

STATE OF EDUCATION UNDER THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

Tahira Aftab

There are two distinct aspects of the state of education under the East India Company: One is the process of decay and degeneration and the other is that of grafting of bits of Western Christian oriented system of education onto the moribund institutions of learning in India. Throughout the period of two and a half centuries, from 1600 till 1858, the issue of education, as a basic need of the people, received very scanty attention of the authorities of the Company, both in India and in England. In fact the Company, says Basu, was 'afraid of educating the people.'¹

Nevertheless sporadic moves were made in the field of education from time to time, depending on socio-political imperatives which later came to be recognized as the popular system of education. All these moves broadly fall into certain well-defined stages of growth as given below:

1. The first stage covers a long period, from 1600 to 1698 when the Company was more drawn into the cobweb of devastating trade-wars and had little interest and no desire to interfere with the local issues of education and development. However, it was at this stage precisely that the coastal regions were exposed to European culture leading to some interaction though limited in scope.

2. The second stage from 1698 to 1764 was a period of gestation. The Company's servants in India, mostly men of average calibre, more adept with sword than pen, remained mostly involved in political and commercial pursuits. The gradual dissolution of local powers further led to the disintegration of the country's existing educational institutions. Some efforts were made by the Christian missionaries to educate the children of the Company's employees, both European and of mixed parentage. This marked the first real step.

3. The period between 1764 till 1793, forming the most significant decades in the history of the extension of British influence in India also coincided with the cool calculation of the English Orientalists and the Traditionalists on one hand, and the zealous outbursts of the Evangelicals on the other, in the field of Indian education and learning. Both had similar aims: a change in the existing order through the media of education.

4. The next twenty years between 1793 and 1813, form the most active era in the history of Indian education when a fixed fund was set apart for the promotion of education.

5. This was followed by long drawn debates and controversies about the contents, and medium of instruction. Two highly significant and far-reaching factors emerged during this period: firstly, the direction of Indian educational system was set when English was declared the medium of instruction; secondly, indigenous educational institutions were thrown more on their own limited and fast diminishing resources for their maintenance. Subsequently education imparted in these latter institutions tended to become increasingly detached from and indifferent to contemporary challenges and requirements.

6. Finally between 1835 and 1854 the Company began to show more interest in the educational issues. Some surveys were made in Bengal, Madras and Bombay to collect information about the actual state of indigenous educational institutions. These surveys were, however, ill-timed from the Indian point of view, as by this time almost all the indigenous institutions were at their lowest mark and had not only ceased to grow but were distorted versions of their predecessors. The Company, finally, gave the first coherent expression on the problems of Indian education, and presented a comprehensive scheme for its improvement and growth on British model in 1854.

It was in 1698, on the eve of the renewal of the Company's Charter, that the issue of education was brought forward. The Churchmen, who by now had discovered a fresh field for their proselytizing work, succeeded in getting an important clause in the Charter enacting that the Company should constantly maintain one minister or chaplain in every garrison or superior factory, chiefly to spread 'education and Christianity' and 'to instruct the Gentoos that shall be the servants or the slaves of the company, or of their agents, in the protestant religion'.² The clause thus, laid the foundation stone of the Indian education on western lines.³ Subsequently a few charity schools and asylums for the Indian Christian and Eurasian children were founded at Madras, Calcutta and Bombay.⁴

However there was seemingly no great change in the Company's attitude towards the issue of education which remained almost totally neglected till the last quarter of the 18th Century. Meanwhile the Christian missionaries had started taking an active interest and some efforts were made to educate the Indian children with the hope of ultimately winning them over to the Christian fold.⁵

Between 1757 and 1764 the Company underwent a major transformation in its role in India; it came to enjoy unprecedented power consequent to its successful politico-military manoeuvres. However during this period of change, Bengal, the main seat of the Company's political mechanism, became 'a confused heap as wild as the chaos itself'. Amongst the various steps taken in the

direction of introducing a responsible administration, Warren Hastings in 1772 also favoured the revival of indigenous institutions.⁶

Subsequently several steps that were taken for the promotion of education and learning were more an outcome of political expediency and administrative necessity rather than of a desire to promote the intellectual welfare of the people. Warren Hastings' policy of promoting traditional learning, however, found commendable support from a coterie of the Orientalists of Calcutta including linguists and classicists as Charles Wilkins, Nathaniel Halhed, Jonathan Duncan, William Jones, William Hunter, Neil Edmunstone, Henry Foster and John Gilchrist, etc.⁷ The pioneering work done by these scholars, the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784)⁸ and the research into the past of the country, all cumulatively set the stage for the forthcoming institutional change through the media of education and learning. As the first step, Warren Hastings established the Calcutta Madrasah in 1781 to provide the 'customary pattern of Islamic studies and to qualify the sons of Muhammedan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the State.'⁹ A decade later, in 1792 Jonathan Duncan founded an institution 'for the preservation and the cultivation of the Laws, Literature and Religion of the Hindus', the Benares Pathshala.¹⁰

The establishment of these two institutions being an outcome of personal endeavours do not indicate any noticeable change in the Company's attitude towards the education of the Indian masses. In fact political and administrative considerations provided the incentive for these schemes as is evident by the words of Sir John Malcolm¹¹ that 'one of the chief aspects for diffusing education among the natives of India is our increased power of associating them in every part of our administration. This I deem essential on grounds of economy, of improvement and of security'.¹²

Though the Company's government was reluctant to come out with a well defined policy of education the Christian missionaries went about establishing small schools even with a handful of children in attendance. These schools became important for the missionaries, and in the words of Revd. D.O. Allen served 'as a means of communication with different classes of people, with children and parents, and with men and women.' 'These schools' he added, 'have become chapels under the control of missionaries. Their use for this purpose is often more important than for education.'¹³

The missionary enterprise was not overtly approved by the Company.¹⁴ Indeed the Company's refusal to assist this work brought more pressure from the supporters of the missions to initiate a programme for the 'moral improvement' of the Indians. Thus a resolution was moved in the House of Commons in 1792-93 by Wilberforce that for the 'religious and moral improvement of the people of India suitable persons should be sent to serve as school masters.'¹⁵

However, contrary to the missionary policy, the Directors of the Company, being more concerned with the preservation of their investments and profits,

adopted a rigid attitude and maintained that non-intervention with the local traditions, customs and religion was the most suitable policy.¹⁶ Their argument was that as the Hindus had a good system of morals and religion it would be madness to attempt their conversion or to give them any more learning or any other description of learning than what they already possessed.¹⁷

The future developments, however, proved that the Directors were fighting for a cause already lost. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the idea well-advocated and supported gained ground that Western education through the English language was the only answer to the educational problems of India.¹⁸ The Directors' disposition to foster the indigenous system of education was vehemently criticized by the Evangelical and Clapham sects of the missionaries and their supporters in England.¹⁹ In a treatise entitled *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain* Charles Grant conceived for Britain the *great mission* of the regulation of the Hindu society through education.²⁰

The zealous interest taken in the socio-cultural traditions of India, both by the missionaries and the officials of the Company finally brought forward two distinct forces which remained operative till 1835. The first, a realization that the Company's government should undertake the responsibility for the education of the Indian people, as was done earlier by the Indian rulers; the second, education should be the safety valve and a remedy for the 'corrupt morals' of the people. With a prefixed motive to provide a justification for the official and non-official attempt to interfere with the existing institutions, the Evangelicals painted a horrid picture of the Indian life, depicting its culture as almost barbaric.²¹

Subsequently the aim and purpose of education came to be redefined to suit the aspirations and expectations of the missionaries, Evangelicals and philanthropists all claiming a share in the Company's territorial exploits in India. Thus education was to be an effective instrument of change and not of stability and preservation. Therefore, the new system of education for India was conceived not to preserve and encourage the 'demoralized set up' as it would be a violation of the Christian spirit but it was viewed as an agent of cultural change.

The Education Minute of Minto, the Governor General (1806-1813) in 1811 to 'rehabilitate' Oriental learning²² made a firm bid to call the attention of the Company to patronize indigenous education. The Minute said:

It is seriously to be lamented that a nation particularly distinguished for its love and successful cultivation of letters in other parts of the empire should have failed to extend its fostering care to the literature of the Hindus, and to aid in opening to the learned in Europe the repositories of that literature.²³

So far the Company's desire to promote education in India had been vague and it maintained till 1813 'a scrupulous abstinence from all wanton interference with the institutions, civil or religious'.²⁴

The Charter Act of 1813 which changed the role of the Company from a trading organization to a responsible Government, led to a vital change in its educational policies.²⁵ The Act for the first time set apart an annual grant of one lac of rupees (80,000) for the revival and improvement of the learned natives of India and for the introduction of and promotion of a knowledge of science among the inhabitants of the British territories in India.²⁶ Thus the Company was now 'committed to the encouragement of education'.²⁷

The above clause was incorporated in the Court of Directors' Despatch to the Bengal Government, of June 1814.²⁸ The Despatch, however, instead of deciding the issue of the contents and nature of education, remained vague and left the whole conflict between the revival of the traditionalist learning through the classical languages and western education through the English unresolved. The Company, perhaps, still was not confident enough to take up a decisive stand and, therefore, educational issues remained subjected to political exigencies.

However, soon some hope was raised about the promotion of education on a more definite line. The Minute of October 2, 1815 of Lord Hastings, emphasized the necessity not only of multiplying schools but of inculcating more accurate ideas of general science and sounder principles of morality²⁹ in the sphere of Indian education. The Governor-General further hoped that the sum set apart for the advancement of learning 'would be much more expediently applied in the improvement of schools, than in the gift to seminaries of higher learning'.³⁰

Though Hastings' Minute bore no immediate results, yet it directed the attention towards the need of primary education. However, what the Governor-General hoped to be achieved through government efforts was soon experimented in 1816 by the Baptist Missionary, Joshua Marshman, one of the Serampore Danish trio.³¹ In 1816 with the publication of Marshman's treatise *Hints Relative to Native Schools* a systematic programme for the promotion of elementary education through the vernaculars was taken up by the missionaries. Besides a knowledge of the Christian religion, these schools imparted a graduated course of study with printed text books on morals, history, ethics and science. The schools proved successful and the 'new learning circulated beyond the children in schools'.³² Though after some time attendance dwindled, and some of the schools were also closed down, however the experiment established a pattern to be followed. Later on, the educational efforts benefited much from this experiment.

An inquiry, on the suggestion of Munro, Governor of Madras, and with approval of the Court of Directors, in 1822³³ 'with a view to the improvement to be introduced into the existing rude institutions of education' in India led to a series of steps in the formation of a policy of education.³⁴

Consequently, on July 17, 1823 the General Committee of Public Instruction was formed at Calcutta with the object of improving the promotion of

education. The Committee was also empowered to utilize the amount sanctioned for education in 1813. The Committee mostly comprising Orientalists showed great interest in Oriental learning³⁵ and therefore, it encouraged the revival and promotion of classical knowledge.

The work of the Committee was soon checked by the rise of a bitter controversy, the Anglicist and the Orientalist³⁶ controversy that was gradually 'to deepen and draw to a climax over the next decade.' The Directors too were critical of the Orientalist policy of the Committee and in a Despatch dated 18th February 1824, censured the Committee. While admitting the need to 'adopt Hindoo or Mohammedan media' the Directors referring to the Orientalist institutions said that 'we apprehend that the plan of the institutions to the improvement of which our attention is now directed was originally and fundamentally erroneous. The great end should not have been to teach Hindoo learning, but useful learning.' They further added that

On professing to establish seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindoo or mere Mahomedan literature, you bond yourselves to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous and a small remainder indeed in which utility was in any way concerned.³⁷

From 1824 the hold of the Orientalists grew weaker. Soon new members with strong Anglicist bias joined the Committee. Among these Macaulay stands out as the chief upholder of the Western learning through the medium of English. In his Minute dated 2nd February 1835 Macaulay argued that the Government should not withhold Western learning from Indians. As mass education was neither feasible nor desirable Macaulay further insisted that the best policy would be to 'do our best to form a class [of persons] who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect.'³⁸

Macaulay's Minute since then formed the backbone of the Indian educational system. While on the one hand it dwarfed the growth of indigenous education and deprived it of the opportunity of rising up as the national system of education, on the other it miserably failed to achieve its own set goal, i.e., to filter down Western education to the masses through a small pocket of Western educated neo-elite from amongst the Indians. Thus the downward filtration theory could mark no headway.³⁹

The Minute, indeed, by placing stress on Western education through an alien tongue, caused a progressive decline of education at primary level and became the sole factor in causing polarisation in the Indian socio-economic set-up through the media of education. Though criticized much even by contemporaries Macaulay, in spite of his thorough ignorance of the vast knowledge of the Oriental world, achieved a tremendous success. No less a person than Curzon regretted that 'ever since the cold breath of Macaulay's notice passed over the field of the Indian languages and Indian text-books,

elementary education of the people in their own tongues had shrivelled and pined.⁴⁰

However it was not the force of Macaulay's rhetoric alone that placed Indian education on a new foot-board. Bentinck's administrative policy on one hand and the accommodative eagerness of the young Bengali modernists on the other, had an almost equal share in the linguistic change in Indian education. Bentinck's Resolution of March 7, 1835 declaring . . . that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone,⁴¹ finally closed the doors upon indigenous education. The new system of education limited in aims, intents and impact and based entirely on the Western model, was set out more for political exigencies rather than for the improvement and betterment of the education of the Indians. The existing educational institutions were bypassed completely, thus creating the major and fundamental crisis in the country's educational and social set up. A strong criticism of the new policy came from W. Adam, appointed by the Company to undertake a survey of education in Bengal during 1835-38.⁴² Reviewing the utter ruination of the indigenous system of education by the Government's neglect and withholding of financial support Adam regretted that:

The primary objection to this plan is that it overlooks entire system of native educational institutions, Hindu and Mohammadan, which existed long before our rule, and which continue to exist under our rule, independent of us and of our projects, forming and moulding the native character in successive generations.

He further added that the new system assures that:

The country is to be indebted to us for schools, teachers, books-everything necessary to its normal and intellectual improvement, and that in the prosecution of our views we are to reject all the ideas which the ancient institutions of the country and the actual attainments of the people offered towards their advancement.⁴³

While the Company aimed, through education to produce culturally relevant manpower, on the other hand, the socio-economic temptations, within the receiving groups lured them to emulate and imitate the West. This group of the Indians quickly gauged the economic value of education and as pointed out by Adam, they saw in this education, 'the grand road to destruction' as its attainment opened to them 'the prospect of office, wealth and influence.'⁴⁴

These aims and policies were further confirmed under Lord Auckland who in his Minute of 24 November, 1839, fully approved the Downward filtration theory. Assigning a larger amount for the promotion of education through the English medium, Auckland further linked up education with the promotion of British imperial interests in India. Though he also made an effort to encourage the preparation and publication of Oriental books and supported the move for mass education,⁴⁵ yet the net result was that primary

education through the vernacular received inadequate government patronage. Later the Hunter Commission noted that since 1839.

Education in India has proceeded upon the recognition of the value of English instruction, of the duty of the state to spread Western knowledge among its subjects and of the valuable aid which missionary and philanthropic bodies can render in the task.⁴⁶

Following the Minute of 1839 some major changes were introduced towards the implementation and administration of the new educational policies. The General Committee of Public Instruction was replaced by a Council of Education formed in 1843.⁴⁷ Education so far a Central subject, became a provincial subject and in 1844 its control was handed over to the Provincial Governments. Lord Hardinge finally set the direction of education in India when he decided in 1844 to reserve all important posts in the government service for English educated persons.⁴⁸

Almost a decade later, at the time of the renewal of the Company's Charter Act in 1853, a Parliamentary Committee of the House of Commons conducted a thorough search of the educational issue in India. The Committee collected several evidences, including those of the missionaries interested in the problems of Indian education.⁴⁹ Then evidences were compiled into a detailed document by Charles Wood and formed the basis of 'Despatch on Education' introduced on July 19, 1854 by the Court of Directors.⁵⁰

The Despatch of 1854, the first authoritative declaration of educational policy in India, marking the end of the *laissez-faire* attitude of the English Government, stands as the pivotal-point in the history of Indian education: 'what went before leads up to it, and what follows flows from it'. The Despatch enunciated clearly the principle that should govern educational policy in India, and laid upon the Government of the country the responsibility of creating a comprehensive and properly articulated system of education, from the primary to the university stage.⁵¹ It also provided for a more systematic and extended diffusion of general education in the country.⁵²

In order to achieve this general education the Despatch recommended various measures, such as (1) the constitution of a separate department for education, (2) the institution of Universities at the Presidency towns, (3) the establishment of teachers' training institutions, (4) the establishment of middle schools, (5) the maintenance of the existing Government colleges, and an increase of institutions of higher learning, (6) increased attention to vernacular schools, indigenous or otherwise, for elementary education, (7) the introduction of a system of grants-in-aid in order to bring forward private enterprise, (8) the introduction of systematic supervision and inspection, and (9) the spread and promotion of female education.

Thus the Despatch, as observed by Dalhousie, 'left nothing to be desired'.⁵³ However, this task could not be performed by the state alone. The private agencies, too, the Despatch noted, were not in a position to

perform the task without the adequate financial aid and moral support of the Government. Thus the Despatch introduced the system of grants-in-aid. However, this system was 'started with a virtually complete ignorance of Indian conditions'.⁵⁴ The Indians were not yet ready to start private enterprise in education. Therefore, the system, tended to encourage the various Christian missions in the field of education in India.⁵⁵

The Despatch insisted upon the principle of religious neutrality but in actual practice Bible was admitted to school libraries, especially in the non-government schools.⁵⁶

Concerning the urgency of spreading education among women the Despatch noted that, 'the importance of female education in India cannot be overrated', and Government should pay increasing attention to its rapid and proper development. In fact, the Despatch gave greater importance to women's education than to the men's when it said:

By this means a far greater proportional impulse is imported to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men.⁵⁷

The Despatch also made provision that girls' schools should be entitled, on more generous and flexible conditions, to the same grants-in-aid as boys' schools.⁵⁸

Thus the Despatch of 1854 set forth new aims for the educational policy. The Educational system elaborated in it was indeed:

Both in character and scope, far in advance of anything existing at the time. It furnished in fact a masterly and comprehensive outline, the filling of which was necessarily to be the work of many years.⁵⁹

The second half of the nineteenth century saw the efforts at the implementation of the principles laid down in this Despatch.

NOTES

1. B.D. Basu, *History of Education in India under the Rule of the East India Company*, Calcutta, 1935, p. 139.
2. B. Dayal, *The Development of Modern Indian Education*, Bombay, 1955, p. 36.
3. S.N. Mukherji, *History of Education in India - Modern Period*, Allahabad, 1951, p. 25.
4. P. Spear, *The Nabobs*, Oxford, new print 1980, pp. 106-107; B. Dayal, *op.cit.*, p. 37.
5. B. Dayal, *op.cit.*, pp. 38-45.
6. P. Spear, *Oxford History of India*, Oxford, 1958, pp. 502-513.
7. Charles Wilkins, (1750-1836): Arrived in Bengal in 1770, appointed Director of Company Press, Calcutta; Scholar of Persian, Sanskrit and Bengali; Member, Asiatic Society of Bengal; translated the *Bhagwat Gita*, deciphered Sanskrit inscriptions.
Nathaniel Halhed (1751-1830): Arrived in 1772, Judge, Supreme Court; scholar of Bengali, Sanskrit and Persian; prepared the first Bengali Grammar.
Jonathan Duncan (1756-1811): Arrived in 1772, resident at Benares; scholar of Persian and Bengali; suppressed infanticide; helped in the establishment of Benares Pathshala in 1791.

William Jones (1746–1794): Arrived in 1783, Judge, Supreme Court; scholar of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic; president of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; translated *Manu Shashtra, Shakuntala*.

William Hunter (1755 – 1812): Arrived in 1781, Professor, College of Fort William; started his career as a Surgeon; scholar of Urdu and Persian.

Neil Edmonstone (1765 – 1814): Arrived in 1783; Persian secretary; scholar of Persian and Bengali.

Henry Forster (1760 –): Arrived in 1783; scholar of Bengali; produced the first modern Bengali dictionary.

John Gilchrist (1759 – 1841): A surgeon by training; joined the College of Fort William in 1798; prepared a grammar and a dictionary of Hindustani.

8. The founder and the first president of the society was William Jones, a master linguist expert in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian and French etc. The Society published its own research journal, *Asiatick Researches* and later *Journal of the Asiatick Society*, See M. A. Siddiqi; *Hindustani Akhbar Nawisi*. Karachi edn., 1980, pp. 79–80. For Jones' contribution towards the revival of the Hindu 'glorious past' see S.N. Mukherjee, Sir William Jones and the British attitude Towards India, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No.1, 1964, pp. 37–47.

9. H. Sharp, *Selections From Educational Records*, Vol. I, 1781–1839, Calcutta, 1920, p. 7; A. Mayhew, *The Education of India*, London, 1924, p. 10; E. Ashby, *Universities, British, Indian, African. A Study in the Ecology of Higher Education*, London, 1966, p. 48.

10. H. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 7; A. Mayhew, p. 11; V.A. Narain, *Jonathan Duncan and Varanasi*, Calcutta, 1959, p. 169.

11. Governor of Bombay in 1827.

12. H. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 144; B.D. Basu, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–27; E. Ashby, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

13. R.G. Wilder, *Mission Schools in India*, pp. 36–37, cited in *A Student's History of Education in India*, J.P. Naik and S. Nurullah, 6th edn., 1974, p. 34.

14. H. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 4; J.W. Kaye, *Christianity in India, An Historical Education, Narrative*, London, 1859, p. 513; P. Hartog, *Some Aspects of Indian Education*, Oxford, 1939, p. 5.

15. H. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

16. R. Dutt, *The Economic History of India*, Vol. II, London, 1903, 2nd Indian Reprint, 1970, pp. 143–144; B.D. Basu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I.

17. H. Sharp, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 17; The last quarter of the 18th century saw a very active missionary movement against Hindu religion and culture. The Evangelical group and the Utilitarians "portrayed Hinduism as rotten to the core and incapable of any sort of restoration, reform, or renaissance", D. Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance*, Calcutta, 1969, p. 142; F.G. Hutchins, *The Illusion of Permanence*, Princeton, 1967, pp. 3–19; A.T. Embree, *Charles Grant and British Rule in India*, London, 1962, pp. 120–152.

18. A.T. Embree, *op. cit.*, pp. 120–152.

19. The Evangelical and Clapham sects became a powerful movement under the leadership of William Wilberforce in the later 1780's. The group believed that for the uplift of the people the only solution was to inculcate 'truly Christian' values. Charles Grant, John Shore and Macaulay belonged to this school of thought.

20. The treatise was written in 1792 and was laid before the Directors in 1797, see H.V. Hampton, *Biographical Studies in Indian Education*, Bombay, 1947, pp. 8–13.

21. A.T. Embree, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

22. D. Kopf, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–149.

23. *Extract from Lord Minto's Minute* dated, 6th March, 1811. Vide Selections.

p. 21; W. Adam, *Report on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar*, ed. J. Lond., Calcutta, 1868, p. 308-309. The Minute noted that all the points raised in the Minute apply equally to the Muslims and the Hindus.

24. R. Grant, *The Expediency Maintained*, p. 108, cited in J.P. Marshall *Problems of Empire: Britain and India*, London, 1968, p. 69.

25. M.R. Pranjpe, *Sources of Modern Indian Education*, Bombay, 1938, p. 1.

26. H. Sharp, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23; W. Adam, *op. cit.*, pp. 309-310.

27. M.A. Laird, *The Contribution of the Serampore Missionaries to Education in Bengal 1793-1837*, vide *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. XXXI, pt. I, 1968, pp. 92-111.

28. W. Adam, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

29. H. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-29.

31. Between 1793 and 1837 the cause of education was served in North Bengal by three pioneers William Carey, Joshua Marshman and William Ward, who established their centre at Serampore, a Danish Settlement. Between 1816-18 over 100 elementary schools, teaching through the vernaculars and one college, Serampore College for higher studies were established. For details of their work, see M.A. Laird, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal 1793-1837*.

32. M.A. Laird, 'The Contribution' of the Serampore Missionaries, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

33. Munro was the first to initiate the idea of an inquiry into the indigenous system of education. See H.V. Hampton, *op. cit.*, p. 134; B. Dayal, *op. cit.*, p. 2;

34. W. Adam, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

35. H. Sharp, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54. The Committees consisted of ten members with J.H. Harington as President and H.H. Wilson as Secretary, Dr. Lumsden and L. Prince were made incharge of Muslim and Hindu education respectively.

36. Orientalist and the Anglicist stand for two major opposite groups of people, two opposite attitudes towards the Subcontinent's problems and two different interpretations of the needs and wants of the people.

37. H. Sharp, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92.

38. Macaulay's *Minute on the Necessity of English Education*, February 2, 1835, vide Christine Dobbin, *Basic Documents in the Development of Modern India and Pakistan, 1835-1947*, London, 1970, p. 18; C.E. Trevelyan, *On the Education of the People of India*, London, 1938, p. 9; H. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 107-117; G.O. Trevelyan, *The Competition Wallah*, London, 1864, pp. 410-424.

39. For a criticism of Macaulay's policy see Syed Ahmad Khan's *Article on the Public Education of the Natives of India through the Vernaculars*, Allygarh, 1869, cited in F. Robinson *Separatism Among Indian Muslims*, Cambridge, 1974, p. 95; D. Kopf, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-250.

40. T. Raleigh, (ed) *Lord Curzon in India - Selection of his Speeches*, London, 1906, p. 330.

41. H. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

42. W.A. Adam, Baptist Missionary in Calcutta between 1821-38, a close friend of Raja Rammohun Roy, was engaged with Rajaram in the translation of the Gospel into Bengali, under Rajaram's influence became a 'unitarian' and was called by the missionaries 'the second fallen Adam'. Made a major contribution to education in Bengal and recommended a plan to improve the indigenous schools.

43. W. Adam, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-258.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 296.

45. H. Sharp, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-149.

46. *Report of the Indian Education Commission (The Hunter Commission) Appointed by the Resolution of the Government of India, dated 3rd Feb. 1882, Calcutta, Printed 1883. Para, 20.*
47. J.R. Richey (ed) *Selections from Educational Records II, 1840-1859, (OPRR), pp. 86-87 (Bureau of Education, Govt. of India, 1922).*
48. Nurullah and Naik, *History of Education, op. cit.*, pp. 95-6.
49. A. Mayhew, *Christianity and the Government of India*, p. 169.
50. H.S. James, *Education and Statesmanship in India 1797-1910*, London, 1917, p. 42.
51. R.J. Moore, *Sir Charles Wood's Indian Policy, 1853-66*, Manchester, 1966, p. 108.
52. *The Hunter Commission, op.cit.*, para 43.
53. *Ibid.*, para 44.
54. R. J. Moore, *op. cit.*, p. vii.
55. Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 180.
56. A. Mayhew, *Christianity and the Government of India*, p. 179.
57. *The Despatch*, para 83.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 59; Syed Mahmood, *A History of English Education in India 1781-1893*, 1895, p. 84.
59. Syed Mahmood, *op.cit.*