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The Problem of National Education

in India.

by

Jagar

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"The questions of National Education, answer them as you will, touch the life and death of a nation."

Lord Morley.

I. Introduction.

I - A. Various factors have helped to bring India into the limelight of present day western life and thought. Palatial ocean liners have lured our wealthy, and even many of our middle class, on "round the world" cruises. Trans-oceanic cables have been supplemented by wireless sets which transmit on waves of ether an announcement of new discoveries, the result of a political election, or even the scandal and gossip revealed by our courts to the peoples of the far East with amazing rapidity. A host of modern inventions have facilitated intercommunication and helped the far east to thrust itself into the consciousness of the western world.

Again, certain ignorances and social failures of India have lately been put before us in such a striking way that they have challenged attention. Bloody sacrifices, infant marriage, and appalling illiteracy are said still to exist in the continent containing more than one-fifth of the total population of the world. (1) That the picture has been unfairly drawn is not to be denied, but that such facts do still exist remains a challenge to any world citizen. Would that the picture might have given underlying causes which would have merited understanding and sympathy with a people trying to get into step with the

(1). "of" ^{ss} Miss Mayo - Mother India

forward progress of the world.

Also, not the least of the factors which has helped to turn our attention to this ancient land of philosophy and religion is the new and striking emphasis put by the Rev. Stanley Jones on the power of the 'Christ of the Indian Road' to help India in the solution of her mal-adjustment. Yes, India is thrusting herself into the consciousness of the world.

I - B. A study of any of a number of problems connected with a country containing such a mass of the world's population would prove interesting. A study related to the development of education should prove especially so to students of education. For in the matter of education, India today is also in flux. She is at a cross-roads and there are various possibilities. A right solution will not follow hasty judgments based only on partial considerations. What are the factors that have kept her from making progress with the rest of the world? Why has not education accomplished for her what it has for the countries in Europe and America in developing national life and government? What are the factors that have helped or hindered, and what suggestions can we glean from her mistakes and failures that will point the way to a brighter and more hopeful day? These are some of the factors that will enter into a study of our problem.

I - C. The first step in trying to find an answer

will need to be in a study of the history of education of India. No study of the growth and functions of education apart from a consideration of the beliefs and ideals held by the people of that country can be adequate. One needs only to note the great divergence in the educational systems of the countries of Europe and America as they have developed, even with a common philosophy and theory of education, to arrive at the conclusion that in every case the system must be adapted to the genius and social organization of the people concerned. In this discussion, and attempt will be made to keep this fundamental principle in mind.

The study has involved the reading of a variety of books related to the different phases of Indian life. The information received through this reading has been classified and evaluated on the basis of a short experience with present day Indian educational problems and in the light of sound educational criteria. My intention to return to India at the end of this school year and again engage in educational work has provided the 'mind-set' to make the study. It is my fond hope that it will help me the better to serve shoulder to shoulder with the 'mother sons of India' in the forward progress and improvement of the 'Motherland.'

Chapter II. Ancient Indian Education.

**"She has been walking for centuries down the corridors
of time."**

Burke.

Chapter II. Ancient Indian Education.

II - A. Beginnings.

It is believed that the Aryan inhabitants of ancient India came many centuries ago from Persia and settled in the fertile plains of the three rivers which lie below the Khyber pass. Philologists insist that there are evidences of a common ancestral language that dates at least ten thousand years B.C. There are those who hold that it is highly probable that great philosophers of the east exchanged thoughts in some way with Plato and Aristotle and made some contribution to those systems which have since so largely dominated the thinking of western civilization.

The period of Indian History from 2000-1400 B.C. is plastic tradition. About 1200 B.C. the inhabitants according to Graves (1) "because of the debilitating climate, developed a dreamy philosophy in which nothing but Brahm, the one Universal Spirit, really counts." This mystic and static philosophy has ever since dominated the entire life of India.

The social expression of this philosophy divided all the people into four great groups. First, there are the Brahmans, who are said to have come out of the mouth of Brahm the Creator; second, the Kshatriyas or warrior class who are said to have come out of the Creator's arm; next are the Vaishayas or the merchant and industrial classes which have come supposedly from

(1). Graves--A Student's History of Education, Page 6.

his thigh; and lastly, the Sudras or servile class which are reputed to have come from his feet. It was an arrangement proposed to make a division of labor, of the utopian type. The Brahmins would serve the gods, preserve the literature and have time for meditation on the riddles of the universe; the warriors would provide the government and fight the battles; the laborers would provide the food; and the menials would be servants to all.

This arrangement made literary education necessary only to the higher castes and limited it largely to the Brahmins. They came to be the repositories of wisdom and holiness. They were to have a knowledge of certain sacred books. The four Vedas were their oldest books. These contained the six aryas on the great philosophical and scientific subjects. There followed later the code of Manu which is a collection of their traditional customs. The Vedas are said to be not only the earliest records of Aryan thought, but also among the earliest that survive of the human race. Some Indian scholars place their beginning at 600 B.C. They contain the gems of their philosophy and consist mostly of hymns used at ritual for sacrifices. The Laws of Manu have been dated at from 1200 to 500 B.C. It is these that form the basis for most of the theories and practices of the educational life of early India. In fact, they are the basis for most of the customs and the philosophy still prevailing India. Someone has said they contain the

'quintessence of the Vedas and therefore of all knowledge.' They give us the "dharma" of the Indian people of today.

This word "dharma" occurs so often in Indian literature and is such a vital part of Indian thought even today, that an interpretation of its meaning may not be amiss in connection with a theme on national education in India. In the recently published book, 'The Story of Oriental Philosophy' (1), I find the following statement, "I should describe it (dharma) as the national spirit which consecrates social custom, tradition, conduct and religion, and is a uniting force which in greater or less degree conditions the life and thought of every person born in the nation. But though inside the national circle it is a unifying energy, outside it is a dividing one and the source of much misunderstanding; for every nation has its own dharma, nor is it possible that any should wholly understand that of another or that it should adopt it. One may perhaps call it the national spirit, though that does not give its origin." The failure to understand this "dharma" has been no small factor in the tribulations of historic India.

II - B. Aims of Ancient Indian Education.

In preparing students for their niche in life, the ancient teachers were spared one serious modern difficulty. The present day teacher must treat each pupil as a separate and individual caste. Today in the West, the pupil's social rank and future work is not fixed.

(1). Beck, The Story of Oriental Philosophy, Page 18.

The teacher has, therefore, to consider the future professions of a boy or girl as yet undecided. What are the major abilities? What will be his choice? The modern paradox is that, "while laying stress on differentiation as the prime factor" in human society, we still are required to make them alike. In India the caste system solved all this. There could be direct progress in a charted road. All effort could be directed to a clearly defined end.

Each of the arbitrary groups had its particular functions. Of course, the Sudra's education was hardly 'the full and free development of all the capacities of the individual.' He was a servant, and obedience comprised the major objective. The system had, however, certain practical features. Its efficiency was dependent on the proper use of its prerogative and when the community was small, public opinion undoubtedly acted as a sufficient check on the natural temptation to misuse or misjudge power. The check, however, proved insufficient and the yoke of Brahmanism has dominated India thru the years.

Education also had an ideal aim. The first care was to form character. "Having taken up the pupil that he may lead him to the Highest, the teacher shall impart the ways of cleanliness, purity and chastity of body, with good manners and morals. And he shall teach him how to tend the fires, and more important than all, how to perform his daily devotions." (1) As an aid to help

in the fulfillment of such an aim the teachers home was the school. The student became a nominal member of the family. An intimate and filial relationship thus existed which was without doubt a great factor in the character building program. This filial relationship is still practiced in the present day World University of Rabindranath Tagore at "Santiniketan." This has been made a feature deliberately in this school in the belief of what he considers to be the national spirit and method of India.

II - C. Organisation.

From the period of the Vedas to the time when the Brahmins became the teachers, history and tradition says that the courts of the kings were the centers of such learning and culture as existed. Following the period from 1000 B.C. institutions of learning called Parishads were established. These were of the collegiate order. In the beginning, three men, later twenty-one men, versed in philosophy, theology and law could set up in any town or village, and those entitled to 'drink from the fountain of knowledge' could then come and attach themselves to them. The boys could give menial labor in return, which consisted in begging their own and their allotted share of the 'guru's (religious teacher) food. The elementary schools we are told were like those of ancient Greece, held in the open air, the pupils sitting around the teachers under a tree or in the

verandah of his home. These arrangements affected the Brahmins mostly because they were the repositories of knowledge. History, however, says that a few of the warrior and industrial classes who were exceptionally ambitious may have obtained education at the hands of the Brahmin teachers. But for the most part the education of the lower castes came only from the laws, traditions, and customs of their country; handed down through their families. Due to this process of handing down from generation to generation, India has always abounded with folk tale and fireside lore. Some of these have had high moral precept and many were later put into writing. Missionaries are today still gathering stores of such folk tales which have probably been handed from generation to generation for many centuries.

II - D. Content of Ancient Education.

For the higher castes the content of education consisted primarily in gaining a knowledge of the sacred books. To master the contents of these books, it became necessary to have grammar, rhetoric and logic. Much attention was given to acoustics and phonetics and in teaching grammar. From the records of other countries we are in a position to say that the knowledge possessed by ancient India was quite considerable. The knowledge which they have passed on to us is not inconsiderable. "To the Hindus we are indebted for our numerical notation often wrongly attri-

buted to the Arabs. During the fifth century before Christ, they invented an Algebra superior to that of the Greeks. They early learned to calculate eclipses and find the location of planets by means of tables. They seem also to have had some knowledge of medicine. By 300 A.D. they possessed a treatise on rhetoric and had worked out a logic two centuries before the time of Aristotle, while in the science of grammar, as early as the fourth century B. C. they were so far advanced that the Western world first learned what philology was when a study of Sanskrit was opened to Europe a hundred or more years ago." (1).

In the 'Puranas' (2) we are told that wrestling, fencing, archery and mock fights, foot and horse races, management of camels, bulls and elephants were all a part of the training. The lower classes (3) apart from the trades which they learned through the "learn to do by doing" method also acquired something of the truths of the sacred books through the tales, fables and proverbs prepared for those with supposedly less evolved mentalities.

The illustration selected and given here gives some idea of the nature of some of these ^{proverbs}, although they are of great variety both in content and in grade of difficulty to understand, "The soul within me; it is lighter than a corn, a barely or a mustard seed, or the substance within it. The soul within me is greater

(1). Graves - Ancient Education, Vol. I.

(2). Puranas are commentaries on the vedas written for the common folk in the form of tales and parables.

(3). "of" - Beck - Ibid, Page 24

than this earth and the sky and the heaven and all these united, that which performs and wills all, to which belong all sweet juices and fragrant odors, which envelopes the world and is silent and is no respecter of persons. THAT is the soul within me. It is BRAHM." (1).

II - E. Method.

The teaching was almost altogether memoriter and traditional. The teacher had to promise to teach only according to the knowledge of the sacred books. There could be no departure from bidden ways. Large sections of the holy books were therefore memorized from the mouths of teachers. The student stood with hands folded on the chest in humble adoration before his teacher, a practice which has continued up until now, and may still be seen in any typical village school in India. It seems that memory and vocal powers were developed and eyesight spared. The various 'mantras' (2) 'and sloaks' (3) were written in rhythmic jingle so that they could be the more easily memorized. One still finds remnants of this in India today. Reading in all schools that have not come under direct supervision of western trained supervisors is done in a monotonous sing-song fashion accompanied by the regular sway of the body. The multiplication table is memorized by the aid of jingly words between the figures, and the

(1). Beck - Ibid - Page 50.

(2). Mantra - In its original meaning it was a hymn or ritualistic formula of the Vedas, but in a more loose or modern sense it may be any charm or religious formula.

(3). Sloak - Sanskrit verses.

pupil learns 6 x 6 without any notion of attached meaning or connection. Writing was first practiced in the sand, then with iron stylus or palm leaves and finally on plain tree leaves with ink.

Another characteristic of ancient Indian education was the use of the monitorial system. It was a common practice for more advanced students to point out the letters to a beginner. They also heard each other's lessons. This is a contribution made by the East to Europe. Dr. Bell received his idea for the monitorial schools, from schools which he has seen at Madras. This pupil teaching method enjoyed great popularity both in England and America for a number of years during the early nineteenth century. (1).

The amount of time spent in school varied with the castes. "The Brahman should be led up to his teacher and invested with the sacred thread in the eighth year, the warrior boy in the eleventh and the Merchant in the twelfth. But if a boy showed exceptional ability and desire for the qualifications of his vocation, such as the light of wisdom if a Brahman, physical vitality and might of body if a warrior; commercial enterprise and initiative if a merchant, then he should begin his studies in the fifth, sixth and seventh years respectively. Education must on no account be delayed beyond the sixteenth, twenty-second and twenty-fourth years for the three castes. After

that the mind is no longer flexible." (1) The longest time was that given for the Brahman. The ideal for him was to live with his teacher for thirty-six years. If this were impossible, it should be eighteen and the least possible nine.

II - F. Education of Women.

There remains yet a reference to the place of women in the educational scheme. On this point there seems to be great difference of opinion. Graves classifies women with the Sudras and Pariahs and says they were generally allowed no education. Laurie likewise feels that it was considered a reproach for a woman to know how to read and write, because her duties were to make a home and only supplement the work of her husband. Dancing girls, however, he thinks were taught in order that they might sing and recite the lore of the sacred songs in connection with the sacrifices and also to sing at marriage and other public occasions.

Mrs. Beck in her recent publication, however, says, "No prohibition exists in the Laws of Manu against education of girls on the same basis as her brothers, but their education must follow only the general line laid down by their caste." (2) The Brahman girl was to have a more intellectual training. The Kshatriya girl more physical activity. And the Vaishys girl more training in economic matters. Beck implies that

(1). Beck - Oriental Philosophy - Page 23.

(2). Beck - Story of Oriental Philosophy - Page 25.

although the same amount of time was not given for girls as for boys, still she does feel that the wives of rishis and of the warriors were often women of great learning, versed in the philosophies and could take part in the work and enjoyments of their husbands. One is inclined to believe that her putting of it is based more on literary legend than fact, for at least the great bulk of women in India. Most modern Indian men of culture and training do, however, also contend that the ancient woman did not hold the low estate assigned to her later in Indian society; and earlier did have opportunities of culture which were later closed. It is quite possible that they are correct, although one needs to minimize this because of the prevalent Indian characteristic to idolize the golden ages of the past.

II - G. Summary.

We have had a glimpse into the remote centuries of ancient India. We have tried to get some idea of the beginnings of her education. We have observed that she suffered no handicap by a late start. We have found that she had laws and aims higher perhaps than those even of Plato. We have noted her four classes of society graded not according to material income as were the later groups of Europe, but upon a measure of spiritual and intellectual attainment. We have observed the initial contributions which she gave to

to the intellectual wealth of the world in science, mathematics and in philosophy; and we are compelled to ask, why is India today what she is? Has it been a deterioration of faith common to so many countries? Have repeated invasions and the thrust of lower ideals by conquerors destroyed religion and the national spirit? Has the ideal of education imposed upon them by a foreign country been unsuited to their genius and social organization? There may be different answers. Some of the replies we shall try to find in the following chapters.

Chapter III. Modern Indian Education.

**"Whatever we wish to see introduced into the life of
a nation, must first be introduced into its schools."**

--Humboldt 1767-1836

Chapter III. Modern Indian Education.

From ancient education to a discussion of education beginning in India with the administration to the British is a long jump. That period is not without interest in a study of the general history of education in India. As we, however, are interested only in the rise of the national phase of this educational development, we can well pass rapidly over these centuries.

III - A. Following the early centuries of the beginning of the Christian era, education in India was probably slightly altered in content and method, due to the high standards of educational activity reached by the Mohammedans in Mesopotamia and their later occupation of India. Certain histories of India abound in eulogies of the high character of civilization during the periods of the Moguls and their contemporaries. At its best, however, the period probably paralleled closely only what we had in Europe during the days of scholasticism. The Maulavis (Mohammedan ecclesiastical lawyer) were just as eager to defend the dogmas of a past day as were the priests of Catholicism in Europe. Dialectic flourished, Arabic, rhetoric, grammar, and literature of the religious type, abounded. The function of education was to preserve the traditional and to train up a religious leadership satisfied to maintain a status quo. This was equally true of Hindus and Mohammedans. The period may therefore, be passed over as giving us no great material assistance

either in seeing underlying causes which would help us to understand the national mind of India or of showing any steps in its development.

The modern period may be considered as beginning with the advent of the British Administration.

III - B. The Calcutta Madriasa, or Mohammedan college established by Warren Hastings in 1781, seems to have been the first educational institution founded by the British in India. It was followed in 1792 by the Sanskrit College of Benares. These early colleges were an attempt to begin education in India on established native foundations. They were to conform to the Dharma Shashtra, that is, the religious educational standards of the communities they were to serve. "The schools were to be examined four times a year in the presence of the Resident in all such parts of knowledge as are not held too sacred to be discussed in the presence of any but (") Brahmans." Not very modern!

The establishment of a few other colleges followed and the Charter of the East India Co. of 1813 provided for the expenditure of a considerable sum for "the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India," and "for the introduction of the knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India." (1). The most noteworthy feature of this forward campaign in educational matters by the East India Co. was the

(1). John Murdock - Education in India , C.K.S. Press, Madras, 1881

formation of committees of Public Instruction in the various Provinces.

This increased interest in education also brought out from England a number of scholars who were anxious to identify themselves with this phase of the work of the British Administration. These educators during the next dozen years divided themselves into two schools, namely, Orientalists and Anglicists. The Orientalists had a vision of a union of Hindu and European learning. They proposed to graft western science and literature on the already existing tree of Indian culture. They studied Sanskrit and hoped to provide all learning through the medium of the vernacular. Among the supporters of this school were the founders of the first universities, as already referred to, and associated prominently with them one finds the names of Wilson, Jones and Colebrook; all of whom were Sanskrit scholars.

The Anglicists in turn believed that the entire system of Indian education and culture was so degraded and deteriorated that it was useless to try and build on "learning that was almost dead and a stream of spiritual life that flowed almost unnoticed through a tangled growth of coarse idolatry." (1). They felt that the only progress possible lay through the medium of the English language and a complete substitution of western science, history, and literature for the absurdities that existed in the astronomy, geography and history of the Indian texts.

(1). John Murdock - Education in India, Page 4.

III - C. These two divergent groups contended in battle for supremacy in the policy of government education for some twelve years. The Anglicists were supported by the religious bodies of Europe, who wanted to have a free hand in supplanting the heathen religions. Missionary educators of great influence and ability, such as Duff and Carey, added prestige to the movement of this group. Each of these men had founded a college in Bengal in line with the theory of the Anglicists. These Colleges gave a great impetus to the study of English. The movement was also strengthened by the establishment of a Hindu college in Calcutta by David Hare, a watchmaker, and certain of his Hindu friends who believed that, through this means, they could "expel some features of Hindu life and letters which were dominated by superstition and immorality." Among these Hindu friends was one, Ram Mohan Roy, a great Sanskrit scholar, who by his peculiar abilities did perhaps more than any other individual East or West to foster the position of the Anglicists. As an agency fostering the policy it may also be pointed out that the Charter of the British East India Co. of 1833 specifically stated 'that Indians may have a place in the positions of Government.'

III - D. The controversy finally came to settlement in the famous Minute of 1835 by Governor General Lord William Bentick, in which he said, that, "such money then as may be available is to be devoted to English Education

alone, for the great object of the British Government should be the promotion of English literature and science amongst the Natives of India. " It is held that Bentick made the decision more on the basis of practicability than on a clear understanding that a real break with India was actually involved. He was anxious to change the official state language from Urdu to English. He saw the possibility of this in a generation of youth trained in English education. He was desirous to rid India of certain existing evils as sati (burning of widows) and certain other gross moral practices in connection with the temples; and in furtherance of these, he saw the value of association with the missionaries and progressive Indians of the type of Ram Mohan Roy.

To Macaulay, Trevelyan and others of the groups of Anglicists remained the task of putting the machinery into motion to carry out this minute. There was probably some confusion in the minds of the various parties supporting this movement as to just what it implied, but the policy was begun. It was to be one of substitution. The language and civilization of the West were to be substituted for that of the East.

III - E. The procedure of this policy had not gone far until there were again those who believed that not only was there some value in the literature and culture of the East, but that the only practicable thing was to give consideration to the genius and organization of the people

in the foundation of a government program of education. Meaulay, who had been active as chairman of the Committee of Public Instruction, after the Minute of 1835, had won a complete victory and thought he had established the foundations of a purely western education when he left for England two years later. In 1839 Lord Auckland was again allowing grants for oriental publications and refusing to starve out existing oriental schools! This tendency to compromise increased and was greatly strengthened by the evidences of Indian sentiment following the Mutiny of 1857. The educational emphasis thus turned from one of pure substitution to one of synthesis. In 1913 a Government Minute says, "we attach great importance to the cultivation and improvement of Oriental studies and that India must investigate and retain interest in her ancient civilization with the help of western methods." (1). This was a good deal different emphasis than the one expressed in 1835. It had grown out of the English policy of compromise. The theory that when two civilizations meet, there must be a fight to the death of either one or the other, was never and is not now a part of English Colonial policy.

This "tendency to swap horses in the middle of the stream" has perhaps in one sense worked well for general British interests in India, but it has hardly helped to clear up the zigzag method of their policy and has never made clear to India the particular and specific aim of the policy of government education, for, as Mayhew says, "Our deference to oriental culture has never cleared us

(1). Mayhew - The Education of India - Page 26 (quoted).

of the charge of trying to westernize the East, nor removed the suspicion of our innate, though at times successfully concealed, conviction of the superiority of the West." (2). This confusion due to a lack of having any clear and defined aim understandable to Indians, has been and is still an important cause for the feeling of dissatisfaction among Indians with the system of education. It was clear in the beginning that the object was to train government servants, but as these positions were filled, it became necessary to try to show up other aims. This together with the real desire on the part of many officials and missionaries to try to get the system adapted to the needs of the people, led to the shifting in aim to which I have referred in the earlier paragraph.

Another source of misunderstanding ~~is~~ is found in the difference of interpretation which was held by the officials on the one hand, and missionaries on the other, as to the function of this Western English education. One of the objectives of the early Anglicists was that education would be a means to get enlightened co-operation of Indian people in the reform of moral and social needs. They held that these evils had grown only out of superstition and ignorance. This was the position of Ram Mohan Roy and his colleagues. Knowledge and western culture were in themselves to be the panacea. The missionaries, however, held a different position. They considered western education as the sure way of getting a man dissatisfied with his heathen religion. To men like Duff, education was only a stepping stone, transitional, but inevitable,

leading men to God through Jesus Christ.

Mission schools, after the Minute of 1835, were soon inaugurated in large numbers. They were encouraged by the government and received financial support thru regular grants. They taught religion openly, even compelling boys to attend regularly the classes in the Bible. Strictly government (1) schools in turn, were stripped of anything smacking of religion, and government in-spectors were particularly informed to see that this was the case. The missionaries and officials, as far as the Indians could see, both believed in education and religion and this difference between the policy of these two sets of people was, therefore, confusing. The mission schools were soon stigmatized as agencies of propaganda, while the government schools were no less criticized as lacking in any moral religious instruction.

The secularization of education was attempted by the government without taking cognizance of the fact that the Indian not only was not ready for this in his own thinking, but would misunderstand the motive because of the confusion arising out of the

(1) In India there are Local Board, Municipal, Private Aided, and strictly government schools. All of these types of schools are inspected by government educational officers. The first three are usually aided financially by government grants and thus indirectly controlled as regards staff, supplies, etc. The strictly government schools are altogether financed and directly managed and controlled by the educational officers of the Provincial departments of Education.

semi-official schools of the missions and their active Christian propaganda. This conflicting of aims and interpretation has, ~~in reality~~ been responsible for not a little of the criticism that has been hurled at the system and helped the Indians to feel that the schools were foreign institutions, set up by foreign agencies for purposes peculiar to their own interests.

A single statement given here culled from many, gives some notion of Indian opinion in regard to the products of this system of State Schools.

"The most crushing indictment of this education is the fact that it destroys in the great majority of those upon whom it is inflicted, all capacity for the appreciation of Indian culture. Speak to the ordinary graduate of an Indian University of the ideals of the 'Mahabharat', he will hasten to display his knowledge of Shakespeare; talk to him of religious philosophy, you find that he is an atheist of the crude common type common in Europe some generations ago; talk to him of Indian music, he will produce a gramophone or harmonium and inflict both upon you; talk to him of Indian dress or jewelry, he will tell you that they are uncivilized and barbaric; ask him to translate a letter written in his mother tongue, he does not know it. He is indeed a stranger in his own land." (1).

(1). Dr. Coomaraswamy, National Idealism, Page 96.

III - F. Private attempts at National education.

Due to this ^{dis}^satisfaction on the part of many Indians, it is only to be expected that we should find some private attempts to set up schools in which the national aspirations and hope of true Indians would have scope for growth and development. Some of these attempts were made through Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council in trying to introduce reforms into the system from within by offering the suggestions to the government through this channel. Among such pioneers were Dada Bai Naorji and G.K. Gokale. These suggestions given as early as 1883 went unheeded.

The efforts of other private individuals culminated in the founding of certain so called 'national' colleges. The Mohammedans started such a college at Aligarch, called the Anglo-Oriental College. This was to be a symbol of the new Muslim Nationalism. The Aray Samaj, a society of Hindu reformers, representing the new nationalism of the Hindus, followed with the Dyananda Anglo-Vedic college at Lahore. Later the Hindus followed this with the movement leading to the Central Hindu College at Benares. This college was later enlarged into the Hindu University. Other ventures of less note followed during the last quarter of the nineteenth and the first of the twentieth centuries.

These schools were, of course, independent from the state system and were naturally looked upon with suspicion by ^{the} government. The quality of work done was not of the highest grade. Students graduating from them were naturally not favorably considered for appointment to government positions and so gradually many of the schools died out.

Although these schools were set up under the caption of "national", it is difficult to find much to warrant the contention that they were any more related to the life, thoughts, and hopes of India than the regular state schools. They did offer departments in Arabic, Sanskrit and Persian. In this sense there was some attempt to make them Indian. Teachers also were supposedly in sympathy with the aim. Most of the members of the staff, however, curiously enough, were Europeans. Seeing the difficulty of their graduates in getting government positions, the surviving schools also soon catered to recognition by the government. This meant that the institutions thereby became subject to the dominance of the foreign thought and system. The schools that did not court the government recognition may mostly be classified as purely sectarian and in no sense national except in the concept of the individual founder or in the united spirit of the particular group. They were 'National Mohammedan' and

'National Hindu' instead of 'National Indian.'

The school of Rabindranath Tagore at Bolpur is a notable exception among these private attempts as in some sense warranting the attribute of national. Tagore is not only a scholar versed in the literature and the religions of India, but he is well acquainted with western civilization. He has traveled in America and in Europe and lectured in a number of the universities. His school has been an attempt to revive the true atmosphere of ancient Indian education in a modern setting. The culture is to be a fusion of East and West. Here western scholars are working in an oriental atmosphere on oriental literature and philosophy. Students and staff enjoy lectures in English literature as well as in Bengali lyrics. Classes are held out of doors under the trees. There is pupil administration, self-activity, and shared activities. It is a curious mixture of Rousseau's nature theory, Kilpatrick's project method and the 'chela-guru' (Master-disciple) attachment that existed in ancient India. It is an attempt to show the good of India side by side with that of the West.

The experiment is highly praised by many. It is producing a unique type of student and it deserves in a sense, at least, the tribute of being classed as a truly national-international attempt. Whether it

can progress to the place where it will be considered practicable on any extended scale is still a question. Up until now, it cannot be considered so because it has dealt with a more or less selected type of student and a very carefully selected staff dominated by an unusual personality. What India needs is not a one-man school, but a general school system simple enough to be effective among the millions who are still waiting to be taught.

III - G. Summary.

We have thus noted the beginning of a state system of schools in India. We have shown that the policy of the government as definitely proclaimed in 1835 was one of substitution of Western civilization for that of the East. This policy, although modified and linked with some later attempts to adapt the system to the life and genius of the people, nevertheless remained the dominant policy of this state system of schools up until the period of the World War. The policy was at least so understood by Indians. Confusion was also added because of difference in views held as to the function of education by European and Indian government educators and those of Christian missionaries. In view of this development, the fact that Indians became through the years increasingly vehement in their denunciation of it as unnatural and alien becomes, therefore, quite intelligible.

Chapter IV. Resisting Forces.

"We pray for the real wealth of India--not
for gems and silks and spices--but for her men
and women and little children." --Fleming.

Chapter III. Resisting Forces.

In the previous chapter we have noted the establishment of a state system of schools in India under the direction and control of the British-Indian government. We have seen that the declared policy as inaugurated by Macaulay and Bentick in 1835 was a substitution of the civilization of the West for the East. This policy, although often criticized by those from within as well as from those without, nevertheless remained the dominant policy for nearly a century. It was a century which showed very disappointing results. The number of pupils in all the schools either directly conducted by the state or aided by them totals at the close of nearly a century only eight million. More than 94% of the total population of 325 million still remained illiterate. Education had, therefore, in no sense become universal, and could not have been considered satisfactory by the millions who had never come in touch with it. The most conclusive evidence of its failure lay in the fact that it also did not have the approval of those who had been its benefactors. The movement of Non-Cooperation in India in defiance to the Government was lead in 1920 by men who were products of the system.

Some causes for this failure have already been indicated in the previous chapter in connection

with the discussion on the aims and development of the British-India policy of education. Those causes were associated with the administrators of the system. In this chapter in turn we desire to look further into some of the forces inherent in India which have been factors in its failure to develop into a national system.

IV - A. Handicapped by being under control of an Outside government.

In Europe and America the terms state education and national education are usually thought of as synonymous terms. This is due to the fact that in these countries organized systems of schools have grown out of the governmental life of the people. Schools were secularized and education became universal and compulsory because the people of the nation wanted it. They determined the contents of the curriculum and devised the methods to be used in accordance with their own notion of what was necessary and fitting for themselves and their children. In other words, the rise of national schools came with the democratizing of governments, and in theory, at least, both government and schools were subject to the will of the people.

In India there was a different situation. The government was an imposed one. India was a colonial possession of Great Britain, and the

possessor set up a system of state schools which she hoped would raise up a constituency to support her imposed form of government. There were some sincere attempts to modify the system so as to make it more Indian and less British, but actually changes only occurred when the "more Indian" did not interfere with the "British." This does not necessarily cast any reflection on the particular broad-minded statesmen who used such powers as they had to make not only education, but all government policy conform more nearly to Indian genius. But the point is that the very nature of the undertaking itself made it impossible to do anything else than what they did do. They were the executors only of a policy which was formulated in London. And bearing this in mind, it is well to remind ourselves that there never has been in England more than a handful of what might be called "national" institutions, and that the foundations of a state system, even then still far from completely comprehensive, were laid only in 1870. Even the beginnings of such a system were possible in England only 40 years after a reformed Parliament had made the minister in charge of the attempted system responsible to a body that represented all the important elements of national life.

The problem which confronted Great Britain in India has somewhat of a parallel with that of our own country in the Philippines. We had, however, a

distinct disadvantage in having begun our task at a later date, and thus had not only the advantage of our own experience, but that of other countries as well. This should help us to be less severe in our censure. For there are plenty of critics, both in the Philippines and outside her borders, which show that our own efforts are not without some degree of disappointment. As late as 1925, an American Commission headed by Paul Monroe of Columbia made an extensive study of a quarter century of our educational activity in the Philippines. In glancing at that report, I find that in the minds of the commission, the two outstanding problems still are "to determine how fast and how far democratic education can go," (1) and "The fundamental task of adapting education to individual and community needs."

A nation whose concept of government lies in a democracy which is to effect governor and governed, by the very nature of the arrangement, imposes a tremendous handicap ^{to} ~~in~~ the development of a system of national schools in a colonial possession. The fact that a government is an imposed one ^{has} _^ in itself ~~is~~ a tendency to develop an attitude of mind, hostile to even the good possibilities of a state system of schools. Unwise blunders, due to short sighted policies, connected with the party in power, give still more occasions for the natives to better

(1). U.S. Educational Year Book, 1925, Page 412.

defend their own civilizations. This has been true both in the Phillipines and in India.

It now seems clear that the early British Administrators had failed to recognize the fact that there was something of a national spirit existing even in torn, distracted, superstitious, caste-bound, Brahman-ridden India. The prevalence of this spirit was, of course, not so marked fifty or a hundred years ago, as now, but must have been there in embryo even then, and should have been noted.

That the spirit does exist today, there can be no doubt. The modern Indian looks at other nations but he is not envious. He is thankful that he was born in India and has a share in her peculiar genius. He cherishes the memory of a golden age when Indian civilization went forth to influence the civilization of the nations of Asia and Europe. He likes to talk about an ancient culture that has been unbroken for thirty centuries. He feels that his nation possesses certain common traditions and that there are certain great personalities that embody the character and ideas of the nation, and certain sacred places where the national memory is enshrined. And he justly feels that Great Britain in the past has not taken proper account of this.

IV - B. Characteristics of Hinduism.

Another force which has been a resisting factor

to the development of a successful system of national (1) education in India^x has been Hinduism itself. It has now also become clear that the characteristics of this religion-philosophy were hardly clearly comprehended by the men who launched and guided the British Administration in India through its formative years. It has taken a century of experience to help evaluate and analyze these characteristics and find out just how they have effected every phase of the work of the Administration. I wish to point out some of the most outstanding of these characteristics.

IV - B-1. Hinduism is pervasive. One cannot be in India many days before one feels that here is a people whose whole life is dominated by religion. Every act is performed in an atmosphere of religion. Food is prepared and taken in the scope of it. Baths are performed to the rhythm of mantras, invoking the blessings of the gods. Beads are worn to dispel the power of the evil spirits. Clothing are torn and patched to deceive and dispel the greed of the gods. Daily toil is determined by the caste and the family god. Birth, marriage, death, every act from the cradle to the grave^x is zealously religious. Religion pervades

(1). The term 'National Education' is now being used in terms of the idea which grew out of the French political philosophers of the 18th century, namely, that schools are essentially civic affairs, the purpose of which should be to promote the everyday interests of society and the best welfare of the development of the state.

"of" Gubberly, History of Education, Page 507.

all of life. It cannot be separated into week days and Sundays, or relegated to home or church, but follows a man into temple and office, as well as places of vice and lust. Hinduism is a "scheme of living so interwoven with the whole existence of those whom it concerns, and placing every natural habit and duty so entirely on the religious basis as the immediate reason of it, that to distinguish between sacred and profane is impossible." (1).

It was this essentially religious life and thought the foreigner tried to westernize. He himself had thought of the possibility of separation of church and state and was well on the way of making it a practical part of his philosophy. He could unfortunately even think of religious practice as connected with certain days and particular places. His institutions were separated from the professionalism of his belief. The Indian in turn has characteristically been unable to disentangle the sacred from the profane and the church from the state. Western state education could, therefore, not only not become his own, but it forced him instead to set up for himself two worlds.

The one world consisted of his community life and included his relatives and friends. This was the real one. The other was his occupational one.

(1). Thyall--Asiatic Studies--Missionary and Non-Missionary Religions--Quoted by Mayhew-Page 37.

This was associated with government and public official life and was considered of relative value only. Being a graduate of Oxford, he could wear an English suit, hat, collar and tie, during the hours of office or public duty, and in the evening when returning home lay aside these symbols of western civilization; and barefooted and in "dhoti" and "shirt" perform his religious bath; read a portion of the Shastras and continue his contemplations on the "maya" (illusion) of the world and its contents.

IV - B-2. Again, Hinduism is elusive. Hinduism is almost impossible of definition. A wise foreigner never attempts it and an Indian characteristically doesn't worry about it. For how define a religion in which a man may believe anything but still continue to do in spite of everything what the pressure of community and family will drive him to do. Hinduism is probably more a society, bound by customs, than united in beliefs. But even the customs are difficult of definition or formulation. It has been suggested that the survival of Hinduism throughout the centuries is due to its "amazing capacity for adapting itself to circumstances." Buddha was on the way to destroy it with his ethical code and his denunciation of its immoral and unsocial practices. But it absorbed the best of Buddhism and sent the disciples of that

religious seer to Tibet, China and Japan to make proselytes. According to Hinduism there are to be ten incarnations of God. Nine have already come. Many modern orthodox Hindus are desirous to declare Jesus as the last and final one!

Brahmans are forbidden to touch leather but can curiously wear manufactured shoes. A man leaving the shores of India is, according to the rules, an out-cast, but exigencies have made re-introduction for such offenses possible. Contrary to the common notion, Hinduism is not unchanging. Its elasticity is, of course, passive and is measured not by the necessities of the individual, but by the possible life or probable death of the "dharma" which serves to bind the group. Macaulay had conceived of it in terms of the strictest immobility, and had, therefore, concluded that the merits of western civilization would themselves argue for acceptance between the two possible alternatives.

IV - B-3. Hinduism as Negation.

The ideal of every Hindu is unity with Brahm. The individual is allowed a separate existence but only for a period. The ideal is in-activity; this leads the sooner to absorption. Salvation itself consists in the knowledge that nothing is except Brahm, all of the things of life and the world here being only illusion (maya). The aim of Indian education has

been summed up by Laurie in⁺his striking comparison between east and west: (1).

"We educate for practical life; they for the ideal,
We educate for the earth; they for heaven,
We educate for coming into the world; they for
going out of it,
We, for industrial activity; they for knowledge
"maya"
We, to have our children earn and enjoy; they
that they may renunciate."

Such an attitude toward life does not breed initiative, but deadens it. The whole philosophy is, of course, wrapped up with the doctrine of karma and transmigration. According to the doctrine of karma, life is here measured out to us, both in quality and quantity, to expiate exactly the deeds of a previous existence. Thus a Brahman is a Brahman because of the noble deeds of his previous existence, and a Sudra has merited his low position because of past shortcomings. In order to be re-incarnated into a better status after death, it is essential to conform to the duties and the obligations of the status in which one now is. Thus the very roots of the aspirations for this life are cut. It is, therefore, not surprising to find wide awake Indians denouncing this doctrine of negation. Lala Lajpat Rai writes (2) in 1922, "To my mind the first need of India is the absolute destruction of this

(1). Laurie, Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education, Page 167.

(2). Lala Lajpat Rai, "The Problem of National Education in India--Page 38.

tendency toward the negation of life. It is the fundamental basis of our whole national weakness."

IV - B.-4. Caste--the racial structure of Hinduism.

In the minds of many individuals the most outstanding Hindu social structure is its greatest handicap. This is unfortunate but felt to be true by those who have seen its work and lived in the midst of it. One cannot think of India without thinking also of caste. It provides in its essence the spiritual driving force of Hinduism. Admission to it is conferred by birth alone and continuance of membership depends, not on occupation or belief, but on "dharma" or the strict performance of the multitude of practical social duties connected with it. To the orthodox, the different castes are not simply different classes but separate creations from essentially different parts of Brahm, namely, his mouth, arms, thigh and feet. The sphere of caste also may not be changed. Transfer from the one to the other is the reward only of 'dharma' and this reward does not come until in the next life.

The practical manifestations of this belief related to caste would be humorous, were they not tragic. The cow herd will graze your cows, but he would never think of feeding your horse or your chickens. A stable boy will sweep the stall, but

you must have a sweeper to sweep your driveway. Everything moves in exclusive compartments and since there are over two thousand casts and sub-castes, it is clear what a disintegrating force it really is. There can be no intermarrying or inter-dining. "There have been cases where men have had to wait for their wives to be born" because of this complexity of sub-castes. (1)

Excommunication by caste for violation of any of the innumerable regulations entails almost unbearable social consequences. Relatives will shun him, marriage of his children will be impossible, his business will be boycotted and he and his family become outcasts, despised, rejected, down-trodden, listed among those whose very shadow is the substance of defilement. The whole scheme subordinates definitely the individual to the community, the present to the past.

It seems that the early educators of India should have seen the futility of hoping, as did Bentinck and Macaulay, that the heart of Hinduism could be touched by an educational system that pretty largely ignored the strength of such an entrenched social organization. One of two alternatives might have been taken in the development of the system. On the one hand lay the probability of identifying the policy with the requirements of caste. This would have limited the benefits to the higher castes only. Such

a policy would probably have won the early support of the Brahmans, but would have been doomed to failure eventually because of the essential characteristics of Hinduism itself.

The other possibility lay in a determined attempt to smash the whole system of caste. The government has characteristically tried to do a little of both and at the same time tried to avoid doing either. The government tolerated caste within well defined limits and utilized it for occupational purposes. It gave preference to Brahmans_x for certain positions, and designated scholarships for students on the basis of caste. At the same time, the outcastes were encouraged to improve their lot through the opportunities offered for their education. This opportunity, however, was not insured and scarcely realized. In many sections, the superior social status of the Brahman allowed him to formulate an opposition preventing the outcastes to come and take the opportunities of the public schools.

This middle ground has brought the government the criticism of both groups. It seems that a set determination by the early leaders to destroy the whole system of caste would have resulted in a progress which has not now been attained. Caste contains the sum total of all the evils attendant on Indian life. Poverty, immorality, sex indulgence and the whole catalogue of evils which have been given by various individuals

as the cause of her weakness are only part and parcel of this binding demoralizing system. The most ardent nationalists of India today are declaring that it must go. Rabindranath Tagore says, "The regeneration of the Indian people, in my mind directly and indirectly solely depends upon the removal of this condition." The entire group of Indian reforms and leaders of the 'Movement for Self Government' are supporters of this point of view. Would not the leaders of Indian education have done well to affiliate themselves with this group more wholeheartedly? Such a policy would certainly have resulted in the hearty support of missions. It would also have aligned with the government, the masses of India's poor, for the outcastes and down-trodden have always been the glad hearers of a new gospel of relief and redemption. Through them have always come the great forward movements of the centuries.

IV - C. The Ideal Teacher of Hindu Tradition.

I have already in Chapter I, in connection with ancient education, referred to the exalted position of the teacher in Indian life. The ideal Hindu teacher, (the guru), was subject to no external control. He was a teacher because it was a part of his religious duty and not because he considered it primarily as a means to a livelihood. His work was a spiritual function. If his work appealed to the people of the community, then he was supported by gifts. Wealthy

parents and kings sometimes gave in the past and still continue to this day to give to some revered teacher, some permanent endowment. But the giving of such gifts has never involved any right or control over the ideas or teaching of the guru. When such gifts were made, they were made on the conditions laid down by the guru and not by the kings or wealthy.

The influence of the teacher was also to extend throughout life and not only to pupil days. In the life of a Brahman there are four marked life stages. The Bramacharya stage extends from eight to fourteen years of age. This period is spent in the secluded forest home of the teacher where he becomes a member of his family. The Bramacharya stage was followed by the Grishasthaa, in which as a father and householder, he supports his wife and children. The influence of the teacher was not only to extend up into this period, but on beyond it and his fitness as a teacher was judged in proportion as he affected the pupil to enter into the period of Banaprastha and Sanya. In the first of these, he was to lay aside the care^s of a householder and devote himself to meditation and spiritual pursuits; while in the latter, he was to go forth to the seclusion afforded by the caves of the "mouth of the Ganges," or some other auspicious place, and seek to merge his individuality with that of Brahm.

These ideals were not always practicable, but there is no doubt but they were carried out in some measure. And despite all the influences of a western civilization, they do still exist. The school of Rabindranath Tagore at Bolpur is built on that ideal. There the daily acts of worship, and the influence of a secluded life in the midst of nature, binds together the hearts of teacher and taught in a real living unity.

How far the present "mashter" (teacher) of a government school has travelled from this ideal! He has become, as he so truly often refers to himself, only the "servant of government." The meaning of the term connotes in no way any intention to make an unselfish contribution to the life of the community. The respect of his position is also not enhanced by the well-known fact that he serves in that arm of government most lightly valued and consequently least remunerative. India can understand the motive of a man who gives his life for a cause without any thought of remuneration. It can also see some utilitarian reason for respecting a man who receives a real salary, even if in the employment of a "mammon" government. It will prostrate itself before the one in all humility and at least officially respect the other; but a teacher who achieves but poor pay in the official hierarchy causes them to be perplexed and indifferent.

Again, how little chance the state system affords for the personality of the teacher coming into play.

It is sad, but true, that it is rare to see a real live man at work in an Indian school room. For he must express no idea about religion for fear of offending some of the many groups involved. Any interpretation of history in the light of present day movements is likewise impossible. If the interpretation should be in favor of the government, he would be considered a traitor and, if adverse, he is equally looked upon as a spy. He teaches according to a government syllabus and in constant fear of the arrival of a government inspector who is as frequent and as dreaded as the plague or cholera. He has learned not to express any idea without first getting an official order! And if an inspector should in an off moment happen to suggest more vitalization, more teaching related to life by means of current events, or acquaintanceship with local civics, the teacher has found by experience that it is best to demand a syllabus covering the point, for he knows that in case he breaks out with his own feelings, and convictions, it may cause a later entry in the order book reminding him that "controversial subjects, particularly religion, politics and social affairs are debarred." What constitutes the real self, therefore, remains outside the school room. This is taken for granted by pupils and teachers. Under such conditions a teacher can hardly "lose his life

to save it." The real teacher has thus faced a tremendous handicap, yea, an almost impossible situation. It has been a far cry from the Indian ideal as to what a real teacher ought to be. No wonder he has felt the system "unnational."

IV - D. Their religion lacks a dynamic.

It is not my purpose here to enter into a critical estimate of Hinduism as a philosophy of life from the religious point of view. There are in Hinduism certain elements of universal truth. If this were not the case, it could not have survived for so many centuries. Hinduism also has some great and profound defects, some of which have already been pointed out. My proposition here is ^{only} ~~further~~ to point out that the religion lacks the dynamic to produce an interest in the individual, either in his own improvement, or in that of his fellow man. This lack has been a resisting force to the development of a system of education which was conceived with these two objectives as fundamental in its aims.

The greatest charge that can be brought against Hinduism is that for two thousand years it has consigned a sixth of India's people to unrelieved degradation. Lower than the low casts, are the sixty million who make up the groups of "untouchables." How can fabulous wealth and poverty,

rags, and starvation exist side by side for centuries without particular concern to either poor or rich? Why has Hinduism out of its own initiative never produced a Red Cross Society, built public hospitals or started orphanages for the homeless? It is simply because all people are born into life according to their "desert" and disaster and inequalities in this life do not perplex because they are the merited results of deeds of a previous existence. Interference with the conditions of another may even be going against the will of "Allah" or the desire of "Kashwar," (literally God.)

The element of "Kismet" (fate) is the dilemma of these Hindus and Mohammedans who desire social reform and still wish the vestiges of the old forms. Tagore in the lines given below, voices not only a just criticism of the materialism of the west, but unwittingly admits as well, the lack of anything aside from Jesus Christ which will produce in any man an interest in the uplift of his downtrodden fellow men.

Tagore says, "Great souled Christ, on this the blessed day of your birth, we who are not Christian bow before you. We love and worship you, we non-Christians; for with Asia you are bound with the ties of blood. The world stands aghast at the earth hunger of Europe. The three witches, War Lust, Power

lust, and Profit Lust, revel on the barren hearths of Europe. There is no room for Thee in the West. Come, Lord Christ, come away. Take your stand in Asia, the land of Buddha, Kabir, and Tilak. At the sight of you our sorrow-laden hearts will be lightened. O Teacher of Love, come down into our hearts and teach us to feel the sufferings of others, to serve the leper and the outcast with an all embracing love." (1).

Hinduism also offers little inducement for personal improvement and development. In the first place, the reward promised after death is not stimulating to the present life. Absorption with Brahm, which is the ultimate goal, is possibly only after thousands of rebirths. Therefore, however much the reward is desired, it is too far removed to have any material uplifting effect. Again, the highest moral aim of a Hindu is not self-sacrifice according to the great Christian idea. With us it is the sense of the self-sacrifice of all unworthy desires to the duty of life. With him it is the abnegation of life itself with a view to the absorption of the individual with the "All." Wuttke very well says, "the people of a strong personality pray, 'Thy kingdom come,' while the Hindus pray 'may that which Thou has created perish; that is, may all beings be

(1). Stanley Jones - The Christ of the Indian Road
Abingden Press - 1925.

swallowed up in they being"--Duty in our commanding sense of the word, the virtues flowing from a strong personality that controls circumstances and shapes the life of each man, were not to be expected." (1).

- (1). Wuttke quoted by Laurie--Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education - Page 167.

CHAPTER V

LIMITATIONS OF THE EXISTING SYSTEM

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"Unquestionably they accomplished much that was good for India, but they had gone only half way. They painted a veneer of western civilization on the soiled and outworn East when what was needed was a real innovation."

Frazier Hunt - "The Rising Temper of the East."

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CHAPTER V

LIMITATIONS OF THE EXISTING SYSTEM

In Chapter III we pointed out some of the characteristics inherent in India life and thought which proved handicaps to the development of a national system of schools. That chapter was an attempt to show that the administrators of that system were confronted with very real native obstacles. In this chapter we again turn to a more critical discussion of the administrators and their policy. The aim will be to point out certain outstanding failures in the development of that system, and to indicate certain trends which must be kept in mind in the further development of Indian education.

V. A. Education and Material Progress

Indian publications of the last ten years have been profuse in their denunciation of state schools as lacking in emphasis on the vocational content of the curriculum. The two main propositions of the National Schools as established by Mr. Gandhi and his followers were: that the schools must be in the vernacular, and that they must be vocational. The spinning wheel became the symbol for the feeling that schools must help somehow in the solution of India's economic need. A part of this feeling had its rise in the lack of remunerative employment experienced by the educated middle classes. There existed an increasingly conscious maladjustment, and the source was seemingly found in the failure of the educational arm of an imposed government. Whether just or not, the source served as the watch cry for much of the propaganda of the entire movement of non-

co-operation.

These leaders, it seems to me, erred in their diagnosis that the state schools were not vocational. A more just criticism would have been that they were too vocational, but lacked in the cultural. The state system had always sought to prepare students for state jobs. The vocational aim lay back of part of the motives that inspired Bentinck to issue the Minute of 1835. Essentially practical and utilitarian, the system has aimed at the production of government officials, lawyers, doctors and clerks. A more just criticism of the state schools would be to say that they have given vocational training, but of a very limited type. As evidence that they have succeeded remarkably in accordance with such an aim, one needs only to note the unrest of these educated middle classes who, having prepared for positions, find themselves unable to get any, even at wages far below decent living conditions.

The state system of schools has rather failed in producing in the minds of pupils and parents a proper attitude toward life and the objects of real education. It has trained its students to earn a living in occupations congenial to their traditions and increased in number and attractiveness by British administration. But it failed to develop any interest in training for other occupations not so closely related to their traditions.

What is required, therefore, is not a more vocational curriculum in the narrow sense of the word, but a more cultural one, with an emphasis on life and work, that will develop an attitude allowing the boy and girl to choose from the various

possibilities that line of work best suited and profitable to himself and his community. The old curriculum, just because it was so strictly vocational, blinded the youth to the blessing which education ought to give, namely, an open mind and heart, with respect for all forms of daily toil, and a recognition that all work is dignified in proportion as it is done well.

The system also failed in not teaching them how to enjoy life. The narrow vocational emphasis has led to a belief that the whole purpose of education is for commercial advantage. Only those have taken advantage of it who desired this selfish economic improvement. It has been looked upon as a competitive proposition in which a limited number only could profit. The whole value of a high school course was considered by most fathers and their sons as utterly lost unless it concluded with a successful examination in which it was known that over forty per cent were guaranteed to fail. This has put a selfish slant on the whole view-point of the function of education. It has led to a philosophy that government exists to give to us, and that on that road contentment is found. But getting without giving is not the secret of happiness. What her schools should have given India is a new outlook on life, and with it the attitude and will power to live happily by the fullest and finest use of her cultural genius and traditions.

There has, however, also been some sin of vocational omission. As pointed out, the vocational aims were narrow. No reasonable argument can be given showing why in a country in which ninety per cent of the people live in villages, and in which agricultural production supports seventy per cent of the

population, there should not have been included in the course of instruction some material directing the minds of boys and girls back to their homes and the improvement of their fields. India is not poor in resources. She has twenty-five times as much arable land as Japan. With improved methods of farming she can supply in increasing quantities the products not only which she needs, but which the world requires. She now leads the world in the production of rice, sugar-cane, tea, jute, and shellac, and comes second only in cotton and tobacco. India is poor because the people have not been taught how to utilize their resources.

What strikes even the casual traveler in India is the great amount of drudgery mechanically performed. They have "not been taught" to make anything. As one looks at them one is reminded of the conversation between Orlando and Oliver:

"What make you there, sir?"

"Nothing. I am not taught to make anything."

"What may you then?"

"I am helping to make one of the noblest things God made, a poor unworthy brother of yours, with idleness."

"Nay, be better employed."¹

That there are in all India less than a thousand students studying the development of agriculture is in itself a striking argument showing that there has been a wrong emphasis. Unsympathetic critics often point to the prominent place given in the school curriculum to a study of a record of the battles of England and an arithmetic abounding with problems in shillings and

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1. Fleming, Schools with a Message in India, p. 17.

and pounds! That many of these incongruities are in the way of being removed is a sign of gratification. A newer policy holds that real respect for England will come about not by the memorization of the names of her great heroes and the places and dates of her battles, but rather in the feeling that she is just, kind, and has a real desire to help the people in India.

The education of the future must strive earnestly to assist India in her material progress. It must inspire its pupils with a spirit for service in towns and villages. Boys and girls must leave school with a love for their own people and a desire to serve them.

V.-B. Education and Religion

The most distinctive heritage of India is undoubtedly her religious consciousness. In terms of religion one always approaches her heart. Mr. Gandhi, like most of the great heroes of India's past, is a hero of the soul, and not of the sword. In granting him leadership India was undoubtedly moved by the fact that he cared not for sensual pleasures, riches, comfort or promotion. It has been his life of renunciation and sacrifice, and his deep religious nature that has fired India's imagination. In what other country has a political leader found his deepest source of power in such characteristics? India is unquestionably religious.

Miss Mayo, in her book "Mother India", attributes India's failure to progress to her gross abuse of the sex instinct. This unique hypothesis is naturally particularly resented by the Indians. The feeling of this injustice is shared by those who know India best and love her most. Many Indians have attempted

replies to the book. One of those replies has been written by Mr. Muckerji, entitled "A Son of Mother India Answers". Mr. Muckerji, himself a native Indian, but educated and experienced in the ways of the West, concludes in his discussion that the real cause for the lack of India's progress is due to her over emphasis on religion. His contention is that the average Indian spends so much time in the execution of religious duties that he has not sufficient time left to make a living. He proposes the enactment of a constitutional law by Great Britain prohibiting every Indian from spending more than a specified number of hours in religious practices. He cites the method used by America for getting rid of strong drink, and believes that a religious-prohibition-observance law will be the only solution of the problem. I can hardly agree with his proposed method of remedy, but do feel that he has made a far more just analysis of India's difficulty than has Miss Mayo. India is zealously and seriously religious.

The limitations of a state system of schools which is committed to a policy of scrupulous religious non-interference is at once apparent. The government has offered much that has appealed separately to the intellect and the economic needs of India, but it has not offered much to which all that is fundamental in her Oriental religious character can respond. Perhaps this is a task into which a government debarred from religious activity cannot enter.

The difficulty of this situation is almost beyond the practical comprehension of those who have experienced only the life and civilization of the occident. In America we feel that we

have secularized our system of public schools as well as our government and many of our other public institutions. But in the strictest sense we have done nothing of the kind. We forget that our schools and their curricula are saturated with ideas and sentiments that are Christian in origin and clearly allied to the ideas and sentiments of our homes. We feel that we have laid the foundations for tolerance and existing good will between Anglicans, Evangelicals and Catholics by our public schools and colleges, where all meet on a common level. But the difference between Mohammedans and Hindus and Christians are far more fundamental. We have never been faced with the necessity of sending our sons and daughters to a school dominated by a culture entirely devoid of all the traditions on which our home life is based. It was this kind of a system that the Government has been forced to offer to both Hindus and Mohammedans in India. Being a system condemned to impartiality, religious India has logically considered it "godless."

Christian Mission Schools have had an advantage over strictly government schools in this respect. Receiving grants from government, they were still unhindered in teaching the tenets of their faith. In their schools it was thus possible to make religion the basis of culture. This the Indian could understand. Here was a basis for moral teaching and practice; and many Hindu and Mohammedan graduates have testified to the moral and spiritual contribution received while they were students in Christian institutions. Mr. Gandhi and many of the leaders of present day India have received their impetus for social and moral reform through the avenue of the Christian High School and

college. That mission schools did not succeed better in this respect, and have shared in being objects of criticism during the last decade, is perhaps due to their too close affiliation with a system of supposedly "godless" schools.

Government has been giving some recognition to the demands of religion. That recognition has, however, accentuated differences, rather than made for intelligent toleration. It has had separate hostels built for Mohammedans and Hindus; recognized universities because of the demands of religious communities; and has had listed prominently in school rolls, examination results, and in various other ways, individuals on the basis of their religious affiliations. Some of the universities in India today have a University-Mohammedan football team and a University-Hindu football team, rather than just a "University football team." On occasions of a welcome or farewell party, custom demands that speeches be given by the representatives of each of the major religious communities represented. I received upon leaving India addresses from faculty members and students representing the Christian, Hindu and Mohammedan sections of the high school.

These things illustrate the pervasiveness of the religious consciousness. The fact that the government has recognized and fostered these differences merits not praise, but condemnation. Such recognition has tended to breed rivalry and hostility, rather than make for intelligent co-operation. Many critics have felt that this has been done consciously by the government in line with her principle of "divide and rule." Without sharing such harsh criticism, I feel, nevertheless, that the policy of govern-

ment in trying to please everyone has been so colorless as to please no one.

V. C. Education and the Home

Macaulay and Bentick made no provision for the education of Indian women. For this omission censure should not be too severe, for it must be remembered that back in England during the middle of the nineteenth century opinion held that the female sex was marked out by nature to be a domestic ornament. Therefore, equally well in India might her training be left in hands outside the state system of schools. This omission is, however, no doubt responsible for a good deal of India's maladjustment.

I have already referred in a previous section of this discussion to the divided life of many of the present day educated Indians. He is a European in his official connections, but Indian in his domestic. His is a dual personality. This has proven unsatisfactory, both to the person educated and to the rest of his family. The situation pictured by Dr. Dewey of "education as a social function" fits the case - "One code prevails in the family, another in the street; a third in the workshop or store; a fourth in the religious association. As a person passes from one of these environments to another, he is subjected to antagonistic pulls and is in danger of being split into a being having different standards of judgment or emotions for different occasions."¹ According to Dr. Dewey, it is the function of the school to co-ordinate within the disposition of the individual these diverse influences. This the system in India has failed

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1. John Dewey, Democracy and Education, p. 26.

to do. It has been an education separated from the homes of the nation. Both the homes and the system have accordingly suffered.

The British administration may be censured for not taking proper cognisance of the very real part a woman plays in Indian life, and for a failure in not allowing grants for woman's education in the initial stages; but squarely on the shoulders of India herself rests the responsibility for keeping in superstition, illiteracy and purdah¹ more than half of her population. In the last quarter century many schools for women have been in existence, and in words which have become classic, "female education is carried on in response to a demand that does not exist."

The causes for this are rooted in religion and centuries of custom. Belief in woman's inferiority is a prepossession still of the man-mind in India. The essential inferiority of women is brought out in many a passage of Hindu doctrine. Because of this, India is today undeniably handicapped. Early marriages, the family and purdah systems, are sapping the vitality and destroying the lives of thousands of women and mothers who should be co-operators in the effort to reconstruct India. It is estimated that between twelve and seventeen million women of India never see the outer world from the day of their marriage until death.

Not only do they not contribute anything, but they are a drag on their husbands and sons. Their influence over them is not inconsiderable. Remote from the unreal world of school and

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1. Purdah literally means "a curtain." In general use it connotes "Keeping the women in seclusion - behind the curtain."

professions, she still continues to animate and inform the real world of the home. She is among the first to applaud the condemnation of a satanic disintegrating West, and she will insist, if her husband has to live a double life, on dominating the most important half. The importance of the Indian woman in the Indian household has never been properly appreciated by the Englishman. In his attempt to build a national education, he might well have taken far more cognizance of her real influence. She should have been made a co-operator.

Such small progress has the educational system made in removing the illiteracy of India's womanhood that today less than two percent of her women are literate. Outside the ranks of Parsi and Christian there is almost a total lack of interest in educating any girls beyond the primary grade. It is estimated that over seventy-three per cent of the total number of girls in school are withdrawn before they achieve literacy. It is also held that out of a possible school-going population of fifteen millions, only 30,000 are reading in schools above the primary grade. It is estimated further that in all British India the women students in arts and professional colleges number less than one thousand. As Mr. Bannerjee points out; "The higher education of Indian women may almost be said to be beyond the scope of practical reform. No Hindu or Mohammedan woman of an orthodox type has ever joined a college or even read up to the higher classes in high school. The girls who received university education are either Brahmo or Christian."

This indicates the very small advance that has been achieved in the very difficult up-hill attempt to bestow literacy upon the

women of India. There must be a continued patient effort of persuasion by the government, coupled with more vital connection between the system of male education and the practice and ideals of the home. Missionaries have, by much patient toil, pointed the way. Their attempts have done much to popularize the cause. Progressive Indians will also need to co-operate to make effective the transmission of thought to deed. This is necessary because of the uplift it will mean, not only to the womanhood of India, but to all India. In all countries where compulsory education has been attempted, there has been reliance on an army of women teachers to make it possible. Today in India these are not available, and it is doubtful whether any scheme of universal education will be possible until such an army of women teachers has been prepared.

Also it may reasonably be questioned whether general literacy can ever advance far until the mothers of India, or at least a much larger per cent. than now become literate. It appeals to me than an interesting study would be to try and determine the influence of female education in spreading lasting literacy among the young. This should be ascertained with a view of demonstrating the true relation between female literacy and the spread of general literacy. The results of such a study might throw a good deal of light on the proper procedure to promote lasting literacy.

V. D. Education and the Masses

In no way can the inadequacy of the Indian system of state schools be better shown than in their failure to reach the masses.

So marked is this failure that without some knowledge of its causes it is almost unbelievable. After nearly a century of effort, it is lamentable to have to say that in India only one in seventeen people can read or write. India's literacy percentage is only 5.8 per cent. of her total population, as against a per cent. of 92 for England and 96 for Japan. Three out of four villages have no school. Out of 36,000,000 children who should be in school, only 8,000,000 are even enrolled! Out of every three boys who should be at school, only one is on the roll, and out of every thirteen girls, the name of only one is on the lists. Only three per cent. of the total population is enrolled in primary school, as against 17 per cent. in Scotland and 16 per cent. in England.

The fight against illiteracy shows very little progress. For successive decades the number of males per thousand who could read is as follows: 1881--66; 1891--87; 1901--98; 1911--110; while of the female population less than 3 per cent. was literate in 1921.

The increase in literacy for the last ten years has run parallel only with the increase in population, despite the enlarged efforts put forth. In most countries one notes with surprise and remembers any adult who cannot read or answer a simple letter. In India 92 out of every 100, and in its police force 50 out of every 100, are in such a position. The condition is disheartening, and argues for the necessity of searching out the causes.

The natural gap which tends to divide people into classes was accentuated in India by the artificial arrangement of caste.

In most countries education has acted as a socializing agency, leading the people toward equality and democracy. The system of education in India has been from its inception handicapped in this socializing tendency because of two chief reasons. In the first place, its narrow vocational emphasis, leading into government positions and into a very limited number of professions, has tended to separate the educated from the rank and file.

The other factor which has promoted the widening of this same gap has been the failure of the system to develop any of the vernaculars. The British found India with a bewildering number of languages. The classic phrase of Washington Irving, "India, the land of dreams and romance, poverty and rage, pestilence and famine, of a hundred religions and a hundred tongues", is as true as poetic. At least thirty-two distinct written languages are in existence in India today. This multiplicity of languages was no doubt one of the reasons why educational administrators have so steadily promoted the cause of English as a medium of instruction. A more potent reason was no doubt also the inherent hesitancy of any British official to converse with a subordinate in a language in which the official was not himself proficient. The Englishman has felt that this would prove a handicap inconsistent with the efficiency and dignity of the nation whose representative he was. This has been as true in Egypt, Mesopotamia and China as in India. His English language is as necessary as his "peg" and his polo pony.

The point is that the substitution of English tended to divorce the products of the system from the masses. It increased the already existing barrier. The arrogant youth who

could command a fluency of English words considered himself naturally among the socially "elite", and took pride in a system which made the circle in which he lived circumscribed. The ideal of the founders of the system was that it would be a "filtration" from the select to the mass. The Himalays were to refresh the mighty plains. The educated "English trained" were to work out for their illiterate brethren a fund of knowledge in the vernacular. The ideal failed because there was no moral or religious dynamic which gave interest in the redemption of their brethren.

Since the war there has been much agitation for the development of the vernaculars. This has come about partly because nationalistic leaders saw the necessity of utilizing the masses against the abhorred dominance of the British. That statement may be challenged, but there are many circumstances pointing to its veracity. The Nationalist leaders have rightly apprehended that a vernacular medium is necessary to secure the co-operation of the masses. These leaders have also not unwittingly used the failure of the state schools to develop during the years any vernacular as a stick to beat the government. It is and has been excellent strategy, and a bewildered government has hastily set about to revise its system on a vernacular basis, but still confronted with the same problem of multiplicity of languages which existed seventy years earlier. Had a consistent, persistent policy of state schools spent these years in perfecting and nationalizing either one or two of the vernaculars, the government would have found itself equal to the emergency and ready to enter into a tremendous step forward toward national compulsory free education.

Another factor which helped in the failure of the state school education to reach the masses was the economic one.

India is reputed for her poverty. It is estimated that every night fifty million people go to bed hungry, and that fifty per cent. of her population live so near the brink of poverty that a single crop failure will drive them into starvation. The early government had set for itself the task of higher education, and left to local bodies, such as districts and municipalities, the task of primary education. The extreme poverty of the people made impossible, in many cases, the establishment of primary schools. At least it became impossible to convince people so desperately poor that there was any advantage in burdening themselves with an institution which, as far as they could see, brought them nothing in return. The British pyramid of education was set up upside down, and it failed with the masses because of it.

Practically the only advantage apparent to the average citizen, coming out of "schoolin'" was the ability it provided to avoid the tricks of a dishonest railroad ticket agent or tax collector. More than this, he saw in the system the possibility that his son would be weaned away from home and village, and still remain unable to increase materially either his income or his happiness. Small wonder, therefore, that he sent his child to school only so long as he was unable to earn anything at home, and produced a situation once characterized by a reporter as "a primary education that ends with the cradle" and allows for a relapse of 39 per cent. of its beneficiaries into illiteracy within five years.

The British administrators of the country were not unaware of their lack of progress in the education of the masses. A real interest in trying to extend the opportunities was fostered and furthered in 1904 by Lord Curzon. The Administrators saw that the base of the pyramid was not being built. The Imperial Government followed with large grants to the provinces, urging immediate extension of primary schools in the villages. Official pressure was put on the movement from the top down, and anxious subordinates hurried to the villagers, begging them to take schools. Large expenditures were made and a mushroom growth of buildings was the result. For a time the official pressure of the local government official even caused an increased enrollment and attendance. But, as interpreted by the statements and figures of the officials themselves, it produced nothing lasting, and it "became clear by 1917 that any further advance on a voluntary basis must be very slow and increasingly expensive. It became clear that compulsion was the only open road."¹ Statutory legislation was accordingly enacted, authorizing local bodies to prepare schemes for compulsion within their areas. The progress of that movement belongs to a later part of our discussion.

Very late the promoters of the system of state schools came to realize that an educational system means nothing if it does not mean the development of the cultural interests and the raising of the material level of ALL classes. The task ahead is to fit the AVERAGE Indian of today for that task of citizenship

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1. Arthur Mayhew, The Education of India, p. 232.

to which he is being summoned with such urgency by the present political condition of his country.

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CHAPTER VI

SIGNS OF A BETTER DAY

1919-1929

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"National Education, being the surest and the most profitable national investment, is as necessary for national safety as the military provision for physical defense. Universal popular education must be provided for by the State, and should be the first charge on the State Revenues."

Lajpat Rai - "Unhappy India" - 1928.

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CHAPTER VI

SIGNS OF A BETTER DAY

A. Administrative Reform

The year 1919 will go down in the history of India as the beginning of a new era. The turn in the road affected every phase of Indian life. Although primarily political, still the movement of non-co-operation was so vital that a brief discussion of its purpose and content is relevant to the progress of national education in India.

The roots of the form of government now gradually working out in India go back into past centuries and are visible through continuous growth. I cannot here digress to show the evolutionary phase of that process of growth. However, few governments have been watched with greater interest by people interested in international politics than this evolutionary experiment going on in India.

The British government has always in its public utterances, at least nominally, declared itself in favor of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration. But before 1919 nothing much had been done. India's outburst of loyalty in the world war, as indicated by her whole-hearted contribution of men and money, prompted a responsive flood of feeling in Great Britain, and a desire to compensate that sympathy and kindness with another of its kind. As a result, we have the Indian Councils Act of 1909, followed by the Reforms Act of 1919. The purpose of this Act, as stated in its preamble, is "to provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch

of Indian Administration, and for a gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire." There has been no disagreement over the contents of the preamble. The misunderstandings have arisen rather over its interpretation and application.

The British government arranged for the carrying out of this Act by transferring certain departments of work in the Provincial governments into the hands of the elected legislative assembly, while other departments of work it kept entirely in the hands of the Provincial Governor in Council. This arrangement set up in India a two-branched machine operated from the office of the various governors of the Provinces. The Governor and his Executive Council, all Crown appointees, form one branch; the Governor and his ministers of departments form another branch. The ministers are appointed by the Governor from the elected members of the legislature, and are themselves also responsible to that body. This accounts for the necessity of the Governor consulting with the party whip before making the appointment. All ministers are Indian. The work done by these two branches is designated as "Reserved" and "Transferred". The list of transferred subjects represents authority resigned by the British people in favor of the people of India.

A fair consideration of the extent to which the system has worked would lead us far afield. Two further things may, however, profitably be incorporated here. A certain group of Indian leaders had almost from the announcement of the reforms concluded that the plan represented too close a corporation and offered no

basis for a successful experiment: They consequently at once resolved to have nothing to do with the working out of the Act, nor with anything else British, until England was prepared to give India a political status similar to that of Canada. Another group had faith in the developmental process of government, and had original intentions to help make the forward step successful.

Two events alienated the sympathies of many of the Indian leaders of this latter group. The terrible massacre of Amritsar was one of these happenings. The condonement of the British Parliament of this act of General Dyer shattered the faith of many of the moderates in the good intentions of the British. Again the declaration of war by Great Britain against Turkey was interpreted, especially by the Mohammedans, as a violation of her treaty pledge not to interfere with the Holy places of Islam. During the World War, Mecca, Bagdad and Jerusalem all passed into the hands of England. Mohammedan leaders used these events as occasions to whip their followers into a fury of religious hate against England.

Mr. Gandhi thus readily commanded the following of the Hindu and Mohammedan forces, and the movement of Non-co-operation was launched. That movement was gaining momentum when I reached India in 1921, and was soon in full swing. Those were interesting days. No movement ever equally stirred apathetic philosophical India. Gandhi's name became the battle cry of the millions, who were stirred from the lethargy of centuries into a non-co-operating religious-political army. "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Ji" (Long live Mahatma Gandhi), was the phrase that greeted one

everywhere. Gandhi caps were worn by millions. Government and mission schools associated with the government were paralyzed. Huge public bonfires consumed thousands of dollars worth of cloth that had come from the mills of Manchester. There were days of real "hartal." Even the Indian element of the British machine became secretly sympathetic.

The Non-Cooperative movement, however, declined because Gandhi was more of a religious than political leader. He has often been characterized as too good a man for public politics. He was put in prison and other leaders arose who were propagators of different tactics. They resolved to substitute "non-cooperation" by active participation in elections in the Councils. The Swaraj party came into existence, promoted by the "Patrick Henry" of Bengal, Mr. C. R. Das. This party was successful in gaining complete control of the legislative assemblies of two of the provinces, and inaugurated the new policy of "obstructing" the machinery of government. The aim was to show that the reforms were a farce, and that real power lay not in the hands of the people, but in the bureaucratic executive arm of this Indian government.

The great achievement of the period was the awakening of a national consciousness. It spread the desire for independence throughout the land. It now remains for us to show the progress of education throughout this decade, and to indicate what has

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1. Hartal - On certain particular days designated by the Indian National Congress, all Indians were asked to "non-cooperate", to cease from engaging in any kind of trade. The object was to paralyze the life of the nation for the day and to show the British Administration what their united action could do.

been done to make the school, as one of the institutions of society, better serve its proper function.

A. 1. Education a Transferred Subject

With the introduction of the 1919 reforms the department of education became a transferred subject. This placed it in the hands of an Indian ministry. These ministers are appointed by the Provincial Government, subject to the ratification of the Provincial legislative assemblies. This is a step in the right direction and in line with the expressed wishes of India. It will help to bring about the responsible connection between the people and the framers of policy.

That there has been any marked progress due to this better arrangement it is difficult to say. It could hardly be expected that men inexperienced in public office would make noted advances over those who had preceded them and who had given them their training. In all justice to the new ministers, some of the difficulties under which they began their duties need also to be pointed out. In the first place, during the first three or four years of the period Indian leaders were so completely engrossed in the political movement of "Non-Cooperation" that there was more thought put on destructive than constructive measures. That movement aimed at the destruction of the entire system of government schools in favor of its own "national" schools. These schools will be treated more fully in a later section.

Again, it must be pointed out that the new ministers were not altogether free agents in the matters pertaining to their departments. Critics of the reforms have not been slow in pointing out the unjust distribution of revenues between the Transferred

and Reserved subjects. The distribution of revenues rests neither with the newly organized representative assemblies nor with the ministers, but with the executive, who is still directly responsible to the Crown. A government hard pressed for revenue in maintaining an army and police force for adequate defense could not readily give finances for the expansion of a transferred subject. The fact is that there is much more truth in the criticism "that the work of these ministers is so circumscribed by a system of checks and balances that it leaves the real power in the hands of the British."¹ The minister of education in Madras pictured the difficulty in this striking way: "I am minister of development of mines, and you all know that development depends a good deal on Forests. I am a minister of Industries without factories, which are reserved subjects, and Industries without factories are unimaginable. I am minister of Agriculture minus irrigation. You can understand what that means. How agriculture can be carried on extensively without irrigation, in the hands of those who are responsible for it, is rather hard to realize. I am also minister of Industry without electricity, which is also a reserved subject."² Until some of these difficulties are removed, it is evident that it will be difficult for the Indian ministers to^{do} their work effectively.

A. 2. Compulsory Education

But the years have not been altogether without progress. One of the forward steps has been in the direction of compulsory

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1. Zimmand, Living India, p. 260 (1927).

2. Ibid. p. 265.

Primary education. The first bill advocating compulsory Primary education was introduced into the Indian legislative assembly in 1911 by Mr. Gokale. The bill was rejected by the government on the basis that the time was not ripe for such a venture. It was also argued that the people would be opposed on religious grounds, and finally, that there was no money. Another attempt was made in 1916 by Mr. Patel to make provision for compulsion in certain sections of the Province of Bombay, if desired by a majority of local residents. This bill was thrown out by the Official Majority as being contrary to the Imperial Government decision made in 1913, following the bill of Gokale.

Following the inauguration of the Reforms there has, however, been a change in policy. During the period from 1919 to 1928, eight out of the fifteen Provincial Legislatures have passed Primary Education Acts, authorising the introduction of compulsory education by local option. The age limits are set from six to ten years, although there is provision for extension. Most of the acts also make provision for the extension of compulsion to girls. The arrangement is that the local district prepares a scheme, and if this is passed by two-thirds local majority it is submitted to the government. If the government approves of the scheme it may then go into effect, with some financial aid from the central Provincial Government.

The disheartening thing is that local bodies are not with any great alacrity availing themselves of the opportunity afforded by this legislation. According to the last Indian year-book there are only 89 municipalities and only 522 local board areas which have put the scheme into operation. This, of course,

represents only a dot on the map of India. Interestingly also, 42 of these municipalities and 451 of these local areas all lie within the Province of Punjab. The chief difficulty has been that local bodies are too poor to meet the necessary expenditures. Even in cases where they are financially able, it is almost impossible to get local bodies to vote for it. Localising the matter makes it one of local political football. I had some experience in trying to help initiate a scheme for compulsion in the city in which I was resident. The secretary of the municipality, following the preparation of a suitable scheme, started the machinery for its introduction about six months preceding the election which occurs only every fourth year. The scheme got only as far as "favorable consideration" by the time of the election. The secretary said, "If my party loses, then we shall force the opposition either to carry out a program which will bring them into disfavor with the taxpayers, or if they do not take it up, we will then accuse them of not having any interest in the progress of the public welfare!"

The reason why compulsion has succeeded in the Punjab no doubt lies in the fact that there the central government in every case gives fifty per cent, and in cases of poor areas one hundred per cent, of the expenditure necessary to introduce and carry out a program on a compulsory basis. This seems to me to point in the direction of a solution of one of the major difficulties. There must be a clear recognition by the state of its duty to its citizens. The state must then define clearly that minimum amount of education which it considered necessary for

all its citizens and which it is prepared to make compulsory.¹ This is the only basis on which compulsion can succeed in India. The United States awoke to the appalling illiteracy of certain of its sections during the Great War, and there is now a growing feeling that it is the duty of the national government to help poor sections to provide, in the interests of the whole, a certain minimum necessary education. India must move forward in this line, and thus avoid the lethargy, poverty, and politics of small localities.

A. 3. Obligations of the Franchise

With the granting of the franchise the importance of education is greatly enhanced. One of the constructive contributions of Western education brought to India by the British is the acquaintanceship it has given Indians with the history of Europe. This study of the development of modern states in Europe has helped some Indians to realize that the rate of progress from a bureaucratic to a democratic form of government is largely dependent on the growth of a popular electorate capable of exercising the franchise, and so, ultimately, on the rate of expansion of literacy among the masses. Indian politicians as a whole have not, however, either realized the full importance of this, or else have been so busy trying to destroy the citadel of bureaucracy that they have not had time to give any attention to this more constructive necessary emphasis. They have not yet thought properly in terms of the electorate. They have

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1. See quotation on page 71.

been satisfied to utilize the masses as inflammable material to convince the British "that something must be done." But it requires no great prophet to predict the failure of the Indian political experiment, regardless of the form in which it finally finds expression; unless this inflammable mass is reduced to a minimum and an interested intelligent electorate is established. It took France some time to learn that universal suffrage must be accompanied by universal education. In England, likewise, with the extension of the franchise in 1868, came the epoch-making bill of William E. Forster in 1870, by which the government undertook to prepare the masses of people for their new responsibility in public matters.

That an intelligent and interested electorate does not now exist in India is too evident to meet with much contradiction. Religious, family, and money interests are still put ahead and considered apart from good citizenship. That government exists to exploit and to be exploited is still a part of the political philosophy of India. This is well illustrated by the lack of any public conscience in stealing wood from the government forests, or in the attitude toward the police and all officials of the government. To exploit public bodies is considered good ethics. This attitude will not be altered by a simple change in the form of government nor in its transfer from British to Indian men. The masses of India will become politically minded only when a real and pervasive kind of education has completely altered the mental attitude and given them a new outlook on the unity of practical living. This will be a part of the work of

the schools. Beginnings in this direction have already been made, and I now wish to trace these as related to the so-called "National Schools" and those of Missions and Government.

B. The "Swaraj" National Schools

The Non-Cooperative Movement did not at first affect directly the educational system of the government and government-aided schools. Boys were of course from the beginning enrolled as volunteers, and were in other ways encouraged to neglect their school work. But it was only at the Nagpur meeting of the National Indian Congress in December of 1920 that the decision was made for the withdrawal of students from government schools. This boycott started a movement which spread in successive waves over the whole of India, and succeeded in crippling some schools beyond the hope of recovery. It disorganised the work of others and was responsible for "ruining the careers of many promising scholars."

The appeal made to the students was two-fold. The patriotic appeal was of major importance. For students this meant the breaking away from teachers who were in the employ of an undesirable government, just as it had meant for the lawyer a cessation of relationship with courts connected with the same Satanic Administration. There is no doubt that many students who responded to this appeal did so under the conviction that in some vague way they were serving the needs of the "Mother Land." Another basis of appeal was on economic lines. Education was

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1. About twenty-five years ago the word "Swaraj" came into popular use by the Indian political leaders. It means "self rule"; that is, political home rule for the Indian people. It has now come to be the name of a political party.

supposed to have given no advantage except the possibility of getting into government service. With that government about to be destroyed, there remained no apparent reason for continuing with their studies.

The movement grew to considerable proportions. It is hard to ascertain just how many pupils actually left the schools or failed to enroll because of the movement. According to the government figures some thirty-six thousand students had left by March of 1921. It is probable that this number does not give an adequate notion of the total number of students actually affected. The Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, in a statement laid before the Senate, estimated that more than 47,000 pupils, or 23 per cent. of the total number, disappeared from the high schools between July 1920 and July 1921, and that up to the first of March there was a fall in the enrollment of the first and third year courses of the arts colleges of from 19,000 to 11,000 students. The middle school loss was estimated at 10,000 students.¹

The action of the National Congress in this boycott was not, however, without its constructive side. Another form of education was to take the place of that out of which the boys had been called. The year 1921 saw the outcrop of a large number of "National Schools". Government reports credit the number of such institutions at 1356, with an enrollment of 96,672.

These schools were called "national", and the two elements

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1. Eighth Quinquennial Review, Government of India, Vol. I, p. 5.

upon which Mr. Gandhi laid special stress in characterizing them as "national" were the use of the "Charika" (spinningwheel) and the encouragement of studies in the vernaculars. Much play has been made by the critics of Mr. Gandhi in his use of the "Charika". It must be remembered, however, that he considered this instrument in its relation to the schools more as a symbol than as a panacea for the lack of vocational emphasis that existed in the schools of the government. It was a symbol signifying the needed relation of school to life. From the standpoint of scientific educational handwork the "Charika" proved unadapted to the needs of the boys and girls; but its meaning could be understood by the masses and was a ready weapon at hand to be utilized. It did call attention to a real need in a striking way.

In regard to vernacularization, it is hard to estimate the accomplishments made through these schools. Government reports state that there is little evidence that many of these schools used the vernacular more extensively than is provided for in the regular government schools. The contribution here, again, no doubt lay in the attention it gave to an existing weakness.

The national schools were short lived. For this there are various reasons. They were dependent upon the subscriptions of Indians interested in the movement of Non-Cooperation. With the waning spirit of that movement, subscriptions were no longer forthcoming. The teachers in many of these schools also were better fitted as propagandists than as pedagogues. And in all justice it needs to be said that they could not be expected to be fitted to introduce the new things which they felt lacking in the old, because they themselves were products of the old.

Parents and boys also soon realized that graduating from "National Schools" meant very little and lead nowhere. The most disastrous outcome of the movement was that through it thousands of bright intelligent boys became shiftless, lazy, and largely ruined all their future prospects. After the peak of enthusiasm had passed, many of the students of the national schools again sought admission in the regular recognized schools of government.

There are today very few of these schools remaining. Despite this, Mr. Gandhi still feels that they are making a contribution. Two years ago when it was pointed out to him that the students were dropping out and the teachers were deserting their posts for other jobs, and it was suggested that the schools be closed, Mr. Gandhi replied: "I do not therefore regard it as a waste of money to continue these schools. They are so many oases in the desert. They give the water of life to the souls thirsting for freedom. Few as they are, insignificant as they may appear, they supply a felt want and contain in them the seeds, as it appears to non-cooperation, of true and lasting freedom."¹

As already pointed out, the greatest value of these schools lay in their bringing to public and national attention some of the things in government schools that needed correction. They produced a more constructively critical attitude toward the nature and function of schools. In the College of Bengal it was found that many students who did not actually leave the government schools did still refuse to take anything except courses

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1. Mr. Gandhi, National Education, Young India, June, 1926.

in science. This indicates that they had sensed the over emphasis on the literary and classical side, and were determined to correct their own training accordingly. "While the professor was lecturing to them on the annals of the Holy Roman Empire, their thoughts were inevitably and irresistibly turned to the great liberal and national movements of the nineteenth century. In economics they desired to study the application of general principles to the problems of their own country instead of those of distant lands. Students both at school and college began to wonder whether they were being trained for life and for service, or for mere success in the examinations, for it was the ideals of service that were uppermost in their minds."¹

There has been developing during this decade a conviction that the educational aims need restatement, and the "national schools" can justly claim that they have lent much strength to the advocates of educational reform.

C. Mission Experiments

From the beginning of British Administration in India there has been provision in the educational system for the recognized private school. This has not resulted because of any particular Indian needs, but was carried over from the educational system of Great Britain used in England. Centralization of control has not been the spirit of English educational development. The English bill of 1870 still allowed voluntary schools giving sectarian instruction to continue to receive government financial

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1. Eighth Quinquennial Review, Education in India, Vol. II, p. 9.

support. The carrying over of this policy to India has allowed the growth of a large number of private schools. According to the recent report of the Indian Royal Commission on Agriculture, sixty-five per cent. of the institutions reorganised by the government educational department are privately managed. Of this sixty-five per cent. the larger share is composed of schools maintained by the foreign missionary societies operating in India.

The British soon after coming into India realized that due to economic difficulties it was impossible for them to set up any organisation adequate to the enormous needs. It being therefore in line with their needs, and not adverse to their home policy, they readily agreed to subsidize the schools of Missions. This has resulted in the peculiar situation found in India today; namely, that the government now regularly gives grants-in-aid both for the construction and maintenance costs of any private school carried on according to government standard. This policy of allowing grants really started with the dispatch of Charles Wood in 1854. Missions of practically all denominations have taken advantage of this arrangement, with the result that an imposing amount of educational work is now being carried on by them. There were in 1916, 716 secondary schools, with 94,099 pupils; 91 industrial training institutions with 5,597 pupils; 12,173 elementary and village schools with 462,818 pupils; and 58 kindergartens with 2,008 pupils. The extent of the work of these schools warrants some discussion of their progress and policy. Missionary educational leaders have always occupied an advantageous position as regards educational progress. Being only semi-official, they could claim association

with the government in constructive and progressive movements of educational reform, and at the same time shift responsibility for experiments that failed. This double position, however, has been responsible for the classification by the promoters of the nationalistic movement of mission schools definitely with those of the government. This has resulted in some injustice and mutual injury. The close relationship that the missionary has always enjoyed with the life of the people has been a great asset in making him of value in the determination of the type of schools best fitted to meet the conditions and needs of India. He has usually been an ardent advocate of reform, and in instances an agitator for radical change.

Missionaries felt the impending change which began to make itself manifest in India during the second decade of the twentieth century. In a conference of missionary societies held in England in 1916, the Bishop of Madras called the attention of the conference to the urgent educational need of rural India. The Conference approved investigation of the matter, but due to the war nothing could be done until 1919. At that time a committee was appointed "to make a broad survey of the educational needs of Indian villages." The commission was headed by the Rev. Mr. Frasier, Principal of Trinity College, Kandy. Other members of the commission were Miss Allen, Principal of Homerton College, Cambridge; Mr. McLean, a missionary of South India; Mr. K. T. Paul, general secretary of the India National Council of the Y.M.C.A., and Dr. Fleming, of Union Theological Seminary, who acted as secretary to the commission. All of these individuals of wide experience and training.

Prior to the actual investigation by the commission of conditions in India, they visited schools in the United States, Philippine Islands, Japan, and Ceylon. The commission was aware not only of the problems peculiar to the Christian community, due to the large mass movements which had been brought into the church thousands of illiterates; but they were conscious also of the new nationalistic spirit creeping over India. The general political movement had not been without its effect upon the Christian community. There existed a strong feeling that Western Missions were not aiding the development of indigenous churches and necessary Christian leadership. It was contended that many of the criticisms voiced against the regular state schools were equally applicable to the policies of mission schools. It was the purpose of the Commission, in the light of these changed conditions and needs, to review the experience of nearly a century of educational work and advise the home societies how they might best make further contributions to the advancement of the work.

The Report of the Commission indicates the extensive survey made and some of the chapter titles indicate the nature of their recommendations: "The School as a Community Center", "The Vocational Middle School", "Supervision and After Care", "Further Co-operation with Government". The Commission acted as a clearing house for opinions and ideas held by many of the missionaries engaged in educational work, and for the crystallization of these opinions into some constructive proposals.

The Commission advised the Home Boards that workers fitted primarily for economic and educational service were urgently

needed to help solve the problems connected with the many poor illiterate Christians who had come into the Church through the mass movement. The despicable condition of these, it was held, was a drag on the Christian Church which must be removed before the borders of the kingdom could hope to be further advanced. The Commission also pointed out that the particular contribution Mission Schools could make to the uplift of the struggling India was in behalf of the millions of low and out-castes.

In line with the very apparent economic needs, the Commission also proposed the setting up of a Vocational Middle School. The course of this school was to extend from grades 4 to 7, inclusive, and was planned to fit boys and girls, both in skills and attitude, to help in the economic uplift of their homes and villages. The Commission emphasized the necessity of improving the present schools before starting more. They felt it was a time for intensive rather than extensive effort. Particular emphasis was placed on the urgent necessity ^{of adapting} ~~of~~ adopting the schools to the needs and spirit of the people.

In line with the suggestions of the Commission, a number of changes have been made in the nature of educational work during the last eight years. Boys and girls who used to be dressed in western garb are now again dressed in the simple garb of the orient. Expensive hostels with shower baths, dining tables, and spring beds are again giving way in favor of living conditions not too different from the homes from which the boys come. Shop work, garden projects, and community civics are being made a part of the regular curriculum. An effort is being made to enlist the good will and the co-operation of the parents

through special school, visiting days, various home projects, and consultation with fathers and mothers in the proper vocational guidance of their sons and daughters. Instead of aiming to prepare boys only for positions in the government and mission machines, there are now many honest and sincere attempts to prepare boys for successful and happy living.

Mission schools are peculiarly fitted for experimental work. They often have a large number of orphan boys and girls in their institutions. These provide a nucleus for experimentation. They are also confronted with problems which, in the interests of the Christian Churches which they are attempting to establish, demand a solution. Being likewise committed to a Gospel of love and the equality of all men regardless of race, they seek to find a solution through the co-operative efforts of the natives. The government has long recognized the valuable contribution made by the Mission Societies in paving the way for change, and has repeatedly encouraged experimentation by giving grants towards such projects.

Among such adventures in the field of experimentation the outstanding work of "Moga" deserves special mention. Following the report of the Frazier Commission, this school, located in the Punjab, started to operate on the conviction that the future educational work must be on new and different lines. Through the inspiration and guiding genius of Rev. Mr. McKee the name "Moga" has come to signify new and better things. This school has become not only a Teachers' Training Institution, but it stands for a practical and vocational education. It has built its program on the "Project" idea, and due to the good

advertisement^{not} of the National Christian Council, the words "Project Method" and "Moga" have come to be synonymous terms throughout missionary educational circles in India.

The visit of Dr. Kilpatrick to India in the winter of 1926 and his conference with groups of missionaries has also helped to popularize the "Project Method". The addresses made by Dr. Kilpatrick while in India have recently been published in a small book under the title "How we Learn." The pages reveal, in my estimation, a lack of a clear comprehension of the problems of education as they relate to primitive groups.

No doubt some harm has been done because of the "faddist" notions connected with this movement and its attempted use by those who understood neither its underlying principles nor its applications. But much good has also resulted. Indian Christians and government officials share with missionaries in their recognition of the contribution made by Moga. K. T. Paul, Secretary of the Indian National Y.M.C.A., says:

"But the promise of the Moga movement to India is in that it stands for an attitude, the faith that there is a type of education for the rural population of my own section of India which can unfailingly lead to something that is really useful, beautiful and true in the very conditions of my own rural area."¹

The members of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in their recently published report also pay a high tribute not only to the work at Moga, but to the general value of the educational work of Missions. "The system of training at Moga is but one example of the valuable pioneering and experimental work accomplished by Missions, to which education in India owes so great a debt."²

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1. K. T. Paul, Fourteen Experiments in Indian Education, p. 11.
2. Report of Royal Commission on Agriculture, Vol. 13, p. 528.

Following the beginning at Moga, the newer type of educational work has spread rapidly throughout India. A book just published by the National Christian Council entitled "Fourteen Experiments in Rural Education" gives the nature and progress of fourteen outstanding places where new methods are being tested. One comes from a reading of the book with new hope and fresh enthusiasm. One has a feeling that the change in attitude marks progress in the educational thinking of India. It used to be thought there could be only one system of education for India; namely, the one with which Britain had familiarized India. But these experiments are signs of a better day. Today the idea is coming more and more to prevail that there may be more than one system of education even in the same country, and that such a system can still be good education. This gives new inspiration to workers in both city and rural field.

Mission schools have this in the past made a national contribution in the general help they have given toward the removal of India's illiteracy, and a particular contribution in the uplift of the depressed classes. Their concern to make education functional with all classes of people has been a very real one. Despite the introduction of compulsory education by the government and the consequent larger number of schools, still there is no reason why Mission schools for many years ought not to make their contribution both directly and indirectly to the national progress of India.

D. Government Experiments

That the government educational officials recognized the

necessity of a turn in the road of Indian education has already been stated in the first part of this chapter. The relation of their endeavor to the larger movements necessary to make the change, such as Indianization, compulsory and free schools, etc., has also already been discussed. In justice to their attempts at reformation some of the particular things that have happened during the last half dozen years need still to be pointed out.

Two reports issued lately by the Educational Commissioner to the Government of India show the present trend of the thinking of the Department of Education. These reports have to do with "Some Experiments in Indian Education", and "Notes on Garden Work in a Village Primary School." Their contents indicate the recognition of a problem which ought to have been recognized as a legitimate part of education many years earlier.

Many proposals have been put forward in the last decade for introducing an agricultural element into rural education in India, but most of the proposals remained merely paper programs. Attempts have been made at agricultural education, but they have been guarded jealously by the department of Agriculture. Since the Agriculture department has had no live connection with the department of Education, there could be no proper articulation. The result has been a few men highly specialized in central training colleges, but without any vital connection with the ninety per cent of India's population living in the villages. The movement to make experiments in this direction and bring them to the attention of other sections of the country, although tardy and somewhat half-hearted, are, nevertheless, worthy of

favorable mention as indicating the new intention of the state system of schools. The movement ought to be furthered by a present Viceroy who is himself a graduate of agriculture, and by the very thorough study and comprehensive report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture.

A point of interest rather than of value may be inserted here in connection with some of the government experiments. Whereas mission experiments deal mostly with schools of the primary and middle grade, and have been largely connected with the "project method", government experiments deal with secondary schools and the use of the Dalton plan.

Another advance of the government has been the attempt to get the University Entrance Examinations in line with the policies of the Educational Department. As long as the University entrance requirements were in the hands only of the University authorities, any attempt to introduce into the curriculum of the lower schools any practical subjects was frustrated. It is the Universities which have been largely responsible for the memoriter methods of the high schools and for the practically forty per cent of high school graduates going out yearly branded for life as "matric fails." The ambition of all was to go on. The Universities kept the standard high by difficult matriculation examinations, and the result has been the high per cent of failures.

Bengal University compelled a recognition of the problem when in 1922 she lowered the standard and when out of the nineteen thousand candidates for that year she passed over fifteen thousand, or eighty per cent. Government officials accused the

accused the University of having lowered the standard in the interests of financial remuneration, coming through the fees of examination candidates. Defenders of the policy, however, argued that it was a sincere desire to promote the interests of more universal education. In any case the educational authorities of government became alarmed and appointed a commission of investigation.

As a result of the work of this commission there was a compromise and a recommendation that "the matter of matriculation examinations and curricula of secondary schools be left in the hands of special boards composed of representatives of the Universities, departments of Education, and various outside public and professional bodies."¹ Four or five provinces now have such boards. This argues well for improvement of secondary education. Already some new commercial and agricultural courses have been introduced into high schools which are not necessary to "matric" examinations. An extension of this kind is very desirable and necessary to further the cause of the usefulness of general education.

There has also been an increased interest by the Educational department in the improvement of the life and spirit of its schools. The provision for inter-school athletics and district tournaments sponsored by educational officials has done much to create more of a community consciousness, centered about the activities of the school. It is an event long remembered and cherished when

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1. Indian Year Book, 1923.

the boys of some remote village school are brought to the county seat to take part in games with boys from other villages. Such an occasion serves as the opportunity for many to see their first train, automobile or official building. Boys were found in high school who had never taken a train ride, while electric lights, tram cars, and airships were known to them only through books. The introduction of lantern slides into many schools has also helped to an enlarged vision of the world and things.

But the most important movement in helping to bring vital contacts between school and community has been the Boy Scout Movement. The work of this organization has appealed irresistibly not only to the smaller boys, but to students past and present who are now being trained as Scout Masters. The movement has had a rapid growth and due to its ideals has helped tremendously in breaking down social barriers and group distinctions. The movement has been associated directly with the work of the schools. The contribution of the movement, in the development of correct national and civic ideals, has been considerable. The Scout movement has fortunately in India been definitely dissociated from the military arm of government. In connection with the "signs of a better day" in government schools, it is necessary also to consider the special part played by Indian Universities in the development of Indian culture. It is now beginning to be recognized in India that a University has a specific part to play in national life, and that its cultural function is by no means the least of its national functions. The excellent work done by the Calcutta

University Commission has helped the Universities, as well as the public, to see that the University has a function aside from being a machine for regulating examinations and conferring degrees. A part of this newer tendency has already been indicated in a previous paragraph. That reform looks toward the creation of an institution similar in function to that of our American Junior College. This will help in the problem of articulation and reorganization.

The creation of new Universities and of special boards to control the matriculation examinations will also relieve the Universities of much routine. The creation of these new Universities will likewise materially reduce the number of college students for which each university is responsible. This will allow the Universities to take over from the affiliated colleges some of the honor courses and specialized post-graduate work. This will give the educational staff and advisors opportunity to do more intense and advanced work of the seminar and research type.

This is again a step in the right direction. India needs a right conception of the good, the true, and the beautiful. This must be based on a rational, and not merely emotional, contact with her past. The contributions toward this have been largely made so far by European scholars. The institution of the reforms now makes it possible for Indian scholars to further this task. The contribution they will make will depend largely on the personality of the men of learning who will constitute these Universities. May they regard themselves as corporations

of learning inspired with the aim of moulding and vitalizing national life by their organized research.

These efforts by the government to improve its schools have already been met with a response of increased enrollment. The lowest ebb of scholars in the past quarter century existed during the period from 1913 to 1920. The causes for this have already been pointed out. The average yearly increase in the total enrollment for the first fifteen years of this century were about two hundred thousand. During the depression period the number dropped to about half that amount, while during the last six years the annual rate of increase has risen to five hundred thousand, and the total number of scholars in government-recognized schools now stands at over ten million. During the past year the increase in enrollment has exceeded one million. These figures seem to indicate the decision by the Indians themselves that as long as autonomy in government politics proceeds by evolutionary rather than revolutionary process, just so likewise must education.

CHAPTER VII

FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS - SOME DETERMINING FACTORS

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"Thus gradually will be fulfilled the ancient Hindu prayer: Lord, lead me from the unreal to the real; lead me from darkness to light; lead me from death to immortality."

Mayhew - "The Education of India."

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CHAPTER VII

FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS - SOME DETERMINING FACTORS

A. The Role of Religion

The central place occupied by religion in the life and thought of the peoples of India makes its consideration imperative in any attempt to indicate the future development of education. In India the knowledge of a man's religious affiliation comes with the first social introduction. The government census groups everyone according to his or her professed religion. All school records include the religious designation side by side with the pupil's name. The usual dress, special threads, jewelry and oriental cosmetics all indicate to the public the religious connection held by the different individuals of society.

The people of India, both by temperament and by centuries of religious folkway education, are zealously religious. Not alone in the past, but today, all the great movements of the country are related to religion rather than to politics or industry. The proposal to reinstate Mahatma Gandhi as the leader of the Indian National Congress is in pursuance of the plan of that organization to demonstrate to the world, and in particular to Great Britain, that ALL India desires nothing less than dominion status. This proposal is based on the recognition that India will rally only around a "Mahatma" (great religious saint).

The government educational policy as related to religious has been a dual one. For those schools under its direct control it was a policy of complete secularization; while for recognized

aided schools there was freedom to provide religious instruction as a regular part of the curriculum. With the transfer of the department of education from direct Crown Control to the Indian Legislature, there was an immediate tendency to compel the complete secularisation of the aided schools. The result was the passage in a number of the provinces of the Conscience Clause. This Clause makes provision that parents at the beginning of the school year may demand the excuse of their children from the regular classes in religion; and also that the classes in religion be scheduled at some period of the day so as not to interfere with the work of these students not choosing to enroll.

A Conscience Clause has not been legislated in all the provinces, and during the last few years there has been little agitation favoring either its rigid enforcement or its wide extension. The Mission authorities have wisely recognized the legitimate demands of the Indian Nationalists. The Indian ministers and the legislatures also ardently desire to retain the future support of missions in the stupendous problems of education. These factors have argued for the fair adjustment of the whole matter.

Mission schools which are operating under a conscience clause have been compelled to put their religious instruction on a more pedagogical basis and in the hands of more devoted and better trained teachers. Where they have done this, most of the non-Christian students have voluntarily enrolled in the Bible classes. Indian officials, many of whom have themselves passed through a Christian college or high school, recognize the value of this religious instruction, and are anxious for their sons to have such a basis for the formation of cleaner morals and better

character. The Indianization of the educational department will therefore not hinder, but promote, the work and usefulness of mission schools. This is true, if for no other reason than that its material value is, too, widely recognized.

It is, however, doubtful whether the new conditions will be equally favorable for educational work inspired by the other great religions of India. A government strictly neutral, and finally responsible only to the English people, was far more favorably situated for encouraging such work than a government will be, controlled by public opinion imbued with religious suspicion and antagonism. The educated Indian of today does know something of the growth of religious toleration in England and America, and its fundamental connection with the political development of the countries. But he finds it very difficult to put that theory into practice.

The partial disruption of the Indian National Congress on religious lines during the closing months of last year reveal the difficulty. The following statement is significant enough to warrant quotation: "At Delhi the Mohammedan Nationalists were in control and passed a resolution demanding a separate Mohammedan electorate. They want to be considered not as a part of the whole nation, but as a separate nation from the Hindus. This is an alarming development. It is but a further unfortunate step in the growing Moslem-Hindu breach that has been characterized by riots in the past few years. Gandhi's problem has been made infinitely harder by this action, for he will not have a united India behind him."¹

1. Lens, Frank B., Binabundhu Andrews, The World Tomorrow, March 1939.

It is this intolerance which must be removed. The establishment of the Benares and Aligarh Universities ought to help in this, although it still remains to be proven whether the theological faculties of these two institutions will be scholars rather than dogmatists. Probably one of the largest sins of omission made by the whole British system of education, during its nearly a century of operation, is the fact that it has failed to help the Indian to rationalize his religion, along with his economical, professional and political life. It has forced him to think in compartments. The communal strife is the outcome. How this deficiency will be met by the Hindus and Moham-medans is a real problem for the future. One can only hope that the passionate desire of the Indian for peace and happiness will incite him to try for a solution. The Unity Conference held at Delhi in 1925 gave a ray of light when, for the first time, certain Hindu and Mohammedan leaders acceded to the proposition of Christians, that to the individual belongs the inherent right to choose that religion most satisfactory to his nature, belief and desire. But such an admission was not widely shared by their co-religionists.

The chief difficulty lies in the failure of the vital application of western ideas to any intelligent study of oriental ideas and institutions. The Indian has, either because of ignorance or because of wilful intent, neglected to make this study and stand by its results. Just as long as rational inquiry is confined to western subjects and the spiritual life of India remains veiled by an emotional haze, a narrow and intolerant

sectarianism will continue to devastate India. The world of learning recognizes no barriers of race or religion. It is high time that the leaders of national India aim at the critical investigation of the spiritual and social foundations of the Hindu and Mohammedan religions. Such a beginning will be the first stage in the conversion of fanatics into scholars. It is of course the uneducated masses that are lashed into destructive fury by cow-killing and temple processions. But the leaders have been satisfied to use these fanaticisms against a foreign government, forgetting that unless the intolerance is removed it will make impossible a National India.

B. Multiplicity of Languages

One of the handicaps to progress in India is her multiplicity of languages. This has been one of her chief obstacles to national unity. There are at least thirty-two distinct languages in use, and according to the Eighth Quinquennial Report of the Commissioner of Education for India, there are today over one hundred and fifty distinct vernaculars. Religious, social, and geographical factors have no doubt all entered into the formation of this modern "tower of Babel." Consequently, educators continually have had to deal with the problem of determining the best medium of instruction. Reference to the matter is found in practically every Quinquennial Report of the Department of Education. Paper programs looking to a solution have been a favorite occupation of many Indian students both at home and abroad. One therefore hesitates to add any further suggestions as to the best procedure in solving the vexed problem. However, a discussion

of the progress of future national education demands at least some reference to the matter.

There can be no doubt that there has been a recent tendency to make more use of the vernaculars, both as a medium of instruction in schools, and in the public press. Furthering this have been some important causes. In the first place, the whole political movement of the past decade has tended to popularize the vernaculars. The use of a mother tongue was advocated not only on the basis of patriotism, but in the effort to awaken a political spirit among the masses. It was necessary to utilize the vernacular both in public speeches and through writing. It was the only avenue through which the masses could be reached.

It used to be fashionable for politicians to assert, what was too often true, that they could express themselves more easily in English than in the vernacular. This is no longer the case. The Non-Cooperation Movement has helped much to put an edge on the study of vernacular composition.

The institution of the Legislative Assemblies has also stimulated study of the vernaculars. Many members are being elected to these assemblies who are unable to read or speak English. Such representatives are naturally not very enthusiastic participants in proceedings which they can understand only through interpreters. When it is recalled that in entire India only about two and a half million men and women are literate in English, it is clear that the functions of representative government must be finally through a medium of "Lingua franca", in which people will be able to understand each other first hand.

The efforts of the Educational Department itself have also

during recent years been directed to a greater development of the vernaculars. The movement toward compulsory primary education has naturally proved an incentive looking toward the better preparation of teachers and text books suitable for use among the masses. There was also a feeling that the wide-spread school turn-over in the Middle School classes and the high percentage of failures in the High School matriculation examinations was due to the use of a foreign medium. In recognition of this public opinion, school authorities made provision for the introduction of a far greater use of the different vernaculars. In many of the provinces provision was made to substitute a vernacular medium for English, extending to the end of the High School course. The requirements of the examinations by the universities were also accordingly altered.

Due to the factors just pointed out, there has been an increased interest in the development of the main vernaculars. There was a rather wide swing of the pendulum. True to the laws of human nature as revealed through history, some reaction has already set in. The real difficulties have again been resurrected. The chief of these difficulties has its roots in religion. Persian-Urdu is the sacred language of the Koran; Sanskrit is the equally sacred vehicle of the truths of the Vedas; and the languages and dialects growing out of these tongues have become no less significant as being meritorious to appease the wrath or win the favor of the gods.

The "gusto" of many Indians in so easily brushing aside this deep-rooted fundamental difficulty which stands in the way of the adoption of some Indian vernacular as a national language, would

be humorous were it not so pathetic. I refer to many statements of which the following is typical: "I may assume that the country will readily adopt Hindustani as the future national language of India - if the Hindu and Mussalmans could come to an agreement on the question of script." Such an adoption will not come by such curious assumptions.¹

I have vivid recollections of the vexed problem I experienced as administrator of an Indian High School. In conformity with public opinion and good educational criteria, I tried to settle the vernacular medium of instruction best suited to our needs. Out of an enrollment of some 200 boys, 97 were Christians, 100 were Hindus, and 10 were Mohammedans. The total population of the town was 15,000, out of which 11,000 were Hindus, with the remainder Mohammedans and Christians about equally divided. For Christians and Hindus the vernacular was Hindi, while for the Mohammedans it was Urdu. It was clear that not only from a national point of view, but also from a local point of view, the medium should be Hindi, and it was so arranged. Following this, the Mohammedan left no stone unturned, either through gentle persuasion, by threats or by dirty politics, both with the public and with the government, to try to force the school to set up the necessary machinery and staff to provide also another section in the Urdu vernacular. Their plea was made on the basis of the "preservation of our most sacred religion."

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1. Lajpat Rai - The Problem of National Education, p. 171.

The curious part of it lay in their readiness to be satisfied to return to English as a medium. English was considered a neutral language, and therefore less offensive than the Hindi of their religious opponents. Recent political events in India in no way minimize the seriousness of this deep-rooted difficulty.

Another difficulty in developing the vernacular is the small use to which any publication in it can be put. To produce a book in any of the vernaculars means that the writer at once circumscribes the usefulness of his production. Outside of the Hindu language this is a very real handicap. The poverty of the people makes the purchase of books at the lowest price very difficult; and when the cost of writing and publication cannot be widely distributed, it makes the purchase price almost prohibitive. School books may be published by government and sold to the poor, regardless of cost; but the spread of popular follow-up literature depends upon the interest and ability of the people to buy.

Despite these difficulties some real progress is being made. An increasing volume of books and magazines are being produced, especially in Urdu and Hindi. The necessary production of suitable vernacular text-books for use for certain Middle and High Schools ought to further stimulate this production. A type of vernacular literature educationally useful for the adult industrial and agricultural population is an urgent necessity. It is hoped that the "intelligentsia" may be inspired by the new spirit of nationalism to make the necessary sacrifice, and to devote their energies to this method of interpreting the best of the West and the East to the masses.

There can be no doubt that English will remain in India. A representative conference met in Simla in 1917 under the chairmanship of Sir Sankaran Nair to consider this matter in all its aspects. Although its findings were inconclusive, it nevertheless left the conviction that English has come to India to stay. It will be in increasing demand for industrial and commercial purposes. Should the fundamental religious obstacle to the adoption of Hindi ever be removed, English would then cease to play the important role it now does. It might then take a place similar to the position it now occupies in Japan. Should this happen, it would undoubtedly be to the benefit of the progress of Indian education. We of the West can only aid in this possibility. The solution rests finally with India.

C. Recognition of Local Needs but Federated Cooperation

There are certain fundamental characteristics necessary in any country to promote the growth of nationalism. Some of these are now possessed by India, while others remain to be fostered and cultivated. She does have geographical unity. Bordered on the north by the long range of the Himalayas, and by sea on the other two sides of the triangle, she is a unit in territory. There is also, I think, as Sir Herbert Riley points out, an "Indian character". This is hard to define, but as one travels from Madras to Kashmir, or across from Bombay to Calcutta, one feels that there does exist a general Indian personality. It consists perhaps of common manners, some common customs, and a partially common mental outlook. One suspects that climatic and geographical factors have helped to produce these. She also has

had, during the last few years, a common political sympathy. This has been intensified by the rising desire to free herself from the domination of a foreign power. One very interesting feature of the Non-Cooperation Movement was its disregard of all provincial boundaries. This is in itself significant.

India, however, also has factors in her life which promote strife, division, and disruption. Among these the chief is her dogmatic, intolerant, and disruptive religious life. She lacks also a really acceptable national language. English has served to unite the small educated leadership, but this will not suffice for the future. Either English literacy must be widely extended or another language must take its place. Distinct racial differences are also a barrier to her unity. There is considerable difference, not only in the physical, but also in the temperamental makeup of the Sikh and the Bengali. Her common factors are a source for encouragement. The removal of the disruptive ^{forces} once becomes the task of government through its scheme of education. Better inter-communication and the further propagation of common interests and ideals will be factors in this process.

On the lines laid down by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the trend of the Reforms Government will be toward federation. During this decade there has been progress in provincial devolution. The federation of states in the United States has come about by a process of evolution, although even we had to accomplish the real federation by force. In India the process of federation is taking the course of Brazil and other South

American republics. It is resignation of power by a central government in favor of states. Under the new constitution of 1919 autonomy of the states in India was established by statute. Educational matters of provincial concern have been put into the hands of provincial ministers.

This cannot fail to be significant for future educational procedure. One can see where education might become a mighty tool retarding the development of an all-India Nationalism, and how education might become so localized as to fail in its larger contribution. This possibility is well stated by the present Indian Educational Commissioner in a very recent magazine article. He says:

"Education in India will never exercise that vital influence which it should on the economic, social and political advancement of India until it ceases to be treated as a matter of purely local or provincial concern. Other federal governments like the United States have learned this lesson. In spite of the aggressive autonomy of the undivided states of that union, the federal government now makes large appropriations for particular types of education which it considers of national importance. Canada is moving in the same direction. South Africa has already moved far. It would be a great pity if India should repeat the mistakes of other lands."¹

India will do well to take cognizance of the great financial differences in her various provinces. Bombay and the Punjab have already made rapid strides looking toward compulsory free primary education. Bihar and Orissa, on the other hand, will not be able to carry into execution for many years their

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1. Richey, J. A., Review of Indian Education, The Asiatic Review, January, 1929.

well prepared programs, due to lack of finance. The following figures tell the story. Bombay, with a population of 19,358,379 has an annual revenue of 131,072,529 rupees; Punjab, with a population of 20,685,024, has an annual income of 70,968,534 rupees; the Province of Bihar and Orissa, with a population of 34,002,189, has an annual revenue of 44,262,036 rupees. Thus the revenue of Bombay and of Bihar and Orissa stands in ratio to their population at approximately 12 per cent. and 68 per cent. If India is to move forward unitedly there must be some provision for the sharing of the burden. The strong will need to help the weak.

The Government of India has wisely retained certain powers in connection with university legislation and the recognition of degrees. With the institution of universities in each of the provinces, some of them will be situated at no great distance from each other, and a real danger may arise, lest the pressure of competition may result in the lowering of standards. Echoes of this have already come from the University of Patna regarding the work of Calcutta University. It would certainly be a matter of regret if in India, as in the United States, a professional degree ceased to have any intrinsic value, and was dependent for recognition on the status, solely, of the reputation of the particular university by which it had been conferred.

But what are some of the educational agencies containing possibilities for the further development of national unity? The 1928 India Year Book says: "Looking toward more unification is the Inter-University Board which came into being in 1925." Twelve out of the fifteen universities have already joined this

Board. The Board exists to act as an Inter-University organization and as a bureau of information. Meetings are held yearly. The Board facilitates the exchange of professors, the co-ordination of courses, and appoints delegates to meetings of any international character. Realizing that national unity depends on the development of common interests and ideals, the importance of the work of this and similar organizations is at once apparent. It should be decidedly a constructive force, furthering common knowledge, common customs, and a broadening tolerance based on closed acquaintanceship and the recognition of mutual problems.

One also feels that the experience of other countries warrants the usefulness of the proposal of Mr. Mayhew in the closing chapter of his book, when he says:

"It is greatly to be hoped that a desire for economy, and exaggerated respect for provincial feeling, will not prevent the reconstitution, in its old strength, of the staff of expert advisers and bureau of information that used to exist to assist the central Government in its educational work. The information and advice tendered by such a staff will be sorely needed by the Provinces."¹

D. Forces Furthering Internationalism in India

Internationalism was born during the World War. We have since been trying to find out what to do with it. It has at times been very difficult to determine how to house, nurture, and train the child. At times it has appeared as if it would

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1. Mayhew, Arthur, The Education of India, p. 284.

remain an orphan without an asylum. But we are again more hopeful. We are succeeding in making some of the adjustments. There is a growing conviction that the schools must foster "the international mind." It is hoped that future historians of education may just as truly characterize the period from 1917-? as "International", as they have characterized the preceding period from 1861-1917 as "National."

It may seem premature to think of India in terms of internationalism when she is still, according to our major premise, in a struggle for a national life. But may not the step to the higher position be more quickly and easily taken if the aim is specifically stated? Some notion of the goal may help us to think more clearly in terms of the best present methods and policies. Is it not well that India should now be reminded that "Like tribal society, nationalism is at its best nothing more than a stairway in the process; to pause here as though we had reached finality is as unjust as to rest in prenational achievements. Patriotism must melt into a larger regard for men."¹

There are already forces in existence in India which, if recognized and utilized, will help her the sooner to become a member in the family of nations.

There are today among the native leaders of India enlightened men who, having looked across the heads of their fellows, have already thought in terms extending beyond the selfishness of a narrow nationalism. They see India not made great by a

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1. Cole, George Albert, A Social Theory of Religious Education, p. 159.

renunciation of the good things of the West just because they are West, but moving forward because she is large enough to take out of the East or West whatever is good, true, and noble. The magnitude of soul and breadth of vision of Mr. Lajpat Rai seems particularly challenging in view of the fact that he has so lately been taken from us. The following words written just a few months before his death indicate his breadth of vision and his quality of statesmanship:

"Truth is neither local nor national, nor international. It is simply truth. Science and philosophy expound truth. Are we going to reject the science and philosophy of western scientists and philosophers because the discoverers of these sciences and the writers of these books on philosophy happened to be non-Indians? Are we going back to the old methods? Shall we reject modern improvements?"¹

For many men of similar vision India today stands in sore need. Her internal conditions have been unfairly and unjustly represented before the court of the public opinion of the world. In the anxiety to reply to these critics, many Indians are today making extravagant claims for their ancestors and for the merits of their religions. Some, in their anxiousness to set themselves right, are attempting to point out that Hinduism teaches that one should change his "karma" by control of his thought and action, and that Mohammedanism does not inculcate a belief in "Kismet." There are too many literary and practical evidences contradicting the possibility of such arguments being

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1. Lajpat Rai, The Problem of National Education in India, Asiatic Review, January 1929.

convincing to anyone who takes the trouble to be informed. Frank, honest, intelligent facing of the actual facts and their consequent problems, this and this alone, will win for Indians the good will and the intelligent co-operation of the world.

In the furtherance of this attitude of mind and heart the schools of the future will need to be an important factor. If, as Dr. Seares points out, "the major differences of race are social and not biological", the scope of education at once becomes clear. The school will need to help the child to reevaluate the prejudices given to him by centuries of group tradition. This will be accomplished through influence, example, and the sharing of life.

This offers great opportunities for the foreigners now living in India. The possibility to work and live together as a great inter-national human community is for them immediate. Indian and American teachers may serve on the staffs of high schools and colleges side by side. The children of missionary and British government official may grow up side by side with their dark skinned comrades, and learn to love and respect each other. Mission schools by the very texture of their international composition, organization, and point of view, ought to give to the thousands of boys and girls who come under their influence this new international outlook. Many of them have done this in the past. All should now enter into the full utilization of their peculiar opportunity. The opportunity is tremendous, and if abused or neglected will act as a boomerang, turning

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the potential spirit of equality and international fellowship back into channels of hate and fury.

If real democracy prevails in future India, it will be necessary for British officials to demonstrate the possibility. In the past the government has not been a "democracy", but an "efficient bureaucracy". Its policy has had a tinge of the magnanimous spirit of the "Benevolent Despots" who promoted nationalism and progress in Europe during the eighteenth century. "Everything for the people, but nothing by the people." Think of the small band of British officials now out in India. According to the figures there are 3,000 in the civil service, 4,000 in the police, and 60,000 in the standing army. From experience one knows that they are trying desperately to do their job honestly. On every occasion they tell one how beneficently and efficiently they rule a country of 320,000,000 people. But along with this, remember also the feeling of the rising tide of resentment by the Indians, humiliated in not feeling able to do that task themselves. Their feeling was well expressed by Dr. Ansari before a recent meeting of the Indian National Congress when, in respect to the Simon Commission, he said: "We can have no part with it because the principle is wrong. It allows that only Britishers are to say when we are ready. We alone know our needs and requirements best, and ours must be the decisive voice in the determination of our future." Their exclusion from the membership of the Commission has been regarded as a direct national insult.¹

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1. Zinnand, Living India, p. 1.

What British officials will do to enter into this larger opportunity remains for them to answer. Great Britain has to her credit real achievement in India, but, as Zimmand so clearly points out in the closing sentence of the book, "Her real opportunity lies ahead. It is to find a solution to the most serious imperial problem yet encountered - that of making the teeming millions of India political equals of the white dominion."¹

I hold with the view presented by Mr. Shaver² in his latest book on Religious Education, that religion will help education from the national to the international stage. The greatest factor, therefore, in the promotion of internationalism in future India will be the personality and life of the "Christ of the Indian Road." The influence of the Bible on the life of India accounts for many of the views now held by her progressive leaders. "If there is any book that can culturally unite a Morely and a Gandhi it is the Bible - the Bible is perhaps the only asset of western culture that has never yet been referred to with a gesture of hate or reproach."³ So reads the testimony of a British Educational Officer of many years' service in India.

In the International Christ centers the possibility of a true internationalism. In the unity of mankind there must be

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1. Zimmand, Living India, p. 272.
2. Shaver, Present Day Tendencies in Religious Education, 1928.
3. Mayhew, The Education of India, p. 185.

some common rallying point. This will not be found in Eastern or Western philosophy, but in the Christlike elements of both. It cannot be in a doctrine of negation and pessimism, for the true character of Christ is forward looking; neither can it be commercial or materialistic, because Jesus of Nazareth placed emphasis upon personality and character rather than upon merchandise. But it will come when the unifying reality of the Spirit of Christ grips the hearts of men and guides their emotions and controls their wills. Thus in the new understanding between nations, co-operation will be substituted for competition, and distrust and exploitation will be replaced by mutual trust and helpfulness.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A glimpse into the remote centuries of ancient India has shown us that she suffered no handicap in the development of national life and ideals through a late start. Her initial contributions to the intellectual wealth of the world in science, mathematics, and philosophy have been considerable. She was well on the way to a permanent civilization while the countries of Europe were still in the hands of barbaric hordes. But the opening of the twentieth century found practically all of the countries of the western hemisphere with a healthy national life, fostered and directed by a system of national schools, while India continued to plod on in the beaten paths of the centuries, with little common purpose or ideal, and with 95 per cent. of her 300,000,000 people still unable to read or write. The detailed causes for this we found to be many and varied, but centered mostly in the character of her religion and philosophy, and in failure of an imposed system of education to adapt itself to the genius and social organization of the people concerned.

The maladjustments arising out of these fundamental defects began to be consciously felt by Indians and duly recognized by her administrator early during the twentieth century. It took the World War, however, to bring this discontent to fruition and produce a challenge which dared no longer be ignored. All forces consequently set themselves to the serious task of trying to find a solution. On that road of sought happiness and contentment the

past eight years have shown much actual progress. The realization of a national life consistent with Indian ideals seems almost within the grasp of the multitudes who have so long been ignorantly searching. For those who would strive earnestly to make this possibility a reality, the following conclusions it seems to us, in part, point the way.

I. The schools of the future will need to be real community centers built around the activities and lives of the people, and containing that element of idealism which will guarantee the economic, moral, and spiritual progress of the people.

II. To accomplish this there must be more adequate training of teachers. Technical knowledge and skill must be coupled with love for and confidence in the people. The suggestion given by the Royal Commission on Agriculture, that rural teachers should as much as possible have themselves come out of the country, is worthy of careful consideration. Mission Training Schools of the "Mega" type point the way to the redemption of illiterate rural India.

III. There must be a mobilisation of all forces both public and private in a determined attack on illiteracy. The fact that 90 per cent. of the population over twenty years old cannot be reached directly by the printed page creates a barrier between them and every branch of useful knowledge.

IV. There must be an immediate extension of compulsory free education to prepare India for the proper use of the

franchise and to make possible the intelligent co-operation of her masses in her many and varied problems. The two chief factors responsible for furthering this will be:

A. A recognition by the state that it is not only her privilege, but her duty, to give to all citizens that minimum amount of education necessary to good citizenship. Because of political and economic conditions, the Province will need to be the unit for compulsion rather than the local district or municipality.

B. A recognition by the public of the cultural value of education, and the creation of a desire to profit by the schools already established. Less than 20 per cent of the pupils at present stay four years in school. As it takes at least four years to achieve literacy, it may be said that a very large proportion of the expenditure of primary education is wasted. If no more pupils were enrolled, but if those entering the first class were retained until the end of the fourth, over twice the present number of pupils could achieve lasting literacy, and that without any increase in expenditure. These facts must be sold to the public.

V. The development of the vernaculars is a corollary essential to the successful extension of compulsory free education. Provincial areas will provide for the development of these vernaculars. The development of some one vernacular into a national language for India is desirable. The difficulty hindering this has its roots in religious dogmatism and intolerance. English

in some form will be continued.

VI. There will be a recognition that, although sectional, racial, and religious differences exist in India, as in the United States, where the South remains different from the North and the East from the West, and justly so, there is a place for unity on a truly national scale. The basis for this will be a common tradition, a characteristic personality and an interdependent economic life. Improvement of easy means of transportation, multiplication of means of instantaneous communication, and the spread of agencies of culture that exhibit national scope, will make this unity stronger with the passing of the years.

VII. The true educators of India will remember that nationalism is only a stairway in the upward process and that patriotism must melt into a larger regard for men. They will strive earnestly to foster the growth of the spirit of internationalism, so that India, too, may become a member of the family of nations.

VIII. Europeans, both missionaries and government officials, are challenged to demonstrate that either as disciples of social democracy or of the Prince of Peace, their faith contains the dynamic that will eliminate the clash of color and make it possible for all to work and live together as a great international community.

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