

英国統治下のインドの初等教育：伝統教育と
近代教育制度導入への一考察

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Elementary Education in India under the British raj:
Destruction or Introduction?

By

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Abstract

India had been under British rule (raj) for more than two centuries, before its independence in 1947. Indigenous elementary education in India, whose features were flexibility and popularity, was on the decline under the period of expansion of the raj. This paper aims at reviewing the policies on education under the raj until the middle of the 19th century and clarifying problems regarding elementary education and elementary teacher education after independence.

There had been a rich learning tradition in ancient India. There was hardly a village or local community in which there was not at least one school. Further, the school teacher was a man from within the community, who knew the children he taught. Although these teachers taught the rudiments of the 3 R's (reading, writing and arithmetic), they were qualified to impart basic education which had relevance to people's lives. However, instead of promoting education for the Indian masses, the raj created a class of people who would be interpreters between itself and the people of India.

In 1854, the raj finally changed its educational policy and introduced a system of education from primary school to university, including teacher education institutions, because they became aware that education could be a prime tool for maintaining its hold on India and also a source of social change. However, participation by Indians in administrative matters was limited. Although the raj stressed the importance of

education, its basic purpose was to train peons for Indian government service who worked in a servile manner and lived on meager salaries.

The participation of the Indian people in new modern school education and changing teacher professionalism remained a subject for future review and crucial re-examination.

(Key words: Elementary education, Elementary teacher education, the British raj.)

Introduction:

A former Educational Advisor to the Government of India, J.P. Naik (1907-1981), wrote that, “The British never accepted responsibility for educating the masses¹.” This widely accepted and perceptive statement indicates that the British rule (raj) left a deep scar on education in India and that India’s independence from British Empire in 1947 was a great opportunity for independent India to plan her future, educational development and national integration. The Indian Constitution proclaimed in 1950 affirming in article 43, that the State shall endeavor to provide free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen, within ten years from the commencement of the Constitution.

India, however, took almost two decades to even take a small step in this direction. Its first National Policy on Education advocating “national integration²” was formulated in 1968, and the second National Policy on Education was crafted after another two decades later, in 1986. It is this second document entitled the National Policy on Education (NPE86) that clearly stated the need for “decentralization in education³” and the establishment of elementary teacher training institution *in each district all over India* [Emphasis mine]. In spite of diverse arguments on educational planning, India has been following this direction proposed in the NPE86 for the past two decades.

My paper reviews the introduction of indigenous elementary education in India and policies on education under the British raj until the middle of the 19th century, and clarifies problems regarding elementary education and elementary teacher education after independence. As the British didn’t accept responsibility for educating the masses, a review of education under the raj is indispensable to understand the conditions of Indian education after independence. Some logical questions which must be asked at

the out set are: How long has Indian education been ‘centralized’? What did the raj intended to do in the field of education? How have Indians participated in it? My focus in this review is on policies in the context of elementary education and not policies as such, or how they have affected other sectors of the Indian economy and polity. The fundamental rationale for my focus is the policy of Universalization of Elementary Education (UEE) which has been one of the avowed goals of India’s education policies. In my review, I will also examine the participation of elementary teachers in education from its qualitative aspects, as teachers are the pivots in the education process, at almost every stage. Primary sources for my analysis are documents published by the raj and other surveys compiled by persons who were concerned about the state of education.

1. Elementary education in ancient India and the early years of British

“Education is no exotic in India. There is no country where the love of learning has so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful and influence.”⁴ Indigenous educational institutions in India had been in existence from early times. Hence, it is worth taking a brief look at Indian education before the British raj. Schools called *pathsalas* for Hindus and *maktabs* for Muslims provided the boys of local communities with basic education (reading, writing and basic arithmetic) through vernaculars.⁵ The following two aspects were characteristic of the traditional system of education: 1) The elementary schools were not organically connected with institutions for higher learning whose teaching media were Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. 2) Quite a few children received their basic education through domestic instruction. A significant difference from so called ‘modern school education’ started by the raj, was that there were no schools particularly open to girls and girls from good families were tutored at home. There were geographical variations in the spread literacy. Present-day Bengal and Bihar, Tamilnadu and Kerala were the areas that had many village schools supported by the local population. Literacy in some parts of central and northern India was relatively lower than other areas. However, even in these areas, “teachers of specialized arts such as music and dance were recognized.”⁶

Teachers in ancient India were expected to be proficient in their chosen branch of studies and have a high moral character. “In India, teaching has been a recognized and

revered profession since the dawn of history⁷.” Although with the passage of time, the caste system impeded teachers from middle and lower castes to take up higher learning as a profession, teachers for elementary education were from “all classes including the depressed classes⁸.” Although the concept of: higher learning as a profession, ‘teacher education’ and ‘teacher certificate’ are all relatively of recent European origin, yet India was well known for its teaching methods, such as, the ‘monitorial system⁹.’ Through this method, selected pupils who performed well in their studies were appointed as tutors in charge of guiding those pupils who joined later. Pupils in indigenous schools didn’t form a class and the teacher didn’t teach them as a group. The teacher concentrated on the senior pupils, and they took responsibility of passing on their knowledge to the younger pupils. This was what the British observed as the monitorial system.

At this juncture it may be worthwhile to ask: Why did Europeans come to India? This simple question may provide a clue to understand the slow expansion of ‘modern school education’ in India. Most European nations had no wish to involve themselves in a vast empire in Asia when they reached there, as it would be difficult to control it and in time such an empire come well become a financial and political liability. When Britishers reached the subcontinent, their main objective was to trade in spices which grew abundantly in the area. In 1767, the secretary of the British East India company clearly denied in the House of Commons that the Company was interested in conquest and power and affirmed that its interests were commercial. Even ten years later, the Secretary to the Treasury noted that “the spectacle of the Company exercising political power in India was patently ‘absurd and preposterous¹⁰’.”

The British East India Company (1600-1873), established at the beginning of 17th century, gradually expanded its commercial activities all over India. The Company increasingly moved way beyond controlling commerce to dominate, exploit, and oppress land, labor, and resources in myriad ways and means. Its territorial expansion became inconsistent with its earlier proclaimed goals and as such changes in Indo-British relationships were inevitable. After the acquisition in 1765 of the ‘diwani’ (revenue administration) in Bengal, an imperial structure was consolidated. When the Mughal Empire began to decline, the absence of a strong central authority resulted in internal conflict between several competing indigenous groups. This weakened and confused

situation of the subcontinent proved an excellent opportunity for the British to expand its political power. As such, by the middle of the 18th century, the Company became a dominant and formidable force over one-third of the subcontinent. However, the financial crisis of the Company resulted in government intervention and the British Parliament grasped the initiative of governing India through the Regulating Act of 1773, passed by Lord North's administration and through the India Act of 1784 supported by the Pitt the younger. Thus, the Company's administration in India became under the control of the British government. By the "transformation [of the company from] ... profiteering merchants into responsible administrations, by regulating their recruitment and training, and establishing rules of administrative procedure,"¹¹ the British slowly became aware of the culture of India and that it could be an important measure whereby British policies and western values could be brought to bear on India. This seminal realization began the interaction with Indian communities. Nevertheless, this process did not entail the diffusion of European education to the masses of India. This would come much later and with both lasting encouraging and damaging effects on Indian society.

2. The British raj and its policy on education

The Industrial Revolution (1750-1839) and the Evangelical Movement (1789-1850) in the Church of England ushered into British society a new economic order and a strong zeal to propagate the Christian faith. The Utilitarians, such as, John Mill (1773-1836), his son John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), Jeremy Bentham (1748-1843) and Edmund Burke (1729-1827), who advocated universal education became influential in the Company. As a result, the Board of Control of the Company granted licenses to missionaries to come over to India under the renewed Act of 1813. The question about dissemination of education among Indians was also discussed, and the 43rd clause of this Act stated that "a sum of not less than one lac [one lakh = Rs.100,000] of rupees" each year out of "the surplus territorial revenues" would be used to revive and improve literature, encourage the learned natives of India and to introduce scientific knowledge.¹² The clause further stated that any schools founded in India by virtue of this Act would be governed by regulations made by the Governor-General in Council at the presidency of Fort Williams in Calcutta (now Kolkatta), the Bengal Presidency. Further, the 43rd

clause continued that “all appointments to offices in such schools, lectureships and other institutions shall be made by or under the authority of the Governments within which the same shall be situated.”¹³ What should be noted is that this clause was the first decision taken to by the raj to disseminate education to India as one of its tasks, and that this was enunciated when education was not a state responsibility even in England.

Unfortunately, however, it is also clear that the declared amount of the revenue, in the 43rd clause, was to be used not for education for the Indian masses, but for the learned natives of India. It is also important to recognize that although the clause stated that schools in India were to be governed by the Governor of the presidency of Fort Williams (Bengal), he was in fact in-charge of administration in that presidency only. Although the Bengal Presidency was the predominant presidency, the Governor didn't have power to enforce educational planning on other presidencies. It should be also pointed out that the recruitment of school personnel was the responsibility of the presidential governments within which the schools were located, i.e., the personnel matters regarding schools were decided in a decentralized manner. What is more important was that there was no substantial administrative machinery for decision making on educational matters either in the presidency of Fort William or other presidencies. Thus, this 43rd clause was a statement of pious intentions. Surprisingly, in 1821, nine years after the renewed Act of 1813, the Bengal Presidency spent the surplus territorial revenues for education in 1821 for the first time.

The British government was then engaged in the third Maratha war (1817-1819) and an expedition to Burma (1818-1822) and expenses for these invasions made it difficult for the Company to take concrete steps to implement the prescribed educational reform, as stated in the Act of 1813. In 1823, the British established the General Committee of Public Education. The duties of the committee were to evaluate the present conditions of schools established in Bengal for the diffusion of public education, and make suggestion for appropriate measures for the betterment of education for Indians. However, its concern was the encouragement of Oriental learning and institutions of higher learning, not education for the Indian masses. The members of the committee were the high government officials who were occupied with other duties. Although some of the British members in the committee had profound

knowledge of Oriental studies, “there were no Indian people on the committee.”¹⁴

The Charter Act of the Company renewed in 1833 made the Bengal Presidency decisively superior to other presidencies, and Governor - General of this presidency was authorized to govern all other residencies. Lord William Bentinck, who was in India from 1828 to 1835, became the first Governor - General of India. The Charter stated that the Indian Empire should hire Indians as civil servants and allowed Christian missionaries from other countries to propagate their faith in India. When the members of the General Committee of Public Instruction failed to unanimously approve the future education policy of India, due to friction between Orientalists and Anglicists, Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859), President of the committee, submitted his now infamous “Minute on Education”¹⁵ in February 1835. He argued that Governor General of India would decide how to spend the surplus territorial revenues for the purpose of education. Bentinck promptly acted to make it a resolution and in March 1835 gave his complete concurrence to Macaulay’s minute.

Macauley’s minute stressed the diffusion of European knowledge through education in English media. The specific plan for implementation, suggested in the minute, was the ‘Filtration Theory.’ Macaulay stated that it was impossible to educate the masses in India because of the limited resources available and suggested that empire should form a class of people who would be interpreters between the British and the millions whom they govern. He argued that the British empire needed “a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect.”¹⁶ While not only advocating the diffusion of Western scientific knowledge, Macaulay envisioned the teaching of English “as a moral tool, acting through the agency of literature.”¹⁷ Macaulay cited the case of Russian Empire and argued that “there is reason to hope that this vast empire, which in the time of our grandfathers was probably behind the Punjab, may, in the time of our grandchildren, be pressing close on France and Britain in the career of improvement.”¹⁸ However, Macaulay was biased against the dialects spoken among the natives in India and his ignorance about Oriental learning made him absurdly state that “a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia.”¹⁹ On the other hand, regarding social changes among Indian communities, he pointed out in the Minute that there [were] some Indian people who prefer to learn English rather Sanscrit or Arabic and

“the natives are desirous to be taught English.”²⁰

The Anglicists predominated in the Company and consequently the ‘Filtration Theory’ dominated the raj’s educational policy for the next two decades. The flood tide of Utilitarian and Evangelical opinions in England contributed to support the theory. On a practical level, the British wanted to train Indians as cheap government servants. At the same time, they anticipated that in the future “Indians might be able to rule themselves, --- after a long apprenticeship in close partnership with their rulers.”²¹

It should be noted that both the Orientalist and Anglicist were of the common opinion that: their limited resources could assist only advanced education, that “mass education was beyond government means and must be in vernacular languages”²² and education for the masses was not the top priority of the raj. The General Committee of Public Instruction was replaced by the Council of Education in 1842. The Council was initially in charge of supervising a few colleges and later controlled all the colleges and the government schools in Bengal. The Bombay Presidency and the Madras Presidency, which also had rich traditions in learning as Bengal, had gradually went with the educational policy of Bengal.

This quick review of education in British India shows that there had been a rich learning tradition in ancient India, which the British tried to capitalize on. However, instead of promoting education for the Indian masses, the raj attempted to create a class of people who would be interpreters between the raj and the general public of India. At this stage, it is reasonable to ask: What was actually happening to indigenous, masses education in India, when the British decided to introduce European knowledge through English language in India? As the invasion of the raj proceeded unabated, Indian society and its rich traditions were impoverished. The actual situations in elementary education in the 19th century can be perused through the educational surveys conducted in the different provinces of British India. The purpose of these surveys was to settle the controversy regarding the indigenous schools²³ as some proponents were advocating the development of a modernized national system of education, while others opposed it.

3. Indigenous elementary education in the 19th century: Madras, Bombay and Bengal

The British raj divided the subcontinent into regions for administrative purposes.

Educational surveys were conducted in each presidency at the beginning of the 19th century. Sir Thomas Munro (1761-1827), Governor of Madras from 1820 to 1827, ordered a survey of indigenous education institutions in the Madras Presidency. He thought that there ought to be some sort of educational system in order to govern the region and wanted to know the characteristics of the indigenous education and its actual situation. The survey in Madras found that there was one indigenous school per 1,000 persons in the population, but there were hardly any female pupils enrolled in these schools. The pupils were five and ten year's old, and many of them continued up to twelve or fourteen. This survey revealed that there was a large practice of domestic instruction, and the number of students taught at home was five times larger than that which was taught in schools. The youngest pupil was placed in the care of a monitor while the teacher himself guided the older or slower pupils.²⁴

A similar survey was ordered by Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay from 1819 to 1827, in the Bombay Presidency. Writing in his well-known Minute on Education of 13 December 1823, he mentioned that the survey on education was "highly important and interesting enquiry."²⁵ The following statement made by G.L. Pendergast, a member of the Bombay Governor's Council, illustrates the real situations at the time the educational survey was carried out:

"I need hardly mention that every member of the Board knows as well as I do, that there is hardly a village, great or small, throughout our territories, in which there is not at least one school, and in larger villages more; many in every town and in larger cities in every division; where young natives are taught reading, writing and arithmetic, upon a system so economical, from a handful or two of grain, to perhaps a rupee per month to the schoolmaster; according to the ability of the parents, and at the same time so simple and effectual that there is hardly a cultivator or petty dealer who is not competent to keep his own accounts with a degree of accuracy, in my opinion, beyond what we meet with amongst the lower orders in our own country; while the more splendid dealers and bankers keep their books with a degree of ease, consciousness and clearness, I rather think fully equal to those of any British Merchant."²⁶

Since the Government asked the officers to get information about 'schools' and their 'scholars,' children under domestic or private instruction did not come under the purview of the survey. The neglect of recording domestic instruction is "unfortunate

from the point of view of a fairly correct appraisal of the extent of education among the people.”²⁷ R. V. Parulekar, Director of Indian Institute of Education, Bombay, who edited surveys in Bombay and has examined these earlier surveys about education in the Bombay Presidency, writes that “ignor[ing] them (these surveys) altogether and to insist on taking the ‘official’ figures [mentioned therein] at their face value would be equally improper.”²⁸

The survey results of the Province described the state of elementary schools in those days as follows: There were no ‘school buildings’ in modern sense in indigenous elementary education. Schooling was held in temple, private dwellings, sheds and so on. In some cases, wealthy gentlemen in town or village gave portions of their houses for holding a school. Schools “were all purely private ventures, springing up and vanishing according to local demand.”²⁹ The numbers of pupils per school were 2, at the lowest, and 150 at the highest. The average number of pupils was between 15 and 30. Although schools in the town were bigger than village schools, the common schools were one-teacher schools. The common schools were open to all who could afford to pay for their schooling, except to those who belonged to the ‘low castes’ or depressed castes. Children from Muslim communities went to Muslim schools, but the Hindu schools were open to Muslim boys if they wanted to attend them.

Although most of the teachers of the common schools in 19th century were Brahmins, “it must be noted that the other castes and communities shared the profession with the Brahmins (the first of the four castes, whose main duty was to study, to teach and to perform) without any hindrance imposed by custom or tradition.”³⁰ The survey results reported that 74% of the teachers in South Konkon were Brahmins, while in Khandesh, 63% teachers were from Brahmin caste. In Ahmadnagar, 79% were Brahmin and 47% were Brahmin in Dharwar. The Collector of Kaira region reported that village schoolmaster did not appear to belong to any particular class or member of the village community.

All reports in 1824-25 regarding indigenous education in Bombay had information about the remuneration of the schoolmasters, as such information was asked for by the Government. The amount of salary teachers received varied place to place, but teachers didn’t get a large sum of money for their labors. However, a schoolmaster could claim certain privileges from the community, which compensated for the paltry

earnings. The schoolmaster was “entirely a man of the people whose children he taught. He was always remembered in the hearts and at the hearths of the people.”³¹ People gave gifts to teachers at Dussera, Diwali and other festival days.

Regarding the qualifications of the teachers, the Government reports show that elementary school teachers were expected to teach the rudiments of the 3 R’s knowledge, i.e., reading, writing and basic arithmetic. Therefore, the British officers sometimes reported that teachers were ‘ignorant.’ Some of them even stated that indigenous elementary schools had a lot of shortcomings and were detrimental. Higher caste like Pundits and Shastri’s hardly took the position of elementary teachers because they were skilled in higher education. The elementary school teachers were drawn from the ordinary run of instructed men and therefore it was possible for communities other than Brahmins to take up the profession. Like other presidencies, the common schools and the schools for higher studies were not organically connected. The former catered for all classes of the community and the latter instructed only Brahmin boys. Those who wanted to continue their studies beyond the rudiments of the 3 R’s did so either by self-study or by serving as apprentices to their fathers, or in business houses, or by some other suitable means. Pupils left common schools as soon as he acquired the basic 3 R’s.

In addition to the Government surveys, there are some other educational records available about the status of education in the Bombay Province. The Bombay Education Society was established in 1815, twenty years prior to Macaulay’s Minute of Education. The Society was the first organization in India supported solely by voluntary contributions for training Europeans and Anglo-Indian children according to Christian principles. The Society opened a school in the Fort area in 1815. The society from the beginning “intended to extend its benefit to children of the “natives” who would be exempted from the application of such rules and regulations as might appertain to religious instruction.”³² Since native schools didn’t offer instruction in English, which was necessary in a city like Bombay to qualify for any position, Hindus, Muslims, and Parsi parents understandably wanted send their children to a school offering English as a medium of education. The Society’s report for 1817 stated that main benefit of its schools was that “they inculcate[d] the purest principles of morality.”³³ The society didn’t force non-Christian natives in matters of religious education, but it

was not unmindful of the indirect influence of religious books used in classes. The teaching method used in these schools was the 'National System,' similar to the one followed at the time in the common schools in England. Regarding girls' education, "none of the female children of the natives, except occasionally some of the richer Parsees, [were] ever taught to read or write."³⁴

The Society took a step forward in the education of the native children in 1818 by opening three schools in Bombay. A total 126 children attended these schools for the beginning. The object of the new schools was to teach the native languages along with English for native children. However, it was not easy to fulfill this object due to the lack of "competent masters, and proper school books."³⁵ The Society observed that there were as great a proportion of persons in India who could read and write, and keep simple accounts, as were to be found in European countries. However, it also observed that the natives were "never taught to pursue a connected reading, nor is anything like moral instruction ever afforded them."³⁶

In 1819, when Elephinstone became the Governor of the Bombay Presidency, he also became the President of the Bombay Education Society. His interest in the education of the people was well known and in 1820, under his Presidentship, a Native School and School Book Committee was found as a separate Committee of the Society. It should be noted that twelve natives were associated with the management of the new Committee for the first time. The objectives of this newly formed Committee were to prepare books in the native languages, improve existing schools, provide qualified teachers from the natives themselves, and to afford facilities for further improvement to selected scholars for acquiring knowledge of English and European sciences. In 1822, this new Committee was separated from the parent Society and became The Bombay School and School Book Society, so that it would be "an institution having in view wholly the moral and intellectual improvement of the natives and *entirely apart from Christian education* [Emphasis original]."³⁷ The new Society changed its name to Bombay Native Education Society from 1827 so that the object, promoting native education through native languages, could be clearly understood.

The next reviews of educational records are the reports compiled by Rev. William Adam from Scotland, who had been appointed in 1818 by the Baptist Missionary to work in India.³⁸ He was familiar both with Indian culture and the languages used in

Bengal, as he had established himself well in the public life of Calcutta. He wrote a proposal in 1829 to Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General in Bengal from 1822 to 1835 that educational surveys was necessary to give information on various points raised by Government regarding indigenous education. Lord Bentinck accepted this proposal and Adam submitted two reports in 1835 and one in 1838. Adam stated in his first report that the objectives of his survey as follows: “To know what the country needs to be done for it by Government we must first know what the country has done and is doing for itself.”³⁹

About the diffusion of elementary education, Adam reported that “there were 100,000 of these schools in Bengal and Bihar and that there ought to be one school for every 400 population.”⁴⁰ He maintained that the desire to give education to the male children was deeply seated in the minds of parents, even among the humblest classes. He argued that these elementary schools were closely related to the habits of the people and the customs of the country. Adam also commented that in some cases, natives had established and supported schools, but some schools had difficulties in maintaining their services because of the poverty of the villagers. He stated that “my recollections of the village schools of Scotland do not enable me to pronounce that the instruction given in them has a more direct bearing upon the daily interests of life than that which I find given, or professed to be given, in the humbler village schools of Bengal.”⁴¹

Adam, however, he didn't uncritically praise the quality of elementary education in Bengal. Students learned the basic 3 R's, and the rules of arithmetic were applied to agricultural accounting in rural areas and in urban areas to commercial accounts. Children become school students from the ages from five to ten. The duration of elementary school varies from five to ten years. There were no school-houses particularly built for schooling purposes and teaching took place in the open air in the dry seasons of the year. He observed that the benefits resulting from indigenous elementary schools were slight because of incompetent of teachers and the early drop-outs from schools due to the poverty of the parents. Elementary teachers in Bengal were generally people from lower castes and dependent upon their pupils for subsistence. Fees and perquisites for teachers varied according to the locality. Furthermore, as opposed to those teachers who taught advanced studies, common school teachers were not much respected and therefore, taking up this position was not

encouraged in Bengal.

Regarding the school curriculum, Adam noted that: there wasn't any text book containing moral truths or liberal knowledge. The pupils were not instructed in personal virtues and domestic and social duties, and teachers exercised no moral influence on the character of their pupils. Adam further stated that "any measures that may be adopted to improve education in this country will be greatly inadequate if they are not directed to increase the attainments of the teachers, and to elevate and extend their views of the duties belonging to their vocation."⁴²

Like other presidencies in India, domestic instruction for basic education was quite common in Bengal. Adam estimated that more than 8.31 percent of children received domestic instruction and 5.36 percent of children attended elementary schools. He further argued that he couldn't "state with perfect accuracy the total number of children receiving domestic instruction."⁴³ People who knew the practical advantage of writing and accounts, for example, zamindar (a landowner or a collector of land revenue), talukdar (a revenue collector), shopkeepers and traders, gave domestic instruction to their children. Pundits (Brahman by caste, a scholar) who intended that their children should study Sanskrit, gave basic education at home, and Brahmans (the first of the four castes, whose main duty was to study, to teach and to perform rituals) did the same for the duties of a family priest or spiritual guide. Farmers and traders limited their instruction to what was practical to their immediate occupations. There was a sort of traditional knowledge of written language and accounts preserved in families from generation to generation and this domestic elementary education was much more in practical use than elementary education in schools.

What was valuable about reports by Adam was that he demonstrated both merits and demerits of traditional elementary education in Bengal. He was also aware that indigenous elementary instruction was on the decline and stated that "the domestic instruction which many give to their children in elementary knowledge would seem to be an indication of the struggle which the ancient habits and the practical sense of the people are making against their present depressed circumstances."⁴⁴ He argued that the indigenous system was "the simplest, the most popular, the most economical and the most effectual"⁴⁵ and suggested that indigenous school system should be the basis of future educational system in India.

Educational records of three presidencies compiled in the beginning of 19th century illustrated that “there [was] a great deal that [was] common to the indigenous systems of the various provinces⁴⁶” although there were some local differences. Girls were generally excluded from elementary school education, but indigenous elementary schools were generally opened to boys from various classes in Indian communities, except outcasts. These elementary schools were not organically connected to higher level school, and taught the basic 3 R’s, which was relevant to the daily lives of people. Flexibility in opening and closing times was one of their characteristics of indigenous education in India, and schools were sometimes supported by local communities. The qualifications of elementary teachers were not very high, but teachers were members of local communities. It must be noticed that domestic instruction was quite prevalent in India and ignoring this aspect of elementary education leads to an erroneous understanding about education in the 19th century India.

The educational records of the early 19th century were compiled by British officers and Europeans who completed higher education. Therefore, some of them posed questions on the quality of indigenous elementary education. They felt that the curricula of traditional basic schools were unsatisfactory, because generally constituted only the rudiments of 3 R’s which were taught in classes. Personal virtues, moral sense, and the sense of social duty were not clearly included in the curricula. They also felt that teachers were incompetent and ignorant. In short, indigenous elementary school education in India was not consistent with what was conceived by those officers of the raj as appropriate, especially in comparison to European standard. However it must be clearly understood, as Parulekar argued, that, “although [most of the teachers were] not well-qualified for higher instruction, [they] were qualified enough to impart the very modest fare of schooling for which the pupils came to their schools.”⁴⁷ This wasn’t an insignificant achievement.

4. The implementation of modern school education: The Wood Despatch

Adam’s reports underscored the fact that indigenous elementary education was on the decline in the beginning of the 19th century. The officers of the raj were also aware of this decline. Lord Minto, Governor-General of the presidency of Fort William in Bengal, from 1806 to 1813, reported that traditional science and literature in India were

in a state of decay. Further, he stated that the main reason for the neglect was “to be traced to the absence of that encouragement, which was formerly afforded to it, by Princes, Chieftains and opulent individuals under the Native Government.”⁴⁸ Lord Moira, Minto’s successor in India from 1813 to 1823, confirmed that the native governments were attentive to the important object of public education, “but in the general disregard of established institutions which appears to have marked the steps of the British Government hitherto, their appropriation has been lost sight of, and the funds have through an inattention been converted into private property by native individuals.”⁴⁹ It is apparent that the plan to offer support for indigenous education by the raj was not effectively implemented especially with regard to elementary education.

Some other reasons which may explain this decline are: Although India had a long history of rich learning tradition, those classes which were considered outcaste could not have the opportunity to access learning. Indigenous elementary schools were widely spread in India, notwithstanding this schooling was not accessible to all children in Indian communities. It could also be possible to argue that even though indigenous, basic education was practical and relevant to people’s lives, yet its pursuit did not entail “full development of personality [and] promotion of a spirit of inquiry were absent”⁵⁰ and consequently the level of achievement was limited especially at the elementary level. Another weakness in the traditional system was its isolation from the scientific advances that were gaining speed in the West in the late 19th century. The most significant shortcoming was the lack of a comprehensive system and administrative machinery that could integrate the scheme for education and support it.

Until the middle of the 19th century, the ‘Downward Filtration Theory’ for education in India, prescribed by Macaulay, had been the basic strategy of the raj. However, by the time the Charter Act in 1853 was due for renewal, the British Parliament became aware that the “emerging patterns of education and employment of those who received it”⁵¹ could be a source of social change and of consequent disturbance to the stable relationship between the British Empire and India. The Government seriously thought about Indian education for economic, political, and social reasons. Although changes of the latter half of this century were still moderate compared with the radical changes in the 20th century, the rising Indian middle class had discovered that proficiency in English would enable them to live affluently and in time have

considerable influence. At the same time, many Indian intellectuals, who had acquired both Indian traditional culture and European knowledge through long period of interaction with British, for example, Raja Rammohan Roy (1772-1833), advocated a new type of education which included both Indian and Western forms of knowledge.⁵²

The British Government finally changed its 'Filtration Theory' when Sir Charles Wood (1800-1858), President of Board of Control from 1853 to 1855, sent a dispatch to the Governor General of India in Council in 1854. Wood's Despatch is remarkable because it proposed that the government should abandon the strategy of providing only higher education and promote mass education using vernaculars as the media of teaching. It stated that education is the most importance subject and that "it is one of our most sacred duties"⁵³ to be the agency which confers moral and material blessings on the natives of India. It also stated that the creation of a complete system of education from primary school to university was necessary. In order to finance this system, the Despatch suggested that the Government should cooperate with private educational enterprise by the "system of grants-in-aid."⁵⁴ Since the population of British India was large, the government contended that it could not possibly incur the entire financial expenditure for such a scheme. Hence, it conceived of some sort of co-operation with private institutions, who would be supported by grants-in-aid. This it felt would be efficacious to get the proposal underway.

The Despatch suggested that the Departments of Education as one of administrative machinery should be established in the three presidencies (Bengal, Madras, and Bombay), the Lieutenant Governor of Agra (Punjab) and the North-Western Provinces. The appointment of qualified inspectors was also suggested, and each Department of Education was obliged to submit annual reports to the Government. The Despatch suggested "to establish such a system as will prove generally applicable throughout India, and thus to impart to the educational efforts of our different presidencies a greater degree of *uniformity* [emphasis mine]."⁵⁵ At the same time, it mentioned the great diversity of India and suggested that there ought to be appropriate *modification* "in order to adapt them to different parts of India [emphasis mine]."⁵⁶

The Despatch stated that education for the masses had been "too much neglected"⁵⁷ and useful and practical knowledge had to be conveyed to the people in India. It

appreciated the indigenous schools scheme (Hulkabundee) which had been introduced in the North-Western Provinces and visualized that in this way, beginning with the humblest elementary instruction and ending with the university test of a liberal education, the best student in each class would be encouraged to obtain better education. However, even though the Despatch recognized the importance of teaching in the vernacular languages, it put a higher priority on English and Western knowledge and stated that “the knowledge conveyed is, no doubt, at the present time, much higher in the anglo-vernacular than in the vernacular schools⁵⁸.” Three universities were incorporated in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras in 1857 as the educational foundation for higher learning, but the teaching media at these universities was English.

Referring to the English experience for the improvement of education, the Despatch stated that the insufficient number of qualified school teachers and the imperfect method of teaching were the obstacles in the diffusion of school education. It further suggested that training schools for teachers should be established “in each presidency in India⁵⁹.” The Despatch suggested that promising would-be-teachers should be selected, sent to normal schools, and employed as school teachers with adequate salaries. It also suggested that certificates should be given on the completion of their training. Thus, it held out the hope that the profession of school teaching would attract Indians, similar to the prospects that were “held out in other branches of the public service⁶⁰.”

5. The raj and elementary education in India

In keeping with the suggestion for setting up an organization to meet the education's needs, a Department of Education was established in each three presidencies, Lieutenant Governor of Agra, and The North-Western Provinces under the title of the Department of Public Instruction during the period from 1855 to 1866. The main functions of these departments were: to advise the government of the presidency in educational matters, to manage the budget allocated by both the governments of the presidency and Britain, to supervise the schools aided by the grants-in-aid system, to compile an annual report on education, and to take the necessary measures to promote education. However, most of the staff members of the departments, especially those who held posts of high rank, were British. The British planned to establish a single

line school system having uniformity throughout India. However, participation in administrative matters was limited.

Consequent to the suggestions made in the Despatch, four normal schools in Bengal, six in Madras, and four in Mumbai (now Mumbai) were established. The period required for graduation at normal schools varied from six months to two years. In those days, theory and methodology of education had not yet developed, not only in Europe but also in India and training courses focused on subject contents (history, geography and mathematics), the English language and the Western science. The number of teacher training institutions was “nowhere near the requirements.”⁶¹

Before the suggestion of the Despatch 1854, teacher education in its modern sense had already initiated by Danish and English missionaries in 1793 in Serampore (Bengal). Dr. Andrew Bell who was acquainted with the monitorial system began to employ it in Madras (now Chennai) between 1789 and 1796. The Calcutta School Society began to train teachers for indigenous schools, in its institutions, for imparting elementary education in 1819. Elephinstone placed emphasis on the improvement of modes of teaching and suggested that a very concise treatise might be prepared in each of the native languages containing rules for the management of schools in the modern way in the 1820s. In 1842, the Committee of Bombay Native School Book and School Society recommended that young men be assembled at Bombay to be initiated in the Bell-Lancaster system and later appointed as headmasters and superintendents. The training emphasized knowledge of subject content. They also had enough supervised practice teaching. In 1824, the Madras School Book Society Committee also proposed that normal schools “be immediately established.”⁶²

As I have already mentioned, the minimum qualification for indigenous elementary teachers in 19th century India was to have skills in the basic 3 R's. However, the elementary school education as suggested by the raj and Christian missionaries required would-be-teachers to acquire some additional knowledge of the English language and western science. Although theory and methodology of education was not yet fully developed at that time both in Europe and India, the required qualifications for elementary school teachers had certainly begun changing along with the introduction of ‘modern school education.’ The modern teacher training institutions began to train various kinds of schoolteachers having differing qualities,

compared with teachers in villages who were members of their communities. Under the British system, teachers “became a functionar[ies] of the state,”⁶³ and work for their salaries. The participation of Indian elementary school teachers in new ‘modern schools education’ and changing teacher professionalism remained as a subject for crucial further review and examination.

Wood’s Despatch 1854 was the trigger for an education system that was to prevail throughout British India for the next five decades. The necessary administrative machinery was set up both at the centre and in each province. Various provisions made in the Despatch gave scope for universal education in British India and they were supposed to maintain an educational scheme that had central control, while it allowed some scope for local initiative. In short, the raj stressed on administrative preparation and administrative guidance for modern school education. However, it restrained Indian education for some aspects. First, schools came under the inspection of the Department of Public Instruction in each presidency and this made schools rigid and passive organizations. Flexibility which was a feature of indigenous elementary school education in India was eliminated. Second, although the Despatch advocated ‘universal school education’ and moral improvement of native Indians, its main and basic purpose was to train Indian government servant who work with the raj at meager salaries. About twenty years before the Despatch, when the Charter Act of the Company renewed in 1833, the Act stated that Indian Empire would appoint Indians to be government servants. The first successful Indian candidate for Indian Civil Service (ICS) passed the ICS exam in 1863. As Macaulay’s minute and educational records in the Bengal Presidency stated, some Indians were eager to have English education so as to climb the ladder of success. This would lead in time to school education and public examination as a means to a career.

Strongly influenced by British colonial ambitions, self-supportive indigenous schools were losing its vitality. Furthermore, the Sepoy mutiny (known by Indians as the First War of Independence) in 1857, just a few years after the announcement of the Wood’s Despatch of 1854, brought about the abolition of the East India Company in 1858 and India henceforth came under the control of the British Crown. The suppression of the revolt was very expensive and India now lay open to the influence of the British Parliament. Consequently, elementary education for the masses was not

the main concern of the raj, and due to a series of political changes, the diffusion of elementary school education in India was further encumbered. Thus, the educational policies imposed on India by the raj can be simultaneously described both in terms of destruction and introduction.

Notes

1. J.P. Naik: "Elementary Education in India – Unfinished Business," Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1966, p.16.
2. Government of India: "National Policy on education 1968," New Delhi, 1968, p.2.
3. Government of India: "National Policy on Education 1986," New Delhi, 1986, p.26.
4. F.W. Thomas: "History and Prospects of British Education in India," George Bell & Sons, London, 1891, p.1. (Quoted in S.N. Mukerji: "History of Education in India," Acharya Book Depot, Baroda, 1957, p.2.)
5. K. Hironaka: "History of Indian Education" in History of Education, Vol.6, Kodansha, Tokyo, 1977, pp.179-181.
6. Krishna Kumar: "Political Agenda of Education," Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1991, p.71.
7. S.N. Mukerji: "Education of Teachers in India Vol. I," S.Chand & Co., Delhi, 1968, p.3.
8. Suresh C. Ghosh: "The History of Education in Modern India 1757-1998," Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 2000, p.9
9. Krishna Kumar (1991): p.73.
10. Judith M. Brown: "Modern India – The Origins of an Asian Democracy," Oxford University Press, New York, 1994, p.40.
11. Ibid., p.51.
12. Henry Sharp: "Selections from Educational Records Part 1 – 1781-1838," Superintendent Government Printing India, Calcutta, 192, p.22.
Ghosh (2000, p.18) also quoted J.A. Richter: "History of Missions in India" (London 1908) and stated "the Clause 43 which spoke of the revival and improvement of literature and of the encouragement of the learned natives of India was created as 'a

reliable counterpoise, a protecting break-water against the threatened deluge of missionary enterprise' enshrined in the Charter Act of 1813."

13. Ibid., p.22.
14. K. Hironaka (1977): p.202.
15. Thomas Babington Macaulay: "Minute on Education 1835."
16. Ibid.: Quoted in J.C. Aggarwal: "Landmarks in the History of Modern Indian Education," Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1993, p.11. Rita Raley: "History of English Studies page," University of California, Santa Barbara, p.7. URL: <http://www.english.ucsb.edu/faculty/rraley/research/english/manualay.html>
17. Krishna Kumar (1991): p.61.
18. J.C. Aggarwal (1993): p.6.
19. Ibid., p.4.
20. Ibid., p.11.
21. Brown (1994): p.79. Violet Paranjoti: "East and West in Indian Education," Luknow Publishing, Luknow, 1969, p.63, pointed out that Macaulay anticipated the introduction of western education would lead Indians to demand freedom and independence. She quoted Macaulay's remark as follows: "There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. These triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism."
22. Brown (1994): pp.78-79.
23. Violet Paranjoti: "East and West in Indian Education," Luknow Publishing, Luknow, 1969, p.41.
24. Shakuntala Bapat & Suman Karandikar: "Rural Context of Primary Education – Searching for the Roots," pp.1-2. URL: http://www.ignca.nic.in/cd_06006.thm
25. R.V. Parulekar (Eds.): "Survey of Indigenous Education in the Province of Bombay (1820-1830)," Asia Pulishing House, Bombay, 1951, xvii.
26. Ibid., xxi.
27. Ibid., vliv.
28. Ibid., xxi.
29. Ibid., xxii.
30. Ibid., xxiii.
31. Ibid., 191.

32. R.V.Parulekar & C.L. Bakshi: "Selections from Educational Records (Bombay) Part II, 1815-1840," Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1955, p.1.
33. Ibid., p.5.
34. Ibid., p.7.
35. Ibid., p.18.
36. Ibid., p.21.
37. Ibid., p.36.
38. William Adam joined the Baptist Missionary Society around 1815. He reached Serampore in 1818. Under the influence of Raja Rammohan Roy, he renounced his belief in the doctrine of the Trinity and avowed himself as a Unitarian. In 1821, he severed his connection with the Missionary Society and became the first Unitarian Minister in Calcutta.
39. Anathnath Basu (Ed.): "Reports on the State of Education in Bengal 1835 & 1838 by William Adam," University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1941, xxix.
40. Ibid., p.6.
41. Ibid., p.147.
42. Ibid., p.138.
43. Ibid., p.156.
44. Ibid., p.159.
45. Ibid., pp.105-106.
46. Paranjoti (1969): p.42.
47. Parulekar (1951): xxviii.
48. Hironaka (1977): pp.189-191. Paranjoti (1969): p.50.
49. Bureau of Education. "Seletions from Educational Records, Part I (1781-1839). Edited by H. Sharp. Calcutta": Superintendent Government Printing, 1920. Reprint. Delhi: National Archives of India, 1965, pp.24-29. URL: <http://www.mssc.edu/projectsouthasia/history/primarydocs/education/Moira001>
50. Paranjoti (1969): p.51.
51. Brown (1994): p.123.
52. Raja Rammohun Roy (1772-1833) was born to a wealthy Brahmin family in Bengal and received domestic instruction. He studied both Oriental and Western languages and culture. He advocated transforming Indian society by utilizing both

Indian and Western knowledge.

53. Office of Superintendent of Government Printing: "Selections from the Records of the Government of India, No. LXXVI. Education in India (1854 to 1868)," 1870, Calcutta, p.1.
54. Ibid., p.13.
55. Ibid., p.6.
56. Ibid., p.6.
57. Ibid., p.11.
58. Ibid., p.11.
59. Ibid., p.16.
60. Ibid., p.17.
61. Mukerji (1968): p.8.
62. Ibid., p.5.
63. Kumar (1991).p.73.

日本語標題および要旨

英国統治下のインドの初等教育：伝統教育と近代教育制度導入への一考察

日本語要旨

本稿では、古代より豊かな教育環境で知られたインド社会に対して、英国統治政府の教育政策が与えた影響について、初等教育と初等教員とに焦点を絞って考察を試みた。

地域社会のニーズに応える形態で広く普及していたインドの伝統教育は、同時に、高等教育とつながった教育制度ではなかった点などの特色があり、英国統治政府が導入した近代学校教育制度とは相容れず、衰退することになった。統治政府と民間の記録は、当時の初等教員が基礎的な読み書きと計算とを教えていたことや、地域社会の一員であったことを明らかにしている。19世紀半ばからの英国による近代学校制度の導入は、英学教育と西洋の科学知識の重視などによって、初等教育の内容に変化をもたらした。また、近代学校教育をになう初等教員の養成が開始され、初等教員の資質や地域社会とのかかわり方も大きく変化しており、独立後のインドの教育政策の検討には、初等教員の資質に関する研究が不可欠であることが明らかになった。