, if necessary special schools be established for children of low castes, where the fees be extremely low or none at all.

The Commission considered the backwardness of female education and recommended that female education receive greater Government attention and that it be "treated as a legitimate charge/ alike on Local, on Municipal, and on Provincial funds, and receive special encouragement." and that the conditions of aid be easier and the rates be higher than boys' schools. The Commission recognised Zenana teaching, and recommended that grants to such teaching be regarded as a proper charge on public funds.

MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION:

The question of the withdrawal of the Government from direct educational enterprise was considered by the Commission. The transfer of primary schools to local and municipal boards did not create much opposition since it would not affect the positions of missionary bodies. The missionary bodies would occupy a secondary position in this field as the number of

77Ibid., p. 179.
78Ibid., pp. 179-80.
79According to Zenana teaching the teacher would go to the house of the person who desired to educate his women folks, for reasons of social customs, would not be sent out to public schools. Zenana means "home".
mission primary schools was small. The Commission had taken adequate precautions to safeguard private schools against the whims of local boards. But the withdrawal from higher education created a much greater controversy. Many feared that the Government might hand over its higher educational institutions to missionary management. But that did not happen. Some of the witnesses who appeared before the Commission opposed that idea. The missionary members of the Commission also felt that it would be unfair on the part of the Government to transfer its secular institutions to religious societies. 30 And so the Commission came to the unanimous conclusion that "withdrawal of direct departmental agency should not take place in favor of missionary bodies and that departmental institutions of higher order should not be transferred to missionary management." 31 And the Commission recognized that Indian private effort must constitute the most important of all educational agencies if educational means were ever to be co-extensive with educational needs of the country.

The Hunter Commission reaffirmed the earlier stand of strict religious neutrality and urged that there be no religious teaching in Government educational institutions. But it declared that those who complained of the absence of religious teaching in Government colleges were free to set up colleges that fully recognized the religious principles they preferred. It promised that the Government would extend liberal help to much institutions on the basis of the grants-in-aid system.

30 Johnston, Abstract and Analysis, p. 76.

31 Bhatt and Aggarwal, p. 19.
GOVERNMENT ACTION:

In the resolution of October 25, 1854, the Imperial Government accepted all of the recommendations of the Hunter Commission, except the ones regarding "moral text-book" and "lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen." The Provincial Government also received them well and declared their intention to increase annual educational expenditures. The Madras Government fixed five percent of the provincial revenue permanently to education. The Governments handed over primary education to local and municipal boards that were established in all Provinces. The Government established the policy of not opening any more Government colleges or high schools, though they did not fully transfer the higher institutions to private bodies as recommended by the Commission. Greater encouragement was given to educational enterprises by Indian agencies and the missionary agencies came to occupy the secondary position in the national system of education.

SOME OBSERVATIONS AND CRITICISMS:

The Report of the Hunter Commission was of historical value since it created a great educational awakening in India. Though it only reaffirmed the policies of the Despatch of 1854, some of its findings dominated the educational scene of India for quite sometime. One of the strongest criticisms against the Commission's recommendations regarding primary education was that it did not estimate the local and municipal boards' abilities to support education through their slender financial resources. The Government shifted the responsibilities for popular education to the newly formed, inexperienced local boards and this tended to

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retard the progress of elementary education in India.

4. THE PROGRESS OF EDUCATION BETWEEN 1852-1901.

THE STEADY GROWTH OF UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGIATE EDUCATION:

From 1852 to 1901, the Madras University underwent many changes as the number of colleges imparting higher education increased and their student enrollments grew. Many important changes were made in the by-laws of the University. The most important of these were the changes made in the arts curricula. Greater attention was paid to the importance of the study of native languages and improving the standard of teaching of these languages. In place of the expert committees that were constituted annually to select text-books, the proposal of instituting Boards of Studies consisting of the Fellows of the University was approved by the Government in 1885. In the same year the Government sanctioned the institution of the Degree of Licentiate in Teaching, commonly known as L.T., with the following groups of subjects for examination for the degree:

(1) Principles of Education; (2) History of Education; (3) Methods of Teaching and School Management.

Although the Incorporating Act of 1857 recognized Madras University as an affiliating University, affiliation became a reality only in 1877. The revised rules for affiliation were finally passed in 1890-91. In order to meet the requirements for affiliation, an institution had to have:

(1) sufficient accommodation and proper sanitary arrangements; (2) an adequate supply of furniture and appliances; (3) efficient staff and (4) a satisfactory financial basis.

Owing to the increase in the work of the

83 Satthianadhan, p. 209.  
84 Ibid., pp. 202-03.
University, a full-time Registrar was appointed in 1891.

Despite of the criticism against the conditions of affiliated colleges and the examination systems, the Madras University always maintained a very high standard. As early as 1860, in the course of his address to the graduates of the Madras University, H.J.T. Mayne said:

It is the unanimous opinion of the Examiners that it is fully as difficult to obtain a first rank among the Bachelors of Arts in Madras, as to obtain a Second Honours in England and those who receive the diplomas of this University will go forth into the world, stamped as the possessors of knowledge far more extensive and accurate than would be evidenced by the acquisition of a similar diploma at home. 85

The sphere of influence of Madras University extended over the Madras Presidency, Mysore, Hyderabad and other Native States of Southern India. The number of Arts colleges in this region rose to 55 in 1902 as against 24 in 1881. Of the 55 colleges, 15 were first grade colleges and 40 were second grade colleges.

Of the fifteen grade colleges three were in Madras city, two each were in Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts. Among the native institutions, Pachaiyappa's college at Madras is worth mentioning, because it was one of the oldest colleges managed by Indian private effort. It became a second grade college in 1880 and a first grade college in 1897.

Of the 40 second grade colleges of the Madras University, one was maintained by the Government and three were Municipal institutions; fifteen belonged to the missionary societies and four to Native States; seven were native institutions; one was a semi-official institution managed by a

committee; three were for European education and six were for female education.  

Salem College, one of the colleges maintained by the Municipality, was started in 1879 as a Government college but was transferred to the Municipality in 1885. Of the native institutions, Madurai Native college which was established in 1889 by a native high school committee on the abolition of the Government college.\(^8\)

Thirty of the colleges received Government aid. The average student population of each college was 94. The largest college in India was still the Madras Christian College which had a student population of 743 on the 31st March, 1902.\(^9\) The Christian College was one of the pioneers of the Hostel system; and there were well managed hostels attached to the college—one for Christians; one for Brahmans and one for non-Brahmin Hindus.\(^10\) The Brahmin hostel was the oldest of them and it was started in 1892.

The Government withdrawal from direct enterprise of higher education was little more conspicuous in the Madras Presidency than elsewhere. Private activity in higher education was increasing more and more as native bodies vigorously entered the educational field. Speaking on the change of attitude of the Madras Government to private effort after the Commission,  


\(^9\)Ibid.

\(^10\)Ibid., p. 65.
Rev. W. Neston observed:

Suffice it to say that the educational policy pursued by the Government of Madras reversed, and a different spirit began to animate their administration. Private effort which had been treated with indifference and positive opposition began to be fostered and encouraged. Schools under private management were treated sympathetically, and the prospect was held out of such aid being given to them as would lead to their better equipment and their more satisfactory development.  

SECONDARY EDUCATION:

The growth of secondary schools in the Madras Presidency was also striking during this period. There were seventy-one English High Schools with 4,311 pupils in 1881. In 1903, the number of schools rose to 134 and the pupils to 10,071. The number of Middle schools, both English and Vernacular, rose from 404 to 460 and the number of pupils from 15,645 to 23,506 during the same period. But in 1901-02, the number of English schools rose to 437 and the majority of them were under private management.

The increase in the number of English schools was very significant during this period, "partly to the better prospect of employment which it affords, and partly to the desire of parents that their children should be acquainted with the English language..." The number of vernacular schools had fallen. The private enterprise was vigorous and the number of secondary schools under the Government management had fallen to four, and the aided High and Middle schools rose in greater number. One significant feature of aided secondary education was the success of the native agencies in organization and management of the secondary schools.

90 Neston, p. 139.
91 Satthianadhan, p. 211.
92 Progress of Education in India, 1897-98 -- 1901-02, pp. 96-97.
93 Ibid., p. 95.
94 Ibid., p. 93.
Regarding the use and study of mother tongue in secondary schools, the situation deteriorated since the greater encouragement of English had been at the expense of mother tongue. Instead of encouraging the writing of new literatures on the new knowledge in the language of the people, the educators approached the problem with reproach and with ignorance and contempt for the rich languages of Southern India. Mr. Grigg, the Director of Public Instruction observed:

Paradoxical though the statement be, there is little question that there can be no hearty and earnest study of the vernaculars of Southern India until the literature of each is enriched by standard writings on the subjects/ which are now engrossing the thoughts of the educated youth. The best of them are in search of knowledge for its own sake, and not merely because of the loaves and fishes to which it leads; and will not therefore devote themselves to the study of a literature which yields little but husks of the Sanskrit literature from which it has sprung.95

According to the recommendation of the Education Commission, the Madras Government bifurcated the courses of study in the upper classes of high schools. The Upper Secondary Courses were started in 1893. According to this scheme the students studied the compulsory subjects of English, a second language, mathematics, history and geography and the optional portion of any two of the technical subjects, leading to Upper Secondary course attracted a very small number of pupils, and only 49 candidates passed the examination in full during the first twelve years of its existence.96

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95 Satthianadhan, pp. 213-14.
96 Progress of Education in India, 1897-98 -- 1901-02, p. 119.
Primary schools in the Madras Presidency were divided into two classes of upper primary schools and lower primary schools. The lower primary schools consisted of the infant class and the next three classes and the upper primary school consisted of the next higher class.

The progress of primary education during this period was remarkable. The reason for this development was the vigorous interest the local and municipal boards and other private agencies took in its expansion. There were 11,793 primary schools for boys with a student population of 233,216 in 1881, and this number increased to 19,097 schools with an attendance of 550,446 pupils in 1893. In 1901-1902 there were 4,755 upper and 14,338 lower primary schools in the Madras Presidency and 36 percent of them were under private management.

The result grant system was generally followed in aiding private primary schools. But to whatever level of school this system was applied, the result on education was disastrous and was viewed with great disfavor. The Madras Government changed the system and introduced the fixed grant system in 1899. According to this system, a specific amount of aid was fixed for three years to all primary and lower secondary schools, which had fulfilled the conditions of recognition.

The course of instruction in primary schools was simple. In general it attempted to teach the child to read and write his own mother

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97 Satthianadhan, pp. 213-19.
98 Progress of Education in India, 1897-98 -- 1901-02, pp. 141-42.
99 Ibid., p. 143.
tongue; to obtain simple knowledge of arithmetic; to gain some elementary knowledge of geography, mostly of his village and district; to acquire elements of hygiene; and to gain the elementary knowledge of the history of his country. Singing and physical exercises and drill also formed part of the course. In the Madras Presidency English was introduced as a second language in the upper primary stage. The course was made a little more practical by the introduction of kindergarten methods and object lessons.

Despite the initial increase in the number of schools and scholars, the later part of the period showed a decline. The reasons given were "the prevalence of distress and epidemics, the stricter enforcement of rules of recognition, and the inadequate payment of results grants." 101 Although these were some of the reasons, one of the main reasons was the Government's neglect of primary education, in comparison with higher education. The promised provincial funds were unavailable to the local boards; and the local boards also spent more from their little revenue on many other things than education. The Government justified the small expenditure on primary education because of a lack of funds. But when the statistics of expenditures on higher education are compared with those of primary education, it is clear that the Government allowed popular education to trail far behind the education of the rich and town-dwellers.

FEMALE EDUCATION:

Female education made some slow progress during this period. The Social custom of strict seclusion of girls of Hindus and Moslems at home

100 Ibid., pp. 158-60. 101 Ibid., p. 174.
stood in the way of any rapid progress in female education.

For better control and inspection of girls' schools, the Madras Government reorganized the inspecting agency in 1888 and appointed another Inspectress of Girls' schools for the Southern and Western circles with the headquarters at Coimbatore. Miss Carr, who was in charge of the Presidency Training School for Mistresses took that position. This helped the growth of female education.

Out of twelve female colleges in India at the end of 1902, three were in Madras with thirty-five students. They were the Sarah Tucker College, Palayamkottai, the Presentation Convent College, Vepery, and the St. Mary's Presentation Convent College, Black Town, Madras. There were eight high schools and thirty-two middle schools for girls in 1881 and that numbers rose to twenty-seven and 196 respectively in 1893. The great majority of the secondary schools were run by private management. Out of the 148 private secondary schools in 1902, 135 were run by the missions. The number of primary schools were 500 in 1881 and it rose to 808 in 1893, but it fell down to 782 in 1902. It was claimed that loss was due to the amalgamation of weak girls' schools to boys schools. Here again, the bulk of the primary schools were under private management. Only 130 primary schools were under public management. Unlike other Provinces, the Madras Government was in the direct management of a considerable number of primary schools for girls.

At the matriculation level there was no difference in the subjects of study for boys and girls, but in the lower secondary level, the girls

102 Satthianadhan, p. 224.
had optional subjects like needle-work and domestic economy and others.

In the primary level, both boys and girls were taught the "3 Rs", but the girls had the optional subjects like drawing, needle-work and singing.  

Though the schools and colleges were open to all girls, only the Europeans, Eurasians, Indian Christians and Parsees availed themselves of the opportunities. This was particularly so in the case of higher education. Out of the thirty-five college students in 1902 only one was a Hindu and in the same year only five Hindu girls were studying in the high stage of secondary girls' school. There was no Moslem girl in that category. And so most of the Hindu and Moslem girls stopped their education at the primary school level. To help continue their education or to educate them, the Zenana missions were working in the homes. Notable of these Zenana missions were the National Indian Association, the free Church Mission. They had home classes at Madras, Cuddalore, Coimbatore and other places.

TEACHER EDUCATION:

The importance of teacher education engaged the attention of the educators of the Presidency even before it was taken notice by the Despatch of 1854 and other subsequent documents. Even in the matter of teacher preparation, missionary efforts preceded those of the Government. There seems to have been a mission training school in Madras as early as in 1853. The Government, as well as the missionaries, opened up many training schools for male and female teachers. The local boards also started training schools. In 1880-81 there were twenty-six training schools for male

103 Progress of Education in India, 1897-98 -- 1901-02. pp. 302-306.
104 Ibid., pp. 229-301.
teachers with 694 pupils. Of the twenty-six schools, twelve were maintained by Government, eleven by Local Boards, and three were aided institutions. By 1901-02, besides the Teachers College at Saidapet, Madras, for graduate teachers, there were forty-two other training schools for teachers of various grades. Thirty-one of the training schools were managed by the Government and eleven of them were mission schools. All the local board schools were taken over by the Government before 1900.

The teacher certificates were of five grades—Licentiate in Teaching, second grade Collegiate, Upper Secondary, Lower Secondary and Primary. The training schools were also divided according to the different grades. The examination for Licentiate in Teaching was conducted by the University and the other examinations for other grades were conducted by the Board of Examiners of the Government. Apart from the regular training schools, owing to the great demand for trained teachers, the Government conducted short courses of training for primary teachers in different districts. They were known as "Sessional Schools".

The Madras Presidency had the largest number of training schools for female teachers in 1901-02. There were only three training schools for female teachers in 1881 with 119 students. This number rose to seventeen in 1901-02. Besides the Teachers College, where female students also were undergoing training, four of the seventeen schools were maintained by the Government and the remaining thirteen were run by the missionaries. These schools were scattered all over the Presidency and twelve out of the

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105 Ibid., p. 265.
106 Ibid., p. 193.
twenty-two districts of the Presidency had each a training school for female teachers. Among the mission schools, St. John's Female Training Institution, Nazareth, and the Sarah Tucker Training Institution, Palayamkottai were prominent.

**PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION:**

The Law College at Madras, which was established as a separate college in 1891 continued to expand, and it had a student strength of 397 at the close of the year 1901-02. The Madras Medical College was thrown open to female students in 1879 and since then a few female students had qualified for medical diplomas. The Madras Medical College had two departments—the college department and the school department. The college department prepared students for University degrees and there were 121 students by 1901-02. The school department prepared students for apothecaries, hospital assistants, sanitary inspectors and druggists and chemists. There were 368 students in the school department by 1901-02. There was another school at Tanjore for hospital assistants with nineteen students.

The Engineering College at Madras, which arose out of the Survey School established in 1793, trained students for the upper and lower grades of the Public-works Department. It was reorganized to meet the needs of the country and in 1886 it got the new designation of the "College of Engineering". It trained students in civil and mechanical engineering and surveying and drawing. It had a student strength of 268 in 1902.

The Madras system of technical examination which was initiated at the Middle school level in 1884 was designed to develop the scientific and

technical education beyond the scope of the University. According to this scheme many scientific and technical subjects were introduced and examinations were conducted by Boards of Examiners appointed by, and under the control of the Commissioner of Government Examinations. In 1886 the Higher Examinations in Science, Arts and Industries were introduced to encourage advanced instruction in Science and Arts. These examinations were later known as the Government Technical Examinations.

A great many subjects were offered for these examinations: civil, mechanical and electrical engineering, physical science, geology, sanitary science, pharmacy, veterinary science, commerce, music, drawing, printing and book-binding, wood and metal work, leather-work, pottery, textile, fabrics, tailoring and many others.

There were 697 students studying commercial subjects in 1902. Seventeen institutions offered these subjects. The school of Arts and Industry, Madras, founded in 1850, continued to train students in arts and it had a student strength of 321 in 1902.

There were only a few industrial and technical schools during this period. One of these schools was run by the Government and three were run by the Local Boards and the rest of them were maintained by private agencies. The great many of the private schools were run by the missionaries. A few of the important schools were: Industrial Department of the Madras school of Arts (1850), Board Technical Institute, Madurai (1890), Board Technical Institute, Tinnevelly (1895), Wesleyan Mission Industrial School, Karur (1884) Arts and Industrial School, Nazareth, Tinnevelly (1878), American Mission

109 Ibid., p. 224.
Industrial school, Manamadurai (1897) and American Arcot Mission Industrial School, Arani (1837). These schools had a combined student strength of 683 in 1902. These schools taught a variety of scientific and technical subjects. Many of these schools had girls students also. For example, in the Nazareth Art and Industrial school thirty-eight girls were taught drawing, embroidery and lace-making.

In 1876 the school of agriculture was started at the agricultural farm at Saidapet. It became a college of Agriculture in 1836 with three years college course. In 1902 there were thirty-eight students on rolls of this college.

EDUCATION OF BACKWARD CLASSES:

One of the important recommendations of the Education Commission of 1882-33 was the education of the tribal and backward classes. Some action was taken in the education of these people. Here again, the pioneers who laboured for the uplift of these people were the missionaries, who found ready converts from these backward classes. Many of these tribal people were found in the Presidency of Madras. Some of them were the Kotas and the Todas of the Nilgiri hills, the Malayalis, cultivators of the Javvadu and Shervara hills of Tamil Nadu. A Board school was maintained at Trichinopoly for the Malayalis of that district, and another school was maintained for the same people at Salem. There were two schools for Kotas and a Church missionary school for Todas in the Nilgiri hills.

110 Ibid., p. 237.
111 Ibid., p. 317.
112 Ibid., p. 392.
For the education of the children of the low castes, the Madras Government brought a special scheme in 1923. According to this scheme, special schools were to be maintained by the local boards for the education of these castes. A special training school was maintained at Madras; sites for these schools were offered free of rent, and higher rates of grants-in-aid were paid. These measures helped to improve the lots of the children of these castes. There were nearly 3000 schools for these children in 1902, of which 425 were under the Board or departmental management, and 2473 of them were under private management; and the very great majority of them belong to mission societies. There were 44,150 boys and 8,328 girls of these castes under instruction. 113 Most of them did not advance beyond primary education.

CONCLUSION:

This period between 1854 and 1901 was important in the history of education of the Madras Presidency. The 'benighted Province', which was lagging behind the rest of India in the field of education, made some real and rapid progress. The missionary efforts were praiseworthy, whatever were their motives. It was very encouraging that Indian educational enterprise came forward to take up the cause of education, more specially after the Despatch of 1854. The Government did fairly well in higher education. But in the field of education of the people at the lower level, much was to be done. The initial growth of education immediately after the Education Commission seemed to slow

113 Ibid.
down by the end of this period. The worst affected areas were primary education and female education. Primary education did not even keep pace with the progress of secondary education. The reasons were the Government's unlimited spending in higher education and the ambition of the more advanced classes at the expense of the education of the poor.

And so, in the succeeding periods, the lopsided growth of Indian education with foreign ideas and culture, the neglect of Indian languages and culture, and the indifference on the part of the foreign rulers to improve the lots of the millions of Indian people living in villages gave rise to the nationalistic movement, of which education became a part and parcel.
CHAPTER VII

EDUCATION FROM LORD CURZON TO SADLER COMMISSION (1902-1919)

INTRODUCTION:

This period between 1902 and 1919 is important in the history of Indian education. It starts with the educational reforms of Lord Curzon and ends with the transfer of education to Indian control in 1921. This period is distinct because, not only education received a better share of the revenues of the Central and provincial governments, but also some of the educational issues created a new awareness among the people. The spirit of nationalism, which was simmering beneath the surface in the last two decades of last century, gushed forth into the open. These educational issues provided the major rallying point for the nationalistic movement.

Gopal Krishna Gokhala (1866-1915) led the fight. Lokmanya Tilak declared "Swaraj is our birth-right." The educated Indians, who were the product of the theory of "Downward-Filtration" of the British bureaucracy, responded to the call. They deserted the British hope of their continued loyalty and claimed to represent the masses and demanded freedom. Truly they had a better claim than the British and naturally they won.

The whole cycle of events was started by the qualitative educational reforms of Lord Curzon, who became Viceroy in 1898. During the seven long years of his viceroyalty he earnestly tried to improve every branch of his administration. Although Curzon introduced a program of qualitative educational reforms, his general approach led to the suspicion of the Indian people regarding his motives. His pungent sarcasm also alienated the educated class. He really left education a battle-field. These events
resulted in Indian control of education.

The first two decades of twentieth century could be studied under the following heads:

1. Educational Reforms of Lord Curzon
2. Government of India's Resolution on Educational policy (1913)
3. The Calcutta University Commission (1917-19)
4. The Progress of Education (1902-20)

1. EDUCATIONAL REFORMS OF LORD CURZON

EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE AT SIMLA (1901):

Lord Curzon claimed, perhaps quite honestly, to speak for "...the Indian poor, the Indian peasant, the patient, humble, silent millions, the 90 percent who subsist by agriculture, who know very little of policies, but who profit or suffer by their results..." He believed that educational improvement was the vital instrument in improving their condition. After studying the problems of Indian education and before embarking on any reform, he called for a conference of all the Directors of Public Instruction at Simla in 1901.

The participants in the Simla Conference discussed the whole field of education and carefully studied its problems. After fifteen days of deliberation, its conclusions were embodied in one hundred and fifty resolutions. These resolutions formed the basis of Lord Curzon's educational policies. It was said that Lord Curzon had his hand in the drafting of the resolutions.

The Simla conference roused great public interest. But, unfortunately, the presence of Dr. William Miller of the Madras Christian College, killed the official nature of the conference as he was a missionary. The absence of any Indian educator in the conference increased popular suspicion that the conference was held to subrogate the increasing Indian private educational enterprise in the name of quality. All the participants of the conference were European educators. The proceedings of the conference were kept confidential and that increased the suspicion and enraged the Indian public opinion. Thus from the beginning the reforms of Lord Curzon lost the chance of being considered on merits.

**INDIAN UNIVERSITY COMMISSION (1902):**

Lord Curzon gave top priority to University reform in his program and on January 27, 1902, he appointed the Indian University Commission. The reasons were many. There were glaring defects in the University education. Nothing was done after the establishment of Indian Universities, and University education was excluded from the purview of the Indian Education Commission of 1882. Another important reason was that in 1898, changes were made in London University, which was the model for Indian Universities. "Thus once again, as so often before educational controversy in England had its echo in India."2

The president of the Commission was Sir Thomas Raleigh, member of the Executive Council of the Governor General. Almost at the last moment, Justice Gooroo Dass Banerjee was added to the Commission as the sixth member. The Raleigh Commission visited a considerable number of colleges and

Universities and examined in all 156 witness. It submitted its report on the 9th of June 1902.

The modified London University was again the model for the Commission as the existing Indian Universities were originally modelled after London University. Its recommendations could fall under the following four topics:

1. **TEACHING UNIVERSITIES AND TERRITORIAL JURISDICTION:**

   The Raleigh Commission declared that all Indian Universities should be teaching universities, and that "...the phrase 'Teaching University' is usually taken to denote a University which makes direct provision for teaching by appointing its own Professors and lectures." The Commission recommended that the local limits of each University should be more accurately defined and the colleges, in the first instance, should apply for affiliation to the local University.

2. **REORGANIZATION OF THE UNIVERSITY GOVERNMENT:**

   The Raleigh Commission thought that the size of the Senate should be reduced and the number of its members must be fixed. It suggested that the suitable maximum number of Senators for the three older Universities would be one hundred; that the period of tenure of a senator should be reduced to five years; that every year one fifth of the senators should vacate their seats; and that the Senate should give adequate representation to the University and College teachers. The Raleigh Commission also was of opinion that the Syndicate should be a smaller body of nine to fifteen members, with proper representation from the faculties.

3. AFFILIATED COLLEGES AND INSTITUTIONS:

The Raleigh Commission recommended a much more stricter and systematic supervision of the affiliated colleges and institutions by the University and a more exacting conditions of affiliation. It said "that no institution shall be admitted to affiliation unless on the fullest information... and that no institution, once admitted, be allowed to fall below the standard of efficiency required for affiliation." 4

Regarding the second grade colleges, the Raleigh Commission recommended that the Universities should decline to affiliate any such institution in future. As far as the existing second-grade colleges were concerned it recommended that they should either raise themselves to first grade colleges or should revert back to the position of high schools. 5

The Raleigh Commission paid attention to the conditions under which the students had to live and work and recommended that the Universities should have a closer attention on the buildings, furniture of the colleges and on the provision of proper residence and adequate library facilities for the students.

4. CHANGES IN CURRICULA AND IN METHODS OF EXAMINATION:

The Raleigh Commission made some valuable suggestions on curricular improvement. Regarding vernacular languages, it regreted the insufficient attention they received and the inadequate knowledge of the graduates of their mother tongue. Though it favored the inclusion of vernacular languages in the M.A. course, it did not favor the study of them in the B.A. course. 6

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5 Ibid., p. 19.  
6 Ibid., p. 23.
Regarding examinations, the Raleigh Commission was of opinion that the standard at Matriculation should be raised. It set aside the proposal of three year degree course and suggested that there should be uniformity of nomenclature of the examinations and degrees of Arts and Science in different Universities. It favored that the three examinations should be designated uniformly, as Matriculation, Intermediate and Degree examinations.

The Raleigh Commission did not go into the fundamental question of reconstructing the University system, but it merely made some suggestion to improve and strengthen the system. That was unfortunate. The Indian people expected great many things from the Commission, but they were disappointed of its recommendations. They were bitter at some of the recommendations like that of the fees and second grade colleges, which they thought were mainly aimed at torpedoing the Indian efforts in higher education.

**INDIAN EDUCATIONAL POLICY (1904):**

After the Simla Conference and the report of Indian Universities Commission, Lord Curzon’s Government issued a Resolution on Indian Educational Policy on the 11th of March, 1904.

After reviewing the history of Indian education, it expressed its disappointment that education did not reach the masses and observed that "four villages out of five are without a school; three boys out of four grow up without education, and only one girl in forty attends any kind

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7 Ibid., p. 44
of school. It recognized the advances made but decried the defects of the system. Some of the defects were: (1) the pursuance of higher education with the exclusive goal of entering Government services; (2) the excessive prominence given to examinations; (3) the literary character of the content of education; (4) the importance given to mechanical repetition in place of sound learning; and (5) the gross neglect of mother-tongue.

POLICY:

The Government accepted as a matter of policy, the progressive devolution of primary, secondary, and collegiate education upon private enterprise and the continuous withdrawal from competition. But, at the same time, it resolved to maintain a limited number of institutions as models for private enterprise to follow and to "retain a general control, by means of efficient inspection, over all public educational institutions."

PRIMARY EDUCATION:

The Government of India accepted the proposition that the active extension of primary education was one of the most important duties of the State. Primary education received insufficient attention and an inadequate share of the public funds. Its progress was less than that of secondary education. And so, the Government resolved that primary education should be made a leading charge of provincial and local revenues. It directed the District and Municipal Boards to devote their funds to education, more particularly to primary education.

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10 Ibid., p. 16.
The courses of instruction in the primary schools were to be practical and in the language of the people. In rural schools, it should deal with topics associated with rural life.

SECONDARY EDUCATION:

The March 11th Resolution observed that the progress made in secondary education was one of the most striking features in Indian educational history. As there was growing interest among parents to give their children English education, the Resolution observed that Government must see that sound education was provided in the schools, private or public. It asserted that the Government must satisfy itself thoroughly regarding the conditions of private schools before they extended recognition and aid to them. It said that the University must restrict admission to bonafide private candidates and to candidates from recognized schools.

To change the literary character of the secondary curriculum, the Resolution recommended the introduction of practical industrial and commercial subjects. The Government had been unsuccessful in this area in the past. "In the present stage of social and industrial development it appears to them essential to promote diversified types of secondary education, corresponding with the varying needs of practical life." To avoid the predominance of examinations, the Government of India suggested the system of leaving examinations, held at the conclusion of the secondary course, which was tried successfully in other countries. An Indian

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11 Ibid., p. 22.
12 Ibid., p. 23.
version of the leaving examination, it thought, could be a better solution.

In maintaining the principle of religious neutrality, the Government refused any religious instruction in public schools. But it thought the moral tone of the pupils could be improved by selecting proper textbooks and biographies, and above all, by the selection of well trained teachers of excellent character.

The observations regarding the medium of instruction and the study of mother-tongue are worthy of note. The Resolution ruled that "...English has no place, and should have no place, in the scheme of primary education." But in introducing English in secondary school, it advised caution. It said that as a general rule a child should not be allowed to learn English as a language until he had received a thorough grounding in his mother-tongue in the primary stages of instruction. Only after the age of thirteen could the child be considered ready for instruction in the English medium. Even then, the Resolution said, that the study of mother-tongue should continue. The Resolution warned that "if the educated classes neglect the cultivation of their own languages, these will assuredly sink to / the level of mere colloquial dialects possessing no literature worthy of the name..."14

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION:

The Resolution generally summarised many of the recommendations of the Indian University Commission. The Universities should no longer be merely machines to examine students and they should take up the function of

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13 Ibid., p. 25.
14 Ibid., pp. 26-27.
direct teaching. They should inspect all affiliated colleges to maintain a high standard of education.

**OTHER BRANCHES:**

The Resolution spoke of other branches of education as well. Female education, the Resolution contended, as a whole was still very backward and urged the Governments to take every measure to increase the funds for its extension. Another important observation of the Resolution was the extension of technical education of a simple and practical kind, which would help the Indian Industries to grow. Schools of Arts also must be opened for the encouragement of Indian Art and Art industries. The Resolution also commented on all other branches of education like commercial, agricultural and teacher education.

The entire Resolution was nothing very much different from a reaffirmation of the policies laid down by the Despatch of 1854 and the Indian Education Commission of 1882. But, nevertheless, it contained some interesting features. The suggestion to the District and Municipal boards to concentrate their attention entirely on education and the extension of technical education of the lower order were few of those features.

**THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES ACT, 1904:**

On the basis of the recommendations of the Indian University Commission, the Indian Universities Act was passed on March 21, 1904 in the Imperial Legislative Council in the face of a bitter opposition. The important changes proposed by the Act were as follows:

1. The functions of the Universities were enlarged by this Act.
Accordingly the Universities were empowered to appoint their own professors and lecturers, to hold and manage educational endowments, to erect and equip and maintain libraries, laboratories and museums, to make regulations regarding residence and conduct of students and to do all acts for the promotion of study and research consistent to the Act of Incorporation and to this Act.

2. It limited the size of the Senate which was becoming unmanageable. It prescribed that the number of Fellows should be less than 50 nor more than 100 and that a Fellow should hold office for five years only instead of for life.

3. Another important change was the introduction of the principle of election. The number of elected Fellows was fixed at 20 for each of the three older Universities and 15 for each of the other two.

4. The Act gave a statutory recognition to Syndicates with adequate representation to University teachers.

5. The Act provided stricter conditions for affiliation of colleges and periodical inspection of them by the Syndicate to uphold the standard.

6. The Act vested the Government with powers to make such alterations and addition as might be necessary and even frame regulations itself if the Syndicate failed to do so.

7. The Act vested the Governor-General-in-Council with the power to define the territorial jurisdiction of each University.
The Universities Act came as a great disappointment to the Indian people. They expected a great reform in the field of higher education and liberal provision of funds for the encouragement of original research and of higher teaching. But, instead of those progressive measures, they got "...only a perpetuation of the narrow, bigoted and inexpensive rule of experts." The people feared that, under the pretext of reforms, the Government was trying to vest all powers into the hands of European educators only to sabotage the Indian enterprise. The small number thrown open to election in the seats in Senate created a suspicion that the Senate would be dominated by Europeans with only a sprinkling of Indians. But this fear proved to be groundless because the first Senate constituted under this Act had Indian members equal to or more than the number of Europeans.

Another point of opposition was the stricter provision for affiliation of colleges. This was due to the fear that those provisions were mainly intended to curb the efforts of Indian private enterprise in the field of Indian education.

Yet, the Act brought some desirable changes. It introduced some improvement in the University administration and, to some extent, brought some efficiency in affiliated institution because of the stricter control. But the Act, as well as the Indian University Commission failed to deal with the fundamental problems of the University system in India.


16 Ibid., p. 470. See the foot-note on this page.
2. GOVERNMENT OF INDIA'S RESOLUTION ON EDUCATIONAL POLICY (1913)

THE GROWING NATIONAL MOVEMENT:

Lord Curzon left India in 1905. But his successors continued his educational policies vigorously; and the Indian public continued to oppose them. The new administrations tried to appease the educated intelligentsia and accepted some of the views of the opposition. The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 vouchsafed greater representation to Indians in the Legislative Councils. There were movements of National Education. Indian leaders were more occupied with political movements and hence, the magnitude of opposition, which faced the Indian Universities Act, lessened. But, it again reached a new high point when Gokhale brought a resolution for free and compulsory elementary education in the Imperial Legislative Council on March 19, 1910. He asked the Government to bear the two-thirds of the total cost of compulsory education. He pointed out how in England, Scotland and Ireland the cost of elementary education was borne by the Government in different proportions. But the Bill that he introduced on 16th March 1911, was defeated after a fierce debate for two days in the Council in March 1912. This created a new wave of opposition to the Government's educational policies.

Gokhale's Bill and their Majesties interest in popular education and the reaction that it created in the British Parliament urged the

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17 Shatt and Aggarwal, p. 29.
18 Replyng to the address of the Calcutta University on the 6th of January, 1912, the King-Emperor said, "It is my wish that there may be spread over the land a network of schools and colleges... and the cause of education in India will ever be very close to my heart." Quoted by H. Sharp, Progress of Education in India, 1907-1912 (Vol. I; Calcutta: Superintendent, Government Printing, India, 1914), p. 1.
Government to survey the educational field and pass a resolution. The Resolution was issued on the 21st February, 1913.

**RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE RESOLUTION**

The Resolution of 1913 which accepted boldly the existing defects in the Indian education system, made some recommendations to remedy some of them. It recommended the necessity of sufficient expansion of lower primary schools and starting of upper primary schools at the proper places. It advised the opening of Local Board schools in preference to private aided schools and stressed that the inspection and management of private schools should be more efficient. It emphasised the importance of curriculum of more practical nature, and the need of fully trained teachers.\(^{19}\)

As regards secondary education, the Resolution of 1913 did not favor the complete withdrawal of the State, though it reemphasised the policy of private enterprise with proper grants-in-aid from the Government. It advised the Government to keep the few institution under its control to serve as models. It advised to improve the mode of examination and curriculum. As regards female education the Resolution stressed its importance and recommended that the curriculum for girls should be more of practical in nature. It clearly stated that too much of importance should not be attached to examination in the education of girls. It advised the increase of the number of women teachers and inspectors.\(^{20}\)

The Resolution of 1913 acknowledged the good work that had been done after the Indian Universities Act of 1904; but it regretted that the condition

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\(^{19}\) Bhatt and Aggarwal, p. 30  
of University education was far from satisfactory. It felt the undesirability of any more affiliating universities, and proposed the restriction of the jurisdiction of the existing universities and the desirability of creating new local teaching and residential Universities. The Resolution considered that the existing five universities and 195 colleges in India were insufficient to fulfill the vast needs and demands of the country.

To free the Universities for higher work and more efficient control of colleges, it proposed to place the responsibility of granting recognition to high schools for the purpose of sending candidates to Matriculation in the hands of provincial Governments. The Resolution also spoke about the importance of teacher salaries, and the provision of pension and provident fund. It also made valuable suggestions pertaining to the character formation of students and hostel life.

3. THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION (1917-19)

Another important document of this period was the report of the Calcutta University Commission or Sadler Commission. This voluminous and brilliant document dealt not only with Calcutta University but also with University education in general.

The Resolution of 1913 could be described a turning point in the history of university education in India, as it laid the foundation for the future expansion of Indian University education by declaring that a University would be established in each Province which would be a teaching and residential institution. But an expert inquiry into this propositions was necessary and hence the Commission was appointed in 1917 under the

\[\text{Ibid., pp. 31-32.}\]
Chairmanship of Dr. (later Sir) M.H. Sadler, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds. Among the Indian members were Sir Asutosh Mookerji and Dr. (later Sir) Zia-uddin Ahmad.

The Sadler Commission was required "to enquire into the condition and prospects of the University of Calcutta and to consider the question of a constructive policy in relation to the question it presents." The terms of reference also stated that the Commission might, for the purpose of comparison, study the organization and working of the other Indian Universities. That was why the report was of greater importance to all the Universities. Another important feature of the report of the Commission was the inclusion of the study of secondary education as an essential part of the improvement of University education. The Commission visited all University centres and submitted its reports of 13 volumes in 1919.

**RECOMMENDATIONS:**

The Indian Education Commission of 1832 was precluded from the study of the problems of University education. So also secondary education was precluded from the attention of the Indian Universities Commission of 1902. And so they were not able to do full justice to the problems of higher education as a whole. The report of the Calcutta University Commission was the most comprehensive study of Indian higher education from the secondary stage to the University. "It is, therefore, quite natural that they have greatly influenced the subsequent course of secondary and higher education in the country."  

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22 Ibid., p. 33.
Observing the defects of secondary education, the Sadler Commission made some radical recommendations to remedy them:

1. The dividing line between the University and secondary education must be at the intermediate examination than at the Matriculation. And so the admission test to University must be intermediate examinations.

2. Therefore, the Intermediate course must be separated from University and Intermediate colleges must be created. They could be either independent institutions or part of the high schools. They could provide instructions in Arts, Science, Medicine, Engineering, Teaching, etc.

3. An autonomous Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education should be constituted with proper representation from Government, Universities, Intermediate colleges and higher schools. This board would be incharge of the administration of the secondary and intermediate education.

The Sadler Commission's recommendations regarding Calcutta University in particular and University work in general were of great significance. The Commission concluded that Calcutta University had grown abnormally large and that it was too large to be administered efficiently under a single University. And hence, it recommended the establishment of a teaching and residential University at Dacca; and the creation of a real teaching University at Calcutta, pooling all the teaching resources in that city. It also recommended the encouragement of the establishment of new University centres at a few points by the development of mofussil (Provincial) colleges and the concentration of all possible resources of higher education available at those points.

24 Ibid., p. 34.
The other recommendations regarding the general working of the universities were: (1) the institution of honours courses; (2) the extension of the duration of degree courses to three years after the intermediate stage; (3) the constitution of a special committee of experts for the appointment of University Professors and Readers; (4) the appointment of a full-time and salaried Vice-Chancellor; (5) the creation of a Director of physical education for the health and welfare of the students; and (6) the creation of an Inter-University Board for the coordination of the activities of various Indian Universities.\textsuperscript{25}

The Sadler Commission deplored the 'reluctant recognition' the vernacular languages received in the whole scheme of higher education in India and emphatically declared the promotion of them:

We are emphatically of opinion that there is something unsound in a system of education which leaves a young man, at the conclusion of his course, unable to speak or write his own mother tongue fluently and correctly. It is thus beyond controversy that a systematic effort must henceforth be made to promote the serious study of the vernaculars in secondary schools, intermediate colleges and in the University.\textsuperscript{26}

The Sadler Commission made valuable recommendations on female education, on the importance of training of teachers (it advised the creation of Department of Education in the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca), on the inclusion of applied science and technology courses and on importance of professional and vocational training.

The Report of the Sadler Commission had great effect on the other Indian Universities and it influenced the course of higher education in

\textsuperscript{25}Ibid., p. 35.

\textsuperscript{26}Ibid., pp. 35-36.
general. As Mr. Arthur Mayhew says, it "...has been a constant source of suggestion and information. Its significance in the History of Indian Education has been incalculable."  It infused a new life into Indian Universities. The interference of Government into the administration of Universities was restricted and the teachers took greater part in their governance.

The recommendations about secondary education were very good, but they did not get much support. The Universities did not want to part with the intermediate classes because of financial reasons and the idea of intermediate colleges did not get the continued support. The formation of the special Board for the control of the intermediate and secondary education was considered unpractical and the transfer of secondary education to this Board from the Education Department Board was considered premature and hence these recommendations did not materialize. The extension of the duration of the degree course after intermediate stage also did not find favor, though it could be said that it was a forerunner of the present 'Three year Degree Course'.

4. PROGRESS OF EDUCATION (1902-1920)

UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGIATE EDUCATION:

The effect of the Indian Universities Act of 1904 was almost immediate on the administration and the organization of the Madras University. The Senate was reorganized and by 1906 the new regulations of the internal organization and the courses of study were issued. A Committee of

educational experts was set up to inspect the affiliated colleges of the University and the Provincial Government promised a grant of Rs. 15,000 to meet the initial expenses. The Inspection Commission visited the colleges in 1905 and reported its findings. Many of the affiliated colleges were not up to the standard and they were asked either to meet the requirements or close. Many colleges were closed. Among those closed were St. Michael's College, Coimbatore, St. Mary's College, Madras, San Thome College, Madras and a few others. 29

During this period between 1902 and 1920 the University of Madras was actively engaged in putting up buildings to house the University offices, the University Library and the Oriental Manuscript Library. These and the other programs of instituting scholarships and the organization of research departments as envisaged by the Act of 1904 were possible by the generous grants it received from the Government of India and the Madras Government. As early as 1909 the regulation for the institution of research studentships had been passed. They were made available not only to the University departments, but also to students of other affiliated colleges with competent Professors. 30

Some important changes took place during this period. They were the replacement of the old First Arts Examination by the Intermediate Examination and the introduction of the Secondary School Leaving Certificate examination as an alternative to the Matriculation. The first Intermediate

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Examination and the first Secondary School Leaving Certificate examination were held in 1911. The Secondary School Leaving Certificate examination became quite popular and naturally it resulted in a very large admission of students into college classes. Some criticised this trend saying that, while the old Matriculation shut out large numbers of suitable candidates from higher education, the new system admitted large numbers of unfit candidates to college classes.

The University undertook inspection of affiliated colleges in 1910 to determine the degree to which the recommendations of the previous commission were carried out. It was found out that most of the colleges improved but that some were still lagging behind. The regulations of affiliation were so strict that some of the colleges were forced to close. Between 1907 and 1912 some six colleges were closed. Among them were St. Joseph's College, Cuddalore, the Presentation Convent and the Church of Scotland Mission College, Madras and St. Peter's College, Tanjore.

The Professors of the University, besides undertaking and supervising their own research also lectured the students of the Honours courses. In 1911, B.A. Honours courses were opened in some of the affiliated colleges of the University like the Presidency college, and The Madras Christian College, Madras, and St. Joseph College, Trichinopoly. The Honours courses were three year courses after the Intermediate stage, and they were created to provide top ranking students the best opportunity to develop

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32 Ibid., p. 13.
their talents. This hope was at least fulfilled in the earlier years of its existence.

The functions of the University were greatly enlarged during this period. Arrangements were made for vacation and inter-collegiate lectures, most particularly for Honours students and special lectures by eminent men from centres of learning from other parts of India and abroad. As early as 1911, Daniel Jones, Lecturer in Phonetics, in the University College, London, lectured on various academic subjects. In 1915, Sir K. Krishna Aiyangar delivered a series of lectures on Architecture. There were many other such lectures during this period.

In 1914, three University Chairs in Indian History and Archaeology, Indian Economics and Comparative Philology were created. Sir S. Krishna-swamy Aiyangar was appointed to the chair of Indian History and Archaeology, Dr. Gilbert Slater, Principal of Ruskin College, Oxford, to the chair of Indian Economics and Dr. Mark Collins to that of Comparative Philology and Sanskrit.

The Readerships for Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada were created and tried for two years, but were discontinued at the end of that period. It was not until 1948 that Tamil had a Professorship in Madras University. But valuable Tamil research was carried on through the years. The most important of them was the compilation of the Tamil Lexicon, which was started in 1913 and was completed in 1936.

33 Ibid., p. 44.
An important recommendation of the Resolution of 1913 was the creation of the Unitary, teaching and residential Universities. In pursuance of this Resolution the University of Mysore was founded in 1913 and the University of Hyderabad in 1918, the latter with Urdu medium of instruction. The University of Mysore was the first University to make an incursion into the territorial jurisdiction of the University of Madras. The impact of the report of the Calcutta University Commission was also immediate. In October 1919, the Senate appointed a committee to consider and report upon the recommendations of the Commission. In March 1921, the Senate passed a resolution which proposed to alter the constitution of the University in accordance with the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission and it was submitted to the Madras Government.35

SECONDARY EDUCATION:

A clear distinction was drawn in the nomenclature and curriculum between elementary and secondary schools during this period. There were no middle vernacular schools any more. The full elementary schools that have seven standards above infant classes were designated higher elementary schools. Similarly lower secondary or middle English Schools were no longer recognized. Those schools that did not have the highest standards were either reduced to elementary schools or designated as incomplete secondary schools. In 1912, there were 186 incomplete secondary schools as against 271 English lower secondary schools in 1907. The Secondary school was supposed to be complete from infant class to the sixth form. English

was taught from the fourth standard. This distinction set at rest the confusion that was present in the nomenclature. 36

There was substantial increase in the number of secondary schools and the number of boys studying in them. There were by the end of 1912, some 375 high schools for boys and the student strength was well over 100,000. 37

The most important feature of this period was the introduction of Secondary School Leaving Certificate Examination, which replaced the Matriculation examination. The new certificate became very popular. The reason were: (1) the Secondary School Leaving Certificate did not contain any statement that a pupil had or had not 'passed' the examination, but it contained entries of the average marks gained in the various subjects in the Presidency and in the particular school; the comparison of the marks of any pupil with these other entries should give necessary information as to the pupil's proficiency; (2) under the Secondary School Leaving Certificate a student could get admitted to a college at the discretion of the Principal; and (3) this certificate could qualify a person for Government jobs. 38 This system gave certain relief from the thrall of examinations, but it too had its weaknesses. Nevertheless, it was considered a 'blessing'.


37 Report of Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for 1911-12 and for the Quinquennium 1906-07 to 1911-12 (Vol. I.; General Table 1, p. 66.

38 Ibid., p. 21.
The Rev. H. Schaffter of Tinnevelly wrote:

The Secondary School-Leaving Certificate Scheme is a blessing. The manners and conduct and progress of the students have greatly improved and there is less difficulty in maintaining discipline. The number on the rolls shows and increase this year. The choice of subjects given to students is an attraction causing increase in number.39

A variety of subjects were introduced for this examination. The idea of introducing non-detailed study was first tried during this period. This was to encourage the students to read outside of their text-books. 40 Another important feature was the introduction of physical education. Students were to attend drill and gymnastic classes. There were entries in the certificates for physical education designed to arouse their interest in this subject. Certain changes were made in the working of the scheme and in the courses of study in 1919. Otherwise, the scheme was found working satisfactorily. The number of secondary schools increased during this period and so also the student strength. Including 1936 girls the student strength rose to 150,839 in 1921-22. There were only 345 secondary schools in 1916-17.41

The medium of instruction in the secondary schools was still unsolved and English continued to be the medium of instruction. There were attempts to make the modern Indian languages media of instruction. S. Rayanisingar moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council on 17th of March, 1915, to make modern Indian languages media of instruction and English as second language compulsory for all Indian students in the

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39 Ibid., p. 23.
40 Ibid., p. 27.
secondary schools. But his resolution was opposed on several grounds. Some of them are as follows:

1. The student's knowledge of English would deteriorate if English ceased to be medium of instruction;

2. There were no suitable text-books in modern Indian languages;

3. The modern Indian languages were deficient in technical terms and hence it would be difficult to teach such subjects like geography, mathematics and science;

4. There were no suitable teachers to teach such subjects in modern Indian languages;

5. As there were several languages in each Province, it would be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, to impart instruction in them as it would involve a very heavy expenditure;

6. English was the 'Lingua franca' of India and interference with it would harm unification of Indian people. 42

Strange these arguments were that they are still advanced against the proposition of making Indian languages like Tamil the medium of instruction at college level.

PRIMARY EDUCATION:

The Indian Educational Policy of 1904 declared that "the active extension of primary education is one of the most important duties of

42 Nurullah and Naik, pp. 527-28.
The Government of India seemed to be anxious to expand primary education and its anxiety was inspired by the English Education Act of 1902, which brought a new era in primary education in England. The Indian public opinion also demanded rapid expansion of primary education. The Government of India increased its grants. But the money, which was mainly intended for primary education, went into higher education. As a result of that the progress of primary education was slow.

The Madras Government revised the Grants-in-aid code and the Madras Educational Rules in 1907. The "results-grant" system was discontinued and a new system of paying grants to primary schools was initiated. The annual grant was based on three considerations: (1) the number and qualifications of the teachers, (2) the average attendance of the pupils, and (3) the general efficiency of the school. This was considered a much better system than the "results-grant" system. But the progress made was not commensurate with the money spent. The number of primary schools in the Presidency was 21,379 with a student population of 692,409 in 1906-07 as against 19,093 schools with 538,626 students in 1901-02. The number of schools under the Government was small. The policy of opening more schools under the management of local bodies consistently followed and the number considerably improved. But the three-fourth of the primary schools were still under private management. Of the private schools only one-fifth of them were under the mission managements and the rest of them were under

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43 Indian Educational Policy, 1904, p. 15.
other kinds of private managements. The Indian enterprise was growing. 

Private individuals came forward to establish schools and also teachers. They depended mostly on fees and grants. Many of the private schools were inadequate, and "Teacher-Manager schools in particular are ill-housed, ill-equipped, and ill-taught." This was then the situation of primary education.

In 1907 some changes were made in the examination system. The unpopular primary examination was substituted by the Elementary School-Leaving Certificate examination. The curricula for elementary school was also modified in 1908 to include some subjects that were recommended as desirable. They were the vernacular, space and number work, general knowledge, drawing, recitation with appropriate ragam (tunes), singing and physical exercises. English, geography, civics, Indian history, nature study and elementary science were also taught to the students. The students were expected to learn simple informations about their village and simple rules of health and conduct and other things of practical interest. All these were included in the subject of general knowledge. The methods of teaching recommended were realistic and practical. Kindergarten methods were very much encouraged during this period.

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46 Tamil poems are always sung. It was customary as it is even today, to sing the poems with appropriate tunes; so also Tamil teachers sing the poem before they explain the meaning.

Still the education of the people made very little progress. The flagrant neglect on the part of the Government to improve it created a great concern among Indian leaders. They knew that only with the diffusion of universal education the masses would have a better chance in life. The Compulsory Education Acts of England made them to demand the same thing for India. Mr. G.I. Gokhale led the fight for compulsory primary education. Though the Bill he brought in the Legislative Council in 1911 was defeated, its consequences were far reaching. It made the educated Indians aware of the need for the extension of primary education and also made the Government to do its duty to primary education a little better. While rejecting Gokhale's Bill the Government of India promised more grants to primary education and urged the Provincial Governments to pay more attention to this subject.

The Government of India was very much aware of the popular demand for mass education. It had to take some steps towards improving primary education. The visit of His Majesty King George V in 1911-12 provided an opportunity for the Government to make an announcement of its concern for population. And so, at the coronation of His Majesty, an annual grant of Rs. 5,000,000 for primary education was announced. His Majesty's reply to the address presented by the Calcutta University on the 6th January 1912, reflected this concern when he said: "It was my wish that there may be spread over the land a network of schools and colleges...."

This additional revenue and the Resolution of 1913 which laid the principles for the expansion and improvement of primary education, helped to attain some rapid progress in primary education between 1912 and 1917.
The number of schools for boys rose from 24,044 in 1911-12 to 28,367 in 1916-17 and the student strength increased respectively from 829,331 to 1,231,193 which included 166,633 girls. The increase in student strength was more than the increase in the number of schools.\textsuperscript{48} The reasons were the Government's drive for the quality of elementary education and the encouragement of opening Local Board Schools in preference to private schools. The Municipal and Local Board Schools considerably increased during this period and it was largely due to large provincial subsidies given to them.

Another important step taken by the Madras Government, for the improvement of rural education, was the appointment of a committee in 1918. The Committee studied the problems of rural education and recommended that, since 68 percent of the population of Madras lived in village and engaged in agriculture, the nature study should be included into the compulsory section of the scheme of studies and that proper textbooks should be written by experts who were closely and personally conversant with the work of the rural elementary schools. The Government accepted their recommendation in 1920.\textsuperscript{49}

The progress of elementary education met with a set back due to the outbreak of the World War I and the financial stringency continued during and even after the War. The initial enthusiasm that was seen after 1912 died down and, by the time the people of India fully realized the importance

\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., p. 66. And also see the \textit{Report for the Quinquennium 1916-17 to 1921-22}, Vol. I, p. 35.

of sending their children to schools, the War and its aftermath coupled with epidemics engulfed the country and stunted the expansion of elementary education.

**FEMALE EDUCATION:**

After the revision of the Grants-in-aid Code and the Educational Rules, there was an increase in the total number of girls in schools. The attitude towards the education of girls began to change, and the leaders of the Indian thought was very much alive to the importance of female education in relation to the real progress of the country. Another important features of this period was the proportion of girls in Boy's schools, especially elementary schools and the strong feelings against coeducation began to lessen to a certain point. But the difficulty of finding fully trained women teachers, especially for higher classes, had not diminished.

Until 1914, the Sarah Tucker College was the only college for women. Before 1921 three more colleges were opened for women. Two of them were Queen Mary's College, Madras (1914) and the Women's Christian College, Madras (1916). The number of women students increased, not only in the college meant for women, but also other Arts colleges and Professional college mainly meant for men. The number of secondary schools and primary schools for girls also showed remarkable advance. There were sixty five secondary schools with 8,446 students in the year 1911-12, and that number rose respectively to ninety three and 16,468 in 1921-22. Primary schools for girls also showed increase and by 1921-22 there were 2,733 schools with 363,753 students.  

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50 Ibid., p. 78.
The majority of the institutions for girls were still under mission managements, but by the end of this period, the number of Government and Board Schools showed considerable increase.

TEACHER EDUCATION:

Teacher education showed some increase during this period. Classes for Licentiate in Teaching were added to St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly, for men, and to Queen Mary's College, Madras, for women. Regarding training schools for secondary and elementary teachers, the Government extended the training course for secondary teachers to two years in 1920, making it similar to elementary teachers. The revised scheme of studies for training schools also came into effect in the same year. A number of training schools were opened and model schools were attached to them. There were fifty six training schools for masters of all grades in 1916-17 and the number rose to ninety two in 1921-22. Of the ninety two training schools seventy two of them were under government management and twenty of them were under private management. The training schools for girls rose to sixteen in 1921-22.

PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION:

Still the Law College at Madras was the only one providing legal education. Regarding medical education, besides the Madras Medical College and the Medical schools at Tanjore and at Rayapuram, Madras, one more medical school was opened at Madurai in 1918. The number of students at these schools increased and the Government made provisions for hostel facilities for the students. The medical schools were transferred to the Medical

\[51\text{ Ibid., pp. 42-43.}\]
Department in 1911 as they were training students for subordinate services for the Medical Department.

Technical education also advanced rapidly during this period. A number of technical institutes appeared during this period, notable among them were the Shengalvaraya Naicker's Technical Institute, Vepery, Madras (1907), and the Teppakulam Institute of Mechanical Engineering and St. Joseph's Industrial School, both at Trichinopoly.

In 1919 a full-time Inspector of Industrial Schools in the Department of Industries was appointed. This Department maintained four schools, three of them were in Madras and the fourth one was at Madurai. The three Madras schools were: The Government Trades School (1916), The Perambur Trades School and The Leather Trades School (1915). The Government Industrial Institute was situated in Madurai. The Government reorganized these schools. The notable development was the establishment of the Perambur Railway works branch to the Perambur Trades School.

A number of private aided industrial schools were opened during this period. The number of pupils under training in the thirty eight private schools, on the 31st March 1922, were 1,748.

EDUCATION OF BACKWARD CLASSES:

The education of the hill tribes and low castes and other backward classes continued to receive the attention of the Government. The Board schools which were opened for Malayalis at Trichinopoly and Salem continued to function well. The two Toda schools maintained by the Church of England

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52 Ibid., pp. 47-49. 53 Ibid., p. 51.
Zerutm1 KissiQn had be ell)aed fot' want or a working strength of pupils. But the Government opened a board school for Toda at Pykara, on the Nilgiri hills, at the request of the Toda parents. And the Government also offered scholarships for Toda children to study in the Municipal High school Ootacamund.

The education of lowcastes made some significant progress, most particularly after the appointment of a Commissioner of Labour in 1919. He was entrusted with the encouragement of the education of the depressed classes. The Government insisted upon the free admission of children of low castes to schools under public management. But local Board found hard to enforce it because of the opposition from caste Hindus. And so orders were issued to open separate schools for the children of depressed classes in places where such opposition existed.

The inability for the children of the depressed classes to obtain admission in ordinary schools, and the poverty of these classes, who invariably withdrew their children when their tender hands were strong enough to earn their livelihood, were important reasons that arrested the advancement of their education. Inspite of these odds, the education of the depressed classes made some real progress. There were 5,691 special schools with a student strength of 159,993 in 1916-17. In 1921-22 the numbers rose to 8,035 and 219,068 respectively. During the same period the total number students of these classes in all the other kinds of public institutions rose from 120,607 to 157,113.

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54 Ibid., p. 68.
55 Ibid., p. 65.
CONCLUSION:

The first two decades of the twentieth century was an important period. Some important steps were taken in all spheres of education. The most important of them were in the field of primary education. Education of the masses was always very much neglected; and to the controversy surrounding primary education provided the focal point for nationalist movement. The leaders of Indian national movement, by fighting for compulsory education, created an awareness among the people of the importance of self-rule. The cry of 'India for Indians' became meaningful to them. They refused to co-operate with the British bureaucratic Government at the call of their leaders. This period of turmoil and transition resulted, atleast as first step to freedom, in diarchy, or the rule of the two.
CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATION FROM DIARCHY TO INDEPENDENCE (1920-47)

INTRODUCTION:

By 1920 the history of Indian Education entered into a new phase. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms transferred education to the care of Indian ministers. Though restricted in power and revenue, the Indian ministers did good work particularly in the field of primary education which had previously been neglected. The Madras Elementary Education Act was enacted in 1920. Nearly all other provinces passed similar Acts. Much educational reform was contemplated when the world-wide financial depression of the thirties brought the progress to a standstill.

The Independence Movement was in full swing. The constitutional arrangements of the Government of India Act of 1919 did not satisfy the political aspirations of the Indian people. The Non-Cooperation Movement almost immediately followed the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The Civil Disobedience Movement was in full force in the thirties. These movements forced the Government of India to give provincial autonomy in 1935. Education came under the control of the Indian Ministers without any limitations. As a result of the Act of 1935, the Indian National Congress, which was the most prominent political organization, accepted office in seven provinces— including Madras—out of eleven in 1937. In the remaining four provinces, the ministries also had clear support from the majority of the people. There was a burst of popular enthusiasm for education. The financial slump had eased and there were high hopes for greater educational progress. Unfortunately all these hopes did not materialize as
by 1939 the Second World War broke out. The Congress Ministries resigned in 1940 owing to the differences of opinion with the British Government. The 'Care-taker Governments' during 1940-45 achieved nothing in the field of education because of the War and of the Quit-India Movement. After the War the Congress Party returned to power in 1946 and India got independence on the 15th of August, 1947.

The whole period of about three decades was crucial and the hopes of the Indian people—the hopes of freedom from foreign domination and ignorance—rose higher despite many obstacles. After many centuries, sincere efforts were undertaken to bring the benefits of education to the man in the village and interesting experiments were made to make education meaningful. But it was only the beginning. The fight for freedom from ignorance continued from that point.

This period could be studied conveniently under the following headings:

1. Administration Reforms:
   Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.
   Central Advisory Board of Education.

2. Education and National Movement:

3. Educational Reports:
   The Hartog Committee Report on Education.
   Zakir Husain Committee Report on Basic Education.
   Sargent Report and "Reorganising of Education in Madras Presidency".

1. ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

MONTAGU–CHELMSFORD REFORMS:

The fight for self-rule continued under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The passing of such provocative laws as trying political offences without juries and giving provincial Governments the discretionary power to imprison trouble-makers worsened the situation. The massacre at Amritsar intensified the agitation that followed these laws. In 1918, the Secretary of State, Edwin Montagu visited India. Together with Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, he enquired into the Indian political situation. Their joint report proposed certain reforms, chief among them were the progressive realization of responsible Government in India and the devolution of power to the Provinces. As a result of these proposals the Government of India Act of 1919 was passed and a new constitution was introduced.

The Act of 1919 enlarged the Viceroy's Executive Council to include Indian members for the first time. A Council of State and a Legislative Assembly took the place of the Imperial Legislative Council. Both these bodies had non-official majorities. At the provincial level the Act introduced 'Diarchy', the rule of the two. According to this system, certain subjects, termed as "transferred subjects", which included education, agriculture, public works and local Government, were entrusted to ministers who were responsible to provincial councils, while others termed as "reserved subjects" such as justice, revenue, irrigation and labour were left to the care of councillors responsible only to the Governor. Members of the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly, and the Provincial Councils were elected.
According to the new system of diarchy at the provincial level, education came under the Indian ministers. But the financial arrangement under the new system was very unsatisfactory. Before these reforms, certain revenues were divided by the Central and provincial Governments. By this new Act, those sources disappeared and the Central Government took no interest in and gave no assistance to the education of the provinces. At the provincial level, the allocation of funds for different departments were decided by the Executive Councillors and the ministers under the chairmanship of the Governor. Generally the transferred departments, particularly education, did not get enough funds.

Another factor was the ill-feeling that was created between the ministers and the officers of the Indian Education Service (I.E.S), because the Act gave the ministers very limited control over them. Most of those officers then were Europeans. With these handicaps the Indian ministers took control of education in 1921 as a result of the new Act.

CENTRAL ADVISORY BOARD OF EDUCATION:

The need for some kind of a coordinating agency was keenly felt by the Central and Provincial Governments. Hence the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) was established in 1921. Its main function was to provide expert advice on important matters referred to it and to act as a source for ideas and coordinate educational development throughout the country.

The Board was abolished after two years due to economic reasons, but it was again revived in 1935 at the suggestion of the Hartog Committee. The Chairman of the Board was the member of the Viceroy’s Executive Council
incharge of the Department of Education, and later the Minister of Education of the Central Government. The Educational Advisor to the Government of India was the ex officio member of the Board and the Deputy Educational Advisor was its secretary. All the Provinces were represented on the Board by the Provincial Ministers of Education or their representatives and the Directors of Public Instruction.

The Board held meetings annually at different places and appointed committee to survey various aspects or branches of education and made public its findings. It made suggestions for the general guidance of the Provincial Governments.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT OF 1935:

The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, though marking a definite step towards self-rule, did not satisfy the Indian people as they still left the ultimate control in the hands of the Viceroy and the provincial Governors. Hence it was rejected by the Congress, and a campaign of non-cooperation was started. This agitation continued in different forms. After the second round table conference in 1935 the British Government passed the Government of India Act.

The constitution which this Act embodied was federal one in nature; but the federation contemplated by it did not materialize till 1947. Nevertheless the legislative powers were classified under three heads: federal, provincial and concurrent. The educational activities were divided in two categories: those that came under the federal (or Central) and those that came under Provincial (or State). The libraries and museums and other institutions that were controlled and financed by the
Federal or Central Government, the education of the defence forces, the Benarase Hindu University and the Aligarh Muslim University, historical monuments, archaeology and the education of the centrally administered areas came under the control of the Federal (or Central) Government. All other subjects pertaining to education came under the Provincial (or State) Governments. The provinces were given popularly elected assemblies, to which the ministers were responsible. Thus the inherently defective diarchy disappeared. The Governors, who still had reserved powers, were required to rule on the advice of their cabinet.

There was great flood of enthusiasm on the new constitution, though it shortlived. The people showed great enthusiasm for education. The Indian ministers, unrestricted as they were under diarchy, embarked on great plans for the expansion of education. The Indian Education Service (I.E.S.) was almost liquidated and the ministers were free from the control of the European Officers of that service. The financial help of the Central Government to the Provincial Government was accepted in principle though no such grants were given during this period.

2. EDUCATION AND NATIONAL MOVEMENT

The Freedom Movement got a new direction under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. He brought the movement to the level of the people and made it a mass movement.

National leaders believed education was very vital and much depended on it. They considered it the most important problem. But the ideal of national education gained a new impetus during the days of Non-Cooperation
Movement. Against the opposition of men like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Nagpur Congress in 1920 earnestly advised in its Non-Cooperation Resolution, the "gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by government, and in place of such schools and colleges, the establishment of national schools and colleges in the various Provinces."¹ Many such schools were started; students responded the call and jumped into the freedom movement, as the leaders then thought that freedom could be attained in a year by paralyzing the Government by such moves. But that hope did not materialize and the leaders realized the mistake of asking young men and women to sacrifice their future carrier by leaving the schools and colleges.

There were others who saw the problem in a different perspective. As far as back in 1920, Lajpat Rai warned that emotionalism should not cloud the real issues and the attainment of a Nation-State. He said that Universal education must be provided by the State and that any attempt to provide national education by private agencies would be attempting the impossible. Since the Nation was not then represented by the State, he accepted the proposition that, at least for sometime, private agencies could provide national education. But the real remedy, he said, "lies in concentrating our energies in the task of converting the State into a national agency. Along with that, we can use what powers we have or are conceded to us under the new scheme, for insisting that the State provide for

¹Nurullah and Naik, p. 567; Quoted from Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, History of Indian National Congress, Vol. I, p. 203.
universal education... This view slowly came to be accepted and when the agitation was called off, many national schools disappeared and the students were asked to return to their academic life. But still a few national institutions were allowed to continue to function and experiment on national education, which, everyone hoped would meet the needs of the people. Among these outstanding institutions were the Jamia Millia Islamia which was founded in Aligarh between 1920-21 and later shifted to Delhi in 1925, and the Viswa-Bharati, founded by Rabindranath Tagore in 1918-19.

Gandhi's Basic Education was the most interesting of the national schemes of education that had far reaching effects on the general pattern of education. Coupled with practical experience and philosophical insight, Gandhi proposed the new scheme and invited the educators to examine his proposition. That was how the Wardha Scheme was born in 1937.

3. EDUCATIONAL REPORTS

A number of educational reports were published during the period between 1920 and 1947. These reports were written by various committees appointed by the Central and Provincial Governments to study specific educational problems. They had great impact, subsequently, on the educational policies and practices.

THE HARTOG COMMITTEE REPORT ON EDUCATION:

The Hartog Committee Report was published during the diarchical rule. The Committee was appointed in 1923 as an Auxiliary Committee of

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the Indian Statutory Commission (otherwise known Simon Commission) to inquire into the social, political and economic progress of India. The Auxiliary Committee was to study the growth of education in British India. The Committee, named after its Chairman Sir Philip Hartog, submitted its report in 1929.

The Hartog Report generally agreed that progress had been made in all branches of education; the old time apathy of the masses was breaking down and there was widespread interest for education among all the communities. The Report observed that "Our Review of the growth of education reveals many points of fundamental interest for the political future of India." It gave credit to the leaders of public opinion and to the Educational Ministers and the Legislative Councils for their great interest in facing the nation's educational problems.

But the Hartog Committee voiced disappointment on the degree of wastage and ineffectiveness found throughout the whole educational system, particularly at the primary level, which the Committee said, "...was of fundamental importance as a 'nation-building service'..." It observed that the causes for the low progress of literacy were the neglect of primary education and the undue importance given to higher education. It was so strange that almost all the educational documents—right from the Wood's Despatch down to this Report—repeated this observation with subsequent lack of efforts to correct the mistake. The Report enumerated the

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4 Ibid., p. 308.
following difficulties that hampered the progress of primary education:
(1) primary education was essentially a rural problem as 37 per cent of the
people still lived in villages, and most of them depended on agriculture;
(2) the scantiness of means of communication; (3) general poverty, illiter-
acy and conservatism of the people; (4) irregular attendance of the pupils
due to various causes including epidemics and seasonal illness; (5) the
obstacles created by caste-barriers and by religious, communal and linguistic
differences; (6) the unsatisfactory way the provincial legislatures intro-
duced universal and compulsory primary education and (7) the devolution of
power over education to the local bodies without necessary control. 5

The Hartog Committee also found that the progress of education was
disappointing, in spite of all the enthusiasm and expenditure, because of
the enormous waste in the system. The Committee called it an "appalling
waste" of money and energy. The main reasons for this waste, mainly in
the primary education, were "wastage" (the premature withdrawal of pupils
before the end of the primary course) and "stagnation" (the retention of
pupils in a class for more than one year). The Committee considered
wastage to be a more potent factor than stagnation and wastage was ascribed
to: (1) the absence of the provision for adult education which resulted in
a rapid relapse into illiteracy; (2) inadequate provision of elementary
schools; (3) uneven distribution of schools—large areas having no school
and relatively small areas having too many schools; (4) inadequate utiliza-
tion of existing schools, which meant that there were large numbers of boys
who lived within easy reach of a school and yet did not attend it; (5) the
large percentage of single-teacher, and three-class single teacher schools.

5 Ibid., pp. 36-40.
many of them with poorly trained teachers; (6) the demand for separate schools for boys and girls and for other religious and communal reasons; (7) the use of unsuitable and unattractive curriculum; (8) the general ineffective teaching and inadequate inspection; and (9) unsatisfactory provision of compulsory education in some areas.

To remedy this wastage the Hartog Committee offered the following suggestions: (1) the policy of consolidation rather than expansion should be adopted; (2) the minimum duration of primary course should be fixed to four years; (3) the primary school teachers should be suitably trained and their service conditions must be raised so as to attract men of good quality to the profession; (4) the curriculum must be liberalised and made more meaningful to the pupils; (5) school hours and school holidays must be adjusted to the seasonal requirements of the localities; (6) special attention must be taken to reduce the wastage and stagnation among the pupils of the lowest classes; (7) the school should be made the centre of rural reconstruction; (8) the inspecting staff must be sufficiently strengthened; and (9) compulsory primary education must be introduced only after careful preparation of the ground.

The Hartog Committee surveyed secondary education and found some major defects and suggested some remedies. The problems of secondary education was studied in relation to university education and vocational education.

The Hartog Committee found that secondary education was dominated by matriculation examination as it was considered "...both as an immediate

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6 Ibid., pp. 48-70.  
7 Ibid., pp. 70-89.
qualification for service, and as a gate to a University course and the possession of a degree as higher qualification for service. The lure of Government service through matriculation was still potent. The large number of failures at the matriculation examination, the Committee said, was a great waste of money and time and effort. In the opinion of the Committee the reasons for such waste were the laxity of promotion from class to class in the lower stages of secondary schools and the absence of a selective system which would have stopped large number of underserving students from pursuing higher education.

To remedy these defects, the Hartog Committee suggested the introduction of diversified courses in both vernacular and anglo-vernacular middle schools, so that pupils could proceed either to rural pursuits or to industrial and commercial careers at the end of the middle school stage. The Committee appreciated the improvement in the training of secondary teachers, but it also pointed out that much had yet to be done to improve their pay and service conditions if the most qualified persons were to be attracted to the profession.

The Hartog Committee appreciated the improvements made in the methods of teaching and the amount of original work produced in the universities and colleges, but it expressed disappointment at the still large acceptance in India of the theory that universities existed mainly, if not solely, to pass students through examination. It wished "...that there were more signs that the universities regarded the training of broad-minded,

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8 Ibid., p. 105.
tolerant and self-reliant citizens as one of their primary functions."\(^9\)

The Committee was of opinion that there was a definite lowering of university standards and that the universities were crowded with too many undeserving students as a result of indiscriminate admission. The Committee recommended that Honours courses must be offered in selected centres, that the library facilities must be improved, that corporate student life should be improved and that universities must undertake extension work like rural uplift and social service.\(^10\)

The Hartog Committee was very critical of the devolution of power to local bodies over education, especially primary education, without any proper control by the ministers. In the opinion of the committee the lack of effective control resulted in enormous waste. The Committee said:

... Under recent legislation, powers have been devolved on local bodies in such a way that the Ministers responsible to the legislature have no effective control of the expenditure of money voted for mass education; and in some cases, owing to inadequate inspection, they have little information as to the results of that expenditure. It is clear that the new factor of ministerial responsibility has not been taken sufficiently into account.\(^11\)

Ten years after the publication of this Report, speaking at the University of London Institute of Education, the Chairman of the Committee, Sir Philip Hartog, pointed out the same reason for the 'disappointing result! He called the policy of devolution without proper control undemocratic.\(^12\)

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\(^9\) Ibid., p. 346.

\(^10\) Ibid., pp. 131-44.

\(^11\) Ibid., p. 346.

The Hartog Committee did not forget the education of women. It found out that there existed a great disparity between the progress of education of boys and girls, most particularly in rural areas. It pointed out that education should not be the privilege of one sex and that "...neither one sex nor the other can advance by itself without a strain on the social and national system and injury to itself." It recommended that it was time to redress the balance and that in the interest of the advance of Indian education as a whole priority should be given to the claims of girls' education in every scheme of expansion.

Interestingly, Philip Hartog called the relatively small proportion of literate mothers (in other words the greater proportion of illiteracy of Indian women) the third indirect reason, besides the direct reasons of wastage and stagnation, for the disappointing result of the progress of education in spite of the enthusiasm and expenditure.

The tone of the Hartog Report, in general, was one of condemnation of the policy of expansion adopted by the Indian ministers. The Report was very well received among the official circles as it supported their point of view, namely quality rather than quantity. The Indian ministers did not oppose qualitative reforms, but the reforms they asked for were different from that of the Government. They wanted an educational system that would suit national aspirations and that would be free from the imitation of Western models and English domination.

13 The Hartog Committee Report, p. 133.

14 Hartog, Studies and Reports, p. 34.
The spirit of the rapid expansion of education was to take it to
the roots of the Indian society. But the further progress of primary
education was arrested considerably because of the criticism of the Report
that rapid expansion had resulted in enormous waste. And so the period
was dominated by the policy of qualitative reforms at the expense of quanti-
tative expansion and the nationalistic views continued to oppose it until
1935, when provincial autonomy put an end to it.

WOOD-ABBOT REPORT:

The Government of India Act of 1935 opened a new chapter in the
history of India education. Under provincial autonomy education came
under the complete control of the ministers.

The Central Advisory Board of Education (C.A.B.E.), which was
revived in 1935 at the suggestion of the Hartog Committee, held its first
meeting in December, 1935 to consider the question of reconstructing the
educational system and passed some resolutions. Vocational education was
prominently considered by the C.A.B.E. which expressed the opinion that
expert advice was necessary on the scheme of vocational education before
secondary education could be reconstructed. So, the Government of India
invited Mr. A. Abbot, formerly Chief Inspector of Technical Schools, Board
of Education, England, and Mr. S.H. Wood, Director of Intelligence, Board
of Education, England, to study the scheme of vocational education and make
necessary suggestions. They came to India during the winter of 1936-37
and submitted their report in June 1937. As they considered that general
and vocational education were two phases of a continuous process, they
divided their report into two parts, namely (1) General education and
Administration by Mr. S.H. Wood, and (2) Vocational education by Mr. A. Abbot.

In the first part the Wood-Abbot report made some observations regarding primary and secondary education. It recommended that infant classes should be entrusted to trained teachers, and that education in the primary school should be based on the natural interests of the young children and less on textbooks, and that curriculum in the rural middle schools should be more realistic and related more to the child's environment. The most important of the recommendations of the first part was that the mother tongue should be, as far as possible, the medium in secondary schools and that English should be taught as a compulsory subject. The report also spoke about the desirability of teaching fine arts in schools. 15

In the second part, some valuable suggestions were made regarding vocational education. The report recommended that the expansion of vocational education should not outstrip the development of Indian industry; that vocational education should not be considered as being on a lower plane than literary education and that general and vocational education should be considered two phases of a continuous process. The report advised the opening of two types of vocational schools: (1) the Junior Vocational Schools, which would receive students at the end of class VIII and provide a three years course, and which would be parallel to the Higher Secondary School and would be held in the same repute, and (2) the Senior Vocational Schools, which would receive students at the end of class XI and provide a two years course, and which would be parallel to the Intermediate college. The report advised the desirability of opening Technical Schools for

part-time students who were already in employment, and of establishing vocational training colleges. 16

The Wood-Abbot Report received some attention because of the reputation of the members of the Committee. Some of the suggestions regarding general education and vocational education were very sound and practical. Many of the provincial Governments were planning to reorganize secondary education along the lines of Wood-Abbot Report, but before they could implement them the Second World War broke out and the schemes were dropped. Thus this Report remained an historical event, but, many of its suggestions were incorporated by the Sargent Report, in 1944, which was a comprehensive plan for the post-war educational development.

ZAKIR HUSAIN COMMITTEE REPORT ON BASIC EDUCATION:

In 1937, the Congress Ministry assumed office in seven provinces. They were committed to free, universal and compulsory primary education. That was to be done as early as possible. But the cost was enormous; and also they were faced with the shrinkage of revenue because of their commitment to total prohibition. This brought them to face a dilemma. Mass education was their dear cause and they decided to face the problem.

Mahatma Gandhi again gave leadership in education reform. He visualized a new educational scheme for India which would replace the 'de-Indianizing education' 17 given by an alien Government. He realized that the present system of education through English medium created a

16 Ibid.

permanent bar between the educated few and the uneducated majority and that it made Indians strangers in their own land. 13 And so he started publishing a series of articles in the Harijan, the weekly that he edited, about his educational ideas. He had experimented with some of those ideas with his own children and with the children of others on the Tolstoy Farm in South Africa. The idea of self-supporting education through a craft was something he had "...seen through the glasses darkly for the past forty years, and I have begun to see now quite clearly under the stress of circumstances." 19

His articles created some controversies among educators. Most particularly the self-supporting aspect of the new scheme caused a heated debate. So it was thought, therefore, to invite the educators to examine the new proposal on its own merits. In October 1937, the All India National Education Conference was summoned at Wardha under the presidency of Mahatma Gandhi to discuss his proposals on the new scheme of education.

The two day conference, in which many Ministers of Education participated, endorsed the proposals made by Mahatma Gandhi and passed four resolutions. 20 Thereafter a Committee was composed under the Chairmanship of Dr. Zakir Husain, Principal, Jamia Milia, Delhi, to formulate a scheme of basic education on the lines of the resolutions and to submit the report to the Chairman of the Conference within a month. The Committee submitted its report on the 2nd of December 1937. The report was discussed by the

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13 Ibid., p. 52.
19 Ibid., p. 7.
20 Ibid., p. 99.
Haripura Congress in 1938 and the new scheme was accepted by the Congress. It was adopted in several provinces. The scheme was known as the Wardha Scheme or the Basic Education.

The Husain Report detailed the Basic principles of the scheme in terms of the principles of education, psychology, and sociology. Economically the new educational scheme was expected to be self-sufficient. The Report discussed the objectives of the new scheme and made valuable suggestion on the important aspects of the scheme as the training of teachers, supervision and examination, and administration. A detailed syllabus for the craft of spinning and weaving was also included in the report. The Committee regretted that it could not make similar syllabi for the other crafts owing to the lack of time.

The main features of the scheme were: (1) a basic craft would serve as the centre of instruction. As Gandhi put it, "...it is not the teaching of some handicrafts side by side with so-called liberal education. I want that the whole education should be imparted through some handicraft or industry."; (2) the training of ideal citizens who would become increasingly democratic in the social, political, economic and cultural life of the country and "...who will look upon all kinds of useful work—including manual labour, even scavenging—as honourable." The new scheme aimed to inculcate in them the desire for self-improvement and social service in a cooperative community; (3) the new scheme of education was expected to be self-supporting even to the extent of covering teachers.

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21 Ibid., p. 295.
22 Ibid., p. 61.
23 Ibid., p. 123.
salaries and it also aimed at making the pupils self-supporting after the completion of their course; (4) It was also considered non-violent because it was free from exploitation;24 and (5) Education was made real and closely related to the child's life, namely his home and village, village crafts and occupations.

The new scheme of basic education consisted of a seven years' course and would cover all subjects up to the Matriculation standard minus English. The instruction would center around a craft which would be "...the vehicle for drawing out the minds of boys and girls in all departments of knowledge..."25 This new scheme would combine secondary with primary education and was primarily meant for the villages as India still lived in its villages.26 Mother-tongue would be the medium of instruction and every other subject would be taught in correlation with the basic craft. Apart from mother-tongue, the course included a variety of subjects like mathematics, social studies, General Science, Zoology, physiology, hygiene, physical culture, chemistry, drawing, music and others.

Instead of English, Hindustani would be taught as a compulsory language, which, it was hoped, would serve as the lingua franca of India. Hindustani, says the Report, was considered as "...the most important product of the cultural contact of the Hindus and Muslims in India."27

24 Ibid., pp. 65-66.
25 Ibid., p. 8.
26 Ibid., p. 60.
27 Ibid., p. 135. Hindustani is not the same as Hindi, which is becoming more and more Sanskritised. The language Gandhi had in mind was the simple "...Hindustani—a resultant of Hindi and Urdu, neither highly Sanskritised, nor highly Persianised or Arabianised." See M.K. Gandhi, Towards New Education, ed. Bharatpan Kumarappa (2d ed.: Ahmedabad, India: Navajivan Publishing House, 1956), p. 61.
The new scheme of Basic Education was based on the Gandhian philosophy of Education. Gandhi spoke and cared for the majority of Indians who lived in villages and who were much forgotten. He wanted to bring a revolution in education which would change the face of India. He wanted India to flourish in her own climate, scenery and in her own literature even though they might be inferior to the English. He said: "we and our children must build on our heritage. If we borrow another, we impoverish our own." Hence, through the new education he wanted to link the children to all that was best and lasting in India and to give them "...the whole education of the body and mind and soul through the handi/craft..."29

But, the new scheme also had its defects. It was criticized in many respects. The most severe attack was directed against its self-supporting aspect. Another important pedagogical difficulty, that was pointed out by many, was the correlation of other subjects to the craft. This difficulty of correlation was one of the reasons why this scheme had largely failed. The other reasons were the half-hearted implementation of the scheme, the almost universal adoption of spinning and weaving as the basic craft without considering the suitability of it to the local conditions, and the too much importance given to the craft at the expense of teaching the other subjects. But, nevertheless, it brought a new era in the history of Indian education. It brought to light the many defects of the existing system.

28 Ibid., p. 104.
SARGENT REPORT AND "REORGANIZING OF EDUCATION IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY":

SARGENT REPORT:

The question of educational reconstruction engaged the attention of the Central Advisory Board of Education (C.A.B.E.) ever since its revival in 1935, and it appointed many Committees, from time to time, to critically examine the many aspects of education. It pieced together the various reports of the Committees to develop a national plan for educational development.

The efforts of the C.A.B.E. got further encouragement from official circles. In 1944, in England, Butlers' White Paper on post-war expansion of the British system of Education was being acted upon. The Indian Government contemplated similar plans and all provincial Governments were required to prepare plans for post-war educational development. And, as part of the scheme, the C.A.B.E. was also asked to prepare a comprehensive plan and submit it to the Executive Council of the Viceroy. Accordingly, the C.A.B.E. submitted a detailed Report on Post-War Educational Development in India, in January, 1944. It was the first comprehensive scheme of national education. The name of John Sargent was closely associated with it. He was the Educational Advisor to the Government of India and also was an ex officio member of the Board. And so it was often referred to as the "Sargent Report" or "Sargent Plan".

"REORGANISING OF EDUCATION IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY":

The Report of the Special Committee appointed by the syndicate of Madras University to examine problems of Post-War Educational Reconstruction, with special reference to the Madras Presidency, was published under title
of "Reorganising of Education in Madras Presidency". This Special Committee was appointed on the 22nd of March 1944, under the Chairmanship of A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of Madras University. The Committee examined the Sargent Report, which was referred to the University by the Government of India, with special reference to the conditions in the Presidency and submitted its report on the 4th of July, 1945. It was a thorough study of the problems of school, collegiate, technical and professional education in Madras Presidency and its recommendations had profound influence on the future course of education in Tamil Nadu. This report could be called as "the Mudaliar Report".

These two Reports, being plans of post-war educational development, agree in many of the major recommendations and disagree in quite a few. It would be beneficial if the two Reports are studied together and are compared and contrasted.

**BASIC EDUCATION:**

The Sargent Report recommended a system of universal, compulsory and free education for all boys and girls between the ages of six and fourteen. It visualized that it might be possible to complete it in forty years.\(^{30}\) The Report accepted the conclusions of the Board's two Committee on Basic Education. According to the Second Kher Committee,\(^ {31}\) Basic Education had to be divided into the Junior (Primary) Basic and the Senior (Middle) Basic stages. The first stage, covering a period of five years (6-11) would be


\(^{31}\)Ibid., p. 13.
compulsory for all and the second stage, covering a period of three years (11-14) would be meant for the majority of future citizens who would terminate their education at this stage. Children who finished their Junior Basic stage would be transferred to High Schools. The Report also recommended that provision should be made for the transfer from Senior Basic schools to High Schools of children who showed signs of late development.32

The Mudaliar Report recommended that education for eight years should be compulsory provided for all children between the ages of five to six and thirteen to fourteen. It was of opinion that children should be admitted to school at the age of five or five plus.33 It favoured only two types of schools in future, Primary Schools and Secondary Schools. It opposed the establishment of separate Senior Basic Schools. It also recommended the closing down of Higher Elementary Schools, which existed as separate schools between Primary and High Schools in Madras Presidency. The first three years of secondary schools should be the stage for Middle School Education and the second three years for High School Education. The end of Middle School should be the clearing house for diversification either to High Schools or to Trade Schools.

The Mudaliar Report said that the provision of compulsory education should be the duty of the State and that the State should definitely accept


the direct responsibility for the efficiency and sufficiency of primary education, whatever might be its agency.\textsuperscript{34}

**PRE-PRIMARY EDUCATION - NURSERY SCHOOLS:**

Both the Sargent Report and the Mudaliar Report agreed on the necessity of nursery schools in view of the growing number of working mothers, especially in urban and industrial areas. The Sargent Report recommended that the age of children for nursery schools should be between three and six, but the Mudaliar Report recommended that it should be between two and five plus. The aim of nursery education should be the provision of social experience rather than formal instruction.

**HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION:**

High School or Secondary education should extend over a period of six years, the first three years being Middle School stage and the second three years being High School stage. High School should be of two types: (1) Academic High School and (2) Technical High Schools, the former generally preparing students for University education, and the later preparing for Polytechnics or Technical Schools. The mother tongue should be medium of instruction in all high schools and English should be a compulsory second language. Both the Sargent Report and the Mudaliar Report agreed on these recommendations.

The Mudaliar Report chose to call the Academic High Schools as Preparatory High Schools "...because the expression 'academic' generally conveys the impression that technical schools are inferior in standard..."\textsuperscript{35}

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\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., p. 9.

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., p. 17.
And it also disagreed with the mode of admission to High Schools suggested by the Sargent Report. It did not want any public or selection examination to enable a student to gain admission from the Primary or the Middle School to the secondary school. The admission should be based on the school records. 36

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION:

The Sargent Report deplored the over-crowding of the Universities and their failure to satisfy the requirements of a national system of education. In order to raise the standard, it advised that the admission of selected students to universities be at the minimum rate of one in fifteen of the matriculates. It recommended the abolition of the intermediate course and the transfer of the first year of that course to High Schools and the second to universities, so that the minimum length of University degree course would be three years. For the purpose of coordinating the activities of the Universities in India, it recommended the constitution of an Indian University Grants Committee as in Great Britain. 37

The Mudaliar Committee observed that the over-crowding of the universities was caused by the absence of other educational forms at the High School stage and later. The system of recruitment to Government service and the lack of opportunities for young men in industries, trade and commerce and other avocations were also responsible for this situation. And so it advised the Government to shoulder the responsibility for providing such openings for young men to avoid the overcrowding of undeserving

36 Ibid., p. 16.
37 The Sargent Report, p. 35.
students in the Universities. It did not favor the abolition of Intermediate Course and the three year degree course in the Universities.

TECHNICAL COMMERCIAL AND ART EDUCATION:

The Sargent Report concluded that Technical, commercial and Art Education should be geared to meet the needs of industry and commerce and to provide suitable education for those who would greatly benefit from practical courses. The type, amount and location of such institutions would be determined by the above mentioned considerations. Besides the University Technological Departments which would provide facilities for research, the Report recommended three types of Technical institutions to cater to the needs of the country: (1) Junior Technical or Industrial or Trade Schools, which would provide a two-year full time course after Senior Basic or Middle School Stage; (2) Technical High Schools, which would provide a six-year full time course after Junior Basic or Primary stage; (3) Senior Technical Institutions, which would provide part-time courses for those who were employed. The duration of such part-time courses would be decided according to the needs of the locality and in consultation with the employees.

The Sargent Report recommended that Technical High Schools, and Junior Technical Trade or Industrial schools should be under the Education Department of Provincial Governments, and that all other form of higher technical stages, besides the Technological Departments of the University, should be under the control of a Central Body.

The Mudaliar Report agreed on the recommendations of the Sargent Report and welcomed the suggestion of the constitution of the Central

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38 The Mudaliar Report, pp. 32-35 and 103-104.
39 The Sargent Report, pp. 45-47.
Technological Education Board provided it was free from the direct control of the Central Government, and provided Provincial Technical or Technological Boards were also set up to exercise due supervision over the higher higher Technical Institutions in regard to their staff, equipment, courses of study, etc., on the lines on which universities were expected to exercise due supervision over their constituent and affiliated colleges.

ADULT EDUCATION:

Regarding Adult Education, the Sargent Report recommended that:

"Literacy is a means not an end in itself. Although the main emphasis in the beginning may be placed on the liquidation of illiteracy, adult education in the full sense must be provided for those already literate. The amount of this should progressively increase as illiteracy disappears."  

The Sargent Report said that the responsibility for adult education must rest with the State.

The Mudaliar Report observed that short-term courses should be offered to prospective teachers for Adult literacy campaign; that evening schools should be opened in rural and urban areas for adult education; and that all means—lectures, printed materials, charts, films, radio, exhibitions, etc.—should be used in this campaign.

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS:

The Sargent Report concluded that the existing teacher training institution were inadequate to meet the needs of post-war educational expansion and urged the establishment of new training schools and colleges. It estimated that over 2,000,000 non-graduate teachers and 180,000 graduate

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41 The Sargent Report, p. 58.
teachers would be needed for the implementation of the new scheme. 42 Both the Sargent Report and the Mudaliar Report urged the improvement of the pay and service conditions of the teachers, and the necessity of providing stipends and other assistance to student-teachers to attract the most able persons to the teaching profession. The Mudaliar Committee endorsed the scales and salaries for teachers suggested by the Sargent Report.

OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS:

The Sargent Report recommended: (1) That an efficient medical care and physical education should be an essential part of education; (2) that special schools must be maintained for the mentally and physically handicapped children and that they should be administered by the Education Departments; (3) that provision must be made for recreative and social activities of the students and that a Youth Movement on an All-India basis should be set up for that purpose and (4) that employment bureaus must be created as an essential part of educational administration.

Regarding educational administration, the Sargent Report recommended that there should be a strong Education Department at the Centre and that the Provinces should remain the main units for educational administration except in regard to University and higher Technical education, the activities of which would be coordinated on an All-India Basis. It advised the Provincial Governments to resume all educational powers from local bodies, except where those were efficiently functioning. 43

42 The Sargent Report, p. 64.
43 The Sargent Report, pp. 94-95.
The Mudaliar Report recommended a good plan of educational administration. In every Province, there should be a Minister of Education whose duty was to promote education in general and to progressively develop institutions and execute schemes under his direction and supervision. For the more coordinated development of education, it advised the creation of a Council of Ministers which would consist of the Ministers of Education, Finance, Health and Industries under the Ministry of Education, and of a Department of Public Education which would embrace all forms of education. The head of the Department would be the Director of Public Education and he would be assisted by other Deputy Directors who would be incharge of different branches of education and also for different zones in the Province. It recommended the creation of a Directorate of Technical Studies under the Director of Technical Education for the organisation and supervision of Technical studies. The Directorate of Technical Education would work in cooperation with the Department of Public Education and with the All-India Technical Board. \(^4^4\)

**CRITICISM OF THE SARGENT REPORT AND THE MUDALIAR REPORT:**

The Sargent Report was the most comprehensive plan of national education ever drawn up for India. It diagnosed every problem of education in India and suggested solutions. That was why it drew greater appreciation and notice. But the enormous cost of its implementation and its use of English education as the model to follow brought a great deal of comment. Though the plan was comprehensive, it was considered very ambitious and long range and, so it was not accepted as a practical proposition of immediate implementation by the leaders of free India. Nevertheless, it remained a
plan of great significance and a source of informations and guide lines for
the progressive planning of education in India.

The Mudalier Report considered the various problems of education in
Madras Presidency and proposed a plan for post-war educational reconstruc-
tion in that Province. It expressed its opinions and views on the sugges-
tions of the Sargent Plan. It made many innovations and offered a great
many suggestions to improve upon the scheme of Post-War Educational Development from the point of view of Provincial requirements. The two Reports
were accepted in principle by the Central and Provincial Governments, which
were involved in less ambitious plans for implementation after Independence.

4. THE PROGRESS OF EDUCATION (1921-1947)

UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGIATE EDUCATION:

On the basis of the proposals submitted by the Syndicate for the
reconstitution of the Madras University on the lines of the Calcutta University Commission, the Madras Government introduced a new Madras University
Bill in the Provincial Legislative which was passed into an Act in 1923.
This new Act VII of 1923 attempted to combine the functions of a teaching
and residential University with those of an affiliating University by pro-
viding for a teaching University with the constituent colleges of the Madras
city and the retention of the powers of affiliation, inspection and control
of other colleges by the University. The Act also provided for the appoint-
ment of a full-time paid Vice-Chancellor, the creation of an enlarged Senate
with an elective majority, the establishment of an Academic Council and a
Council of Affiliated Colleges. The Act also conferred on the University
a large measure of autonomy.
As for the suggestion of the Academic Council, an Institute of Advanced Oriental Studies and Research was established in 1927. It had three sections: Dravidian, Sanskrit and Islamic. The Government of Madras came forward to support the Dravidian section. 

Between 1927 and 1947 several new branches of study were opened in the University. Besides the existing departments of Zoology, Botany, Bio-chemistry and Mathematics, the departments of Statistics, Indian Music, Geography, Anthropology, Politics and Public Administration, Technology and Psychology were created. In addition to these departments, Diploma Courses in French, German and Journalism were started by the University. The Government of Madras helped the University with liberal grants.

During this period of twenty five years three Universities were established in the Madras Presidency. They were the Andhra University (1926) and the Annamalai University (1929) and the Travancore University (1937). The Annamalai University was mainly meant for the Tamil districts and it grew out of Sri. Minakshi College, Chidambaram. It owes its existence to the great philanthropy of Raja Sir. S.R.M. Annamalai Chettiar, who was its Founder and Pro-Chancellor. It is a teaching and residential University with a beautiful campus at Annamalai Nagar, Chidambaram, surrounded by the shaddy groves and paddy fields.

Annamalai University gave special attention to Tamil research. It started a great program of publishing suitable text-books in Tamil with a

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view to adopt Tamil as the medium of instruction for the different subjects of study in the University. It offered cash prizes for suitable textbooks in Tamil and published such textbooks on Logic, Chemistry, Acoustics and Music.Had this great venture been continued Tamil would have flourished and occupied the seats of higher learning, and Annamalai would have been a great Tamil University.

There were forty four Arts Colleges in 1926 with a student population of 12,258 including 438 women. The Madras University tried to keep a vigilant supervision over the affiliated colleges. It appointed Inspection Commissions in 1923, 1934 and 1946. The affiliated Colleges also took part in the deliberation of the University bodies through their representatives.

The Lindsay Commission on Christian Higher Education in India, brought some changes in Christian Colleges in South India. As a result of its recommendations the Findlay College, Mannarkudi, Bishop Haber College, Tiruchirapalli, and Wesley College, Madras, were closed between 1931 and 1936. The Meston training college was established in the premises of the Wesley College in 1931. In 1947 there were eighty two Arts and Science Colleges in the Madras Presidency.


48 Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), pp. 234-307. This Commission was appointed by the International Missionary Council at its meeting at Williams-town, Massachusetts, in July 1921, under the Chairmanship of A.D. Lindsay, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, to review the whole of Christian higher education in India and recommend ways to make it more effective.
Inter-Collegiate and Inter-University activities were encouraged and the universities paid special attention in the provision of suitable hostels in the colleges through which the corporate life of the students could be promoted. Physical education attained its proper position as an essential branch of education. The Y.M.U.A. College of Physical Education, Madras, which was established in 1920, did great service in the training of Physical Directors and Instructors for the various colleges and schools. The University Training Corps (U.T.C.) was set up since 1920 and in 1942 its designation was changed to University Officers Training Corps (U.O.T.C.).

SECONDARY EDUCATION:

There was considerable expansion of secondary education during this period. It was due to the great awakening for education among the people. The number of secondary schools for boys increased from 478 in 1921-22 to 528 in 1926-27 and to 645 in 1947-48. The student population increased from 162,955 in 1926-27 to 383,946 in 1947-48.

The purely literary character of the secondary education, which led students only to the portals of Universities, was widely discussed ever since the publication of the Calcutta University Commission. The Madras Government was contemplating the reorganization of secondary education. It was planning for the bifurcation of secondary school courses into literary and vocational courses at the end of the middle school stage. The need for reorganization was further pointed out by the various Committees of the Madras Government and also by the Hartog Committee. But it was not able to reorganize the system until after independence. 49

The Government agreed to introduce the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction at the secondary schools in 1925. But still there were great majority of schools with English medium. One result the Government hoped to get out of vernacular medium was that "...so long as the Universities retain English as the medium of instruction and examination, fewer students will look to the University to complete their qualifications for entering on a career." 50

The Madras Government reorganized the inspecting agency in 1922. The Circle Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors were replaced by District Educational Officers, and Sub-Assistant Inspectors and Supervisors of Schools by Deputy Inspectors and Junior Deputy Inspectors of Schools. 51

In 1923 the District Secondary Education Boards were created to function in purely advisory character and their opinions were sought on questions concerning secondary education. 52

When the Congress Ministry came to power in 1937, Hindi was introduced as one of the second languages for the higher forms and in 1938 it was made compulsory for all the lower forms (I, II, III) of secondary schools. This action created a great uproar among the people of Tamil Nadu, and that was the beginning of opposition to the imposition of Hindi. Since then the language problem remains a bane of the educational system in Tamil Nadu.

51 Ibid., p. 2.
52 Ibid., p. 5.
ELEMENTARY EDUCATION:

The expansion of elementary education under the diarchy was unprecedented in the history of elementary education in India. The Madras Elementary Education Act was passed in 1920. Under this Act provision was made to create in each district a District Educational Council, functioning as an independent ad hoc body with powers to prepare schemes for the extension of elementary education, to recognize all elementary schools and to distribute grants-in-aid to aided schools. The Act also provided for the introduction of compulsory education and for the levy of a local education tax in approved local areas. In the same year the Municipalities and Local Boards Acts were passed. According to these Acts, elementary education came under the purview of taluk boards and municipalities and private agencies. It was the intention of the Government to ultimately transfer all the elementary schools to local bodies. 53

Between 1920 and 1926, compulsory education was introduced in twenty one municipal areas, and in portions of three taluk board areas, and twenty eight municipalities and one hundred and three taluk boards levied education tax. 54 After an educational survey in 1924, the Government initiated a policy of gradually providing schools for all school-less centres with a population of 500 and above. 55 As a result of this policy, large number single-teacher schools were opened in school-less places. Because of this great expansion there were 90,121 elementary schools for boys with a student

55 Ibid., pp. 2-3 and 76-77.
strength of 2,295,256 in 1930-31 as against 336,624 schools with a student population of 1,371,779 in 1920-21.  

But the expansion was slowed down from 1931 and the decade between 1937 and 1947 witnessed a decline in number of schools. The reasons for the decline of expansion were the world-wide economic depression and the effect of Hartog Committee report. As a result of the recommendations of the Hartog Committee, the Government adopted a policy of consolidation rather than expansion and many of the "...inefficient, uneconomic and superfluous schools..." were eliminated. The number of schools declined to 41,128 in 1936-37 and 32,742 in 1947-48.

Basic Education was introduced in 1938 in the Madras Presidency by the Congress ministry. A Basic Training School was opened at Coimbatore in 1939-40 to train teachers for Tamil Nadu, but the resignation of the Congress ministry affected the development of the scheme of basic education. However, it received a new impetus after the Congress returned to power in 1946.

WOMEN'S EDUCATION:

There was a better climate for the expansion of women's education during this period, due to the social change that resulted from their fight for emancipation through various women's organizations such as the Women's India Association founded in 1917 under the impetus of Dr. Annie Besant and the National Council of Women established in 1925. Gandhi's national movement attracted scores of women into the movement. In Tamil Nadu,

57 Ibid.
poet Bharati's revolutionary songs on the emancipation and education of women set forth a change in the attitude of society towards women's education. And so, this period witnessed a rapid growth in women's education. In 1937 there were seven Arts Colleges for women, two professional colleges, seventy high schools, forty-six middle schools and 4,812 primary schools for women and 415,376 students were studying these institutions. 

**TEACHERS EDUCATION:**

Teacher education received special attention as the need for trained teachers in schools had greatly increased. Besides the Teachers' College at Saidapet, Madras, where women students also were trained, two more training colleges for women were established. They were the Lady Wellington Training College (1923) and the St. Christopher's Training College (1924) both at Madras. It was reported that valuable experiments were carried on in the Lady Wellington Training College in new methods of teaching, intelligence testing, in psychology and in teaching contents.

For the training of teachers of all grades there were seventy two training schools for men with 9,940 students and sixty five training schools for women with 3,476 students in 1937. The Sri Minakshi Oriental Training College, Chidambaram, was started in 1925 for the training of Tamil language teachers and it was incorporated with Annamalai University in 1932. The number of teacher training schools for men and women rose respectively to seventy six and eight eight in 1947-48.

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58 Ibid., p. 159.
60 Education in India, 1948-49, p. 134.
PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION:

The Law College at Madras continued to be the only college for legal education. Medical education was provided in the Madras College and in the Medical Schools at Madurai, Tanjore and Coimbatore in 1924. The long-felt want of separate Medical School for women was fulfilled by the establishment of the Lady Wellingdon Medical School for women at Madras in 1923. In all these schools, these were 958 students.

Besides the existing trade schools, the Government started a Textile Institute at Madras in 1922. The recognized industrial schools rose to sixty in 1927 and seventy five in 1937.

The Guindy Engineering College (1877), the Agricultural College, Coimbatore (1920), the Madras Veterinary College, Madras (1936) and the Forest College, Coimbatore were the other colleges that continued to provide professional education in Tamil Nadu.

EDUCATION OF BACKWARD CLASSES:

The education of depressed classes continued to get the special attention of the Government. With the National Movement, the removal of untouchability and the educational and social advancement of the "untouchables" and other backward classes became entwined goals to be achieved along with political liberation. The cause of education of depressed classes was championed by Mahatma Gandhi and by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, who became the unquestioned leader of the low castes.

The Labour Department continued to encourage the education of depressed classes by opening special schools and hostels, by providing
remission of fees and scholarships and by providing special facilities for the training of depressed class teachers. This policy of separate schools for the children of depressed classes was criticised by the Hartog Committee as it felt that "the system separate schools tends necessarily to emphasize rather than to reduce the differences between the depressed classes and the other Hindu castes."\(^{61}\) And so it advised the policy of mixed schools.

As a result of this recommendation the Labour department deemphasised the separate school policy and opened separate schools only in places where owing to caste prejudice the existing schools were unaccessible to children of depressed classes or in places where there were no schools whatsoever.\(^{62}\) In 1947-48 there were 4,48,311 depressed class children were studying in all kinds of schools and colleges in the Madras Presidency.\(^{63}\)

Special schools were maintained for the education of the backward classes like Kallars and Koravars and others. The children of the aboriginal hill tribes such as the Malayalis of North Arcot, Trichirapalli, and Salem districts, the Kanias of Tinneveli district and the Pulavars of Madurai district continued to have their education in special schools maintained for them by the Government, local bodies, missions and the other charitable organizations.\(^{64}\)

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\(^{61}\) The Hartog Committee Report, p. 226.


\(^{63}\) Education in India, 1947-48, p. 192.

CONCLUSION:

The twenty five years of educational administration by the Indian ministers under the British rule resulted in some real progress, particularly in the field of primary education. The progress of education under the diarchical rule was slowed down in the last decade of the British rule. That was due to the depression and the Second World War. The National movement for independence also had its repercussions on education. Despite of all these obstacles there was a growing demand for education among the people. The privilege and the benefits of education began to reach the under-privileged and the downtrodden. The fight for political freedom was ending and the fight for freedom from ignorance, hunger and social evils was beginning.

British rule came to end and India got independence on 15th of August, 1947. Education under British rule was criticised for its failure to evolve a national system of education suited to the genius of the Indian people and for the inadequate aims and the absence of plans. The educational policies of the British were mere echoes of the educational movements in England. There are contributions of British educational administration. Modern India owes to British rule the English language which has opened a world of knowledge to Indians, the freeing of Indian mind from the old ideas and her scientific and technological development.

With the attainment of freedom Free India began the process of trying to replace—to use the analogies of Arthur I. Mayhew—65 the building-like system of education created by the alien Government by the tree-like system of education, which has its roots on the soil.

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CHAPTER IX

EDUCATION AFTER INDEPENDENCE.

INTRODUCTION:

India became independent on August 15, 1947 and a Republic on January 26, 1950. The Madras Presidency of British India became Madras State of Free India. The Congress Party, in its Nagpur Session of 1920, formally accepted the principle of linguistic redistribution of provinces as a clear political objective, and it promised in its election manifesto of 1945-46 to reorganize the States as soon as it came to power. Accordingly, the States were reorganized on a linguistic and cultural basis in 1954. Out of the former Madras Presidency the State of Madras, Andhra Pradesh, Mysore and Kerala were created. The Tamil speaking districts remained in Madras State. After struggle, the aspiration of Tamil people was achieved and Madras State was renamed Tamil Nadu on January 14, 1969.

Tamil Nadu made significant progress in all fields after independence. The Dravidian progressive movements affected great social and political changes. The democratic process placed in the hands of Tamilians their political future. The fifties and the sixties were significant in this process of political evolution. It was a great period of renaissance in Tamil Nadu; and Tamilians look back to their ancient culture and civilization which were mutilated by alien culture and political domination for centuries. Tamil, the only modern Indian language with a classical past, became the official language of Tamil Nadu.

Education made new advance after independence. The fruits of education was extended significantly to the much neglected villagers and to
the downtrodden classes of the Tamil people. Schools were opened in villages, and all sorts of aids were provided for the education of the children of the backward classes who were denied education for many centuries. For the first time the poor villager has begun to feel that he is part of the great movement to build up his nation. But yet much has to be done. The existing educational system still fails to satisfy the needs and aspirations of the people. Moreover, the tremendous expansion of education after independence resulted in the fall of quality and also brought many other new problems. Besides these problems, the language problem looms largely over the entire educational system and still remains unsolved. All these problems have drawn the attention of educators who are still struggling to solve them. In spite of all these, one can safely say that Tamil Nadu had made greater strides after independence than before.

The educational history of Tamil Nadu after independence can be studied under the following headings:

1. Educational Documents.
2. The Language Problem.
4. Conclusion.

1. EDUCATIONAL DOCUMENTS

Many reports and other educational documents were published after independence. The chief among them were the Report of the University Education Commission (1948-49); the Report of the Secondary Education Commission (1952-53) and the Report of the Education Commission (1964-66).
UNIVERSITY EDUCATION COMMISSION (1943-49):

The University Education Commission or the Radhakrishnan Commission was appointed by the Government of India in 1943 "to report on Indian University Education and suggest improvements and extensions that may be desirable to suit present and future requirements of the country." The Commission visited various University centres in the country and submitted its Report in August, 1949.

The Radhakrishnan Commission reviewed the system of university education in India and recommended ways to improve the system to suit the conditions and aspirations of independent India. The Radhakrishnan Commission said that the aims of university education must be the building up of a democratic society based on justice, liberty, equality and fraternity. The Commission observed that:

If we claim to be civilized, we must develop thought for the poor and the suffering, chivalrous regard and respect for women, faith in human brotherhood regardless of race or colour, nation or religion, love of peace and freedom, abhorrence of cruelty and ceaseless devotion to the claims of justice.

The Universities, the Commission said, must provide leadership not only in politics and administration but also in various other professions, industry and commerce. They should meet the increasing demands for higher education in literary, scientific and professional fields.

The Radhakrishnan Commission stressed the need for and suggested the desirability of giving agricultural education "...in rural setting, so


2. Ibid., p. 66.
that it shall include direct participation in and experience with agricultural life and practice." To put hope and courage in the hearts of the millions of Indian villagers, who were soaked in hopelessness and futility and everpresent poverty, the Commission suggested the establishment of rural universities, which would provide the villagers higher education:

Faith, hope, good will and courage are themselves among the most powerful causes of events. For education to arouse these qualities in the people be a greater gift, and greater factor in national destiny, than would the discovery of vast oil fields or sources of atomic power.

The Radhakrishnan Commission made recommendations to improve the conditions of the University teachers. The causes of decline in university standard were found to be the defective teaching in secondary schools and over-emphasis on examinations. It called secondary education the real weak spot in the entire educational machinery and recommended radical reform.

No other problem had caused greater controversy among educators than the language problem. The Radhakrishnan Commission discussed in detail the numerous dialects of Hindi that could serve as the Federal language, and concluded that it had to be the Western Hindi, (which is commonly identified now as the dialect of Khari Boli, and which is of a century old and spoken around Delhi) and recommended the many ways that it could be developed to become the Federal language:

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3 Ibid., p. 204.
4 Ibid., p. 590.
5 Ibid., p. 37.
6 Ibid., p. 91.
7 Ibid., p. 305.
When Hindi assimilates terms in popular usage and adopts scientific and technical terms which are used internationally, it will grow richer and fuller than it is today and will not be distinguishable from Hindustani. It is such a development that we envisage for Hindi, if it is to become the Federal language.\(^8\)

The Radhakrishnan Commission which was aware of the superiority of the other regional languages over Hindi discarded the suggestion that the Federal language, which had yet to be developed, should replace English. Therefore it recommended that English should be recognized as the medium of higher education all over India and as the language through which all administrative work should be transacted. The Commission observed that Hindi did not have that natural ascendancy over other regional languages:

Hindi is the language of the minority, although a large minority. Unfortunately it does not possess any advantages — literary or historical, over the other modern Indian languages. Tamil, for instance, is hallowed with age and possesses a literature which vies with that in Sanskrit.\(^9\)

So the Commission recommended that Hindi, as the Federal language, could be used for Federal activities: cultural, educational and administrative. It recommended that the Federal language could be used as the medium of instruction in regions where it was not the mother-tongue to students. It also stressed that every student would have to know three languages — the regional language, Hindi and English.

The recommendations of the Radhakrishnan Commission regarding Hindi drew criticisms from many educators. The Syndicate of the University of Madras, for instance, criticised the Commission’s recommendation of the use of the Federal language as the medium of instruction in regions where it was not the spoken language. The Syndicate observed that:

\(^8\)Ibid., p. 319.
\(^9\)Ibid., p. 321.
In such places, this Federal language will have all the disadvantages of a medium of instruction which is not the mother-tongue of the students and the people. For educational purposes, it is a "foreign" tongue, and as the Commission rightly says "it is educationally unsound to make a foreign tongue the means of acquiring knowledge." 10

The Syndicate pointed out the fallacy of the arguments against English as foreign language, and observed that the same could be used against Hindi for its claims to replace English.

Many of the Radhakrishnan Commission’s recommendations which were incorporated by the Universities brought many desirable changes in the University life which were conducive to the national aspirations of Free India. To coordinate the activities of the Universities, the University Grants Commission was constituted as recommended by the Commission.

THE SECONDARY EDUCATION COMMISSION (1952-53)

The Secondary Education, the weakest link in the educational machinery, needed urgent reform. The Central Advisory Board of Education in 1948 and in 1951 recommended that a Commission be appointed to examine the prevailing system of Secondary Education and to suggest measures for its reorganization and improvement. As a result of these recommendations the Government of India appointed the Secondary Education Commission in September, 1952. The Chairman of the Commission was Dr. A. Lakshminarayana Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of Madras University. There were two foreign members in the Commission. They were John Christie, Principal, Jesus College, Oxford, England and Dr. Kenneth Rast Williams, Associate

The Commission, also known as the Mudaliar Commission, toured India, examined hundreds of witnesses, and submitted its report in June, 1953. The Commission analysed the defects of the existing system of Secondary Education and made several short-term and long-term recommendations for its regeneration and improvement.

The Mudaliar Commission identified the following defects of the existing system: (1) the education given in the schools was irrelevant to and isolated from life; (2) it is narrow and one-sided and fails to train the student's personality; (3) the dominance of English as the medium as well as a compulsory subject; (4) the methods of teaching generally failed to develop in the students either independence of thought or initiative in action; (5) the increase of class size considerably reduced student-teacher contact; and (6) the dead weight of examinations curbed initiatives by teachers and students. ¹¹

The Mudaliar Commission recommended a reorientation of objectives of secondary education to: (1) develop in the students those habits, attitudes and qualities of character which were essential for creative citizenship in a democratic society; (2) improve the students' productive efficiency which was essential for national economic growth; (3) cultivate the students' literary, artistic, and cultural interests for the fuller development of their personalities; and (4) train the students on the completion of

their secondary stage to assume leadership responsibility in the intermediate level.\textsuperscript{12}

The Mudaliar Commission recommended a new organizational pattern of secondary education: (1) Secondary education should commence after a four or five years period of primary of Junior Basic education and should include (a) the Middle or Senior Basic or Junior Secondary stage of three years, and (b) the Higher Secondary stage of four years; (2) During the transitional stage the Intermediate stage should be replaced by the Higher Secondary stage which should be of four year's duration, one-year of the present Intermediate being included in it; (3) As a consequence of the High Secondary Schools of four years duration, the first degree course of the University should be of three years' duration; (4) For those who pass out of the High School there should be provision of a one year Pre-University course; (5) Admission to professional colleges should be opened to those who completed the higher secondary course or the pre-university course; (6) Multi-purpose schools should be established wherever possible to cater to the needs of students with diverse aims, aptitudes and abilities; and (7) Large numbers of Technical schools should be established either separately for as part of the multi-purpose schools and should be located in close proximity to function in close cooperation with the appropriate industries.\textsuperscript{13}

The Mudaliar Commission recommended that the mother-tongue or the regional language should be medium of instruction in the secondary school stage. It favored the three language formula at the secondary stage. Besides the mother-tongue or the regional language, English and Hindi should be introduced at the end of the Junior Basic stage, subject to the principle

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid., pp. 22-29. \textsuperscript{13}Ibid., pp. 56-57.
that no two languages should be introduced in the same year.

The Mudaliar Commission recommended a new secondary school curriculum to replace the existing narrowly conceived, bookish and theoretical curriculum which was dominated by examinations:\textsuperscript{14} (1) At the Middle School stage the curriculum should include (a) Languages; (b) Social Studies; (c) General Science; (d) Mathematics; (e) Art and Music; (f) Craft and (g) Physical Education; (2) At the High School or Higher Secondary School stage diversified courses had to be introduced and these courses would include the following seven groups: (a) Humanities, (b) Sciences, (c) Technical subjects, (d) Commercial subjects, (e) Agricultural subjects, (f) Fine Arts, and (g) Home Sciences.; (3) Certain core subjects should be common to all students whatever the diversified courses of study they may take. These subjects should consist of (a) Languages, (b) General Science, (c) Social studies and (d) a craft.\textsuperscript{15}

The Mudaliar Commission recommended that the "activity" and "project" methods be assimilated in school practice so that teaching could shift from verbalism and memorization to learning through purposeful, concrete, and realistic learning situations. The Commission emphasized the need for guidance, counseling and physical education in the schools. It felt that there should be only one public examination at the secondary school course and that internal tests and schools records had to be used to evaluate the students' progress. It also recommended using numerical marking to evaluate and grade the student's work. The Commission recommended improving school libraries and inservice teachers training. It also insisted on improving the economic and social conditions of teachers.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{14}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 74. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{15}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 100. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{16}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 175-76.
Many of the recommendations of the Commission were incorporated into the successive five year plans and were implemented. This Commission met with the same fate of other Commissions in that many of its recommendations could not be effected because of limited financial resources and hence it was unable to make a great impact on Indian Secondary education. As a result, Secondary Education remained as bookish and stereotyped as ever. Moreover it encountered new problems as result of the tremendous expansion after independence.

**THE EDUCATION COMMISSION OR THE KOTHARI COMMISSION (1964-66):**

The Government of India appointed the Education Commission by a Resolution in July 1964 to advise on the national educational pattern and on the general principles and policies for educational development at all stages and in all aspects, except that legal and medical education were excluded from the purview of the Commission.

Dr. D.S. Kothari, Chairman of University Grants Commission, was appointed as the Chairman of the Education Commission. Of the seventeen members of the Commission, six were from other countries. The Commission had the benefit of valuable consultations with a number of internationally known educators and scientists from such countries as the United States of America, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, France, Japan and Sweden. The Commission began its work on October 2, 1964 and submitted its report on June 29, 1966.

The Kothari Commission report was really an epoch-making event in the history of Indian education. It was unique, comprehensive and revolutionary. The Commission set up twelve Task Forces and seven working
groups to study the various aspects of education in India, and it went around the country, and interviewed thousands of witnesses to make the report. The Commission sent a team abroad for comparative studies.

The Kothari Commission report, entitled "Education and National Development", is divided into three parts: (1) General Problems; (2) Education at different stages and in different sectors; and (3) Implementation.

The first part of the Kothari Commission Report begins with these words that; "The destiny of India is now being shaped in her class rooms." and emphasizes the need for an educational revolution in all levels and in all sectors. It is education, in a world of science and technology, that determines the level of prosperity, welfare and security of the people. And education should be so reconstructed to realize the national objectives of raising the standard of living and to create a new social order based on human values of individual dignity, freedom, equality and justice.

The general program of educational reconstruction, proposed by the Kothari Commission, fall into the following three broad categories:

1. Internal transformation of the educational system so as to relate it to the life, needs and aspirations of the nation;

2. Qualitative improvement of education so that the standards achieved are adequate, keep continually rising and, at least in a few sectors, becomes internationally comparable; and

3. Expansion of educational facilities broadly on the basis of manpower

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needs and with an accent on equalization of educational opportunities.

The Kothari Commission observed that the transformation of the educational system was most urgent to make education a powerful instrument of social, economic and cultural change. This could be achieved if education,

1) is related to productivity; (2) strengthens social and national integration; consolidates democracy as a form of government and helps the country to adopt it as a way of life; (3) hastens the process of modernization; and

4) strives to build character by cultivating social, moral and spiritual values.\(^{18}\) The Commission emphasized, the importance of science education, work experience and vocationalizing of secondary education for the achievement of productivity; the common school system, compulsory social and national service for all students and the development of an appropriate language policy\(^ {19}\) for the achievement of social and national integration.

The Kothari Commission suggested a scheme for the reorganization of the educational structure and some broad programs for the improvement of standards. It recommended the increase of the duration of the higher secondary state to two years under a phased program which would begin in the fifth plan and be completed by 1985.\(^ {20}\) The Commission felt that intensive

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\(^{18}\)Ibid., p. 5.

\(^{19}\)The Commission proposed a modified three-language formula. According to this the students in classes I-IV will learn mother-tongue or the regional language, and in classes V-VII in addition to mother-tongue they will learn one more language compulsorily. That language will be the official language of the union (Hindi) or the associate official language of the union (English). In classes VIII-X the students will learn three language. One of the three languages will be the official language of the union or the associate official language of the union whichever was not taken up in classes V-VIII Report, p. 192.

\(^{20}\)Ibid., p. 35.
and continuous efforts were necessary to raise the economic, social and professional status of teachers and to feed back talented young persons into the profession. The Commission made recommendations for raising the status of teachers such as improvements in remuneration, retirement benefits, conditions of work and service, and prospects of professional advancement, and for the pre-service and in-service education of teachers.

The Kothari Commission felt that during the next twenty years the national enrollment policy and the output of the educational system should be related to manpower needs or employment opportunities. But at the same time, it realized the need for providing compensation to the backward classes since one of the important social objectives of education was to equalize opportunity, enabling the backward sections of the society to use education as a lever for improvement of their condition. To achieve this objective, the Commission made many valuable recommendations for the equalization of education such as free education, supply of books and writing materials, scholarships, education for handicapped children, reduction in regional imbalance in educational development, education of women and education of the backward classes, especially the hill tribes.

The second part of the Kothari Commission Report deals with special problems relating to the different stages and sectors of education. They are divided into: (1) the problems of school education; (2) the quantitative and qualitative problems of University education; (3) the problems of agricultural and technical education and the development of scientific research; and (4) the problems of adult education.

\[21\text{Ibid., p. 46.}\]
The Kothari Commission treated school education as one continuous unit. Although it might be subdivided into pre-primary, primary and secondary stages, the similarities of the problems of different stages are more significant than the differences and so school education has been treated as a single whole.\textsuperscript{22} The commission proposed a twenty year plan for the development of pre-primary education.\textsuperscript{23} On the necessity of expanding primary education, the Commission pointed out the constitutional directive which prescribed that the State should strive to provide free and compulsory educational for all children up to the age of fourteen years and suggested a strategy to achieve this great task.\textsuperscript{24} The Commission at the same time warned that the quality of education should not be sacrificed for quantity. The Commission felt that enrollment in secondary schools should be regulated during the next twenty years and that only the best students should be admitted and that secondary education should be vocationalized.

The Kothari Commission felt that the school curriculum needed a radical reform as the present curriculum "...places a premium on bookish knowledge and rote learning, makes inadequate provision for practical activities and experiences, and is dominated by examinations, external and internal."\textsuperscript{25} The curriculum, the Commission recommended, should be upgraded through research, and revised periodically. The schools should be given freedom, observed the Commission, to devise and experiment with new curricula suited to the needs. The methods of teaching and evaluation should

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{22}Ibid., p. 148.
\item \textsuperscript{23}Ibid., p. 149.
\item \textsuperscript{24}Ibid., p. 151.
\item \textsuperscript{25}Ibid., p. 184.
\end{itemize}
also be improved. The Commission observed that the main factors responsible for the dull and uninspiring school teaching today were the rigidity of the educational system and the failure of the administrative machinery to bring about a diffusion of new and dynamic methods of teaching. 26 The educational system should be so elastic and dynamic so that it could help to promote initiative, creativity and experimentation on the part of the teachers. 27 The Commission realized that a sympathetic and imaginative system of supervision and administration was essential for initiating and accelerating educational reforms. It recommended various measures to improve and strengthen school supervision and administration such as the creation of a common school system of public education, the reorganization of the State Education Department at the district level, the Institutes of Education, the State Boards of school Education, the State Evaluation Organizations and the role of the Central Government in improving the standards of school education. 28

The Kothari Commission observed that Indian Universities had to shoulder special responsibilities besides the normal functions expected of modern higher education. They must learn to strive to serve "as the conscience of the nation", as assessors of the national way of life, and this responsibility becomes all the greater in the absence of an enlightened public opinion. 29 They have to develop programs of adult education; should

25 Ibid., pp. 224-25.
27 Ibid.
23 Ibid., p. 249.
29 Ibid., p. 275.
assist the schools in their attempts at qualitative self-improvement, and should engage in research and create at least a few centres which would be comparable to those of their type in any part of the world. To achieve these objectives, the Commission proposed a radical improvement in the quality and standards of higher education and research. The Commission recommended the establishment of six major universities where first class postgraduate work and research would be made possible, and stressed the necessity of strengthening the University Grant Commission programs of establishing centres of advanced study in different universities.

Regarding the medium of instruction, the Commission observed that while the goal was to adopt the regional languages as media of education at the university stage in a phased program spread over ten years, English still had a vital and essential role in higher education. The Commission thought that English might be the medium at the post-graduate level while the regional languages might be introduced as media at undergraduate level. The selective admission system to higher education and the provision of part-time education through correspondences and evening colleges, and the autonomy status to outstanding colleges were some of the other recommendations of the Commission regarding higher education.

The Kothari Commission observed that any agricultural education program would have to be based on an effective organic link between the three main elements of teaching, research, and extension. It advised the establishment of agricultural universities, at least one in each State, agricultural colleges and agricultural poly-technics. Regarding vocational

Ibid., p. 286.
and technical education, the Commission stressed the need for a concerted and sustained program to ensure that by 1986, some twenty percent of all enrollments at the lower secondary level and some fifty percent beyond class X were in part-time or full-time vocational and professional courses. It felt that vocational education courses at the school stage should be predominantly terminal in character with adequate opportunities for bright students to rejoin the main stream and continue higher education. It called for the expansion of industrial training institutes and production-oriented technical high schools. The Commission stressed the need for the rapid expansion of science education and research as the progress and welfare and security of the nation depended on the planned and sustained growth of science and technology. Illiteracy is another problem the country has to face. Every effort had to be, as the Commission observed, to eradicate illiteracy from the country. It stressed the need for the provision of facilities for part-time and correspondence education, the development of libraries and the organization of university extension work.

The third part of Kothari Commission Report dealt with the problems of programs of implementation. The crux of the problem of educational planning in India, observed the Commission, was to evolve a national policy in education in spite of the fact that education was largely a State subject according to the Constitution. The Commission felt that the Central Government should take more interest and assume greater responsibilities for the expansion and improvement of education through partnership with the States. While school education had to be predominately a state-local

\[31\] Ibid., pp. 370-71.

\[32\] Ibid., p. 443.
relationship, higher education had to be a Centre-State partnership. This principle of partnership, the Commission observed, should guide the evolution of that delicate balance between centralization and decentralization which was essential for educational planning and implementation.33

The Kothari Commission considered that the role of private enterprise had been limited and minor as the State had to meet the growing educational needs of a modernizing society. The role of local authorities in educational administration should be a privilege if they could provide good administration to promote the cause of education. The Commission made many other valuable recommendations for the improvement and strengthening of education departments and for the training of educational administrators.

Regarding educational financing, the Kothari Commission observed that in the next twenty years the educational expenditure should rise if education was to be developed. The proportion of the Gross National Product allocated to education would rise from 2.9 percent in 1965-66 to 6.0 percent in 1985-86.34 The Commission said that two-thirds of the available resources would be spent on school education and one-third to higher education.35 Regarding the sources of educational finance, the Commission recommended that attempts had to be made to raise the contribution from local communities, organizations and other local authorities, although greater responsibility would be placed on the Government for funds.

33 Ibid., p. 445.
34 Ibid., pp. 473-74.
The Report of Kothari Commission which was received with great 
enthusiasm was described as unique, comprehensive, critical and constructive, 
bold, categorical and realistic. The Commission’s report was of historic 
significance because it was the first report that considered education as a 
whole. In that respect it was unique. Its recommendations were revolu-
tionary and impressive synthesis of idealism and practical realism. The 
recommendations regarding the improvement of the status of teachers were 
welcomed by the teachers. The Commission’s stress on the importance of 
science and technology for the economic growth of the country was very much 
praised. The modified three language formula suggested by the Commission 
drew mixed reactions, but the Commission’s insistence of the importance of English at the higher level of education was well received by educators.
But the enormous educational expenditure that needed to give effect to the recommendations of the Commission created doubts in the minds of many 
whether this wonderful report also would just remain another one of the many 
educational documents for historical study. If real efforts are taken to 
implement its recommendations it could revolutionize education and that would open a new era in the history of Indian education.

2. LANGUAGE PROBLEM

The language problem is one of the grave problems that free India has ever to face. As the Education Commission observes, its early and satisfactory solution is imperative for a variety of reasons, educational, 
cultural and political.

36J.C. Aggarwal (ed.), Major Recommendations of the Education Com-
37Ibid., p. 35.
Tamil Nadu and other non-Hindi speaking States oppose Hindi becoming
the official language of Indian Union. The opposition is not as conspicuous
in other States as it is in Tamil Nadu. The opposition to Hindi
started in Tamil Nadu when it was first introduced in schools in 1938 and
since then it has grown in strength. Hindi claims to replace English as
the official language of the Indian Union because it is spoken by the major-
ity of the Indian people. This claim is rejected by the non-Hindi
speaking people, particularly by Tamil people, because it is spoken only
by the largest minority in northern India and because it will put all non-
Hindi speaking people in a disadvantage. Hence they want English to
continue the official language of Indian Union. The Tamil people, who
suffered under various kinds of dominations through the centuries, fear the
growing new domination from the North. Their fear was very aptly reflected
in the words of Dr. P. Subbarayan, who along with Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji,
wrote a dissent note to the Report of the Official Language Commission of
1955-56. He said:

Many honestly feel that there are already signs of the danger of
an incipient "Hindi Imperialism" which will be all the more anti-
national as Hindi has not yet acquired any preeminence over the other
languages of India except its weight of number.38

In spite of this opposition, plans were made to impose Hindi in the
schools under the Three Language Formula. According to this formula every
Indian child would learn his or her mother-tongue or regional language,
English and a third language, which would be Hindi for non-Hindi areas and
any other modern Indian languages—preferably a South Indian language—other

of India Press, 1957).
than Hindi in Hindi areas before he or she graduates from High School.

This was done to equalize the burden. But the Hindi-speaking states failed to make their children learn an additional modern Indian language other than Hindi. The reason given was lack of motivation. This again intensified the already existing resistance to Hindi in non-Hindi States, particularly in Tamil Nadu. As a result of this growing resistance to Hindi, the Tamil Nadu Government declared a Two Language Formula for its schools: Tamil and English only for its students.

Another side of the language problem is the medium of instruction in higher education. Still English continues to be the medium of instruction in colleges and universities. Efforts were taken to introduce Tamil as the parallel medium of instruction in colleges in Tamil Nadu. But there are great many difficulties to overcome. The lack of text books, the apathy of students because of uncertain future were some of these difficulties.

3. PROGRESS OF EDUCATION (1947-70)

The Indian Government launched three Five-Year Plans—(1951-56), (1956-61), and (1961-66)—and after a break in the plan between 1966 and 1969, it has now launched the Forth Five-Year Plan (1969-74). During these plans a working partnership was developed between the Centre and the State Governments and educational development plans were implemented. Tamil Nadu Government was vigorous in expanding and improving education during these planned periods.
After independence almost all villages and towns with a population of three hundred or above are provided with one or more schools. 39 There are six types of schools for primary education in Tamil Nadu: (1) Lower Elementary Schools (stds I to V); (2) Higher Elementary Schools (stds I to VIII); (3) Junior Basic Schools (Grades I to V); (4) Senior Basic Schools (Grades I to VIII); (5) Primary Departments of Secondary Schools (stds I to V); and (6) Primary Schools for Anglo-Indians (stds I to V). The distinction between boys schools and girls schools was removed in 1948 and all elementary schools now admit boys and girls. There were 30,117 elementary schools in 1963-64 with 2,227,603 boys and 1,147,374 girls. 40

After independence many elementary schools were converted into Basic Schools. There are now three types of Basic Schools: (1) Junior Basic Schools (Grades I to V); (2) Senior Basic Schools (Grades I to VIII) and (3) Post Basic Schools (Grades IX to XI). There were in 1964, 4,472 Junior Basic Schools, 1,195 Senior Basic Schools and three Post Basic Schools in Tamil Nadu. There were 526,312 boys and 370,896 girls in Junior Basic Schools, and 141 boys and 46 girls in Post Basic Schools in 1964. 41

Compulsory education was extended to all the areas of the State in a phased program and the Panchayat Union Councils were entrusted with

40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
42 Panchayat is a village council. A group of villages form a Union.
the task of enforcing compulsion in their areas.\textsuperscript{43} Education in elementary schools is free. With the help of American Catholic Relief (CARE) organization, the Government is providing mid-day meals to poor children in schools. Poor children are given school uniforms with the generous help of the public. To enlist the support of the people for the general improvement of schools, School Improvement Conferences were held in various places of Tamil Nadu from 1958.

The medium of instruction in elementary schools is the child's mother-tongue and English is taught from third grade. The text-books were nationalized and they are prepared and published cheaper by the Government. Various measures were taken to improve the quality of education in elementary schools, such as the provision to appoint trained graduates as headmasters of larger Higher elementary and Senior Basic Schools and to employ Tamil Pundits and physical education teachers in them. English teachers in elementary schools were given special training in teaching English through the help of British Council.\textsuperscript{44}

\textbf{SECONDARY EDUCATION:}

Secondary education also made some significant progress after independence. The number of secondary schools and the strength of students increased. There were 1,672 secondary schools of all kinds for boys and 323 for girls in 1963-64 with a student strength of 701,152 boys and 297,144 girls.\textsuperscript{45} There are five types of secondary schools in Tamil Nadu. They are: (1) High Schools; (2) Anglo-Indian High Schools; (3) Matriculation Schools; (4) Public Schools and (5) Sainik Schools. The High Schools

\textsuperscript{43}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{44}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 9-10.
\textsuperscript{45}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 17-18.
generally have mother-tongue medium and they may have standards from I to XI. The Anglo-Indian Schools, which are specially meant for Anglo-Indians, and the Matriculation schools, which come under the University of Madras, have English as medium of instruction. The only Public School of the English model is The Lawrence School, Lovedale on the Nilgris and it is a private school. The only Sainik school, which is managed by the Union Government is in Amaravathi Nagar, Coimbatore district.

The Tamil Nadu Government undertook many development schemes to improve the quality of secondary education, such as the improvement of facilities for the teaching of science and other core subjects, the improvement of libraries and the introduction of crafts as a form of activity particularly at the middle school stage. As a result of the recommendations of Secondary Education Commission, bifurcated courses such as pre-technological courses in engineering, agriculture, textile-technology, and secretarial and statistical courses were introduced after the ninth standard as an alternative to purely academic courses. The Government also tried to convert the Secondary schools as Higher Secondary Schools by compressing the school courses into that of ten years and incorporating the pre-university course into high schools. But this was abandoned in 1963-64 and pre-university course was left to remain with colleges and the high school course was again extend to eleven years.

The Secondary School Leaving Certificate examination still remains the terminal examination at the end of secondary education. Secondary education is free in Tamil Nadu. Deserving students are given scholarships and other educational concessions. Extra curricular activities such as

Ibid., pp. 16-17.
National Cadet Corps (N.C.C.), Auxiliary Cadet Corps (A.C.C), Scouting and other activities like Literary Associations, Games and Sports have prominent places in the secondary education. In spite of all these improvements, the tremendous expansion of secondary education after independence brought down the quality. There are secondary schools in rural areas without adequate buildings and other facilities. Indiscriminate admission also has lowered the standard of secondary education.

UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGIATE EDUCATION:

Besides Madras and Annamalai Universities, Madurai University was established at Madurai in 1966. These three universities serve the people of Tamil Nadu.

Madras University continued to make progress. Many new departments were established after independence. The departments of physics, geology and geophysics, Hindi and of legal studies were established in 1951; and Analytical chemistry and Business management were established respectively in 1953 and 1955. The University continued to do valuable research in many fields.

As a result of the recommendations of the Radhakrishnan Commission and the Mudaliar Commission, the pre-university and the three-year degree courses were introduced in 1957 and 1958 respectively. The scales of pay to university and college teachers have been revised and improved after independence.

The University of Madras appointed a general inspection Commission to inspect the affiliated colleges in 1955. The Commission found that the
policy of the University to open more colleges in rural areas than in metropolitan cities, was a right one and that these colleges in rural areas had made "a significant contribution towards the spreading of light and learning to the rural population."  

The University Grants Commission (U.G.C.) was constituted in 1953 as a result of the Radhakrishnan Commission report. According to the policy of the University Grants Commissions advanced centres for Marine Biology and Dravidian linguistics were established in Annamalai University. Madurai University, which is established in Madurai, the seat of the ancient Tamil Academies (Sangams) is doing valuable work in Tamil language and culture.

After independence many colleges were established throughout Tamil Nadu. There were 43 Arts and Science colleges for men and 29 for women in 1963-64.

**TEACHER EDUCATION:**

One of the problems Tamil Nadu had to face after independence was the lack of trained teachers. The expansion and the quality of education needed trained teachers. And so training institutions of all kinds were established. There were six non-basic training schools for men and thirteen for women with 1,728 men and 2,106 women receiving teacher education in 1963-64. In the same year the total number of basic training schools were 70 for men and 49 for women with 12,774 men and 7,663 women. The trainees were paid stipends as before. There are four training schools

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for teachers of pre-school children. They are (1) Nursery Training
school, Vepery, Madras; (2) Arundale Montessori Training School, Adayar,
Madras; (3) Brindavan Kindergarten Training School, Mylapore, Madras and
(4) Pre-Basic Training School, Kasturbagam, Erode.

Teacher's College, Saidapet, offers training courses for craft-
teachers. Training courses for other crafts are also offered in many
other training institutions in Tamil Nadu. By the end of 1963 there were
thirteen training colleges for men and six for women. Some of these
colleges also offer courses for M.Ed. degree. Besides Y.M.C.A. College,
two other colleges of physical education were established for the training
of physical education teachers. Though the number of training institutions
are yet not adequate to meet the growing demand of trained teachers, the
situation is far better than what it was before independence.

PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION:

Professional and technical educational also made progress after
independence. By 1963-64 there were six medical colleges with a student
strength of 2,677 men and 962 women. Three of the six Medical colleges
are in Madras and the rest are in Madurai, Vellore and Tanjore. The
Madras Veterinary College still continues to be the only college of that
type and so also the Madras Law College. The Agricultural College at
Coimbatore also continues to be only Agricultural college in Tamil Nadu; and
it offers advanced degrees and provides facilities for research in agriculture.

\[49\] Ibid., pp. 34-35.
\[50\] Ibid.
\[51\] Ibid., p. 36.
The number of Engineering Colleges rose to seven in 1963-64. The number of students in these colleges, including the Engineering Faculty of Annamalai University, the Indian Institute of Technology, Madras and the Madras Institute of Technology, Chrompet, Madras, was 6,343 men and 12 women in 1963-64. The Dr. Alagappa Chettiar College of Technology, Guindy, is directly managed by the University of Madras. The Department of Technical Education is responsible for the technical education. Besides the number of Polytechnic Schools under private management, the number of Polytechnics under the control of the Department of Technical Education rose to thirty in 1963-64. The number of Industrial schools in Tamil Nadu rose to 65 for men and one for women with a student strength 6,933 boys and 441 girls in 1963-64. Likewise the number of schools of crafts and arts and commerce also rose in number and in the number of students.

SOCIAL EDUCATION:

When India got independence the literacy rate of India was hardly 15 percent. Tamil Nadu, one of the few States with a higher literacy rate, launched, like all other states, a five-pointed program of social or adult education. The five points of the program were designed to meet all the needs of the adults and were intended to provide them: (1) literacy, (2) knowledge of the rules of health, (3) training for the improvement of their economic status, (4) a sense of citizenship with an adequate consciousness of rights and duties and (5) healthy forms of recreation suited to their needs and to the needs of the community.

52 The rate of literacy according to 1961 census was 24 percent for the whole of India, and of Tamil Nadu it was 31.4.

Adult Literacy Centres (mostly Evening Schools in the premises of the schools of the community) were opened. They were provided with newspapers and journals. Adults were taught reading and writing. Adult Education Mobile units went around the country showing education films and organising useful lectures to improve their knowledge in various fields essential to them. Training Schools gave some special training to teacher-trainees as they were mostly used to teach the adults at Evening Schools.

The Tamil Nadu Government started a Training School for Adult Education Teachers at Tirumangalam, Madurai district. The Home Science Economic Wing at Bavanisagar, Coimbatore district, was training Gramasevikas (women social workers in villages) and also the Madras School of Social Work was training both men and women for social work. Two important Rural Institutes for Higher Education were started in Tamil Nadu as recommended by the Radhakrishnan Commission. They were Sri Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalaya Rural Institute of Higher Education, Coimbatore, and the Gandhigram Rural Institute, Madurai. They continue to bring knowledge to the people in rural areas by training persons who will serve the people in the villages.

EDUCATION OF BACKWARD CLASSES:

The scheduled castes, tribes and the other backward classes received a better and sympathetic treatment, after independence. The centuries of neglect kept these communities in utter misery, ignorance and poverty.

The Tamil Nadu Government paid special attention to the amelioration of these communities with special handicaps in the fields of education and employment. The Harijan Welfare Department of the Government took the

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following measures in the field of education: (1) maintenance of special secondary and elementary schools wherever necessary, (2) Provision of scholarships, boarding grants and grants for the purchase of books and clothing and for the training of teachers, and (3) maintenance of free hostels at importance centres and grant of financial assistance to private bodies for the maintenance of hostels. In 1963-64 there were 3,572,133 students\(^{55}\) of these classes studying in all types of educational institutions in Tamil Nadu.

CONCLUSION:

Tamil Nadu, after independence, has begun a new era in its history, and it is the beginning of a period of renaissance in its life. Tamil people are awakening socially and politically and beginning to realize and feel proud of their heritage. Their ancient and rich culture and civilization are a constant source of inspiration. The secular, humanistic and casteless society of the ancient Tamils are the guideline for the reconstruction of the bigoted, pessimistic and caste-ridden society they happened to inherit as a result of the imposition of alien culture during the middle ages.

They know now that education in ancient Tamil Nadu, had produced hundred of poets from every walk of life who were moral leaders of the people and who were received with honour in every country and city, and by every king and citizen. They know now that that education was denied to them in the medieval period and the bulk of them lived in ignorance and

\(^{55}\)Ibid., p. 47.
bigotry. Though, if one could say, an attempt was made by the British to break this tragic situation, yet political expediency prompted them to fit into the social pattern of the subjected country to perpetuate their rule. And so only the upper classes, which enjoyed the educational privileges during the middle ages, were generally benefited by the new education. The poor villager still remained ignorant waiting for the day to dawn on his lot. Those days were over. A beginning is made, and education and equality of opportunity has been assured to everyone. Tamil people realize that education is the greatest instrument of change and they rightly attach great importance to it.

Tamil has become the official language of Tamil Nadu and every effort is made to bring knowledge to the people through the medium of their mother-tongue. Without losing the benefits of western education, Tamil Nadu is progressing with science and technology to build a modern State and Society based on secularism, humanism and optimism so that every Tamilian will be able to say with pride, as their ancestors said, that “Every Country is my Country and Every man is my Kinsman.”

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\[56\] Puram: 192.
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The thesis submitted by Savarimuthu Savarimuthu has been read and approved by the director of the thesis. Furthermore, the final copies have been examined by the director and the signature which appears below verifies that fact that the necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

May 13, 1972

[Signature of Advisor]