

## CHAPTER VI

### INTRODUCTION OF MODERN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN GUJARATI SOCIETY IN THE 19TH CENTURY

We will examine in this chapter the changes that were brought about by the British Rule in the educational system of Gujarat during 19th century.

The scope of our analysis will be as follows:-

- 1) The reasons and motives for introducing new education by the British Rulers.
- 2) The organizational pattern of the educational system introduced in the 19th century.
- 3) The role of the new education system in changing Gujarati society.
- 4) The evaluation of the role of new education in Gujarati society.

#### I

Reasons and motives for introducing modern education: As indicated in the previous chapters, British Rulers elaborated a gigantic political-administrative organization based on qualitatively different principles. This organization required a personnel possessing different type of qualification, equipment and training. Further British Rulers laid the foundation of an economic framework, which also demanded new values, new training, new approaches and new equipment among the persons operating the economy. The British Rulers, who now were in charge of a country, completely different in social and cultural milieu, were confronted with the problem of how to shape the life and culture of the conquered people. The British Rulers had reshaped their own social structure in the home country on the principles of liberal, democratic, laizzez faire value systems. They had evolved their own social and cultural life on modern legal-rational

grounds by fighting against feudal, Catholic superstitious medieval past and they had a conviction that Indian people who were conquered, were in a backward, superstitious stage of life with institutions, customs, and morality reflecting that backwardness.<sup>1</sup> The British Rulers developed a sense of civilizing mission, a sense which prompted them to actively discuss among the various groups in themselves as to how this people could be civilized, could be freed from their backward, barbarous and superstitious stage of existence. They were agreed and clear on the point that education was the agency for civilizing the natives. However they differed on the means to achieve the aim.\*

From the time of Warren Hastings to the Wood's Dispatch in 1854, a great debate was going on among various sections of the British ruling class, regarding the aims, methods, organizational structure as well as other aspects of new education which was to be elaborated in India. As eminent historians of these debates have pointed out, three major schools had emerged which influenced the shaping of educational pattern in India, viz., Orientalists Liberal Utilitarian Westernist and Missionaries.<sup>2</sup> The first school was known as "Imperial Conservative" school of Orientalist, which flourished in Bengal, and which started Calcutta Madressa and Sanskrit College at Banaras. Under its aegis, a systematic study of the Persian theological literature and religious shastras was developed. European scholars started learning the classics

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\* It was stated by Leicester Stanhope, in connection with the "Free Press in India", that the free press meant social reform. 'By the operation of education and free discussion the Hindoos will be enlightened. As a sure however, slowly progressive result, morals will be improved, superstition and caste destroyed, women enfranchised, and religion purified.' (Quoted in British Attitude towards India 1784-1858 by Bearce, p.100).

in Sanskrit and Persian and started translating them in English.

The founding of Royal Asiatic Society in India (1784) was a symbol of this approach. Politically it subserved two purposes - it could secure the support of the learned groups in India and it could train up through the two institutions a cadre of learned Pandits, Maulvis and others to assist the British Rulers to interpret laws of the land and also to administer justice to the people, not in terms of British law but the personal laws of Hindus and Muslims. As observed by Mr. Shairp in his selection from Educational Records, Vol.I, "The second Principal advantage which may be derived from this institution (Benaras Sanskrit College) will be felt in its effect upon the natives...by preserving and disseminating a knowledge of the Hindu law and proving a nursery of future doctors and expounders<sup>there-</sup>of, to assist European judges in the due, regular and uniform administration of its genuine letter and spirit to the body of people."<sup>3</sup>

However by the second decade of 19th century, after Charter Act of 1813<sup>\*</sup>, the second school of thought gained prominence. This school is known as utilitarian, liberal, westernizing school, headed by Strachey, Mill and others.<sup>4</sup> The representatives of this school propagated that the Indian people should be provided with Western education, Western knowledge and sciences, and the British Rulers need not waste their limited resources for spreading learning via studies of Persian and Sanskrit. They provided four major arguments in favour of their view. (1) The vast administrative

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\*The 43rd Section of Charter Act of 1813 provided, "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 introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India." (Quoted in op. cit., 'History of Education in India', pp.81-82). As observed by Sir R.P. Masani in this connection "It is amazing how backward the educational policy of England was during the times of which we are speaking... No grant from public funds was made for education in England until the year 1834; no grant-in-aid towards the maintenance of voluntary schools upto 1846; no parliamentary enactment of any importance for the diffusion of knowledge until 1870"(Britain in India, p.29).

machinery which was evolving in India, under British rule required a large native personnel to staff it. The new administrative machinery and political rule were founded on a totally new principles of governance. The British political and administrative outlook shaped the political structure of Indian empire. The need for infusing the administrative personnel with the underlying principles governing India, required that they are inculcated with western knowledge and western procedures of administration.<sup>5</sup> (2) The changing economic framework both of Britain after Industrial Revolution and of India, under new ruling class, initiated a new system of economic relationships both between England and India and within the Indian society. Indian economy now demanded new type of processes and new categories of relationships based on emerging capitalist framework. According to this school, the western education alone provided knowledge of the laws governing this new type of economy. It was, therefore, felt necessary that the education should train Indians into this knowledge, because "A rapid and complete transformation of the complex relationships of Indian society, which were founded on communal ownership and management, and their replacement by the simplified economic structure of individualist, capitalist England,"<sup>6</sup> was envisaged by the British Rulers. Further the need for creating demand for goods of the Britain was paramount. It was thought by the Committee which formulated the Wood's Dispatch that Indians nurtured in western learning would be the potential buyers.<sup>7</sup> (3) The sponsors of this view of education elaborated a third argument in its favour. The British Rulers, who performed the miracle of conquering a country thousands of miles away, were concerned about enlightening the Indian population. They were convinced that Indian people were living in a worse dark age than the Britishers themselves lived during medieval period in Europe. Just as they had liberated

themselves from the superstitious, traditional, feudal past, the Indian people had also to be liberated from their superstitious, medieval past and ushered into a new epoch of natural justice, reason, morality and more progressive modern economic, political and social relationships. As observed by Macaulay in 1833, "We are free, we are civilised, to little purpose, if we grudge to any portion of the human race an equal measure of freedom and civilization."<sup>8</sup> According to them, western education, by liberating the minds of the people from medieval superstition, will alienate the intellectuals from traditional loyalties, and will make them allies for continuing this gigantic transformation, and further will imbue the new leaders of the community with a sense of gratitude for the British Rulers and will thus strengthen their rule in the country.\* (4) There was a fourth reason advanced for westernization of education. A small section of the ruling class according to this group who backed the Missionaries who formed the third stream spreading modern education believed in familiarising the Indians with the Christianity and the ethics of Christianity.<sup>9</sup> The Missionaries were pursuing the educational campaigns even before the East India Company acquired power and established its systematic rule in India during the rule of Warren Hastings. They had accompanied numerous trading groups which settled in India for trade on the coastal belts during 17th and 18th century. They had already started number of "charity schools" attached to their Missions<sup>10</sup> wherein English and vernaculars were being taught. Along with teaching children, both

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\*As observed by Trevelyan, the English education and the spirit of English literature will make the educated Indians "more English than Hindu just as the Roman Provincials became more Roman than Gauls or Italians" (Quoted in A Source Book of Modern Indian Education, by M.R. Paranjpe, p.56).

English and local languages, knowledge of three Rs and doctrines of Christianity and Bible in local languages were being taught to natives with a view to ultimately converting them to Christianity. In fact these schools laid the foundation for Englishmen being introduced to local languages and Indians being initiated into English language, thus paving way for the creation of an earlier batch of English knowing Indians, and a batch of Europeans who could provide a European staff for administering political, economic and cultural organizations for local requirements, with a knowledge of local language.\*

The missionary current of introducing education in India, changed its modes of approaches according to the changing requirement of the British administrative needs. However missionary current performed three major tasks, i) it laid the foundations of a new category of educational institutions at primary level, ii) it initiated a peculiar relationship between English and local vernaculars, creating a basis for institutions where western thoughts could be jointly studied, and iii) it provided a batch of trained persons, trained both in English and vernaculars, which could lay the foundation of modern vernacular schools as well as modern Anglo-vernacular educational institutions. However the direct, crusading, conversionist zeal brought this current sometimes in clash with the administrators of East India Company, who felt that fanatical conversion campaigns, generated discontent among the local people, and thereby impinged on the safety, security and

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\*It was in the residence of Capt. Tuccar (Where Ranchodlal Zaveri, the well-known pioneer of new education in Gujarat was teaching Gujarati and was in return taught English) that Ranchodlal met Lord Bishop Carr who was impressed with the former's acquaintance with English and asked him to go to Bombay and work for Native Education Society (Arvachin Gujarati Shikshān na Sava so varsha by Ramlal Navnitlal, p.14)

acceptability of the British rule.<sup>11\*</sup> It was out of this conflict between the political considerations of the new rule and the zealous crusading missionaries, representing the religion of the new ruling class, that the great chasm developed between the non-religious secular educational edifice inaugurated by British Rule, and the avowedly religious educational edifice organized by Missionaries. It also led to the famous controversy regarding the relationship between the educational system inaugurated by British administrators and the schools, and subsequently colleges started by the Missionaries. The subordination of avowedly religiously-oriented missionary educational institutions to the secular state educational organization, and even forcing the missionary institutions to teach the courses laid down by State Educational Departments, as well as to refrain them from preaching Christian doctrines,

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\* Biographer of Nandashankar informs that, in Surat, one Parsee boy named Nasarvanji Manekji was converted to Christian religion by the moral pressure of Priest Montegomory, and this event had a very evil effect on the growth of education in Surat, because people were afraid of educating their children. Only at the persistent endeavour of Durgaram Mehtaji, that not only the abovenamed Parsee boy was brought back to his fold and further people were persuaded to send their children to schools. The biographer further informs that people were in dual mind due to association of new education with Christian religion, that on the one hand they felt that if they will give education to their children there was danger of conversion while on the other hand education was the only source of earning livelihood. (Nandashankar Jeevan Charitra, p.37; also refer to Suratni Tavarikh by Adelji Patel, pp.241-242). Similarly in Bombay in 1841, 2 Parsi boys were converted to Christianity by the local Presbyterian Mission. There was great commotion in the Parsi community. Not only they boycotted the mission schools, but they also endeavoured to seek legal redress upto the Supreme Court, and Privy Council. But nothing came out of it. Mr. Fisher, the Acting Governor of Bombay in 1841 was believed to be encouraging the Missionaries. Therefore at the time of retirement of Mr. Fisher, the native population effectively boycotted the function for felicitating the Governor. Only two persons attended. (Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol.I, p.172). When freedom another such incident of conversion occurred in the Parsee community, it was described in one of the newspapers, as "Zulum (terror) on the pattern of the Pindharies' (op. cit., p.173).

prayers and others to those who did not want to be taught this laid the secular structural foundation of modern educational system in India.<sup>12</sup> It was in the same spirit that instructions were given by the Board that books should be free from religious colourations.\* As indicated earlier, the foundations of modern education were laid as a resultant of confluence and conflicts among major currents among the ruling class viz., the Orientalists, the Westernizing Liberal Utilitarians and Missionaries. All of them agreed on three major points: (1) British rule was justified and had to be strengthened; (2) British rulers required personnel from natives to man their politico-administrative organization; and (3) The culture of British rulers was superior to that of conquered natives, and that it was the duty of the White Rulers to civilize the conquered Indians.

As noted by eminent historians of development of modern education, the thinkers of the British Ruling class belonging to the Westernizing, Liberal, Utilitarian wing triumphed over Orientalists and Missionary Wings, and between 1813 and 1854 experimented with various methods of introducing western education in India.<sup>13</sup>

Lord William Bentinck in 1835 for the time being sealed the controversy by passing the resolution in which it was declared, "that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of

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\*When the text-books were being prepared in the years 1833-1835, there was a definite fear of conversion to Christianity and therefore, in the passages selected for the text books such sentences, "there is no disgrace so severe as that of accepting other's religion" or "just as you are afraid of touching a leper you should be afraid of touching alien religion" were introduced. (Dadoba Pandurang by P. V. Varkar, p.32.)



European literature and science among the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed in English education alone... It has come to the knowledge of the Governor-General in Council that a large sum has been expended by the Committee on the printing of Oriental Works; His Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed. His Lordship in Council Directs that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the ~~litere~~ native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of English language."<sup>14</sup>

During the period of experimentation of introducing modern education in India, two distinct approaches were developing, viz., the approach adopted by Elphinstone and Munroe in Western and Southern India respectively and the approach which developed in Bengal, headed by William Bentinck and classically crystallized by Macaulay. The approach developed in Bengal and Eastern India, emerged from the famous controversy of the Anglicists and Orientalists, leading to the triumph of acceptance of English as the basic medium of instruction for imparting modern education. The approach, adopted by Elphinstone and Munroe, which emphasised the imparting of western education through the medium of vernaculars, and treating English as a secondary language to be assimilated by those interested in it, wanted to westernize the people at grassroots by inculcating western ideas, values and institutional principles through their own mother-tongue and thereby revolutionizing the consciousness

from the foundation.<sup>15\*</sup> The battle between the approach adopted by Bentinck, Macaulay and other spokesmen of the Anglicists groups and that of Elphinstone, Munroe and others who were the spokesmen of vernacular medium, found its expression in the famous controversy of English-versus-local vernacular for medium of instruction.<sup>16</sup> However it should be noted that the controversy was settled in favour of Anglicists, resulting in the acceptance of English as a medium of instruction in upper secondary and higher education, and resulting in what is known as downward-infiltration theory of education and culture. In the words of Trevelyan, "The rich, the learned, the men of business will first be gained, a new class of teachers will be trained; books in the vernacular language will be multiplied; and with these accumulated means we shall in due time proceed to extend our operations from town to country, from few to the many, until every hamlet shall be provided with its elementary school...It was absolutely necessary to make a selection, and they therefore selected the upper and middle classes as the first object of their

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\*In the report of the Bombay Native Education Society for the year 1825-26, it was categorically stated, "these ideas (i.e. the new ideas in western literature and science) will be most easily rendered comprehensible to them by means of the mother-tongue of each scholar. It will therefore, no doubt be admitted that the time and labour both of the master and the scholar would be materially saved were those indispensable explanations previously embodied in works written in the native languages; and thus it again appears that English can never become the most fascile and successful medium of communicating to the natives, as a body the literature science and morality of Europe." In the same spirit Capt. Jervis, in his Minute, on relative merits of English and vernacular languages as a medium of disseminating knowledge to the natives of India, at one placed opined, "the project of imparting English literature along with English cotton into India, and bringing it into universal use, must at once be felt by every reasonable mind as chimerical and ridiculous. If the people are to have a literature it be their own, The stuff may be in a great degree European, but it must be freely interwoven with home-spun material and the fashion must be Asiatic"(G.D. Vol.29, 1850, p.17.)

attention, because by educating them first, they would soonest be able to extend the same advantages to the rest of the people.<sup>17\*</sup>

The Wood's dispatch in 1854 gave a final seal to all controversies and laid the foundation of modern educational structure, based on English as a medium of instruction from secondary schools onwards.

A reference to this controversy among various groups of ruling class, has become necessary here for two or three reasons. (1) The pioneering educational experimentation in Gujarat were made under the direction of Lord Elphinstone, who acted as a Governor for Bombay Presidency from 1819-1827. In fact Gujarat which was finally conquered by British rulers in the second decade of 19th century, escaped the earlier controversies which stormed Bengal and Eastern India. Its educational problems emerged directly during the period when Western Liberal Thought dominated the ruling class outlook. Even within the Western Liberal Thought, the westernization through the medium of vernaculars gained initial precedence in Western India, and Gujarat as a result of the presence of Lord Elphinstone. This led to the emergence of a peculiar initial structural development of education viz. rise of vernacular schools,<sup>\*\*</sup> organization for developing native vernacular

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\* Of course the British rulers were very conscious of the consequences of the new educational system. When Briggs saw a pile of Marathi books in the tent of Elphinstone one day, he asked him what they were meant for. "To educate the natives" said he "but it is our high road back to Europe". (Quoted on 'Britain in India' by R.P. Masani, p.26).

\*\*This aspect, which lent a significant contrast to the trend of educational development in Bombay in respect to Bengal was taken note of by the court of Directors in their educational dispatch when they congratulated the Bombay Presidency for their achievements in vernacular education. It was remarked that 216 vernacular schools of Bombay Presidency, "were not guttering like the thirty-three surviving candles of Bengal, but (were) shining like good deeds in a naughty world and casting their beams influentially around" (Quoted in Modern India and the West by I.S.S.O'Malley, p.153)

education, training of vernacular teachers, and efforts at translations into vernaculars to provide literature to the students taking education in vernacular. (2) It raised some interesting debates round medium of instruction in which even Indians such as Jagannath Sunkerseth, Framjee Cowasjee, Mackba and others participated. The controversy was not between classical-oriental and English but between English and Vernacular as the medium of instruction. A controversy, which though ended in favour of English emerged as a significant issue, at the end of nineteenth century. In 1888, when the Bombay University decided to eliminate vernaculars from their examinations, the Gujarat Vernacular Society (a pioneer educational organization) sent a memorandum to the Bombay University requesting it to continue the teaching of vernaculars in their courses of study. The memorandum was signed by important leaders like Premabhai Hemabhai, Bholanath Sarabhai, Ranchhodlal Chhotalal and others. One memorandum was also sent by D.B. Manibhai Jasbhai in 1898 requesting the University to accept vernacular as a medium of instruction for schools. Despite all these efforts, at the end of the 19th century, vernaculars got a separate status only at the M.A. examination.<sup>18</sup> This controversy was running like a red-thread in discussions in organizations like Gujarati Kelvani Parishad (Gujarati Educational Conference) and Gujarati Sahitya Parishad as indicated by Sjt. Rasiklal Parikh in his presidential address to the Sahitya Parishad in 1963. As is well-known, this issue has acquired tremendous significance after Independence. Further it also created a background for another significant controversy viz. the national language after Swarajya to replace English.<sup>19</sup> Of course these problems were to acquire prominence in the twentieth century, but we indicate this

point here, because, it was as a result of the decisions taken in the 19th century that the germs of new functional needs of future society were being laid. The functional adequacy of English as a medium of All India communication was being doubted with the growth of national consciousness. The functional need of a single Indian language for an emerging unified nation, and further that of spreading education to the common people in every nationality having their own distinct regional languages, to transform them into intelligent citizens of a free sovereign country, was being realized and the problems germane to such a realization became the controversial issues in the twentieth century.

Of course these issues need not be elaborated here. We only point out how the emphasis of Elphinstone on vernacular medium for westernization generated special currents in Western India including Gujarat.

However the educational development in Gujarat, subsequently moulded into the pattern laid down by Wood's Dispatch, which finally gave a distinct shape to the modern education in India, was based on "Down-Ward Infiltration" theory. It tried to evolve a design for educational structure, which linked up all the stages of modern education into a hierarchic pattern from primary, secondary to higher collegiate and postgraduate teaching.

The next landmark in the educational development of Gujarat as well as <sup>of</sup> India was after the famous Education Commission popularly known as the Hunter Commission was appointed in 1882. The Commission appreciated the need to educate the mass of the people but so far as the question of agency was concerned, recommended a shift in emphasis from a system of

public control to private enterprise as the best means of executing the intention of the dispatch of 1854. The government thus adopted a 'laissez faire' policy in education. It was declared, that it was its duty to pioneer the way, 'but having shown the way, it recognises no responsibility to do for the people what the people can and ought to do for themselves'.<sup>20</sup>

~~After reviewing~~ <sup>Having reviewed</sup> the preliminary background of the forces and reasons for the rise of modern education, we will now refer to the educational structure that evolved in the 19th century.

## II

### ORGANIZATIONAL PATTERN OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN GUJARAT DURING THE 19TH CENTURY

After examining the reasons which prompted British Rulers to introduce modern education in Gujarat, we will now try to describe the chief features of the educational pattern which emerged in the 19th century. It is necessary to describe the educational pattern because it introduced through its courses and bureaucratic set up of organization a structure indicative of the new society which was emerging. We shall delineate in this section how this was evolving. Due to the fact that educational policies of the government changed from phase to phase, leading to peculiar shifts in the educational institutions and governmental administrative set up, the modern educational structure took its broad major form only during second half of 19th century. We will not go into the historical zigzags in this analysis. We will, on the basis of our analytical framework, only mention in brief the main characteristics of the new educational system that crystallized in Gujarat by the end of the 19th century.

promote general and useful knowledge."<sup>26</sup> Its other objects were to improve existing schools and to establish others, to provide a body of qualified teachers, and <sup>translators</sup> from the natives themselves and to afford facilities for further improvement to selected scholars for acquiring a knowledge of the English language and of European sciences.<sup>27</sup> In August 1822, it was resolved to separate altogether this 'Native School and School Book Committee' from the concerns of the parent society, "it having been thought for the interest and advancement of that desirable object, to form an institution having in view wholly the moral and intellectual improvement of the natives and entirely apart from Christian education."<sup>28</sup> From 1827 this society was known as 'The Bombay Native Education Society.'<sup>29</sup>

It was on the recommendation of Lord Elphinstone that the Court of Directors sanctioned a grant-in-aid to the Society, and accepted it as the principal agency for the spread of education among the people. Only in 1840 when the Government of Bombay established a Board of Education that the Society was wound up.<sup>30</sup>

The Society, initially evolved a scheme of training six Gujarati youths to be trained up as school masters under their respective Superintendents with a view to starting governmental primary schools, under them in different districts of the Presidency.<sup>31</sup> Ranchodlal Zaveri, who was subsequently described by the Educational Inspector Curtis as "the father of education in Gujarat"<sup>32</sup> was called to Bombay under the abovementioned scheme in 1825. He was asked to find out ten appropriate persons from Gujarat to be trained for the new schools

which were to be established in Gujarat.\* Mr. Ranchhodlal was also given the charge of preparing books in Gujarati for the newly emerging schools. In 1826, the first edifice in the modern educational pattern was laid when primary schools in Surat, Broach, Kaira and Ahmedabad were established. It may be mentioned here that a Survey of Indigenous Education in the Province of Bombay during 1820-1830 was undertaken and certain interesting facts with regard to working of the indigenous schools, the type of teachers, nature of students and others were unearthed.

Having referred briefly to the circumstances in which the modern educational framework was set up, we will describe the main features of the new educational system.

Pattern of Educational Structure: At the base of the educational structure in the 19th century were primary schools,\*\* giving a course of vernacular education upto seven standards. The completion of vernacular education

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\*The names of the 1st batch of teachers who pioneered modern education in Gujarat are as follows: Doorgaram Mancharam, Pranshankar Oomanath, Harreeram Dyashunker, Tooljaram Sookhrum, Dhuneshwar Sadanand, Gavurishanker Krapashanker, Mookoondram Ashoram, Hurruram Ashoram, Mayaram Jayshanker and Lukshmee Narayan Savukram. It is interesting to note that all these 10 school masters were of the Brahmin caste, and came predominantly from Surat district. (Selections from Educational Records, Bombay, Part II, p.264). Doorgaram Mehtaji, as mentioned before, a pioneer social reformer, got his training in the 1st batch, and he stood 1st in the rank also. The biographer of Durgaram informs us that, in the initial stages Durgaram never knew that such schools were to be started in the districts. Once, as he was passing by the side of the government school he saw carriages of rich people and a small crowd. Curious as he was, he enquired as to what was the cause of this commotion. He was told that this is a government school, whosoever joins it, is taught free of charge, and the Governor had come to distribute the prizes to the successful candidates. He decided to join this school and in 1826, he was declared fit to teach students and was appointed as a teacher for Surat School on the salary of Rs.20 per month. (Durgaram Charitra, by Mahipatram, p.3)

\*\*The connotation of the word primary at that time was different from that prevailing at present. It meant schools imparting instructions in vernacular.



(vernacular final) enabled a person to be eligible for the employment in the lowest grade in the government departments.<sup>33\*</sup> However the Government under the impact of Down-Ward Infiltration Theory, slowly switched on students studying in primary education and who wanted to study further after completing four years, to what were described as Anglo-Vernacular Middle Schools, wherein English was introduced for three years, and subsequently to high school, where the students studied for further four years not merely English but all the subjects through English and completed their Matriculation course.<sup>34</sup> After Matriculation the student was eligible for University admission.<sup>\*\*\*</sup>

In short the educational structure in Gujarat was composed of the following tiers: Primary Schools, Anglo-Vernacular Middle Schools, High Schools, Colleges, subsequently tapering to Post-Graduate University Education.

Emergence of hierarchi-bureaucratic educational structure: The structuring of educational organization into a well-knit hierarchical tiers was the first significant feature of the new educational system introduced by British Rulers. This organisational hierarchy which developed during the 19th century, it should be noted, persisted upto independence of India and still remains the basic framework of educational ladder.

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\* Due to the shift in the policy of the Government, with regard to employment by 1889, it was decided that certain types of jobs should not be given to Matriculates but to persons holding certificates of completion of course of 4 vernacular standards and 3 English standards. (Bharuchno Itihas by Ganapatram Desai, pp.237-38).

\*\*When Elphinstone retired in 1827, the people of Bombay subscribed a fund of two lakhs of rupees in order to commemorate his services to the province. The Court of Directors contributed an equal amount and the Elphinstone Institution was organized in Bombay in 1834, for higher studies. In 1857, the Bombay University came into existence and started conferring degrees from the year 1860. (History of Education in India, By Nurullah & Naik, pp.99, 272).

Here certain other features germane to the educational ladder should be noted. Though, the initiative and control of educational development lay in the hands of the Government, after 1854 the Government introduced a system of grants-in-aid to private schools. This policy while giving impetus to the establishment of private schools kept them under the control of the Government because grants were given on specific conditions. The private schools had to abide by certain fixed curriculum if they wanted the students to be either made eligible for joining college or for securing jobs in the Government Departments. Similarly old indigenous schools (which were still conducting education on old religious and traditional principles) were encouraged to grow and awarded grants provided that they streamlined their education by a certain minimum of secular teachings as laid down by the Government regulations.<sup>35</sup>

Another important private agency which in fact pioneered modern education in India and also in Gujarat, was the Missionaries. In the City of Bombay, for instance, the first educational institute was started in 1718, when the Reverend Richard Cobbe established a Charity School.<sup>36</sup>

Later on, American Missions, Church Missionary Society, Scottish Missionary Society and others started schools both for boys and girls.<sup>37</sup> Further with the introduction of local-boards and municipalities in various towns in the latter half of the 19th century, and with the shift in the policy of Government with respect to education as a result of the report of the Hunter Commission, numerous schools were started under the auspices of these organizations.\*

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\*In 1901 there were 2 government high schools, 269 primary schools, 1075 local board schools, 140 municipal schools, 78 aided and 18 un-aided schools in Gujarat. (Quinquennial Report, for 1897-98 - 1901-02, p.24).

Till 1840 as mentioned before, the educational activities were conducted through the agency of Native Education Society or by the direct patronage of any government officer, by some leading private individuals or the Missionaries. From 1840 to 1855, the Government managed the organization, spread and control of educational activities through a properly constituted Board of Education. However from 1855, as the head of the educational department with educational inspectors a Director of Education/in divisions and a cadre of visitors of schools in each districts took charge of the developmental, regulational and expansional function of education.

The Government in order to expand the modern education was trying various approaches. The Bombay Native Education Society conducted a survey of indigenous education during 1823-25. One of the question asked was, "Whether any inconvenience would arise from a rule that after a certain number of years, no person should be entertained as a Public Servant unless capable of Reading and Writing." The replies from Surat and Broach districts were that no inconvenience would be suffered excepting in the case of peons, provided schools are on sound footing, while Ahmedabad and Kaira opined that it would be better to restrict this criterion for promotion and not appointment.<sup>38</sup>

Similarly R.B. Mohanlal Zaveri, son of the famous educationist Ranchodlal and father of the renowned scholar and judge, D.B. Krishnalal Zaveri, gives a very intimate insight into how the visitors and inspectors were working under heavy odds to develop educational institutions. While narrating his experiences as a Visitor of Surat and Broach schools, he points out how due to the fact that Visitors had to start new schools by persuading local people or getting surety from

five or six leading persons from village or taluka, for payment of half the salary of the teachers, made their task extremely difficult. The higher authorities constantly demanded explanation from these visitors about the slowness of the spread, leading to great strains in the minds of the Visitors.<sup>39\*</sup> However this procedure led to considerable expansion of education.

With the development of the Educational Department with its hierarchy of offices, the Indians were slowly being appointed to the posts of Deputy Educational Inspectors, Assistant D.E.I., and Headmasters of high schools and primary schools. The educational department of the Presidency was directly or indirectly made responsible for administration, control, supervision and expansion of various types of educational institutions.

In brief, we find that during the 19th century, the educational system of Gujarat was elaborating two categories of hierarchic bureaucratic structures, one developing round grades of educational courses and manifesting itself into a ladder of primary, Anglo-vernacular, middle high schools and colleges tapering to university level, and the other a bureaucratic organization composed of a hierarchy of offices which developed round Educational Department. Further the educational system also

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\*~~When~~ The government adopted the policy of determining the quantum of extra-remuneration or promotion on the basis of number of students attending the school, sometimes led to unfortunate consequences. It was reported that in one school the teacher, in order to show that in his school there are a large number of students on the rolls prepared false entries, sometimes paid even the fees of non-attending students and even persuaded their parents to send them to the school on the day of examination. When such a grave misbehaviour was located, the teacher concerned was dismissed in spite of the fact that he was in the service for 19 years. (Nishal Paddhati Tatha Kelavani Khata na Circular, p.67).

included a category of educational bodies, private, missionary or semi-government and government which operated various educational institutions or chain of institutions.

The evolution of such a hierarchic, bureaucratic complex structure based on differentiation of functions and precise regulations wherein the smallest primary teacher was linked up with the highest head of the educational department, and wherein complex set of interlinked offices emerged, was the first distinct and important feature of modern education.

Fixed rules and procedures regarding appointment, salary and others: The introduction of fixed rules and procedures regarding appointment, promotion, scales of salary and other matters in the Educational Department as well as other institutions was another new feature of the organization of educational system. For instance, educational inspector was required to have passed Matriculation examination, a principal of a high school required graduation as a minimum qualification. Further educational department had worked out a hierarchic schemes of grades for different types of jobs, which started from a salary of Rs.50 and below and reaching upto Rs.300.<sup>40</sup> Even above these, there were posts of professors in various colleges <sup>with salaries of</sup> ~~drawing~~ Rs.500 and more. The primary <sup>paid</sup> teacher started with a salary of Rs.15/per month and in cash. Similarly arrangements for promotion on the basis of seniority and efficiency also were worked out. All these devices and procedures were novel features of the education introduced by British Rulers. The payment of a fixed salary in cash <sup>every</sup> ~~per~~ month with rules for graded promotion and even pension were features which were novel and negatived the entire edifice of the old system of education prevailing in pre-British period.

The new educational structure based on the principle of 'legal rational authority', manifested itself in various regulations passed by the Government which tried to put the whole educational personnel in legal, well defined framework.

As we mentioned in the 1st Chapter, the teachers in the indigenous schools were given payment in kind. The students would bring vegetables, tiles of the roof, grain and other articles as fees for their tuition.<sup>41</sup>

In the 19th century, definite rules regarding payment of salary were passed. In Surat, for instance, when it came to the notice of the Government, that certain teacher collected As.2 per student at the time of Divali as a sort of tip, the Government due to lack of evidence could not punish the teacher but passed a circular that, if any other case of such a nature crops up the person would be dismissed.<sup>42</sup> Similarly there were definite rules with regard to leave, transfer of service, undertakings, with regard to occupation, in other places and many other items. If a person failed to abide by rules he was punished according to the nature of the breach of law.<sup>43</sup> This shift from the ad hoc payment in kind to fix payment in cash put the primary school teachers in a different relationship with the people from that with the past.

Further the new offices and posts created in the educational system like those of school teachers, Assistant Masters, Head Masters, Inspectors and others were transferable like any other Government posts. As observed earlier, Durgaram Mehtaji was transferred from Surat to Rajkot. Similarly Mohanlal Zaveri was also transferred from Broach to Ahmedabad on special duty. Such transferability led to the

circulation of educational cadres. Similarly some of native states requested the Bombay Government to supply trained teachers and inspectors to start and run their educational institutions, and very often such requests were accepted by the educational department by loaning ~~and the~~ services of their own employees to these states.<sup>44\*</sup>

The introduction of these features in the modern educational structure manned by government was bound to have its repercussions on educational institutions run by private agencies also. The government increased its control over the private institutions as the time passed.

Differentiation and diversification in educational organization: The emergence of institutions catering to varied demands and diversified specializations was another feature of the new educational pattern in 19th century Gujarat. Along with the classification of institutions based on primary, middle <sup>and</sup> schools, high schools and colleges, we also find that separate institutions for girls and boys<sup>\*\*\*</sup> developing. We find schools for depressed and backward classes emerging; even morning and evening schools and classes were launched.

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\* Such loaning of the services created problems of adjustment in leave, promotion, pensions and such other matters, because such precise legal rules were not to be found in the Native States. (Refer to Nishafa Paddhati - School Systems).

\*\*\*As Mr. Covernton remarks, "Local circumstances and above all paucity of financial resources have very naturally induced a certain degree of co-education." (Occasional Reports No.2, Vernacular Reading Books in the Bombay Presidency - Covernton, p.18). Here we may mention that, special effort towards the development of female education was made before any reference came in the 'Wood's Dispatch'. The Missionaries of course were there on the field as observed but other private agencies like The Gujarat Vernacular Society also pioneered in inaugurating schools for females from 1848 onwards.

Another differentiation which is noticable is the emergence of varieties of institutions catering to diversified functions of the society. The law classes of Bombay and Ahmedabad, the medical schools and college, mid-wifery classes, commercial classes, agricultural classes\* are instances at point. Further institution for teaching and encouragement of art in all its forms in the Presidency was done through Jamshetjee Jejeebhoy School of Art at Bombay.<sup>45</sup> Efforts to prepare trained teachers for the newly growing schools were made from early times through institutions known as normal schools, which later on developed as training classes and colleges for male and female teachers.\*\* Efforts at starting technical education were made both by the Government and the private agencies. Of course, in this respect the hesitancy and luke-warm approach of the government throughout the century is obvious. The initial effort to give training in engineering was made by the Native Education Society in 1824. The knowledge was imparted through the mother-tongue. The precise aim of giving elementary technical education was to train people for <sup>the</sup>giving growing demand of ~~public~~ work in Public Departments. The aim was never to qualify Indians for superior posts. Therefore, it was declared even as late as 1888, "Technical education proper is the

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\*As reported in the Quinquennial Report of Education for the year 1897-98 - 1901-02, sometimes primary schools were divided into those having full vernacular course and those teaching five simple standards called rural standards, devised to meet the demand of agricultural population for short and simple education. Such schools were getting popular in N.Division (p.42.)

\*\*It was in such normal class that 1st primary teachers were prepared. Further, it was because of the need of learning the teaching methods which were gradually becoming scientific that reformer Mahipatram had gone to England, incidentally one of the earliest to cross sea facing opposition of the caste members, and subsequently being excommunicated for such crime. (Arvachin Gujarat nu rekha Darshan, Part II pp.34-38).



preparation of a man to take part in producing efficiently some special article of commercial demand. It is the cultivation of intelligence, ingenuity, taste, observation and manipulative skill, of those employed in industrial production, so that they may produce more efficiently. And thus technical education of the special as contra-distinguished from the preparatory kind is an auxiliary of manufacture and industrial capital. In India at the present time the application of capital to industry has not been developed to the extent which in European countries has rendered the establishment of technical schools on large scale an essential requisite of success."<sup>46</sup> In the same year, when the Government of India asked the local governments to undertake an industrial survey with a view to promote technical education of a special character, as might be applied for the service of the then existing industries and emphasised the necessity for giving a practical bias to general education. The Bombay Government considered such a survey unnecessary.<sup>47</sup> In spite of such hesitancy efforts were made at starting technical institutes. In Surat for instance in 1862-63 a Parsee gentleman named Fardunji Parekh gave a donation to the Government for starting <sup>an</sup> industrial school, which was subsequently known as 'Parekh School of Art & Industry'.<sup>48</sup> In Ahmedabad ~~also an~~ effort was ~~also~~ made by the famous Ranchodlal Chotalal, the pioneer in textile industry in Gujarat, to encourage the establishment of technical institute. Of course the most significant effort was made in Bombay, by founding the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute in 1888, when it was started by the then Governor of Bombay, Lord Reay<sup>who said:</sup> "What we are doing here is to supply to the artificer and the artisan of this Presidency that education which he wants, that education which will train his hand and eye, and through his hand and eye, also his mind, by the combination

and of manual of mental training."<sup>49</sup> Here a little elaborate reference to the development of technical education is made because the paucity of such institutions even today affects the technical training of the Indians. The figures of students taking technical education which might include training classes for teachers, medical schools, commercial schools and even drawing classes are very disappointing. In 1901-02, in the Gujarat zone, only 868 students were taking such training and there were only 14 such institutes imparting technical education.<sup>50</sup> In this field also most of the work was done by the Missionaries.<sup>51</sup> As mentioned in History of Education in India, "the vast majority of these were craft schools conducted by missionaries or local boards and only a few were technical schools proper."<sup>52</sup>

To sum up, the very fact of the emergence of such diverse educational institutions and training centres reveals the growing diversity and complexity of social system. Along with the emerging complex, political, economic and social structure of Gujarat, the new educational system which started in 1826 with the establishment of the first primary vernacular schools had by the end of 19th century elaborated into a complex web of multifold institutional units, concomitant to the similar complexity in the rest of the society.

Secularization of education: The secularization of education was another and a very significant feature of educational system which was introduced by the British Rulers. As we have noted earlier in this chapter, the British Rulers, due to a number of reasons had decided to keep the education secular. These reasons were expediency, preventing of Christian conversion zeal leading to discontent against British rule,

British policy of neutrality with regard to such deeply sensitive problems like religious faith, and prevalence of diverse religious faiths in the country.<sup>53\*</sup> While it did not suppress or close down the religious bodies to conduct educational activities and institutions, it deterred these bodies from teaching religion<sup>\*\*</sup> by three methods. It compelled them to teach secular courses, if they wanted grants or recognition from the government. It further refrained the Missionary schools from teaching religious doctrines to those students whose parents objected to such an education on grounds of their own faith and further it worked out a body of text-books on moral maxims, which were claimed to be founded on universal natural basis and not on the basis of dogmas of one religion or the other. Thus in spite of shifts in the basic motivations of imparting education to the people of India by Elphinstone, Bentinck, Macaulay, Dalhousie and others, all of them agreed that the education to be imparted to the Indians should be western and secular. The differences among the rulers were with regard to the medium through which education was to be imparted. As observed earlier Lord Elphinstone who inaugurated modern education in Gujarat, was not opposed to providing western secular education but was leaning towards providing it through vernacular medium.<sup>54</sup> Lord Elphinstone

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\*It is interesting to note that India was one of the first countries in the world to develop a system of secular education. "This policy was absolutely without precedent or parallel elsewhere besides being entirely opposed to the traditional idea of education current in the East." (Howell's statement quoted in 'India a Secular State by Smith, p.340).

\*\*Prof. Henderson in Bombay was one of the zealous propagandist of Christianity. In 1846, when he found that he was prohibited to propagate Christianity in the Government school where he was working, he decided to join Mr. Wilson's private school at half the salary. (Forbes Gujarati Sabha Quarterly, 1945, April-Sept., p.17).

in his minute of education stated that "neither religion nor any topic likely to excite discontent among the natives, should ever be touched on in its schools or publications...It is comparatively little use that people are taught to read, if their studies are to be confined to legends of Hindu gods."<sup>55</sup>

The need for imparting secular education at all stages generated a need for textbooks and other material for all stages. The emphasis on vernacular by Elphinstone in Western India, necessitated the production of such works in Gujarati and Marathi. As referred to earlier Ranchodlal Zaveri\* was called to Bombay to take charge of the production of such vernacular literature. Ranchodlal, his son, Mohanlal and many others undertook the work of producing such literature in Gujarati by translating a number of books. Works on Histories of Egypt, Greece, Babylonia, and Assyria, Aesop's fables, Arithmetic, Algebra, History of England, Geography of Asia, School systems, types of education, methods of teaching, physics, chemistry, astronomy and many others were being translated. Thus by producing works on modern sciences, educational principles and methods, moral codes, geography and secular histories for educational purposes, an impetus was given to the creation of a secular literature in Gujarat.<sup>56</sup> The publication of secular Gujarati educational works had another indirect effect, viz., stimulus to produce secular literature other than for educational

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\*It is interesting to note that poet Narmad's father who was an employee in the Government Press in Bombay at that time was the Scribe who copied the books for printing, on which the foundation of modern education was laid. (Mari Hakkikat by Narmad, pp.14.15).

curricular objects.\* The growth of translated literature developed to such an extent as remarked by an observer "that there was a rage of translated books in the 19th century."<sup>57</sup>

Even after, the medium of instruction was changed to English under the impact of the policy of Lord Macaulay when the vernacular was relegated to inferior status in the curriculum, it was decided to standardize the content of the text-books for vernacular seven standards.

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\* It would not be out of place to make reference to certain indirect consequences of this translation work from English to Gujarati.

1. The initiative of translating works from English to vernaculars was taken by the Maharashtrians in Bombay. Even grammar of Gujarati language was rendered into Gujarati from the Marathi Grammar by a Maharashtrian. Thus initially structural features of Marathi language had their imprint on Gujarati language. (Gujarat vernacular Society no Itihasa, pt.I, by H.Parek, p.40)
2. Further due to the fact that Education Department accepted Charotari - Ahmedabad - dialect for their own vernacular publications, out of various dialects prevalent in Gujarat, it gave its own stamp upon the emerging classical Gujarati by lending uniformity to the entire language in its own mould. As a result of this decision between the various dialects like Surti, Bharuchi, Saurastri, and others, the Charotari-Ahmedabadi dialect acquired dominance and became the axis round which uniform Gujarati language developed. (Occasional Reports No.2, by Government, p.11).
3. Here it may be mentioned that the Parsees had also their own impact on the structure of Gujarati language. In fact a distinction was tried to be made between "Parsee Gujaratee" and "Hindu Gujarati". Mr. Howard, the Educational Director of Bombay in 1859, wanted to set separate papers in 'Parsee Gujaratee' and 'Hindu Gujarati' for the Matriculation examination. Mr. Karsandas Muljee wrote a scathing article in 1860 criticising this move and declared that Gujaratee language is one. (Forbes Gujarati Sabha Quarterly, 1949, April-Sept., p.47).

In 1857, Mr. Hope, the Educational Inspector of Gujarat Division was entrusted with <sup>the job of</sup> preparing a reading series, hierarchically graded from 1st Standard to 7th Standard giving a sort of integrated general knowledge of the world. A small book committee of 5 persons\* connected with education was formed.<sup>58</sup> They divided the total content into 5 major divisions viz., i) General education and general knowledge, ii) Topics concerning morality and geography, iii) Topics on Botany and Zoology, iv) History and v) Gujarati poem either to be newly written or to be collected from already existing literature; but the content of the poem was to be liberal.

Generally for each section a person was entrusted with the collection of data and formulation of the topic to be incorporated in the reading material. Poet Dalpatram for instance was entrusted with the last item viz. Composition of poem on topics emphasising new liberal rational scientific attitude. Mahipatram used to help him in selecting the topic of the poem. The procedure of finalizing the selection was elaborate and the decision was first taken collectively by the Committee, and thereupon after getting the final consent of Mr. Hope that the selection was declared fit for the series. Further a small committee of experts, which included Mehtaji Durgaram, Poet Narmad, Poet Dalpatram and Shastree Vrajilal for setting the standard of Gujarati orthography was appointed.<sup>59</sup> Here we may mention that while preparing this series necessity of a common Gujarati Dictionary was highly felt.<sup>60</sup> Further

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\* The names of the 6 persons were as follows: i) Mohanlal Ranchoddas, ii) Mahipatram Roopram, iii) Bhogilal Pranvallahdas, iv) Pranlal Mathuradas, v) Mayaram Shambhunath and vi) Poet Dalpatram.

it may also be mentioned that this series was acclaimed best in all such vernacular series prepared in the whole of India.<sup>61</sup> It was through the lessons of this series that foundation of modern ideas in the children of Gujarat were laid for 50 years. It was only in 1908 that Mr. Covernton was appointed to find out the possibilities of improvement in the new series of Gujarati Readings.<sup>62</sup>

This point is emphasised here to indicate how the British Rulers through the special texts even at primary stage, were introducing new liberal, rational and scientific values, a phenomena which is in marked contrast to the basic religious content of the pre-British educational curriculum.

Further in primary schools entirely different curriculum was introduced from that which existed in indigenous village schools. In the indigenous schools emphasis was on useful calculations. In the new vernacular schools the three Rs, History, Geography, Trigonometry, Mensuration were taught.<sup>63</sup>

In the secondary education where English was introduced as a medium, the curriculum hinged round training for correct English. Teaching of grammar and correct writing were central topics round which a sprinkling of history, geography, science and mathematics were added. At collegiate level, compulsory English with literature, mathematics, political economy, history, geography, chemistry and physics and Sanskrit and Persian were introduced as subjects to be taught in limited proportions. In literature, the English and European literature were given prime importance.

After 1862, modern Indian languages <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ permitted to remain on an optional basis at the Matriculation examination.<sup>64</sup> ~~It~~ <sup>They</sup> did not find its ~~time~~

place in the university examinations. The then Educational Director Sir J.B. Peile in 1873, stated that as there is too much burden on the students' mind, number of poems taught in the vernaculars should be lessened. The educationist Navalram writes on this occasion, "If students could be taught Shakespeare and Milton, then why not Nalakhyana? (a longer poem by the famous poet Premanand)"<sup>65</sup> With all the limitations, the secular curriculum, familiarized the mind of the student with events happening not merely in his village or town but also taking place on an all India and world scale. The student was initiated to the artistic creations not only of Gujarati poets like ~~Narsinh~~ <sup>Narsinh</sup> Premanand, Samal, ~~Narsing~~ and others, not only of Kalidas and Bhavbhuti but of giants of European and English literature like Shakespeare, Milton, Shelly, Keats, Byron, Wordsworth and others. The student who was generally fed on a mythological conceptions of Astronomy, Geography and others, started having a correct vision of global geography and the place of India and his own area in this matrix. An interesting illustration of this phenomenon could be narrated. In 1837, a vernacular teacher tried from local material to construct the globe of the world, with all the reliefs of mountains and seas, and also tried to fabricate a model of solar system.<sup>66</sup>

In brief the new educational system widened the mental horizon of the student on one hand and on the other hand, gave a background of scientific knowledge, thus slowly developing a rational, objective explanatory powers for assessing social and natural phenomena.

The British Rulers in short evolved an educational structure, which was not only new in its organization but also different in content and approach. The Gujarati society thus experienced a qualitative



change in the content of the courses prescribed by its educational system, a change which both revealed the overall change in Gujarati society as well as fulfilled new functions which Gujarati society then required.

In the next section we observe the role of this change in the educational system for changing the rest of the society.

### III

#### THE ROLE OF THE NEW EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN CHANGING GUJARATI SOCIETY

After examining the motives and reasons behind the introduction of new education, the salient features both in terms of structure and content of the modern education, we will now examine the significance of this education for changing Gujarati society in 19th century.

1. The first significance of the modern educational system lay in the fact that it broke the monopoly of education by priestly castes. Education in pre-British India was always accessible to the ascribed castes. Brahmins had the monopoly of higher education. Education being considered a sacred phenomenon, was prescribed for others. The modern educational system opened the gates to all irrespective of caste, sex or religion. It was specifically mentioned in one of the works on school systems that, simple reading, writing, and calculation should be known to everybody, from king to an untouchable, men and women alike.<sup>67</sup> Whether during the 19th century members of all the castes, creeds or sex could take to education or not is a different problem. What is significant here is the fact that after a very long time in the history of Gujarat society, this great instrument of cultivation and transmission of culture was made available to all.

The modern education introduced in the 19th century finally did away with the custom and taboos prohibiting access to education to all. The new battles which started in 19th century and which were to become more acute and bitter were to take place round how to break the practical actual limitations which persisted and which thwarted the actual realization of this theoretical achievement.

This break-down of the monopoly of the Brahmins over education and the opening of the opportunities to all, was a decisive change in the life of Gujarati society. Poet Narmadashankar makes very significant observation on this change: "During last twenty years (1848-1868) Banias are scoring over Brahmins in educational field all over Gujarat, the power of Brahmins is declining....Banias are becoming learned and also now preach to the people....Among the nine persons who were awarded B.A. degree by university, the only Nagar (a variety of Brahmin) is dead and out of the remaining eight, five are Banias, two Kayasthas and one Brahmakhatra. The Brahmakhatra has secured M.A. degree." #Three Banias and two Kayasthas have secured LL.B. degree from Madras University. In Engineering Department a Bania and a Kayastha have gained fame for their proficiency. There are two Kayasthas and two Banias who have passed medical examination. Among famous lawyers one is Kayastha and one Brahmakhatra. Among the well-known fifteen learned persons in educational department along with 10 Brahmins there are also three Banias and two Brahmakhatris. Even among these ten who can be called authors, along with six Brahmins, there are four Banias. Among those who write frequently in English newspapers, there are about four Banias and two or three Brahmins."<sup>68</sup>

This breakdown of monopoly over education and its accessibility to all, generated a number of currents in social life. Education from being ascribed to certain groups, became phenomena achievable by all.\* This generated a climate of aspiration to achieve it among people.

Further by making education a prerequisite for a large number of jobs and further because education provided a means for status and power-giving jobs and professions it generated ferment and competition among people to take to education. In short by opening education to all, a new mobility was generated among different groups and social strata in Gujarati society. Further by bringing persons belonging to various castes, communities and religious faiths within the same educational institutions and classes, a current of breaking the physical, psychological and social distance was started. It assisted the process of mingling of people belonging to various castes, communities and religions. This was the first great significance of modern education introduced in 19th century.

2. The second great significance of the new education introduced in Gujarat lay in the fact it generated a uniform secular approach among the students cultivating it from primary stage and ending it at college level. Thus a new this-worldly climate was being generated among those who took to education. This new approach had far reaching consequences on the attitudes and actions of those who took to education. The impact of the political, economic, social and cultural forces that were bringing about repercussions in Gujarati society, were now

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\*The government issued a circular in 1880, that the untouchables have as much right to education as the Brahmins and Baniyas. (Gujarat Shalapatra, 1880-81, p.192)

reacted to and appraised by the new educated groups in a different way. These groups started analysing the consequences of these changes in terms of their effect on this life in this world and strove to change them with the lever of new valuation.

3. The third significance of the new educational system elaborated on a hierarchical ladder from primary to collegiate level lay in the fact that in the context of the growing complex economic-political structure, educational activity gets separated from other functions, is taken out from home or from the residential premises of the priestly castes and is elaborated as a distinct function of society. This fact is very well brought out by Mr. Navalram when he describes the condition of education in Gujarat in the late eighties of 19th century. In the new system, it was the aim to see that children come to school by the time they are eight years' of age. Those parents who have eyes on civil service will have to send their children at the age of 5 years even to school. In short, in this context, the parents cannot cope up with the various needs of education. Education has to be imparted in the special institutions organized for that purpose.<sup>69</sup>

Educational activity now becomes a distinct, separate activity of society, requiring specialized associations and institutions. Though there were separate educational institutions in pre-British Gujarat like Tolls, Pathshalas, Chatuspadis, Madressa or Agiari schools, most of them were attached to some religious organizations. Further the various educational units were not woven both structurally and in terms of content with one another. The introduction of modern educational system, freed it from other institutions, made it relatively autonomous, and transformed education into a massive, highly specialized,

well-knit continuous activity. The separation of educational activity from home, caste or religious organizations, was indicative of the new society which was developing a complex web based on separation of political, economic and cultural activities from family, caste and religion.\*

The modern education introduced in 19th century, also proved that the needs of the growing large-scale society could not be satisfied by old methods of educational transmission. It is interesting to note that the issues which emerged at the end of the 19th century as well as during twentieth century were not the ones of going back to the past educational systems, but to improve, refine, diversify the new educational system introduced in 19th century. The agitation launched by leaders of the people was for more of modern education, was also for change in the curriculum in such a manner that the limitations imposed by British Rule were eliminated. Similarly the struggles which started developing against the limitations of the modern education, were for improving the quality of education, to reduce the cost of education, to put more content dealing with the actual life of the Indian people and for giving equal opportunities in educational departments between whites and Indians, as well as for suggesting medias of education to replace the foreign language. All these proved that new education had come to stay. It had to be adjusted, modified, and reconstituted in light of the needs of the Indian people rather than to suit the needs of British Administration.

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\*Another indication of the separation of education from other activities is that special educational endowments of individuals and castes were emerging. Most of the caste associations were having educational funds.

4. The fourth significance of the modern education introduced during 19th century was that it created the possibility and slowly started replacing in certain fields, the old leadership based on heredity by a new leadership based on education.

As quoted by McCally "not the Rajas and Nabobs not the Rai Bahadurs, but the educated middle class men who though poor and young, yet wield the power which education affords. Education was reviving the energies of the Indians which had been dormant for so long a time. It was fostering in him a spirit of nationality lifting him up from the mire of many social prejudices, preparing his mind for the reception of liberal ideas and for the use of political and social liberty."<sup>70</sup>

The new secular education, which while absorbing a large section of the educated strata into administration and other employments, and also while creating a section of aping bureaucrats and officials, generated a small but sensitive section among the educated strata, who absorbed the profound rational, liberal, equalitarian and democratic content of the culture of the west which it imbibed through the study of Western Philosophy, History, Sciences, Economics, Politics and Literature. This section of the educated class, realized the ~~liberating~~ <sup>liberalising</sup> role of the new economy and polity in contrast to the feudal, traditional economy and polity. Some of the sensitive members of the section started examining the institutional and cultural basis of the pre-British society and started criticising them on rational grounds. They observed the suffocating fetters of caste, superstitious and authoritarian, traditional, values and felt like launching movements to reform the social and religious order. They in the course of time

further started seeing through the contradiction between the claims of the British rulers and their discriminatory practices and thus while appreciating some of the fruits of British Rule also started developing critique of racial, economic, political and other policies. Navalram while evaluating the movement for reform of the society, attributes all kudos to western education. He considers that till English education continues, the mainspring of social reform and other progress will persist inspite of the zigzags experienced by social reformers, administrators and associations.<sup>71</sup> Navalram further very pithilly points out the consequences of education in the following words:-

i) "The general knowledge about world is the first clear benefit of English education... Though the people even before the introduction of education, were often well versed in some crafts and lores, were wise, understanding, straightforward and practical, they had hardly any knowledge of the world, of our country, of their own province. They hardly possessed, any - rather were blank about - true knowledge about things in their surrounding. The people of even cities like Surat and Ahmedabad felt each other as foreigners and were hating one another - the English education in contrast provided world view" (जगत ज्ञान)<sup>72</sup> Those who took English education almost experience a new cultural rebirth.

ii) Another powerful force which accompanied English education was rationalism. Rationalism is that doctrine which implies that everything that stands to the test of reason is true and whatever cannot stand this test is false. This rationalist doctrine became the powerful weapon and feature of reform.<sup>73</sup>

iii) The third consequence of English education according to Navalram was the emergence of the idea of equality of men. As Navalram puts it: "After the British rule, a sense of dignity of man is slowly emerging as a sentiment both in ideas and behaviour. Sense of freedom is a consequence of the above sentiment - the talks of the equality of woman with man and right for freedom etc. are manifestations of the above two values."<sup>74</sup>

iv) Another consequence of the British rule and education was, that it generated positive desires for things of life which stimulate people to be industrious. Thus development of positive, active, industrious this worldly approach among the people was the last significant consequence of British education in India and Gujarat.<sup>75</sup>

Educated class pioneer of literary and reform movements: Under the impact of modern education, a small class of intellectuals emerged, who not merely studied English language but assimilated the values underlying western culture. These intellectuals started numerous currents in society. They became pioneers of literary renaissance, social reform, religious reform, founders of a new press and journalism, as well as leaders of new economic and political movements.

In this background Durgaram challenges the practitioners of black magic, and propagates reform of widow-remarriage. Dalpatram hails the new industrial development, new education and carries on a crusade against a number of social customs through his propagandist literature. Poet Narmad symbolizes the new spirit of reform in flaming colours and carries on a challenging fight for social and religious reform. Karsandas challenges the highest Vaishnava high priest and organizes the first widow-remarriage. Dadabhai Naoroji, Badrudin



Tyabjee, Behramjee Malbari, Mahipatram, Navalram, Lalshankar Umasankar, Ambalal Sakar Lal, Bholanath Sarabhai, Ramanbhai Nilkanth and a host of others became the pioneers of the socio-reform and religio-reform movements. These intellectuals also founded number of associations, and journals, to carry on these activities.

The new intelligentsia in the process of evolving techniques to propagate their views, like organizing public meetings and debates, and associations, also utilized written media, and became the pioneers and leaders in the field of press, journalism and literature. Dadabhai Naoroji, Poet Narmad, Dalpatram, Karsandas, Iccharan Surya Ram, Manilal Nabhoobhai, and a host of leaders became leading journalists and started a number of journals.

Similarly the newly educated intelligentsia developed Gujarati literature as a means of presenting their views and thus created a new epoch of modern Gujarati literature. In fact, modern literature begins with them. The whole period of 19th century is divided into two parts, viz., period from 1845<sup>\*</sup>-1886, and from 1887-1900(though the second period extends upto 1905), the former is known as Dalpat-Narmad era and the latter is known as the scholar era (Sakshar yuga).<sup>76</sup>

In both the phases the common feature is the predominance of the influence of western culture, on the writers.<sup>77</sup> Most of the writers came in contact with the English language and literature through education taken in newly started schools and colleges.<sup>\*\*</sup> The new intelligentsia

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<sup>\*</sup>Poet ~~Burghese~~ <sup>Dayaram</sup> the last guard of the pre-modern literature died in 1852; while the first poem of Dalpatram was written in 1845, and first prose writing in 1851 by Narmad.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Poet Narmadashankar, Navalram, Dhayabhai Derasari, Govardhanram, Manilal Nabhoobhai, Manishankar Bhatt, and many others had imbibed new ideas in the colleges.

nurtured in English literature and English thought was ventilating new thoughts, aspirations, strivings and views through literature.\*

These new literateurs not only introduced new forms in prose such as essays, novel, drama, autobiography, diary, travel account, but they also cultivated the traditional forms such as poetry and criticism in the new spirit.<sup>78</sup> Poet Narmad is the initiator of prose writings, such as essays and autobiography. He wrote the history of the world in Gujarati. He was also the pioneer in writing poems depicting the subjective mood, and individual reactions.\*\*

Dalpatram wrote on prosody and provided a massive creation of poems on liberal principles. Nandashankar inaugurates the historical novel, while Govardhanram projects a classic social novel. Navalram introduces modern methods of literary criticisms, Narsinrao coming under the impact of Keats, Shelly, Wordsworth, develops the romantic poems in Gujarat. Not merely did the intelligentsia evolve new forms of literature but initiated a qualitative transformation in the content of literature. Till the early 19th century, the themes chosen by poets and "Akhyankars" were predominantly religious or mythological. The new intelligentsia a product of changed politico-economic and cultural set up inaugurated new themes. They chose subjects which were social, secular, and this worldly.<sup>79</sup> Even the amazing beauty of nature was also being appreciated and experienced as natural. Serious social-

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\*In the Elphinstone College the arrival of Elphinstone Professors from England from 1835 had a very significant effect on the Indian students. Studies of romantic poetry, Shakespeare's dramas, Palgrave's Golden Treasury and Philosophies of Schopenhauer and Kant had tremendous influence on the students. (Gandhakshat, *Rowal A.* pp. 256; 258)

\*\*Narmad was the first to coin the word for 'emotion' in Gujarati (Lagani).

political theories became the raw material for working out artistic creation. Narmad's poems on patriotism, Dalpatram's artistic works on a large number of social items, and even on industrialization, Iccharam Surya Ram's directly political novels, Govardhanram's epoch making novel 'Saraswatichandra' in 4 parts, hinging round problems of joint-family system, individual's psychological turbulations, obstacles to love marriage intricacies of life in the native states and such others reveal the change which was manifested in the themes of literary creations.

Educated class-pioneers of economic and political reforms: The new intelligentsia, were also the harbingers of new economic and political demands. Though a number of these intellectuals were upset about the decline of old handicrafts and artisan industries,<sup>80</sup> they started propagating for industrialization. Navalram says, "To renovate local techniques there are only two roads open; first and the most important is to learn the crafts and machine production developed in Europe and introduce them in India."<sup>81</sup> Hargovandas Kantawalla puts forward arguments for the protection of Indian industry. Narmad, through his writings, advocates the use of joint stock company as a form of organization to be utilised in production. Dalpatram in his poem 'Hunnarkhanni Chaddhai' (The Advent of Industrialization) portrays the necessity of industrializing India. The essay competitions organized by the various associations of that period, centred upon not only social reform topics such as 'Child-Marriage', 'Widow Remarriage', 'Foreign Travel', but were also organized on topics such as 'Banks', 'Encouragement to Indigenous Crafts', 'Recurring Famines', 'Local Self-Government' and many others revealing the new economic and political trends of the Gujarati society.

The limitations of British Rule were being pointed out by the very writers and leaders who initially saw its progressive significance in contrast to past conditions. Durgaram, Dalpatram, Narmad and others criticised the British Rule. Even the revivalist group of political thinkers like Iccharam Surya Ram, Narayana Vasanji, Manilal Nabhoobhai, Govardhanram ; Zaverilal Yagnik, and others launched more sharp attacks against British Rule, leading to the works of some of them being suppressed by the Government. All these writers and political leaders as observed in Chapter III also criticised the contradictions between the democratic pretensions and authoritarian practices of the rulers, as well as revolted against the racial arrogance and discrimination practised by the Britishers.

The political awakening is also linked up with the educated classes. Sir R.P. Masani while delineating the misgivings of John Bright with regard to achievement of India's freedom, mentions, "It is strange that so sympathetic a friend of India as Bright with his faith in the fruits of liberal education and of training in democracy, should have so underrated the power of education in English and of English thought and institutions for this type of education had in fact already brought about a transformation in Indian society...The process of enlightenment had commented... Victorian Indian was in fact making phenomenal progress in imbibing ideas of political freedom and the principles of democratic and constitutional government... Newspapers and books in English and in the regional languages circulating throughout India, supplemented the work of the educational institutions and facilitated the forging of new links between one part of the country and another."<sup>82</sup> It seems that prediction of Trevelyan with regard to the role of this new class of educated Indians who would demand British

democratic institutions in India as a result of liberal thought, appeared to be proving correct. In Gujarat also the group of persons who had seen the doors of university education began to point out the defects of newly emerging local self governing institutions like municipality,<sup>83</sup> and press for the provision of more and more representative institutions.<sup>84</sup> Along with other political leaders from Gujarat like Zaverilal Yagnik, Sir Chimanlal Setalwad, Ichharam Desai, Gokuldas Parekh and others, there were two towering significant personalities which deserve to be noted. Dadabhai Naoroji more known as the grand old man of India and Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, though belonging to the Parsee community and operating in Bombay had their influence in Gujarat also. Dadabhai, through his inspiring presence the Elphinstone College, influenced the life of many students taking higher education.<sup>85</sup> Further through his pen in 'Rastgoftar' he vindicated the cause of social reform, while his active and intimate participation in the origin and development of East India Association in England, brought to the forefront the political and economic problem of India. His exposure of economic policies of the British rule, tried to impart a new vision in the understanding of the complexities of Indian society. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta through his association with the Indian National Congress and more particularly his active and zealous participation in the Municipal affairs of Bombay, also gave a lead to the liberal political aspirations of Gujaratis.

In short, as a result of new education, and as a result of acquaintance with the great European political, economic, social, legal and literary works, a new educated stratum nurtured in liberal ideals, rational approach, secular outlook and a new sense of history, emerged and which became the pioneer of numerous currents mentioned above.

This was another great significance of the introduction of western education in Gujarat.

To conclude, the inauguration of new educational system in Gujarat not merely widened the scale of, and deepened relationship, but introduced a qualitative transformation in the entire structure and content of educational order. It further subserved the needs of the new politico-economic set up which was emerging in Gujarat, and also provided a new value system to extend the social relationships. It started replacing the old hereditary leadership based on traditional criteria of status, and began to substitute a new type of leadership in society. The new education also generated a number of problems like the problem of a national language, the problems of medium of instruction as well as the orientation of education.

All these developments were new and really indicated how as a result of introduction of modern education a qualitative change had taken place in Gujarat in the 19th century.

That the educational system has undergone qualitative and quantitative change and further that this change is both an index as well as initiator of the change in wider social relationships of Gujarati society during 19th century can be considered as fact beyond doubt.

#### IV

#### EVALUATION OF THE ROLE OF MODERN EDUCATION IN GUJARATI SOCIETY

While recognizing the fact that British rulers introduced the fact that a qualitatively different type of education during the 19th century it should be noted that this education which was introduced by the British Rulers for various reasons mentioned earlier in the chapter, suffered from numerous limitations which had peculiar repercussions

in the Gujarati society with its peculiar traditional setting. We will now indicate the limitations of the new education and evaluate how these limitations generated unique problems in Gujarati society both in terms of the growth of educational system itself as well as in terms of its effects on wider economic, political, social and cultural life. With a view to indicate these peculiar limitations we will indicate here the various motives which prompted the new rulers to inaugurate the modern education.

1. The first primary need of the British Rule in the nineteenth century was to provide a personnel for its growing complex politico-economic machinery. Administrative necessity had already forced the government to undertake a certain amount of vernacular education in the early thirties. In the Report on the working of public schools under the management of Native Education Society in 1834, it was categorically stated that in Gujarat, several boys trained in such schools commenced their career in the public service. The Komavisdars reported that due to their superior education they became quickly versed in the duties of Tallatee or village accountant and the Mamlatdar many a times preferred them to all other applicants.<sup>87</sup> In fact a great deal of correspondence was proceeding between the Revenue Commissioner Williamson, the Government of Bombay and Bombay Native Education Society on the desirability of training "to the duties of revenue servants some of the most promising youths brought up in the schools of the 'Native Education Society'".<sup>88</sup> It was further stated, that this scheme will not only increase the efficiency of the revenue department but, will also provide "a practical proof of the advantages of education and an assurance that each of the rising generation as will but make good use of the opportunities of instruction now at their command, cannot fail to profit from so doing."<sup>89</sup>

Similarly the first engineering institution which was started in 1823, was to train the boys from the education society's charity school as surveyors. It was decided "to graft on survey establishment a plan for instructing natives in some of the mechanical arts and the lower branches of sciences which might render them useful in superintending public works under European engineers."<sup>90</sup> For the same need medical school at Bombay in 1825 decided to start "an institution to be formed at the Presidency for the instruction of the natives in medicine and to be called a school for native doctors."<sup>91</sup> Another plan of similar nature of employing educated Indians to civil service was prepared by Capt. Sutherland.<sup>92</sup> This policy of employment of Indians in lower services was approved by the Parliament, as is seen from the statement which had been made in 1832, that this policy of employment would have a beneficial effect in correcting the moral obliquities of their general character, would strengthen their attachment to British dominion, would conduce to the better administration of justice and would be productive of a great saving in the expenses of the Indian Government.<sup>93</sup> \* In short though the declared aim of education might be anything, the main force behind introducing modern education was manning the Indians for administrative needs. This is also revealed by the fact that though education in the time of Lord Elphinstone was to be based on vernacular translations of the European literature and sciences, it was found that the said scheme was proving very expensive.<sup>94</sup> Mr. Francis Warden while opposing the scheme of Elphinstone with regard to vernacular as a medium of

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\*In the Wood's Dispatch it was stated, "We have always been of opinion that the spread of education in India will produce a greater efficiency in all branches of administration by enabling you to obtain the services of intelligent and trustworthy persons in every department of Government, and on the other hand we believe that numerous vacancies of different kinds which have constantly to be filled up, may afford a great stimulus to education. (History of Education in India, *Nurullah and Naik* p.212)



instruction, declared, "No doubt, the progress of knowledge can be most effectually and economically promoted by a study of the English language, wherein in every branch of science, we have, ready compiled, the most useful works, which cannot be compressed in tracts and translated in native languages without great expense and the labour of years."<sup>95</sup> This utilitarian motive had generated certain limitations in the system of education which we will refer to subsequently in this section.

2. The second need of the British Rulers in introducing the modern education was to create a class of supporters for their rule in India.

As observed by Trevelyan, "the educated classes, knowing that the elevation of their country on these principles can only be worked out under our protection will naturally cling to us. They even now do so. There is no class of the subject to whom we are so thoroughly necessary as those whose opinions have been cast~~e~~ in the English world, they are spoiled for a purely native regime."<sup>96</sup> This is further amplified in Macaulay when in his famous statement he had declared in his Minute of Education that "we must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions of whom we govern - a class of persons Indian in blood and culture but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect."<sup>97</sup> We can visualize this end being realized, in the sense that, majority of the persons composing the intelligentsia, were active supporters of the British Rule. Poet Dalpatram, Navalram, Narmad, Karsandas, Govardhanram, Mahipatram, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and all others at one place or the other were singing the praise of the British Rulers. They were the liberal expression

of the political thought. Even the most extreme critic of the injustices generated by the Britishers, Ichharan Suryaram Desai, editor of the weekly 'Gujarati' who had written a very scathing work called 'Hind and Brittannia' also wrote a book in the praise of Queen Victoria. The political aspirations of the most ardent extremists were not the overthrow of the British from Indian territory but to appeal to the British Rulers to introduce those democratic institutions which were prevailing in Britain. Dadabhai Naoroji, a renowned writer of "Poverty and Un-British Rule of India" was also the representative of liberal wing of political thought. Thus new education did succeed in creating a class of persons who were directly or indirectly supporting the British Rule. Narmad describes this phenomenon in very able terms, "Government encourages English education. One can understand that the aim is on the one hand to meet the demand of English knowing persons in their own departments, and on the other with the increase of English education and advantages accruing from this may lead to a sort of love for the ruling classes."<sup>98</sup>

The policy of deliberately creating their supporters is revealed in the statement made by Elphinstone in his Minute of Education. "It is observed that the Missionaries find the lowest castes the best pupils; but we must be careful how we offer any special encouragement to men of that description; they are not only the most despised, but among the least numerous of the great division of society; and it is to be feared that if our system of education first took root among them it would never spread further and in that case we might find ourselves at the head of a new class superior to the rest in useful knowledge but hated and despised by the castes to whom these new attainments would always

induce us to prefer them."<sup>99</sup> Sir John Malcolm felt that Brahmins were hard hit by the new education which they introduced (because doors of modern education were open to all) and therefore they must make all efforts to conciliate this class.<sup>100</sup>

The consequence of the above policy was that it would create a class which would imitate the British ruling class in its consumption pattern. This is bound to have its economic repercussions.<sup>101\*</sup>

In Gujarat as we have observed in the previous chapter many a time, the blame for the decreasing demand of the indigenous products is thrown on the educated classes. Navalram exasperately remarks at one place, "they (educated persons) are the real buttresses of the foreign products."<sup>102</sup>

These needs of the British rule put certain limitations on the development of modern education in Gujarat. The major limitations are as follows:-

1) In spite of the fact that conscious efforts to educate the people were started from 1826, we observe that numerically the progress was not very significant. At the end of the last century in Gujarat there were 1305 schools of various categories and 100,350 students studying at various levels. The estimated population of Gujarat was 27,02,099<sup>103</sup> thus hardly 4 per cent of the population of Gujarat could have an access to modern education and further even out of this small

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\*The Wood's Dispatch declared that the advancement of European 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...secure to us a large and more certain supply of many articles necessary for our manufacture." (Quoted in The Indian Middle Classes by Misra, p.155)

per cent, only an insignificant number attained higher education.

This is revealed from the fact that in the years 1898-1901, only 399 students were studying in the 3 colleges and one law class in Gujarat division.<sup>\*104</sup>

Further after 1882 educational development predominantly rested with the private agencies. We therefore notice that expenditure of the government on higher education is very meagre. In 1900-1901, following was the distribution of funds.

Expenditure	University Education		School Education			
	Arts colleges	Professional colleges	Secondary schools	Primary schools	Training schools	All other special schools
Provincial expenditure	6 %	2.6%	21.3%	40.9%	4.3%	9.1%
Local funds	.7	-	.5	84.3	4.1	1.8
Municipal expenditure	2.0	-	8.0	80.0	.8	3.7
Total expenditure	4.5	2	27.0	46.8	2.4	4.7

Source: Administrative Report for the year 1900-1901 for Bombay Presidency, p.444.

All these facts reveal the fact that vast majority of the population of Gujarat was deprived of the advantages of new educational system, in the 19th century.

2) Secondly, the education was predominantly job-oriented. As Mahipatram has pointed out, "the British Government has been starting schools, only for manufacturing English writing clerks for their offices."<sup>105</sup>

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\* The figures of Gujarati students studying at the Elphinstone College in Bombay are not included.

McCully also refers to this phenomenon that, 'the luckiest of them (educated Indians) is often too glad to begin life as Mamlatdar's clerk.'<sup>106</sup> This fact is also very vividly described by Navalram, when he points out how with the growth of various government departments including railway and others which provided jobs to the English knowing persons, slowly the skepticism\* with regard to the motives of the modern education and resultant apathy towards this education was replaced by enthusiasm for new education, leading to a rush for getting education in schools.<sup>107</sup>

The 'job-orientation' of the education had the following implications:-

a) As observed in Chapter III, predominantly provincial and subordinate services in various departments of the government were open for educated Indians. In the most of the inferior jobs, only a certain amount of competence in English and, a little background of general knowledge was all that was required. This fact gave a highly liberal bias with overemphasis on English grammar, syntax and such other training resulting in certain competence in English language. "Its (the educational system) object was to impress on middle class Indian youths the glory and grandeur of Britain and to train them to be competent servants of a foreign bureaucracy. It was vocational education with a vengeance vocational education...which threw the weight of the curriculum on such matters as English syntax Shakespearean prosody and the dates of kings and queens who had reigned over England."<sup>108</sup>

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\*Skepticism was revealed with regard to modern education when the general atmosphere was that the people thought that main aim of education was either to convert them into Christianity or to take them as soldiers in the army. (Dadoba Naval Granthavali, pt.II, p.73); Same type of Skepticism was exhibited in Maharashtra also. (refer to Dadoba Pandurang by A.K. Priyolkar, p.27).

b) As we have observed in the chapter on Economic Changes in Nineteenth Century, the British Government was not interested in industrializing India. It therefore not merely prevented the growth of industries in India but it also found very little need for the development of growth of technically trained personnel for industrial development.<sup>109</sup> As we noted before in the chapter, the definition of technical education was such that the whole teaching was merely theoretical rather than practical in the limited technical institutes existing in India.

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c) It may be pointed out that as a result of abovementioned limitation, the professional education merely confined to Law,\* Teaching and to a very little extent Medicine.\*\* For the majority of the students, modern education was merely a training for subordinate vocation. It was not the true liberal education, aiming at the development of the total personality of the student.

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\*As in other parts of India, legal profession attracted the newly educated classes, to a very great extent. Well-known Gujarati pleaders in the Bombay High Court in 1893 were, Nagindas Marfatia, Sir Gokuldas Parekh, Govardhanram Tripathi, Chimanlal Setalvad, Motilal Munishi, Manchha Shankar Vakeel, Mukundrai Mehta, Lallubhai Shah, Mansukhrām Mehta, Nandvadan Mehta, Uttamlal Trivedi, Baldeoji Dhru. (Arvachin Gujarati Shikshan na Sava so Varsha, p.86). In a city like Nadiad, among the Vadanagal Nagar caste, upto 1900, there were 6 graduates of Arts, 11 Law graduates and 2 persons who had passed the pleader examination. (Madhavram Smarika by Tripathi Govardhanram, p.22).

\*\*As there was religious bias against the touching of dead bodies, very few Gujarati Hindus were attracted to this profession. One gentleman from Kayastha caste and one from Brahmin caste took to medicine in the initial stages. (Dharma Vichara by Narmad, pp.25, 88).

d) Another consequence of the 'job-orientation' motive of the education was that it was unreal. The curriculum though secular, was essentially moulded on western pattern. The neglect of Indian background, in the modern education, on the one hand led to the criticism of educational system by a section of intelligentsia, while on the other hand created a gulf between the educated class and the mass of people.

The intellectuals such as Govardhanram, Navalram and others pointed out the unreal character of the education. The indigenous schools used to give instructions at least in calculations which could be useful to them in their daily transactions but this education was designed in such a manner that it neither gave mastery on calculations nor was local in content. as One gentleman said: that "Why are you just babbling words of geography and astronomy when you do not know anything about number of talukas in Ahmedabad?"<sup>110</sup> In the weekly, 'Satyaprakash' while depicting the picture of indigenous schools, it was reported that when in newly established schools the parents found that students were taught to learn laws of grammar, geography of Europe and Asia, but taught nothing about daily calculations, they took away their children from those schools.<sup>111</sup> McCully refers to this phenomenon in his pithy style, "Let them measure a piece of land or cast up a common account or keep a merchant's books, and they are quite bewildered; these pursuits never came into their estimate of a good education - these things do not belong to literature."<sup>112</sup>

The revivalists criticised the new education on the grounds that it was ruining the life of the individual. Such works as "M.A. bana ke Meri Mitti Kyan Kharab Ki?" (Why did you spoil my life by making me M.A.?) or Aj Kal no Sudharo Ke Ramaniya Bhayankarta (Whether modern

persons who spent their whole life time on jobs of Rs. 10 or 12. School teachers not being trained for anything else were unable to take to any other occupation.<sup>116</sup> Buddhiprakash of February 1866 asked pointedly that if even those persons who have passed Law are not getting any jobs, then what is the use of education?<sup>117</sup> Narmad also voiced the same feelings.<sup>118</sup>

As we have observed in the chapter on New Political System in Gujarat, new jobs required educational qualifications, but the superior jobs open to Indians were very few, and everybody was tempted to aspire for those jobs while very few got them which created frustration in the mind of the educated classes.

Moreover, even among those who were educated under the new system, all had not imbibed western culture, or democratic values. Majority of them were merely interested in their jobs. It was remarked in 1880 that those who had university degrees number 747 in all. It almost formed a small battalion. Out of these, a number of them were Gujaratis. Despite such a large number, it is sad to note that hardly two or three Gujaratis were really interested in higher pursuits other than their jobs.<sup>119</sup>

3) Having examined these limitations of the modern education, we will now review the limitations arising out of the caste composition of these educated classes.

As observed earlier, one of the important aims of English education was to create supporters for <sup>the</sup> British rule. Further as observed in the previous chapters, in the administrative jobs we find preponderance of upper castes, under these circumstances in education also we find that



majority of persons who took to modern education were the persons from upper castes like Brahmin, Baniyas, Kayasthas and Khattris.\* Traditionally also the Brahmins were the privileged group of the Hindus who were entitled to take higher education. Baniyas and others took education which was necessary for their callings. In the new setting technically though education was open to all,\*\* in practice upper castes took to education for various reasons. The modern education was costly in the sense that every student was expected to pay fees for tuition and further the higher education, became still costly. Another reason may be that in the villages, it was more productive to engage their children in occupations rather than send them to schools as revealed in reports of indigenous schools.<sup>120</sup> Another reason for the artisan classes who did not <sup>send</sup> ~~send~~ their children to the schools may be that all these schools were based on liberal education for which the artisans had no fascination.<sup>121</sup>

Whatever might be the reason ~~but~~ the consequence was that there was caste dovetailing in education also. As indicated in the earlier chapter, the government also adopted the policy of selecting Brahmins as teachers to retain the status of teacher before the students.

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\*In Gujarat and Bombay, the most important and numerically large section who took to modern education was that of the Parsis. (Report of the Native Education Society for the year 1827).

\*\*In 1880-81 the government declared that in the government conducted schools, untouchables like Dhed and Bhangis are entitled to entrance as Brahmins or Baniyas, and therefore the teacher should immediately admit them and if they do not do so strict measures will be taken. (Gujarat Shala Patra, 1880-81, p.192). It would be interesting to compare the change which could be noticed from the above order to that of the attitude taken by Forbes when one teacher refused to admit an untouchable in the school in 1850. Secretary Seward threatened to dismiss the teacher Karunashankar; Forbes told Seward to wait for 200 years more before taking such action. (A Gujarat Vernacular Society ne Itihasa, Pt.I, p.29)

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The caste composition of the teachers in the vernacular schools in 1851 was as follows: In 36 schools, there were 33 Brahmins, 2 Baniyas, and one Kunbi as teachers. Same trend is revealed in the employment of teachers in 1892-93 when we find that in 80 posts of Class I of Rs.150-300, 11 were Gujarati Hindoos out of which there were 6 Brahmins, 4 Baniyas and one Khatri. In Class II position of 100 and below 150, which included Deputy Education Inspectors, Headmasters, there were 75 posts out of which 15 were manned by Gujarati Hindoos, of these 15 posts, 9 were manned by Brahmins, 5 by Baniyas and 1 by Kayastha.<sup>122</sup> The Gazetteers of all the 5 districts also point out that in the government and private aided schools, majority of students were Brahmins, Vaniyas, writer class (viz. Kayasthas)<sup>123</sup> and Koonbis. Even at such centres as Kaira, Broach or Surat, if we notice more persons of cultivating classes taking to education, it has to be borne in mind that this is at a vernacular level. In the higher education the proportion of 'Brahmin-Vaniyas' is predominant.

This is further substantiated by the fact that in 1863, government circular was sent to the different schools, wherein the teachers were asked to classify the students into 7 divisions; and they were to be as follows: Brahmin, Kshatri, Baniyas, other Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and General.<sup>124</sup> This also reveals the predominance of upper castes among those taking to education.

This is also further revealed by the statement of Mr. Covernton in his report of vernacular reading books in the Bombay Presidency in 1906. "The primary vernacular schools of the presidency reflect in their distribution and their various grades and classes the main ethnological and social distinctions of the native population. The education they give is most sought after where ancient tradition of commerce and the international

intercourse which it breeds are most deeply rooted. Naturally in towns, it is the clerical and trading classes who derive most benefit from them. But the artisans and labourers are also represented, though their scanty means often render it difficult for them to pay required fees. In the country equally naturally the agricultural population is the chief source of supply, but pupils are also contributed from the wild tribes and the depressed castes as well as from the petty land-holders and the local Brahmins and Baniyas.<sup>125</sup>

In short, the educational opportunities were being utilised by the upper castes of the society, thus in consequence, lending social importance to these castes. This further created a situation in Gujarat wherein the leaders of social, political, religious and cultural movements came from upper castes.

Conclusion: In conclusion we can say that the modern education which was first introduced in 1826 in vernaculars and in 1846 when English schools were started; quantitatively touched only a tiny section of the people. Further with its job-orientation, unreal and colonial character it was generating its own problems. Further, though it started schools for depressed classes and women, quantitatively the results were not significant. The modern education created a class which was away from the local context and majority of it were out of touch with the problem. That the Western nations did not become general to the Gujarati society in the 19th century can be proved from the fact that they are not universalised and general to the whole society even in 1964. It did alienate a section from the original society. That the education remain confined to the few upper castes can be proved from the facts even in 1964.

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