EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS OF THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY IN BENGAL: 1911 - 1935

by

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of
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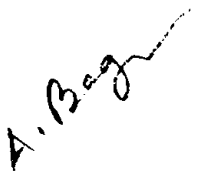

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation titled " Educational Progress of the Muslim Community in Bengal: 1911 - 1935", submitted to the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh, for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (in History), is entirely my own original work, completed under the supervision of Professor Syed Anwar Husain of the Department of History, University of Dhaka. I further affirm that no part or whole of this dissertation has been submitted in any form to any other university or institute for a degree or diploma.

My Ph.D. registration No. is 74/90-91

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the research work for the present dissertation titled " Educational Progress of the Muslim Community in Bengal: 1911 - 1935" was carried out under my supervision . It is further certified that the work presented in the dissertation is entirely original and ready for evaluation for awarding of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Dated: 7 March 1996

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EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS OF THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY IN BENGAL: 1911 - 1935

Abstract

This thesis deals with the educational progress of Muslims of Bengal from 1911 to 1935. Main emphasis is given on the progress of Muslims of Bengal in the field of education. Initial reaction of the Muslim community, the question of religious versus secular education, the identification of backward areas and slow but gradual change noticed in those areas are highlighted. Progress at each level, primary, secondary and higher with special focus on technical and vocational education is studied. The thrust of the analysis throughout is to consider why, how and under what circumstances Muslims progressed in education during the period under review.

Special attention is drawn to the controversy over religious versus secular education. To Muslims education without religion was inconceivable. It was one of the important factors that hindered their coming to English schools. Backwardness in English education or general education resulted in the backwardness of the community as a whole. Gradually, liberal subjects were added to religious seminaries like Maktabs and Madrasahs on the one hand; and on the other, religion was added to the curriculum of general schools. It took quite a long time to make it possible for a student of Madrasah to switch over to higher education in general institutions. This change was a great leap forward for the Muslims to achieve progress in education.

Eagerness of Muslims for technical education grew slowly. This eagerness for technical education is of great importance for the progress of the community in economic sphere; and also for understanding how this community forged ahead in education. Transformation of a part of Dhaka and Chittagong Madrasahs into Muslim high schools, establishment of a university at Dhaka and importance given to technical education are some of the important landmarks in the history of progress of Muslims of Bengal in education. These are discussed with due consideration in relevant chapters.

Progress of Muslim women in education is dealt, for obvious reasons, separately. The problems the Muslim women faced in education are almost like the problems the community encountered as a whole, but of course they were of different nature in complexity and magnitude.

The progress Muslims made in education was the outcome of joint collaborative efforts of the government and the community. Government policies, such as finance, special measures to encourage the Muslims to come for general education, and administration of education etc. were there; side by side, the leaders of the Muslim community tried their best to help out the backward masses. The Muslim legislators stormed the Councils demanding more government considerations for the education of their community. Muslim educators came up with better proposals to meet the needs of the community. Muslim news papers played an important role in

propagating the need for general education to the Muslim masses and the Muslim officials in the education department, did as much as possible to break the barriers that hindered Muslims to come for general education. All these points are duly considered in the study. These factors are highlighted, explained and analysed extensively with facts and figures.

Contents

Abbreviations

BRC	:	Bengal Revenue Consultations
BEC	:	Bengal Education Consultations
BLCP	:	Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings
GRPI	:	General Report on Public Instructions
IPC	:	India Public Consultations
Moral and Material Progress	:	Statement Exhibiting Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India
PGB	:	Proceedings of Government of Bengal
PLCEBA	:	Proceedings of Legislative Council of Eastern Bengal and Assam
RGCPI	:	Report of the General Committee of Public Instructions
RPIB	:	Report of Public Instructions in Bengal
RPEB	:	Review of the Progress of Education in Bengal (Quinquennial Reports)
RPEEBA	:	Report on the Progress of Education in Eastern Bengal and Assam
RPEI	:	Review on Progress of Education in India
RISC	:	Report of the Indian Statutory Commission
RRCAI	:	Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India

SRGI	:	Selections from the Records of Government of India
SRBG	:	Selections from the Records of Bengal Government

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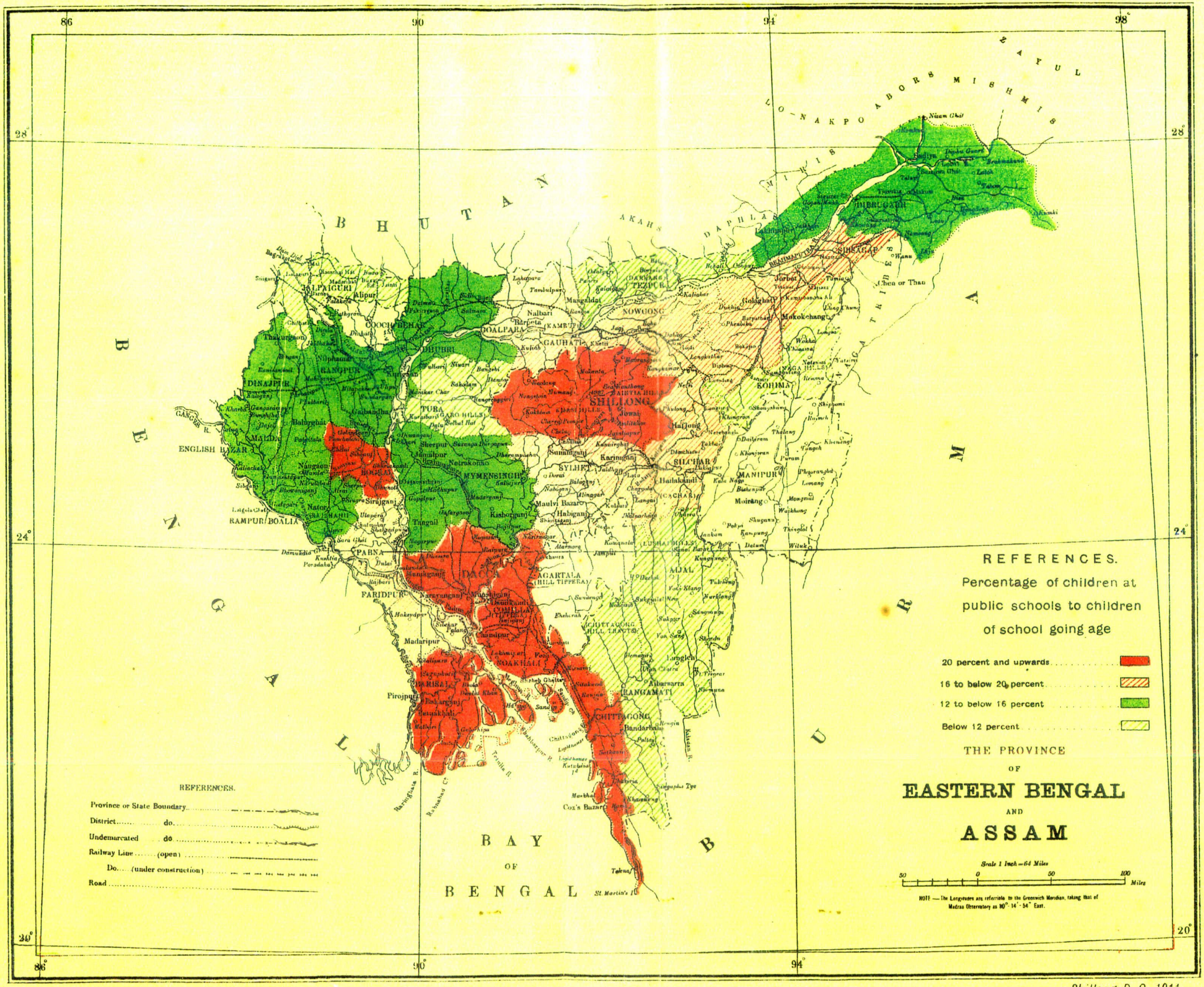
GLOSSARY

Pathsala	Indigenous Indian primary schools specially catering the children of villages. Usually run by one Hindu teacher known as "Pundit", but students could be of any cast and religion.
Zamindari Accounts	A course taught in Pathsalas. It is "account" related to land (land-tax and other cess obtained by the landlord and government).
Mahajani Accounts	"Account" related to business and money-lending.
Dhaba	Lower cast Hindu washer-man.
Chandal	Lower cast Hindu, who performs the duties of carrying and burning corpses.
Maktab	Indigenous Indian primary schools catering Muslim students run by a Maulavi.

Hadith	Sayings of Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him) and explanations of those sayings by learned Muslim scholars.
Zamindar	Land-lord.
Kuthi	The house or office in India from where activities and business of representatives of colonial (French, English, Dutch etc.) were carried on.
Zilla School	District school.
Ashraf	Higher class Muslim who claimed foreign ancestry.
Ryot	Cultivators (peasants).
Panchayati Schools	Panchayat is a court (non-official) who deals with problems of few villages. These schools are those which catered for students of a few villages or Panchayat.
Maulavi	Learned in religious lines (Muslims).

Mianji	Person who take care of a mosque and teaches Muslim children how to read the Quran.
Zenana	Ladies. Zenana schools were a special type of schools meant for conservative ladies (Muslim and Hindu) where lady teacher would go to house to house to impart instructions.

SHOWING THE EXTENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION IN 1910-11



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Percentage of children at public schools to children of school going age

- 20 percent and upwards
- 16 to below 20 percent
- 12 to below 16 percent
- Below 12 percent

THE PROVINCE

OF

EASTERN BENGAL

AND

ASSAM

Scale 1 Inch = 64 Miles

50 0 50 100 Miles

NOTE — The Longitudes are referrible to the Greenwich Meridian, taking that of Madras Observatory as 80° - 14' - 54" East.

REFERENCES.

- Province or State Boundary
- District ..... do.
- Undemarcated ..... do.
- Railway Line ..... (open)
- Do. ..... (under construction)
- Road

Shillong D. O. 1911

Chapter One

Introduction

Education and development of a community are interconnected. Education is a measure by which progress of a community can be judged.[1] The prosperity of a people under foreign rule is largely dependent on the attainments in the field of education. English education did not make much headway among the Muslims up to the middle of 19th century, when official language changed from Persian to English. Muslims who were dependent on government jobs in the revenue and other departments were not prepared for this. They were practically excluded from new appointments as knowledge of English became prerequisite for those posts. With the fall of Mughal Empire, Muslim ruling class lost its power, with introduction of English as official language Muslim middle class (who were dependent on government jobs) were dragged to poverty, and Bentincks resumption proceedings resulted in the tremendous misery of the Muslim landlords. Acceptance of job under British government was looked down upon and such social taboo continued right up to the first quarter of the present century. English education began to spread among the so called nonsharif class of Muslim community and they started to become well placed.[2] Slowly and gradually an incipient educated Muslim middle class[3] came into existence. Attainment of education (cultural basis) and government employment (economic basis) gave this middle class its distinctive feature. By the last quarter of the 19th century a new Muslim elite began to emerge in the political scene. A small group of Muslim recognised the benefits of western education. Efforts of these people gradually brought back the Muslim to educational institutions, to English schools. With the growth of nationalism, specially with growth

of Muslim nationalism which resulted in Muslim separatism, number of educated Muslims were increasing. Educated Muslims could see the advantages of partition of Bengal of 1905[4] and with the annulment of it they felt betrayed. The formation of Muslim League was the creation of educated leaders of the community. The day separate electorate was guaranteed the course of Muslim freedom struggle was charted.

This study is on the development of the Muslim community in Bengal with reference to its educational progress for the period between 1911 and 1935. The main focus is on the progress of the Muslim community in the field of education during the period under review. The subject, though a very important one, covering as it does a very significant background of the political developments of the then subcontinent, has remained to a large extent unexplored. Some good works have of course been done on some aspects of the subject broadly by some scholars, but none of these covers the specific period. Some of these scholarly works that may be referred to are A. R. Mallick's pioneering work in this field. British Policy and the Muslims in Bengal: 1757-1856 deals with the Company rule with special reference to its policy towards the Muslims. In this book he seeks to provide background answers to the questions as to how and why by 1940 the Muslims had to demand a separate homeland for themselves. The book is a historical narrative of the development of the Muslim community under British rule during the first half of the nineteenth century, with special emphasis on education as the catalyst for the development of the Muslim community. This account of the Muslims is closely followed up by Latifa Akanda in her Social History of Muslim Bengal 1854-1884. This work studies some of the problems relating the growth and development of the Muslim community in Bengal. The role of the Muslims in the mutiny, their education, economic conditions, and development of socio-political organisations are discussed in details. Her study is confined to the period 1854 to 1884. The study of the growth and development of the Muslim community of Bengal is then taken up by Sufia Ahmed in Muslim community in Bengal 1884-1912,

which deals with the primary and higher education among the Muslims in and around 1884. Changes inspired by the Muslims or proposed by the government are also traced. Side by side, the economic conditions of the rural and urban Muslims, their social and political activities down to the foundation of Muslim League, and its effect on Muslims and the annulment of the Partition are also discussed. Another relevant work by Kazi Shahidullah is Pathshalas into Schools, which confines itself to the study and development of indigenous elementary education in Bengal. The book attempts to make a detail and systematic study of change in the indigenous elementary education system, which is the basis of education system of Bengal. Another important work on education in Bengal is Zaheda Ahmed's Education in Bengal, 1912-1937. The work deals with the organisation and structure, the policies and objectives of the British education system in Bengal from 1912 to 1937. The last two works confine their focus on 'education' in general. No special reference is made to Muslim community and their progress. But from the British education system the Muslims were not eliminated and could, thus, be a foundation for our study.

The brief survey of the relevant literature shows that the educational progress of the Muslim community during the period selected needs to be properly investigated. The year 1911 is an important, relevant and convenient starting point for the study because it was in this very year the annulment of the Partition of Bengal took place to the great disappointment of the politically enlightened and socially conscious Muslims. To console and pacify the agitated Muslims of the province, the Government of India promised to establish a University at Dhaka and a college at Calcutta to provide facilities for the education of the Bengali Muslims. Although the proposed university did not start functioning till 1921, and the Calcutta Islamia College till 1924, these assurances given around 1911 did work as a consolation to the Muslim community in general and Bengali Muslims in particular. These announcements of the government served to raise hopes and aspirations of the Bengali Muslims quite high in so far as their future educational,

cultural, and economic developments were concerned. Although many a wordy battles was fought in the 1930s over the question of special rights and privileges of the Muslims over the affairs and control of Dhaka University, there is no denying the fact that, with out the establishment of this university the Muslims of Eastern Bengal would have fallen much behind the Hindu community in all affairs of life and society.

The terminal year 1935 as proposed in the study coincides with the Government of India Act, 1935, a major landmark in British rule in the subcontinent. Though after achieving separate electorate in 1909 the main political demand of the Muslim community was achieved, demands of them on educational matters were yet to be achieved. Education being a provincial subject under dyarchy, got special importance. Ministers and the elected members of the Assembly were enthusiastic and took up various reforms and projects on education. The reforms and changes brought about in the British educational systems by the government during 1921-1935 were such that the political movements of Muslims in the later years was propelled into motion just as a boat can set its sail with the favourable wind with out much ado. The driving force for the movement was created by the political awareness generated through changes in the scenario of the Muslim education.

The period under review coincides with the one during which the Muslim middle class was slowly but steadily coming up, and the catalyst appeared to be 'English Education'. Clash of culture and conflict over material interest among the Hindu and the Muslims intelligentsia was always at the backdrop of political events in India. The differential development of the two communities created a lag in modernisation between the backward Muslims and the advancing Hindus. This explains the subsequent demand for separate educational facilities, the factional struggle for jobs, and the adaptation of divergent political methods felt to be practically necessary by the Muslim community to guard their additional interest.[5] Leaders of the Muslim

community in India emphasised the educational attainment of the community.

The educated generation of Muslims were keen for securing an honourable place for their nation in the larger political life that was opening up in the sub-continent. Decision taken by the Government of United Province to use Hindi (18 April, 1900) was protested by the Muslims. It was an important public demonstration of political nature staged by the Muslims. Muslims took a vow not to spare any sacrifice for keeping their heritage and language alive.[6] They showed their worry over little number of Muslims in the public services, over their inability to get elected to the legislature, and so on. The need for a political platform to fight out the cause of Muslim community was felt.

On 1 October 1906, a Muslim deputation under the leadership of His Highness Aga Khan III waited upon Viceroy, Lord Minto, and made specific demands to safeguard Muslim interest (share in government services, separate electorate etc.). The Muslim League was formed in December, 1906, at Dhaka. It was the political platform of the Muslims. The objective was to support the British Government against Hindu nationalists and secure as much advantages as possible for the Muslims of India. The Partition of Bengal of 1905 was definitely advantageous for the Muslims of Bengal, but Hindus of Bengal were against it. They demonstrated agitation to undo it. Anti-Partition agitation developed into a Hindu Muslim question. The Reforms of 1909 gave the Muslims a constitutional identity which brought to a logical conclusion the first phase of Muslim separatism,[7] and the course of Muslim freedom struggle was charted. More jobs for the Muslims, more seats in the legislature, and the economic progress of the community were the aspirations of the community and it was figured out that, education and political consciousness were the means to achieve these expectations.

Around 1911, the political goal of the Muslim League appeared to have undergone changes. It was felt that Muslim political objective could no longer be confined merely to protection of rights. In 1911 and 1912, the council of the All India Muslim League recommended a radical change in its need. Finally, on 22 March, 1913, League resolved to adopt as its goal "the attainment under the aegis of the British Crown of a system of self government suitable to India . . . by promoting national unity, by fostering public spirit among the people of India and by co-operating with other communities for the said purposes."[8]

In 1916, Hindu-Muslim unity was strengthened under the Lucknow Pact. For gaining the support of the Hindus, to be specific, support of the Indian National Congress, Muslims of Bengal and the Punjab had to make a great sacrifice. The Muslim majority provinces of the Punjab and Bengal lost their majority position to give other Muslim minority provinces a better chance. In Bengal, the Bengal Pact of 1923, between Muslims and the Hindus was worked out, but could not be implemented because of Congress opposition. After the election of 1923, twenty-one of the thirty-nine Muslim legislators of Bengal were claimed by Swarajya Party, but the situation changed rapidly. In 1927, there was only one Muslim Swarajist.[9] The appointment of the Indian Statutory Commission by the British Parliament set in motion a new constitution making process and brought in its tail a wave of political activity in the sub-continent. Not satisfied with the Simon Commission, the Congress published the Nehru Committee Report in order to give a draft constitution for India.[10] It was received by the Hindus with approval but the Muslims looked at it with great suspicion. All Parties National Conference met in Calcutta, in December 1928, to consider Nehru Report. The failure to reach a common agreement in the conference was a turning point in Hindu Muslim relations. From then on there was not to be any common ground for these two communities and never was there to be anything like the Bengal Pact.[11] Hindus and Muslims were miles apart. It was thought that political existence of the

Muslims was endangered by the Hindus and Muslims should resist it. The weapon by which the Muslims could fulfil all the aspirations, political or economic, as a community or as a nation could be achieved through education, and, so, education was given due importance throughout the period under review. Muslim leaders, legislators, writers, journalists, even petty officials in the government departments, whoever received the light of education, appeared to be much more enlightened than ever before about the state of his own community. This enlightenment had a two-fold function for Muslims. First, it engendered a psyche for greater acquirement of modern education. Second, gradual progress in achieving education had the corollary function of heightening political consciousness of the community in question. In fact, this was the over-all socio-political milieu against which our analysis of the state of Muslim education progresses.

The study is divided into six chapters. Chapter One introduces the problem. Chapter Two describes the British system of education and reaction of the Muslims. In Chapter Three, a discussion on British education policy and progress of Muslim education between 1911 and 1920 is provided. Chapter Four focuses on the progress of education during the period between 1920 and 1935, with special reference to the Act of 1919 which made education a provincial subject resulting in getting extra attention and care from the Indian (Bengali) ministers. Chapter Five deals with Muslim female education. Chapter Six is the concluding chapter giving an overview of the whole period under study with comments on progress of education and development of the community.

The study begins with an examination of British system of education and attitude of the Muslim community to the official system of education and the reasons for their apathy to the system introduced by the foreign government. It also examines how far this apathy was the outcome of psychological reactions to the loss of political power, to religious and social exclusiveness of the community as against the rest

or its economic decline or the absence of physical facilities were responsible for the apathetic attitude to official system of education. The Government of India initiated enquiries in 1913 on certain general factors affecting the education of Muslims and the Bengal Government also prepared a report touching upon these factors or questions. The Calcutta University Commission Report 1919 also examined the question of Muslim education in great detail.

We have tried to identify the geographical areas from where Muslims came in greater number to educational institutions, private or government. In the Eastern Bengal divisions Muslim population was the largest but number of literate Muslims was much smaller here. than in the Muslim minority divisions. The study shows a gradual improvement and examines and explains the causes for this change. How and why Muslims grew a taste for non denominational schools in the place of denominational ones are also discussed. Problems of Muslim female education is discussed in a separate chapter to give this aspect its due importance.

As to the methodology, analytical method based on primary and secondary sources is used.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. A. R. Mallick, *British Policy and the Muslims in Bengal, 1757-1856*, Dhaka Bangla Academy, 1977, p. VIII.

2. Latifa Akand, *Social History of Muslim Bengal*, Dhaka, Islamic Foundation, 1981, pp. 120-135.

3. The term middle class in the context of Bengali Muslims has to be understood in a special sense. It differed from European counterpart.
For details, *see* A. K. Nazmul Karim, *Changing Society in India and Pakistan*, Dhaka, Oxford University Press, 1956.

4. Sufia Ahmed, *Muslim Community in Bengal 1884-1912*, Dhaka, 1974, pp. 253-255.

5. Jayanti Maitra, *Muslim Politics in Bengal 1855-1906*, Calcutta, K. P. Bagchi and Co., 1984, p. 2.

6. Jamiluddin Ahmed, "*Foundation of the All India Muslim League*", *A History of the Freedom Movement*, Vol. III, 1831-1905, Part I, Karachi, Pakistan Historical Society, 1961.

7. Maitra, p. 8.

8. M. H. Saiyyid, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah, a Political Study*, Lahore, 1953, p. 29.

9. Bazlur Rahman Khan, *Politics in Bengal 1927-1936*, Dhaka, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 1987.

10. The Nehru Committee was appointed by the members of all parties to determine the constitution for India.

11. Shawkat Ara Husain, *Politics and Society in Bengal, 1921-1936, a Legislative Perspective*, Dhaka, Bangla Academy, 1991.

Chapter Two

British System of Education: Reaction of the Muslims (up to 1905)

The discussion that follows highlights three major perspectives. Firstly, gradual development of British system of education. The local system of education that had existed for centuries was almost at the point of breaking with the fall of Mughal Empire. The British system of education developed alongside the restructured traditional ones through the pioneering efforts of missionaries followed closely by the official endeavours. The second perspective for the discussion is provided by the reaction of Muslims to this system of education. Thirdly, the question of Muslim acceptance of western education after initial rejection is considered.

Pre-Colonial System of Education:

From the late medieval times Bengal had a system of elementary education which was supported by and created to the needs of the local communities of the region. Indigenous educational institutions were divided into Hindu and Muslim systems. Instructions were mostly imparted in the classical languages as these institutions had to meet the diverse interest of various elements of the society.

Buchanon's survey (1807) and Reports of William Adam (1835-38) throw valuable lights on Pathsala Education which was predominantly Hindu in content and orientation. There existed a fairly wide spread network of village schools or Pathsalas providing general elementary instruction. Two out of three villages possessed Pathsala.[1]

The instructions imparted in a Pathsala was generally of a secular character. Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Zamindari and Mahajani accounts were taught. These subjects were related to the practical needs of the population. Brahmins were the largest group of Pathsala pupil; but pupil of inferior castes like Dhaba, Chandals and even Christians and Muslims were there. In these Pathsalas children were taught what was then considered to be essential in meeting the practical demands of life. But it did not provide for liberal education.

Reports of Buchanon and Adam speak of a considerable number of institutions (in decaying condition), which were maintained by rent free grants. The Muslim rulers of India patronised learning in their courts and granted large estates as endowments for the maintenance of educational institutions.[2] "There was not a mosque or emambarah in which teachers of Arabic and Persian were not maintained ... Maktabs again sprang up in imitation of Pathsalas, wherever Musalmans predominated in number."[3] Particularly it was true of Bengal. The idea of the extent and variety of endowments and trust made by the Muslim rulers can be had by a perusal of the Resumption Proceedings.[4] The injunctions of the Quran and the directives of the Hadith were the incentives to the wealthier classes of the community to give education to the poorer section. There was a system of domestic instruction given by private tutors to the children of wealthy individuals. Here too the poor children were allowed to have education free of charge.

The instruction at Maktab was of an elementary character but contributed to a great degree towards the education of the Muslim masses. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the class of persons giving instruction gratis, were few due to the poverty which had overtaken the Muslims.[5]

There were two types of schools: Persian and Arabic. In Persian schools, works on elementary and higher grammar, forms of

correspondence etc. were taught. Occasionally a work on rhetoric or treatise on theology or medicine would form parts of higher education in Persian schools. In Arabic schools the course of study was of much wider range, "Perhaps we shall not err widely ," says Adam," if we suppose that the state of learning amongst Musalmans of India resembles that which existed among the nations of Europe before the invention of printing."[6]

But this picture of Arabic schools drawn up by Adam referred only to the few that catered for higher branches of Arabic learning. Maktabs or elementary Arabic schools were very badly off. The reading of the Quran without understanding its meaning formed the whole of the instruction there. But these schools had a hold upon the Muslim society, as they gave gratuitous religious education, however imperfect, to the poorer section of the people.

Teachers in the Arabic and Persian schools were mostly Muslims (14 Hindu teachers to 215 Muslims teachers) but Hindu scholars numbered 2096 as against 1558 Muslims.[7]

One significant fact about the Persian schools that Adam made is a comparative study of the two types of school, one catering for Muslim and other for the Hindu learning. According to him, the courses of instruction of the former school had a more comprehensive character and liberal tendency than that of the Hindu schools. Students attended Pathsalas to come out better equipped to face the life in which they were placed. Pathsalas were not set up as schools of learning but as institutes for imparting certain skills adapted to local conditions.[8]

Besides these Persian and Arabic schools there were large number of vernacular schools in Bengal and Bihar which taught Bengali and Hindi. But these schools did not attract the Muslims,[9] because cultivation of Persian was looked upon by Muslims as one of

dignity. Love for Persian, in preference to even the vernacular, persisted its hold over Muslims throughout most of the nineteenth century.

Sanskritised Bengali, which was the language taught in vernacular schools of Bengal, kept the Muslim students away from these institutions. In the Bengali Hitapodesa, a text book, in which the students were examined in the college, out of the first 147 words there were only five which were not Sanskrit. The missionaries in their schools and colleges, the Fort William College, in combination with the Hindu teachers and professors, developed Bengali along Sanskrit lines, so as to make it foreign even to those Muslims who in the deltaic regions of Bengal had accepted Bengali with an admixture of Persian and Arabic words as their spoken language.[10]

The vernacular schools were rendered useless to a devout Muslim as the instructions followed a typical Hindu pattern. The books studied in these schools were almost without exception, connected with Hindu religion and Hindu mythology. This close connection of religion with education was an obvious feature of Bengali society, whether Hindu or Muslim. No wonder that Muslims, rich or poor, kept themselves scrupulously aloof from these institutions.

During the years from 1807 to 1814 Dr. Francis Buchanon surveyed some districts of Bengal and Bihar. The Reports of Buchanon provides ample grounds for a belief that the education among Muslims in the districts he surveyed (Dinajpur, Malda, Rangpur. Purnea, Gorakhpur, Bhagalpur etc.), was in a progressive state of decay. Poverty of the community seems to have made it impossible, by then, for Muslims, to give such education or instruction to their children unaided.[11]

In the Muslim majority districts of East Bengal, the state of education in the first half of nineteenth century appears to have been very disappointing too. In the district of Mymensingh, where there were 5 Muslims to 2 Hindus (estimated in 1801), Buchanon found no regular seminaries for Muslims as against the Hindus who had some 50 to 60 schools of Hindu learning. This sounded strange to Adam in 1835,[12] but he too failed to throw any light on the subject. One of the reasons probably was the absence of Muslim Zamindars and rich elite, who could establish schools of Muslim learning. Muslim educational institutions were in some places to some extent supported by government aid, as Mymensingh was a remote district, far from Dhaka, and Murshidabad. Such governmental help was meagre.

The second Report of Adam (1836) gives a detailed account of the state of education in Natore. This Report on the most advanced thana of a district, overwhelmingly Muslim in population, also gives a disappointing picture of the state of Muslim education.

The following two tables, based on Adam's Third Report (1838), reveal the position of Muslims in the field of education. As the government had not undertaken the responsibility of educating the people, it also give an idea of the results of unaided local measures in education.

Table 2.1: Persian and Arabic Schools- Their Number and the Number of Scholars, Their Caste and Creed

District	Persian School	Arabic School	Hindu Scholars	Muslim Scholars	Total Scholars
Murshidabad	17	2	62	47	109
Burdwan	93	8	477	494	971
Birbhum	71	2	245	245	490
Total	181	12	784	786	1570

Source: Adam's Third Report on the State of Education in Bengal, Calcutta, 1838, pp 63 - 76.[13]

Table 2.2: Vernacular Schools- Their Number and the Number of Scholars and Their Caste and Creed

District	Bengali School	Hindi School	Hindu Scholar	Muslim Scholar	Others	Total Scholars
Murshi-dabad	62	5	998	82	0	1,080
Burdw-an	630	0	12,408	769	13	13,190
Bir-bhum	407	5	6,125	232	26	6,383
Total	1,099	10	19,531	1,083	39	20,653

Source: Adam's Third Report on the State of Education in Bengal, Calcutta, 1838, pp 17, 24, 30 and 33.[14]

The above two tables clearly establish the fact that in the field of vernacular education Muslims have lagged behind the Hindus remarkably, there being 19,531 Hindu scholars to only 1,083 Muslims. Muslims abstained from attending Bengali and Hindi schools for very

strong and specific reasons. Unfortunately they had no corresponding type of vernacular schools to which they could turn. To redress the situation therefore Adam made recommendations for the establishment of Urdu vernacular schools in Bengal for that portion of the population for whom the vernacular was Urdu, and recommended the preparation of special text books corresponding to Muslim taste and urged the Government to patronise the existing indigenous schools.[15] The significance of his recommendations was never realised. Nothing was practically done by the government in this regard. The indigenous schools were allowed to decline. The poverty stricken Muslim community, who lived in the interior, had neither the resources nor the incentive, to create for themselves a system of education suited to their own peculiar needs.[16]

Early Missionary Education:

The European missionaries of 17th and 18th centuries provided a link between mediaeval education and modern education and helped the transition from the former to the later. They were active since the 16th century. Clergymen accompanied the merchants, sailors and the soldiers, and occasionally they worked together and occasionally they were separated. Success of one, directly or indirectly helped the other. The missionaries infused a new religion, and new culture and the merchants infused new economic relationship. Different types of institutions like i) elementary schools of parochial type, ii) orphanages providing vocational preparations together with three years, iii) Jesuit Colleges, etc. were established by the Portuguese missionaries. Their efforts were more concentrated upon elementary education and used vernacular as medium of instruction. Their target groups were the ordinary masses from whom they secured converts.

The Dutch maritime power replaced the Portuguese but their contributions towards education was insignificant The vacuum was filled in by the French, the Danish and the English missionaries. Efforts of the French missionaries were restricted to the Christian population and established efficient secondary schools to impart liberal education. When the French had to withdraw, their schools continued to exist.

The English East India Company was conscious of the vital role that might be played by the missionaries in aid of their commercial and political ventures. The Company did not take the direct responsibility to provide education but it encouraged the missionaries to establish schools. It sanctioned occasional capital grants, its employees were allowed to offer free time voluntary service and kept deposits of missionary educational funds at a high rate of interest.[17] The co-operation did not last long. The Company began to adopt measures to ensure that no over enthusiasm of the missionaries should affect Indian sensitiveness in matters of religion, culture, education and customs. The Company never surrendered its political and commercial interest to the religious and educational interest of the missionaries. In other words, the Company was interested in education only to the extent of deriving commercial and political spin-offs.

The feeling of the authorities in England was first tested in the year 1792, when the proposal of Wilberforce to add two clauses to the charter of 1793, to permit school masters and missionaries to go to India, was met by such violent opposition from India House, that the Ministry was forced to withdraw the clauses from the charter.[18] On that occasion one of the directors stated that the English had just lost America for their folly, in having allowed the establishment of schools and colleges and that it would not be wise to repeat the same act of folly in regard to India.[19] Under such circumstances therefore the first chapter of missionary role in education came to an end.

Characteristics and Estimate of Early Missionary Enterprise:

An analysis of early missionary education reveals the following characteristics of the same. Firstly, the missionary educational enterprise had started in and around trade settlements and military garrisons. Secondly, schools were established in Kuthis for European children with gradual provisions made for the Eurasians, converted Indians, unconverted Indians in close commercial relationship with the Company and finally, schools were started out side the Kuthis for general masses. Thirdly, the main objectives of the missionary schools were to secure converts, to propagate the Gospels among the Indians and to develop mass contact to extend influence among the Indians. Fourthly, Primary Education received their best attention. Their main types of institutions were parochial schools, orphanages and secondary schools. In most cases they preferred to adopt the indigenous type of elementary schools with necessary modification for their purpose. Curriculum for primary education was not altered in a revolutionary way, some lessons from Gospel and some element of modern knowledge was added gradually. The most important characteristics of missionary schools was that vernacular language was adopted as media of instruction.

In quantitative terms the early missionary enterprise was nothing mighty. It had great historical significance. They filled the vacuum caused by the decline of the traditional education. The Indian tradition of elementary mass education was continued by them. They did some pioneering work in a new venture of non official enterprise depending upon public charity. The use of vernaculars prepared the ground for mass education. The missionary schools being open to all, broke down the caste barrier in education. They did not introduce western education but introduced some improvements and modern elements which paved the way for the introduction of western

education and helped the transition of education from the mediaeval to the modern phase.

Missionary Activities in the Nineteenth Century:

The work of nineteenth century missionary had more permanent impact upon Indian educational life than the work of early missionary.

To create a confidence in the minds of the people the Company adopted the policy of benevolent neutrality and refused to issue blank cheque in favour of the missionary. The missionaries inspired their compatriots in England to agitate against the Company's policy. Impelled by other considerations, temporal persons like Charles Grant took up the cause and created some impact upon the English mind. In 1792, Charles Grant submitted a treatise to the Court of Directors.[20] His observations gave a dark picture of the Indian society, and the remedy he prescribed was that of an ardent Christian; " The true cure of darkness is the introduction of light . . . The communication of one light and knowledge to them, would prove the best remedy for their disorders; and this remedy is proposed from a full conviction that if judiciously and partially applied, it would have great and happy effects upon them, effects honourable and advantageous for us."[21] This was the obvious means of assimilating the conquered people to their rulers. A bill was moved demanding free access of teachers and preachers to India, but was not passed on political and financial grounds.

Rapid changes in Indian condition and their reflection on British attitude caused quick shifts in policy from non-co-operation to co-operation with the missionaries. New forces had already been operative in the Indian life to create an urge for English education. By the end of the 18th century various collective and individual efforts

caused the foundation of new type of schools despite Company's lukewarm attitude. To balance the missionary enterprise parliament required the Company to step into the field of education. The Charter Act of 1813 was basically a policy decision in respect of three things,

i) missionary enterprise might be renewed with vigour,

ii) government responsibility was admitted, and

iii) state aid being meagre the role of unofficial agencies was recognised.

Educational developments in the subsequent years followed these broad lines. By 1812, ten missionary orders were operating in India's educational field. Twenty schools were established by "Serampore trio" (Ward, Cary and Marshman), and by 1817, there were 115 schools; and Serampore College was founded in 1818. The nature of missionary work following 1813 was different. Prior to 1813 they had worked on the field of primary education. After 1813, their attention was gradually shifted to secondary and higher education.

The secondary schools and women's education became a special field of missionary work. These missionary enterprises were supported by the leaders of the Bengal Renaissance and a strong foundation of women's education was thus laid before 1853. However great the contributions of the missionaries might have been, their aggressiveness contained the roots of their ultimate failure. Majority of the middle-class Indians would accept western education without Christianity. Thus a conflict developed between denominational western education and secular western education. The Company was more interested in winning over the middle-class people of social importance. This was, however, an aim with which missionaries differed, and thus they eventually fell out with the Company government.

The Company System of Education:

Superficially, the Company adopted benevolent neutrality in social, religious and cultural matters in the object of wooing Indian opinion. As a commercial company its main interest appeared to be profit by trade. The Company wanted to educate the sons of aristocratic Indians with the object of a) creating a collaborative leadership from the sons of soil; b) preparing personnel for judicial and revenue services. But a word of caution from the great Orientalist William Jones to the effect that tradition and values were too precious to be tampered with, decided the shape and nature of Company policy vis-à-vis education. Waren Hastings's policy was representative of Company's perception. He opposed any hasty attempt to impart western knowledge. The patronage of the traditional learning by the Hindu and Muslim rulers was continued. This had a positive impact.

Meanwhile, the Company government had taken some tentative steps. In 1772, Governor Cartier had granted Rs. 4-8-0 per diem to one Wasimuddin to help him in the management of a Muslim college at Hoogly. Adam says that the college had in its rolls 30 students, studying Persian and Arabic in 1801.[22] In October 1780 the first government college in India, the Calcutta Madrasah was set up by Warren Hastings. A considerable number of Muslims of credit and learning persuaded Warren Hastings to request one Majid al Din to remain at Calcutta for the instructions of students in Muslim Law and such other sciences as were taught in the Muslim schools.[23] In complying with this request Warren Hastings seemed to have been inspired to some extent by the noble example of the Mughal rulers, for he writes that " it had been the pride of every political court and the wisdom of every well-regulated government both in India and Persia to promote by such institution the growth and extension of liberal knowledge ". Moreover, it was still necessary "to continue the administration of the criminal courts of judiciary and many of the most

important branches of the police in the hands of Muhamedan officers."[24] He recommended the Madrasah to the Directors as providing a recruiting ground for native public servants. The Naib Nazim was also instructed that whenever vacancies should arise in the Foujdari Courts, they should be filled from the students of Madrasah.[25]

As Calcutta Madrasah was founded to provide a recruiting ground for native public servants, the Hindu Sanskrit College was proposed in 1791 by Jonathan Duncan, the Resident of Banaras. The grounds put forwarded were firstly to endear the Government to the native Hindus and to provide qualified persons with knowledge of Hindu Law who would assist the European judges in its administration.[26] Actions of Hastings and Duncan were dominated by political rather than educational considerations and policies were decided on grounds of religious neutrality.[27]

In the mean time a general interest in education had been roused in England. British and Foreign School Society was established in 1805; and the national Society was established in 1811. Very soon the impact of these institutions was to be felt in the realm of Indian education.

Minto, like Hastings appreciated the importance of patronising Indian learning. The reason for the decay of Indian traditional educational institutions was diagnosed by him as the want of that encouragement which was formally afforded to it by Princes, Chieftains and affluent individuals under native Government."[28] Minto was aware that the patronage of learning by the state was in the tradition of the Muslim community and certainly convinced that their loss of political power had ended that patronage and suggested that Muslim institutions might be beneficially established at some places in the ceded and conquered provinces and that the Madrasah might be reformed to make it an effective instrument for the dissemination of

Muslim learning.[29] This well-intentioned minute of Lord Minto, however, did not produce the desired effect. There was a powerful section of Anglo-Indian administrators who did not believe the public instruction should be undertaken by the state. They also considered such a step potentially dangerous to the interests of the empire.

While preparation for the renewal of the East India Company's Charter was going on, House of Commons resolved itself into a committee in 1808 to gather information about the "great dependency, especially on the subject of education and the desirability of encouraging missionary enterprise in India. Among the witnesses examined were Warren Hastings, Charles Grant, Sir John Malcom and other minor Indian officials. They proved to be generally in strong opposition to the educational and missionary efforts being undertaken or even recognised by the state.[30] Warren Hastings regarded the opening of Episcopal establishments in India as politically dangerous.[31]

When on 22 June 1813, the debate came up, Wilberforce was able to carry his "pious clauses" against the opposition of old Indian party who opposed the idea that educational and missionary efforts be undertaken, or even recognised by the state. On 21 July the law received royal assent . In the renewed Charter, a clause was inserted which provided that, "it shall be lawful for the Governor General in Council to direct that out of any surplus which may remain of the rents, revenues, and profits" after defraying all civil and military charge "a sum of not less than one lakh rupees (10,000 pounds) in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the science among the inhabitants of the British territories in India."[32] The Company thus acknowledged, in a limited degree, their duty to educate their Indian subjects. The first educational despatch relating to

the disposal of the money provided for in the Charter was issued on 3 June 1814.

In the early years the British probably considered the Muslims as foreigners and so in the official despatch not much consideration was given to Muslim community or Arabic and Persian learning, though the need for its encouragement had been already pointed out by Minto. Unfortunately this neglect of Muslim interest in education, occurred at a time when the increasing poverty was slowly throwing the community into the background and when the Muslim system of education was in the decline. In accordance with the directives the Government turned its attention to the Hindu community.[33]

The inadequacy of funds led the Government to formulate a policy of educating only the upper class and of leaving it to them to spread education among the masses (Filtration theory). Education became very much the monopoly of the rising commercial classes[34] (mostly Hindus); it did not filter down ward at all, if it did, it did so to the members of that community, not to the Muslims.

This limited amount made available was not appropriated till 1823 (as the Government was engaged in war with Nepal and operations in Central India). The Charter Act of 1813, though marked a change of policy, did not effect any changes of policy in practice for ten years.

English education was supported by the leaders of the Bengal Renaissance; and even by a traditionalist like Radha Kanta Dev. As the debate was gathering shape Ram Mohon Roy's role contributed to the heat of the oriental occidental controversy. The Hindu college was founded, and its popularity influenced the subsequent government decision in regard to nature, type and medium of education.

The General Committee of Public Instruction (GCPI) was formed in 1823 for carrying out effectively the policy of the Charter of 1813. But the committee was sharply divided on a matter of policy - where and how to spend the money earmarked for education. For a decade from 1823 the GCPI did some work in pursuance of a policy which it thought best. It recognised Calcutta Madrasah, Banaras College, Oriental Colleges founded at Agra and Delhi; Calcutta Sanskrit College and Hoogly College were also founded. GCPI was spending the money earmarked for education to set up schools, to appoint lecturers, to provide translations, and to grant rewards and pensions to Pundits.

The argument of the Occidental group was that, superior culture must overwhelm inferior culture -- western knowledge should be directly introduced through English medium. They drew inspiration from Directors advice (1824) that efforts should be made to introduce English education and declaration of 1827, the purpose of state sponsored education should be the production of efficient Government employees.

The objective of both the groups were however same -- to strengthen British rule. Occidentalists wanted to win over the middle-class, and Orientalists wanted an alliance with aristocracy who were conservative by nature. Their basic differences related to i) the language - classical or English, ii) method of westernization - grafting gradually or directly? iii) interpretation of the Charter clauses of 1813. The differences led to legalistic controversy regarding the interpretation of the Charter of 1813. The matter was referred to T. B. Macauley (member, council, and chairman GCPI) and he favoured introduction of western education through English, downward filtration and he believed that education would create such a class of people as would remain Indian by birth but English in value.[35]

On the basis of Macaulay's opinion Bentinck made his policy announcement in 1835. The first policy decision had been taken in 1813, (the Government would intervene in educational field and be a party to educational enterprises with monetary aids granted from revenue sources). The policy of 1835 meant: i) western education through English medium would be patronised by the state, ii) oriental classic and culture were pushed back to minor rank of importance, iii) objective would be the creation of a body of western educated gentry who might be expected to be allies of British administration.

A firm policy in favour of western education was taken, indigenous tree of education was uprooted. India was given a transplanted system of education which could never be India's own.

After the formation of General Committee of Public Instruction (1823) it was decided that the affairs of the Madrasah should be superintended by that body. A proposal for starting English class at Sanskrit College was considered in the meantime. The government had taken the charge of the Hindu College to improve its management. Introduction of English on a limited scale in Sanskrit College and unification of higher classes of Sanskrit and Hindu Colleges had been advocated and financial aid had been recommended. Wilson, secretary to the General Committee was appointed as visitor to the Hindu College. It came as a great boon to the Hindu community, because Dr. Wilson himself was a Sanskrit scholar, and was sincerely interested in all Hindu institutions.[36] The Madrasah was unfortunate as its secretary Dr. Lunsden was not on the committee. The committee was composed of persons whose official experience had taught them to pay a great deal of consideration to the religious prejudices of Indians which the Government had always been careful not to rouse. As a matter of fact, the committee had maintained two different attitudes - the one of encouraging the cause of English education in the private institutions; and the other of favouring oriental studies in its oldest institution - the Madrasah.[37]

The Madrasah Examination of 1825 showed the poor performance of students. The examiners, Mill and Thomason, expressed disappointment and suggested that the government should take immediate and adequate steps to provide better instruction in European Sciences. Dr. Lunsden directly approached the Madrasah students and some 15 volunteered to study English. He allowed them to choose their own teacher and this led to abuse, as students were anxious to economise, engaged cheapest and sometimes worst teachers. He therefore proposed to attach al of them to certain well qualified teachers but the teachers charged Rs. 8-0-0 per month, and the students being poor refused to pay. The scheme was voluntary and unofficial. So Dr. Lunsden could not compel the students or modify the demand of the teachers. He approached the Committee for the appointment of a qualified teacher. A proposal had already been made to appoint such a teacher for Sanskrit College.[38]

Meanwhile Dr. Wilson's recommendation for further pecuniary help to Hindu College, was being deliberated upon by the Committee, Holt Mackenzie proposed the establishment of a separate English college for the advanced students of all the three institutions of Calcutta, and also forwarded an alternative plan of improving the Hindu College to meet the requirements. The Court of Directors sanctioned the opening of English classes at the existing institutions.[39]

This situation indirectly benefited the Hindu College. The General Committee accepted it as the only institution for higher English education and became the barometer for measuring the progress of the Indians in Western education and popular feeling on the subject of English education. In view of Government's limited funds , directives were issued to concentrate its efforts "at places of greatest importance" among "the superior and middle classes" (whose influence on rest of the community was important and from whom native agents required for Government's services were drawn). These directives made easy the patronage of the Hindu College.[40] This policy

was well calculated to conciliate the influential class at minimum cost to the exchequer. But it deprived all other section of the Hindus and the whole Muslim community of the patronage of higher English education. Injury to Muslim interest was aggravated by the Directors' further orders - preference to successful candidates at college for government posts. Hindus who had already made considerable progress in English education under direct or indirect state patronage, were benefited from this. Muslims were deprived of government patronage in English education, as well as in the job market. Meanwhile, these directives instituted a series of grants to the Hindu College, a private institution. This policy of government stands in sad contrast to the indifference and neglect shown by them to Calcutta Madrasah, a government institution.

But in 1829, to redress the situation a resolution was passed for establishing English classes in the Madrasah;[41] and in no time the number of students in the class stood at 42. On February 4, 1830, 99 students sat for the regular examination and the examiners reported that the boys demonstrated highly creditable proficiency. An award of Rs. 245 was given to 17 boys.[42] In the second examination in January 1831, the progress was also satisfactory. This was a correct approach to the problem of giving English education to Muslim students because they were not prepared to forego the language and the literature of their own. But the next action of the Madrasah subcommittee in requiring all students to attend English class[43] was unwise. In 1833, the number of students fell from 87 to 45. In 1833 a resolution was taken to the effect that no student would be entitled to stipend or scholarship unless he studied both English and Arabic. The consequence of this step was that English class came to be attended by old and unwilling scholars who were often incapable to acquire new knowledge. The resolution was thus rescinded in 1835. Muslim boys from outside were allowed to attend English classes without payment of fees. As a result the number of English scholars increased from 31 to 136.[44] From the number of students attending English classes it

seemed that Muslims were not averse to English education. They lagged behind because of the indecision or ignorance in the conduct of GCPI in all its dealing with the Madrasah and ineffective teaching (English was additional subject, so was considered a burden). The failure of the English class of the Madrasah was ascribed by the Secretary of the Education Council, in 1852, to "the bad quality of the instruction given" rather than "to the general indisposition of the Muhamedans to the study".[45]

Once the question of Muslims vis-à-vis the English education was straightened Macaulay's suggestion that all oriental colleges, except Delhi and Banaras, be closed raised a controversy. Bentinck approved it but no resolution was adopted. Princep took up the defence of the Madrasah. He viewed the proposal to alienate the feelings of the Muslims. But the cause of the Orientalists did not find favour. Report of government intention to abolish the Madrasah and Sanskrit College got wind; and two petitions were submitted to the government by the Hindus and Muslims on behalf of the two institutions. The alarm of the Muslims would appear to be quite natural when it is remembered that the existence of the only institution in which their national literature was taught was at stake. The Hindus as well were suspicious for the same reason.[46] This agitation by both the communities had the effect of staying government policy of doing away with the Oriental institutions.

Meanwhile Bentinck's measures required modifications and Auckland recommended grant of scholarships in the Madrasah. He stressed the necessity for establishment of Zilla Schools. Since vernaculars were not sufficiently developed to replace English, he encouraged their development. It would then be possible to allow the students to attend the full course of English or vernacular tuition as they might themselves prefer.[47] There were recommendations to connect Zilla Schools with Central Colleges by means of scholarships.

The minutes of Auckland are an advance upon Bentinck's resolution of 1835 - but his suggestions were not enough to meet the needs of the Muslims. He overlooked the claims and interest of the Muslims, a considerable section of whom did not accept Bengali as vernacular, and to whom Sanskritised Bengali, developed under the system, became a positive handicap in the lower schools of the Province. In January 1841, the Court of Directors approved Auckland's measures, financial duty of the General Committee of Public Instructions (GCPI) was taken over by the government, and was replaced by a council of education for reference and advice upon important educational questions.[48]

In 1845, the Council complained of its position of responsibility without power and requested the government to put all the institutions of the Presidency under its control to enable it to follow a uniform policy and expedite business.[49] The control of institutions was thus given to a responsible body and the government began to take more interest in education and to exercise a wholesome control over the Council's activities. Auckland's proposal to establish a comprehensive system of combined English and vernacular education by the formation of Zilla Schools and Central Colleges came into operation during Hardinge's Governor Generalship, when he ordered immediate establishment of Krishnanagar College and four Zilla Schools at Burdwan, Barasat, Bankura and Bogra.[50]

The Council made senior scholarship standard the qualification necessary for inclusion in Council's list for employment. But the Directors refused to accept so high a scholastic level as essential for public employment. The Council assured that the standard was within the reach of the pupil of any well regulated private or public school.[51] From 1845 to 1856 no Muslim candidate could ever pass the test and secure place in the Council's list. Considerable change were also made by the Bengal Government in the teaching of medicine. Calcutta Medical College was founded and native

institutions were abolished in 1835. To attract the respectful classes, successful students were offered employment in government posts.[52]

The question of engineering education was taken up by the government. The study of law received government attention; and in 1843 arrangements were made for lectures in law for students of Hindu College and in 1854 law was included in the course for senior scholarship examination [53]

By 1854, the educational policy reached an advanced stage of development. The Anglo-Oriental controversy finally ended; steps had been taken to develop vernaculars, oriental colleges had not suffered abolition; stipendary systems had been replaced by scholarships, payment of school fees had been enforced, and first steps had been taken towards providing facilities for education in particular, engineering and law, and the filtration theory still exercised a potent influence. In 1854, when the Company Charter was due to expire, two committees were appointed to enquire into Company affairs. Their report showed the need for the Home Government to regulate, co-ordinate and systemise the educational activities of the Government of India and to lay down a general policy for the future.

The government had to decide upon the object of education, the place of religion in it, the agency and machine for educational provision's and extent, form and method of government control. These were some of the issues which remained unsolved. New problems were not lacking with the change of time, question of professional education became practical proposition, as Indians were admitted into administrative service. Urge for English education grown, competitive exammations had been introduced. It was necessary to establish a complete system of education with proper gradation and with a University at the top as an examining and certifying body. These considerations led to a rethinking; the final

outcome was incorporated in a Despatch received in India in 1854 which became famous as Wood's Despatch of 1854.

An analysis of the objectives as enunciated in the Despatch bring out the following components: education was to strengthen the colonial economic relationship. It was to develop agricultural resources and ensure a steady supply of raw material to British industries. Immediate object of English education was to be the preparation of service personnel for employment (clerk making education). Medium of instruction was to be English but vernacular was to be accepted as media of mass education. As for method, it regretted the filtration theory and admitted the need for professional education in law, medicine and engineering under the university. On the question of religion it was in favour of secular institutions. One of the important component of the policy was the assurance of grants for education of Muslims and education for women. The Despatch directed the establishment of a complete system of education with universities at the top, and network of graded schools beneath them. It was an attempt to bring order out of chaos caused so long by unplanned and unequal growth of educational institutions. A system of education was thus established.

The extension of educational facilities to the people by the grants in aid system, and the partnership of official and non official agencies in educational enterprise was of significant importance and essence of the provisions of the Despatch. Thus responsibility of the government was kept limited , but precondition to grants-in-aid had ultimate control in government hands, a policy of control without responsibility.

Wood's Despatch was not a document of educational right of the Indian people. It was a colonial educational document of certain privilege granted by a foreign government and that too with inherent limitations. But it was the first authoritative parliamentary

document of its nature. It incorporated the objectives of education, albeit with a colonial perspective. It enunciated secular principle, abandoned filtration policy, adopted positive attitude towards mass education for poor but meritorious students were created. The anarchic efforts of non official and official agencies during the preceding 50 years were consolidated in a system of education but in the system burden was borne by the nation while the control vested in a foreign government. It removed obstacles to English education and created a scope for its expansion. The first step had been taken in 1835, rest of the obstacles were to be removed by this Despatch. Apparently, it laid the foundation of a really universal system of education. But the Muslims failed to take advantage of the system of grants in aid for certain obvious reasons to which we now turn.

British System of Education: Reaction of the Muslims (up to 1905) :

The effect of the education policy upon the intellectual advancement of the people, generally, was beneficial. The Hindus, conscious of the importance of English education, did not fail to avail themselves of any opportunity thus offered. With the increase in the number of schools the number of students of that community had steadily swelled.[54] The Report of General Committee on Public Instruction 1840-41 and 1841-42 shows that when the total number of students in government schools and colleges in Bengal were 4034, Hindu students numbered 3188 and Muslims were only 751.[55] In 1845-46, the General Report on Public Instruction shows the total figure as 4537; Hindus 3846, and Muslims 606.[56] When in 1855-56, the total number of students became 7216, Hindus numbered 6338 and Muslims numbered 731.[57] That Muslims could not make much progress in English education can be seen from the Bengal Civil Service list corrected up to 1 April 1880. It shows the number of Hindu Muslim employees in upper ranks of the uncovenanted service, and the proportion of Muslim employees was just one tenth of that of

Hindus.[58] Maulavi Abdul Karim wrote, "when in 1890 I first took charge of the post of Assistant Inspector of Schools for Muhamedan education there was only one Muslim Sub-Inspector of Schools in Chittagong." (He was in charge of seven districts in Dhaka and Chittagong).[59]

The Calcutta Madrasah was the most important educational institution for Muslims; and its condition, academic standard and the student strength gives a picture of the then condition of Muslim education. The Madrasah Resolution of 1834 compelled the stipendaries of the Arabic Department to study English.. As a result, the number of students rose from 31 to 136 and the Muslim boys showed an increasing desire to learn English. By 1837 the number went up to 155. The growing desire to acquire English education was there, but the standard of teaching was low and the attainments of the most proficient were merely elementary.[60] A Bengali class was added and a number of students joined because this too offered prospects of government service. The committee decided to remodel the institution,[61] but it was not followed by action.[62]

In 1838-39, out of 139 students 64 were struck off on the grounds that they became irregular. In the Arabic Department there were 153 students (15 were stipendaries) and in the Bengali Department number of students was only 20. Because of the unsatisfactory condition, the committee again decided to make important changes.[63] The Headmaster was replaced by an energetic and tactful person and some minor changes were made. As a result the students showed an improvement.[64] But number of students declined as new rules were introduced to reject pupil of certain age and low caste.[65] In 1843, while addressing the students W. W. Bird regretted " that the Muhamedan students in general" attached "but little importance to a knowledge of English".[66] But it was not only the reluctance of the Muslim youths to take to English education that was the root of the comparative backwardness of the Muslims.

The periodical and surprise visits of the Committee revealed that of all the institutions under them, only the English Department of the Madrasah was in an unsatisfactory state.[67] From the General Report of Public Instruction 1846-47 it is known that 4 students of the Madrasah entered the Medical College that year.[68] It shows that Muslim students if given equal opportunities would have competed effectively with the Hindus in the higher branches of education. It was discovered in 1847 that Arabic students of the Madrasah hardly availed themselves of the opportunities of the English classes and Anglo -Arabic class was formed for them.

A report was submitted in 1852 by Dr. Sprenger (who replaced the Secretary as Principal in November 1850) upon which Beadon suggested that a higher standard of English should be attained upon the plan pursued in Hindu College and uniform schooling fee be levied on all pupil attending the Madrasah.[69] Halliday (then member of the Council of Education) suggested that the time had arrived for a radical change in the teaching of younger Muslims and Government should establish a Muslim School for English and vernacular instruction. So as to enable Muslims within ten years to reach a standard of education which a Hindu received from Hindu College.[70]

The English Department of the Madrasah was remodelled. The Education Report of 1855-56 found the Madrasah students to be orderly and regular in attendance. The standard of attainment by the student showed remarkable improvement.[71]

The Colingah Branch School was opened and in 1855-56, had on its roll 143 scholars of which 14 were Muslims, 4 Christians and 125 Hindus.[72] When fees for Muslims were reduced, number of Muslim students increased to 156 the very next year.[73] As a result of the reforms introduced in the Madrasah and opening of Branch School, Muslim community of Calcutta, took a surer road to progress in education. If extended to other parts of Bengal the plan

might have worked well, but this was not done, and needs of the Muslim community remained unprovided for. Between 1835 and 1856 the government set up schools in all the districts of Bengal, but education reports of the years show a lamentably insignificant number of Muslim students in the schools.[74] The picture of Muslim community in India as a whole in the field of education was much better than that of Bengal as the following two tables indicate.

Table 2.3 : Percentage of Muslim Pupil (1881 - 1907)

Period	% of Muslim Pupil in Public Institution	% of Muslim Pupil in all Types of Institution	% of Muslims in Total Population
1881-82	---------	17.8	19.1
1886-87	18.8	22.6	19.1
1891-92	19.2	23.0	21.8
1896-97	19.3	22.2	21.8
1901-02	18.8	21.6	22.6
1906-07	19.5	21.8	22.6

Source: C. Lloyd Thorpe, Education and Development of Muslim Nationalism in Pre-Partition India.

Table 2.4 : Muslim Pupil Compared with Total Pupil (1886-87 to 1901-02)

Period	Total Pupil	Muslim Pupil	% of Muslim Pupil
1886-87	33,43,544	7,54,036	22.5
1891-92	38,56,821	8,87,236	23.0
1896-97	43,56,870	9,66,632	22.2
1901-02	45,21,900	9,78,221	21.6

Source: C. Lloyd Thorpe, Education and Development of Muslim Nationalism in Pre-Partition India.

In Bengal, while the Muslims were increasing in percentage of population they were decreasing in terms of pupil percentage. In the sphere of university education the progress of Muslims have been very little. The number of Muslim graduates were only 7.8% of the total graduates of Calcutta University, (census of 1911).

The picture of the Muslim society was as gloomy as the educational reports. With the expansion of British rule the educated Muslim began to lose their former privileged position. With the introduction of new measures they were replaced by the Hindus in subordinate and Europeans in higher posts.[75] Muslims suffered because of the general disbandment of Indian soldiery. During the Muslim rule, the Muslims monopolised the superior agencies but the permanent settlement turned these into a homogeneous class. The landed aristocracy which survived the blow of Permanent Settlement became extinct by Bentinck's resumption proceedings.

In the judicial department, half a century after the granting of Dewani slowly the tide turned against them. Changes in civil employment came in succession with the development of the judiciary and with the Anglicisation of business in higher grades and vernacularisation of business in the inferior grades. By 1844 English became the language of all civil employment in high posts and Bengali in subordinate posts. The Muslims who had then neither the knowledge of English nor had perfect knowledge of Bengali, but were dependent upon Government services found themselves stranded in the changed circumstances for which they were least prepared.[76] From 1861-1880 there were only 4 Muslim Munsifs against 45 Hindus and not a single Muslim was there in the Medical Service.

The backwardness of Muslims had come to the notice of some high officials like Hunter, W. N. Lees and so on. They were struck by the glaring disproportion between the Hindus and Muslims

in the Government Services. Hunter presented a table to show the distribution of the gazetted appointments in Bengal in 1871, where ninety two Muslim names appeared as against six hundred and eighty one (681) Hindus. He came to the conclusion that, the new system of education could not draw the Muslim in the same way as it did the Hindus. Hunter gave another statistics which shows that there was not a single Muslim law officer of the Crown, among twenty one officers of the High Court of rank there was no Muslim, but there were 7 Hindus. There were Hindu barristers at law, but no Muslims. From 1852-1868 out of 250 natives admitted in pleadership only one was Muslim. The Memorial of Muhamedan Association of 1881 showed that out of 100 pleaders in the High Court only 2 were Muslims. In 1882 Syed Ameer Ali wrote that out of 200 assistant surgeons only 4 were Muslims. The Census of 1911 shows that Muslims were quite far behind in comparison to Hindus. The Bengal Census Report pointed out that, there was one Muslim to every nine Hindus in Legal, and one to every five in Medical, and two to every seven Hindus in Education employment. From the Proceedings of the Government of Bengal, General Department, June 1915, it is evident that the Muslim community in matter of primary education held its own but in respect of higher education their number was still far below their proportion to the population.[77] In a discussion on a resolution moved by Nawab Ali Choudhury in 1913, in the legislative council, Surendranath Banerjee said, "It is the healthiest sign of the time that their [Muslims] progress has been very substantial within the last two three years. Three years back the percentage of Muslim students was 4%, two years back it was 7%, and this year it is 10%."[78]

Besides what the government policy had to do this backwardness of the Muslims needs further explanation. The attitude of the Muslims were quite different from that of the Hindus. They were apathetic towards English education for some time, and for obvious historical reasons; but definitely that was not the only cause of

their backwardness. One of the causes was definitely the outcome of psychological reactions to the loss of political power. The Muslims viewed themselves as recently deposed rulers.[79] Acceptance of jobs under the British was looked down upon in the Muslim Ashraf segments; and such a social taboo continued right up to the first quarter of the present century. In the end sheer economic necessity made the Muslim community accept western education.[80]

The Muslim reaction to the missionary education was different. To them their attendance at a missionary school would violate basic precepts of Islam. Early missionary movement included Evangelism and conversion. Again, completely secular approach to education did not meet the needs of the Muslims who believed that it was improper to separate religion from education. Hunter made this observation," Our system of public instruction ignores the three most powerful instincts of Muslim heart, in the first place it conducts education in the vernacular language which the educated Muhamedans despise, and by means of Hindu teacher whom the whole community hates, in the second place our rural schools seldom enable a Muhamedan to learn the tongues necessary for his holding a respectable position in life, and for the performance of his religious duties. In the third place our system of public instruction makes no provision for the religious education of the Muhamedan youth. It is therefore any wonder that Musalmans have held aloof from a system which made no concession to their prejudices."[81] That the type of education introduced by the British was unacceptable to the Muslims could be explained by a number of factors. It was controlled by the missionaries whose evangelical approach was rejected by Muslims. Emphasis was shifted to secular education which could not be attractive to Muslims, as they were used amalgamation of religion and education. Social and economic discriminations was practised against them and so, there was no incentives for Muslims to become educated.

The Muslim public opinion was reflected in the then newspapers like the *Islam Pracharak* , the *Kohinoor*, the *Sikha*, the *El Islam*, the *Islam Darsan*, the *Moslem Bharat*, etc. Various problems regarding Muslim education were pointed out in numerous articles. Various attempts were made to analyse the reasons for indifference to western education. The first known analysis via Bengali Muslim press came in the *Mihir O Shudhakar* in 1899. The reasons given were: Firstly superstitious attitudes regarding the learning of English as anti-religious. Secondly neglect and lack of foresight of guardians, thirdly shortage of money. Fourthly disrespect towards religion displayed by English educated Muslims. Fifthly, lack of government encouragement; sixthly shortage of Muslim officials in educational institutions and lastly to official employment was placed in the hands of Hindus, and it led to lack of incentive.[82] The *Islam Pracharak* wrote in 1906 " the minds of Muslims were dominated by such superstitions as English was . . . the language of infidels, if one learnt it one would have to go to hell."[83] Even as late as 1927 the *Sikha* wrote that a group of guardians issued a fatwa banning English education as the education of infidels.[84]

That the reluctance and disrespect towards religion displayed by English educated youths was one reason for Muslim apathy towards it found support in the *Islam Pracharak* in 1903. It wrote, " Muslim youths who became engaged in English education became so completely absorbed in learning the alien language alone that they are reluctant to . . . read their own national scriptures."[85]

Poverty of the Muslims was another strong factor that worked against the Muslims. The conditions to be fulfilled before grants could be had, were beyond the power of the poor Muslims. The majority of Muslims in Bengal lived in backward eastern districts, far from Calcutta; educational facilities in these areas were not offered till long after. The Zamindars who lived in Calcutta were usually

indifferent to the education of the ryots who were mostly Muslims. There were no clerks or banians among the Muslims as there were among the Hindus to understand at least the material value of education and to take initiative in starting schools under grants in aid.[86] In district headquarters even if the English or vernacular schools were available, Muslim boys from the villages could not take advantage of it. Lack of accommodation was their main problem. Muslim officials were few who could offer lodging to the Muslim boys. The Muslim press was vocal in stressing the need for Muslim hostels in district headquarters. Shortage of accommodation was pointed out as one of the important obstacles to Muslim education.[87] Poverty was a bar for Muslim education in another way. The *Basana* wrote in 1909, " Poor Muslim boys are obliged to help their parents by earning money through manual work right from the childhood. In such circumstances what time do the children have to attend schools?" and so, when the price of jute went up in the world market, the Muslim boys started coming to schools in greater number.

Language was another problem for Muslim education. Indian students were to be bilingual but for Bengali Muslims the problem was more complicated. The upper-class Muslims who claimed to have entered Bengal as Muslims spoke Urdu at home. Great mass of Bengali Muslims spoke Musalmani Bangla (Bengali mixed with Arabic and Persian). Conservative Muslims wanted their children to learn Arabic or Persian. The *Islam Pracharak* wrote, "Whereas the Hindus have to learn two or three languages, Bengali Muslims have of necessity to master five."[88]

The dearth of Muslim officials in the education department was one of the reasons that went against the spread of Muslim education. Maulavi Abdul Karim wrote that in 1890 when he was Assistant Inspector of Schools, there was only one Deputy Inspector of School.[89] There was no dearth of Muslim candidates.

Greater number of Muslim officials in the education department could have attracted more Muslim students. *Nabanur*'s editor wrote in 1903, "Calcutta University is virtually a Hindu University." Syed Nowab Ali Choudhury while moving a resolution in the Council in 1913 said, "Muslims form more than 50% of the total population . . . have a claim upon the Government. Between 1899-1909 the Muhamedans have received 6% of the total advantages."[90]

Having distinguished Muslim apathy from various perspectives of the community we now turn to analyse how government policy was responsible for this state of affairs. The renewed Charter of 1813 contained a clause was inserted which provided that a "sum of not less than one lakh of rupees (10,000 pounds) in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of science among the inhabitants of the British territories in India."[91] By it the Company acknowledged its duty to educate their Indian subjects but in the first official communications of the authorities in England on the state responsibility for education of the Indians, the interest of the Muslim community did not receive the consideration it deserved. The Despatch recommended Sanskrit learning, no mention was made of Arabic or Persian learning. Possibly the British did not consider the Muslims as natives of India.[92] Encouragement of the learned natives meant encouragement of the Hindu Pundits and revival of literature was nothing but revival of Sanskrit literature. Distrust of the Muslims from whom the power had been won, and consequent indifference and unsympathetic attitude towards them was natural, a desire to conciliate the Hindus was also natural.

The paucity of the amount sanctioned restricted the field of government action and led to the formation of policy that went against the interest of the Muslims. The basis of British Education

Policy was "downward filtration theory" which meant educating only the upper class and leaving it to them to spread education among the masses. So education became the monopoly of the rising commercial classes of Calcutta which was composed of Hindus. and it did not filtered downwards at all, and even if it did, it did so to the members of that community.

The Calcutta Madrasah was the only institution for English education of the Muslims. The unsatisfactory condition of its English Department attracted the attention of the government and different measures were taken to improve its condition but these measures were not enough (about this elaborate discussion is there at the beginning of the chapter). Financial stringency probably curtailed the opportunity for government action, but unfortunately, even when opportunities were there education council either let them slip or even by their injudicious action injured the interest of the community.

An analysis of the appropriation of funds of some Muslim endowments by the government shows the attitude of the government. Endowment left by Hazi Muhammad Mohsin was for religious and educational purposes. It specifically meant for the education of the Muslims but the way the government handled it was unscrupulous. The institutions founded by it were thrown open to all classes. The College which was opened on 1 August 1836, had 1200 students in English Department and 300 in oriental. At the time of annual examination out of 1013 in English Department only 31 were Muslims and in oriental department out of 219, Muslims numbered 138. The government showed no concern at the money meant for the education of one community going almost exclusively to the benefit of another. Nothing was done to attract the Muslim students to the English Department of the College.[93]

Another endowment offered an opportunity for the government to educate the Muslims of Chittagong. here too, nothing was done to turn the opportunity to the advantage of the Muslims. Endowment of Mir Yahya was utilised by the government to subsidise a school at Chittagong in which no special concession was given to the students of Muslim community.[94]

A system of school fees was introduced in 1840 and number of Muslim boys dropped from 17 to 2. But when Persian teacher was appointed in 1842 the number Muslim boys rose to 22.[95] In 1846 the Persian class was dropped and the number of Muslim boys again dropped down to 5.[96] Local committee made suggestions to ensure Muslim share but these were ignored by the government.

Impelled by the traumatic circumstances in the post-Mutiny era the Muslim intelligentsia had to come round to accepting the Western education as a means for regenerating their community. Nawab Abdul Latif, for example, was the foremost person who exhorted the Bengali Muslims to take to English education. His Literary Society stood for orthodox religious education. He advocated the cause of English education believing that it would bring many practical advantages to Muslim community. He would have nothing to do with contemporary western thoughts.[97] His greatest achievement was that he was the first Muslim leader who had a serious endeavour to promote English education among the Muslims. He sought to attain his objective through gradual process of persuasion and compromise, without giving serious offence to Muslim susceptibilities. He suggested to the government the creation of an Anglo-Persian Department in the Calcutta Madrasah and took a leading part in collaborating with the government in the establishment of Presidency College. At his initiative funds of Mohsin's endowment were released for supporting Madrasah for Dhaka, Rajshahi and Chittagong. He also

upheld the traditional Madrasah system of education. It was due to his influence two parallel system of education were perpetuated in Bengal.

Syed Amir Ali represented a more advanced opinion about education. He admitted the importance of English education and academic training. He and his National Muhamedan Association took up the cause of English education not only from practical point of view (to get jobs) but as a tool for spreading contemporary western thought.

There was another group of social thinkers like Abdur Rahim Dahri (1785 - 1853), Delwar Hossain Ahmed (1840 - 1913) who were far more advanced than Amir Ali and Nawab Abdul Latif who believed that in order to achieve progress it was imperative for the Muslims to learn both English and Bengali and were opposed to the type of education being imparted in Madrasah. They pointed out that the neglect shown to Bengali by the elite had done much harm to Muslim community. The *Saugat* wrote that " It was the Madrasahs alone which were causing Muslims to fall behind their Hindu neighbours."[98] As the Muslims realised the importance of English education they demanded special facilities for them. The British Government also took some special measures in this respect.

As far back as 1882 Ameer Ali in his evidence before the Education Commission said that primary education needed no especial encouragement among the Muslims, it was their higher education which required fostering and for this purpose government would have to devise some substantial scheme . . . in all middle class and high schools and colleges English should be made compulsory.[99]

Maulana Abul Kasem while moving a resolution in the Council demanding special grants for Muslim education said that, "Muslims have paid the penalty for their apathy to, neglect of high

education. They now feel it keenly that education alone is the means . . . for their very existence as a community."[100] Nawab Ali Choudhury moved a resolution in the meeting of Bengal Legislative Council on 13-3-1893 to the effect that a substantial sum out of the educational grant of Rs. 75,00,000 be applied (i) towards providing better facilities for the education of the Muslims in existing colleges, schools and Madrasahs, (ii) towards starting new educational institutions with similar facilities in centres of Muhamedan population. On the same occasion he pointed out that the special measures taken to foster Muslim education was not enough and said, "the necessity for help to our community is no less pressing now than it was forty years before. It is unfortunately true that the remedy was not proportionate to the gravity of the disease." He further said that, "we do not want that the government should educate us more than others . . . We have a right to have ourselves educated as much others. Even the Hindu deputation that waited upon Hardinge in Calcutta on 16 February 1912 in connection with the proposed university at Dhaka had the frankness to concede that the whole province will welcome the grant of special facilities for the spread of education among the Muslims."[101] The Muslim press published articles demanding reforms in textbooks (as they contained Hindu Mythology and were unacceptable to Muslims), greater number of Muslims in education service, greater representation in Calcutta University, enlarged aid for Muslim education and also changes in education system, so that the system of education could attract the Muslims.[102]

The *Moslem Bharat* in 1921 opined that primary education should be in Bengali medium only. Secondary education should be self complete - sufficient to lead to employment rather than being a mere step towards higher education.[103]

The educated Muslims took initiative to help the spread of education of the Muslims. Muslim officers of the Settlement

Department pulled a large fund for this purpose. The Secretary of the Muhamedan Educational Fund reported to the DPI that the capital of the fund had increased and had been invested in the Co-operative Banks at Faridpur and Dhaka, and the promoters of the fund now desires to award more senior scholarships to be tenable at the Presidency College, Calcutta.[104]

The government, on its part, took some measures to attract the Muslims towards English education. The Education Commission of 1882 made some special recommendations for Muhamedan education. It recommended that (a) Muhamedan education be regarded as a legitimate charge on local municipal or provincial funds, (b) indigenous Muhamedan schools be encouraged to add secular subjects to their curriculum, (c) higher English education for Muslims be liberally encouraged, (d) system of special scholarship for Muslims be established, (e) certain proportion of free studentship be reserved for Muslims, and so on.

As language was one of the factors that went against spread of Muslim education, in 1889 students were permitted to take Urdu as second language in secondary schools. Additional Urdu teachers were also appointed.

In 1897, orders were issued that qualified Muslims were to be given preference in job. Advance syllabus for Madrasah that was drawn up in 1910 included English for Madrasah.

Inspectors of Schools were instructed that as Muslim employment in this department was disproportionate to their share, and as it was injurious for spread of Muslim education, Muslim graduates may occasionally be appointed as Deputy Inspectors without having served as Sub-Inspectors.[105] To increase the number of Muslim teachers in government services, principals of all Colleges were

required to ascertain from Muslim candidates for F.A. and B.A. degree their addresses and whether they wish to obtain appointments in Zilla Schools.

The Report on Public Instruction in Bengal ,1913-14, shows that while the Muslim population was 52.7%, the Muslim students were 43.4% of the total number of students.[106]

Time and again the roots of the sick man was diagnosed but the remedy could not be found out or could not be applied. Despite all the efforts, the Muslims of Bengal were educationally far behind the other community in the first decade of the twentieth century.

This discussion shows, western system of education was introduced through a long and circuitous way in which missionaries, intellectuals and administrators had their contribution. Introduced to subserve colonial interest, this system of education found quick, easy and zealous beneficiaries amongst the Hindu community for obvious historical reasons. But other major community, the Muslims had for their own reasons to stand away from this education quite some time. Nevertheless as the discussion shows, they had to come round to accepting this system of education at a time when they had to assert their political identity. With such a beginning this community would gradually turn to western education for maximising benefits directly enhancing image and posture of themselves as a community. But the history of this process of Muslims and education interface would be interwined with so many milestones and episodes; and to one of which we now turn.

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Nawab Saiyid Nowab Ali Chowdhury who was a member of the Legislative Council of Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1906-1912, and was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council as a Muslim representative, 1916, moved a resolution on 13 March 1913 demanding a substantial sum out of the educational grant of Rs. 75,00,000 to be applied i) toward providing better facilities for education of Muslims in existing colleges, school and Madrasah; ii) starting of new educational institutions in centres of Muhamedan population. In his speech he explained why despite of all government efforts, Muslim could not bring themselves up to the normal level. He believed that the remedy was not proportionate to the gravity of the disease. From 1899 to 1909, being 50% of the population, Muslims received only 6% of the total advantages. He pointed out some of the rules which were laid down at a time when Muslims have surpassed the inherent difficulty and were coming up to the doors of university and colleges. These rules and regulations proved very much against them. For more information, see *PGB*, General Department, (Edn.), May, 1913, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1913, pp. 90-96.

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A resolution was moved by Maulana Abul Kasem at the meeting of Bengal Legislative Council, on 13 March, 1913, demanding a sum of Rs. 200,000 to be set apart for the grant of scholarships to Muslims and

Rs. 100,000 for the teaching of Arabic, Persian and Urdu in colleges and high and secondary schools. While moving the resolution, he mentioned the need of hostels for Muslim students in Calcutta, because, at that time only Calcutta had great facilities for higher education.

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Chapter Three

Annulment of the Partition of Bengal and After: A New Phase in British Policy Towards the Muslims, 1911 - 1920

The Partition of Bengal was declared on 16 October 1905. The decision was taken after long discussions and on administrative grounds. Initially, however, the Bengalees (both Hindu and Muslim) were opposed to it. Lord Curzon, in his long tours, tried to convince the people (of Eastern Bengal) of the logical basis of the proposal by pointing out the advantages that would accrue to the populace. The educated Muslims, on their part, came to realise that the spin-off from the proposed administrative changes would redound to their benefit, and hold the promise for bettering their lot in ways more than one. Such high hopes of Muslims whipped up by the official propaganda and buttressed by the obvious fruits of the partition were, however, dashed to pieces as the partition was annulled in 1911. Consequent upon the annulment the government went about its way to appease or placate the disgruntled Muslim community through some package-deals the outstanding of which was a promise for a university catering to the higher needs of Muslims of Eastern Bengal. This new move along with the ones that had been undertaken during the brief period of partition for educational upliftments contributed to the development of educational facilities for Muslims.

The Partition of Bengal had a great impact on socio-economic life of Muslims of Eastern Bengal; and as a whole on the political life of Muslims of India. During its brief tenure the government of Eastern Bengal and Assam interfered in the existing socio-economic system to achieve political objectives. The policy

goals were related to the broad political motives which lay behind the partition. Through its education and employment policies, the government sought to win allies among the majority Muslim population of Eastern Bengal districts.[1] Bampfylde Fuller's employment circular of May 25, 1906, proposed to work up to a figure of one third Muslims in government offices. His successor Sir Lancelot Hare showed even greater enthusiasm for promoting the interest of the Muslims, because he believed that Muslims had not received as much as they had a right to demand. The draft resolution he submitted to Lord Minto on October 31, 1906, called upon the government officials, when filling up the posts, to widely advertise the openings, to make direct approaches to Muslim Associations, and to contact educational officers for recommendations with regard to increasing the proportion of Muslims. He suggested two out of three vacancies should, where ever possible, be filled by Muslims. To ensure the execution of the policy, the resolution proposed a form to be completed annually in which the officers would be required to report progress and to explain departures from the new standard.[2] The policy of allowing political considerations to improve the efficiency of the government offices was criticised. The resolution was revised and it avoided mention of a specific quota for Muslims in government offices. It was established as a supplement to the Eastern Bengal and Assam Gazette of February 16, 1907.[3] (The Bengali Press was very critical of the resolution).

The administration of the new province while turning to educational institution found the same as hotbeds of sedition by the anti-partition agitators. The Fuller administration (October 1905 - July 1906) sought with excessive zeal to curb anti partition activities in the schools and colleges and used substantial imperial grants for higher education to gain control over the private institutions in the province.[4] Hare (August 1906 - December 1911) followed the same policy and to get the government grants the private institutions were to "swallow the government terms or they break."[5]

The terms of agreement between the Jagannath College, Dhaka, and the provincial government illustrated the extent to which the private colleges were forced to give up their autonomy. In return for a capital grant of Rs. 85,000 and recurring grant of Rs. 1,000 per month for 5 years, the College gave the government the power to take over the entire property of the College should it "cease to be efficient or should it be managed on disloyal lines". The Commissioner of Dhaka was elected as the President of the Governing Body and as its own representatives, the government appointed Khwajah Muhammad Yusuf and Lt. Col. R. N. Campbell, I.M.S. The College was directed to rent accommodation for no less than 15 Muslim students until the construction of a hostel for Muslims was completed.[6]

By 1908, the programme for exercising control over the private colleges was well in hand. The Eastern Bengal and Assam government gave highest priority to its programme to expand and improve collegiate education. It also gave serious attention to primary and secondary education. But limited financial resources was the main constraint on the way of implementation of the project. In view of this practical limitation, government focused its efforts on those projects which would produce visible results.

The provincial government reorganised and expanded the services charged with inspecting and managing the education system. Government efforts in the field of secondary education were limited by a shortage of trained teachers.[7] Dhaka Normal College was established from provincial government fund - though this project had been undertaken in 1902-1903 the fund allocated for it was spent in other projects in West Bengal. It shows thus that the Partition of Bengal had definitely good impact on education policy. The provincial government gave greater importance to high school which it saw as the main hope for raising the educational level of the Muslims. It was believed that private schools served Hindu interest and government schools were less Hindu oriented.[8] It was ordered to ensure hostel

facilities for Muslim students, and raise proportion of Muslim teachers to 33%.[9] By the time the partition was annulled nearly every government high school had a Muslim hostel.[10] The efforts of the provincial government in the field of primary education was, however, limited. Limited number of primary schools were established from Imperial grants (1905-1906) directly under the management of district board, which would serve as model for aided schools.[11]

The provincial government provided figures at the January 1911 session of the Legislative Council of Eastern Bengal and Assam which showed the results attained. It showed in 1907 that the Muslims held 437 out of 2,982 (14.7%) posts in Commissioner's Offices, district offices, and civil courts in Eastern Bengal. In 1909, the Muslims held 472 out of 2964 (16.9%) posts in these same offices. In 1910 (figures are incomplete), it is shown that the Muslims held 558 out of 3,135 (17.8%) positions. In the Office of Inspector General of Registration the number of Muslims underwent a slight decline during 1907-1910, the Muslims held 318 out of 691 posts (46%), but by 1910 they held 282 out of 627 posts (45%). But they made significant gains in the office of the Director of Public Instruction and Inspector General of Police. Because of this uneven performance, the Muslims held a relatively smaller share of provincial posts in 1910 than they occupied in 1907. In the entire province in 1907 including Assam Valley districts Muslim held 775 out of 3,355 posts (23.1%), in 1909 they held 845 out of 3,810 posts (22%).[12]

One of the reasons for this failure was that many officers expressed aversions to preferring less qualified Muslims to better qualified Hindus even if the former met the minimum standard.[13] Another obstacle was the dearth of qualified candidates; and so as late as 1917, the Bengal government was still facing the problem of working up to a figure of one third (1/3) Muslims in its offices.[14]

In the field of education, objectives of the provincial government achieved greater successes. It gained control of nearly all the private colleges and its programme produced a significant improvement in higher education. The size and the calibre of the staffs were improved. Physical facilities of colleges (government and aided) were better. By the end of 1911, government colleges existed in all of the five divisions of the province.[15] Establishment of Dhaka University after the annulment of the partition was a direct consequence of the education policies of the government of East Bengal and Assam.[16]

Improvement of educational opportunities for Muslims was the goal of provincial government but it was concentrated in the public sector. Provincial expenditures on education increased from Rs. 13,28,123 in 1906-1907 to Rs. 25,33,959 in 1911-1912. The bulk of this increased support went to schools under public management.[17] In 1901-1902 private aided schools received 62% of the direct expenditure from public funds (provincial and local) on education, by 1906-1907 it fell down to 47% and by 1911-1912 it came down to 31%.[18]

During the period 1906-1907 to 1911-1912 the total number of pupil in public institutions increased by 36.7%, but pupil in private institutions fell by 25.3%.[19] Muslims were the greatest gainer in the increased support for government institutions. The number of Muslim students in public institutions increased from 3,64,803 in 1906-1907 to 5,33,333 in 1911-1912. It was more than one and a half time of that of Hindus.[20] In 1906-1907 only 12 Muslims in Eastern Bengal and Assam passed the First Arts examination and only one passed B.A. - which was 4.3% of the F.A. passes for the Province and 2.4% of total number of B.A. In 1911-1912, 73 Muslims passed Intermediate and 15 passed B.A. and B.Sc. and Muslim share of the total passes rose to 11.3% and 9.6% respectively.[21]

But the programme for increasing Muslim employment in government offices largely failed, because of small number of qualified candidates. The employment and education policy of provincial government proved a great source of irritation to the loyal Hindu clerks. The government embittered its opponents and it gravely diminished the standing of the government as an unbiased arbiter between competing social groups. Government had not sought simply to enhance the prospects of admittedly long neglected Muslims, it had sought to prefer Muslims over better qualified Hindus and to radically change the educational system. The political price the government had to pay for this pronounced policy, giving the Muslims their due, proved to be heavy in the days to come.[22]

New Educational Institutions:

One of the most important arguments for Partition of Bengal was that the interest of the neglected East Bengal, specially the interest of the Muslims would be safeguarded. Government policies and measures showed the extent to which such a goal would be reached. In the existing institutions, measures were taken for improvement. Sanctions were made for a scheme for the maintenance and management of new hostels for Muslim students attached to Calcutta Madrasah. Muslim students of colleges affiliated to Calcutta University and Presidency College, were to be accommodated in the hostel. Scarcity of accommodations was one of the important barriers in the field of Muslim education; and these measures went some length in removing the same.

The Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1910-1911, showed that the year under review saw the increase of 900 (nine hundred) educational institutions.[23] The number of secondary schools increased by 2% (32); and 233 new primary schools were established in the same year. Special interest was shown to the Madrasahs and

measures were taken to enable them to adopt new curriculum. A letter from the Joint Secretary to the government of India to the Secretary, government of Bengal, General Department, on 6 July 1911, shows that the Governor General desired to assist local governments with grants to remove illiteracy in India and to extend existing system of primary institution.[24] A hostel attached to School of Engineering, Dhaka, was opened and a wing of it was to be reserved for Muslim students.[25]

At the time of the Partition of Bengal lower primary schools were invariably private institutions of inferior type and so government decided to provide in every few square miles a school of better standard. In the scheme it was decided that every Panchayati union in Eastern Bengal, should be the unit area. The number of union in East Bengal was 4,701, and about 1,303 had good upper primary schools, so, more than three thousand unions needed a school.[26]

Sanctions were made for the establishment of village schools in the several districts of Bengal, Bihar and Cuttack, in which sound and useful elementary instructions were to be imparted in vernacular languages.[27]

The Government of India was considering the creation of a new university because that was an important factor for the educational progress. It was to be a teaching and residential type of university binding together the colleges of a single town. So Dhaka presented itself a suitable centre for a new university. Dhaka had four colleges, many high schools and other educational institutions. There was no representative of Eastern Bengal and Assam in Calcutta University Syndicate (such representation was impossible because regular attendance could never be secured at the numerous Syndicate meetings). Moreover, a separate and accessible centre was needed for the educational progress of Eastern districts. Calcutta University Syndicate had only 6 Muslim members out of 100; so, Muslims of

Bengal needed a University nearer to their doors, in the guidance of which they had a voice, with a Faculty of Islamic Studies. The Governor-General-in-Council decided that a teaching and residential university be established at Dhaka. The Government of India decided to make a recurring grant of Rs. 45,00 and non recurring grant of Rs. 10,00,000 for the initial expenses of the new university.[28] Dhaka was chosen for the university on the following specific grounds: i) The city was already an educational centre; ii) It was in an area which was renowned for intelligence and educational activity of its Hindu population; and ii) It was an important Muslim centre. The scheme was to be framed by a strong and representative committee, with three Muslim members. Their report was to be published and circulated for comments and advice. The Committee was formed on 27 May 1912, and a report was received on 26 December 1912. The Report was sold out at the price of 4 annas per copy. It was decided that the Governor-General-in-Council would take the report for consideration on 15 February of the next year (1913) and would be glad to receive criticisms before that date.

By April 1913, there were about a million boys in primary schools of which 1,70,000 were in primary stage of boys' secondary schools. The following Table 3.1 shows the number of schools at different divisions in different years from 1901-1911.

Table 3.1: Number of Schools (Lower Primary), 1901 - 1911

Division	1901-02	1906-07	1910-11	Progress 1901-06	Progress 1907-11
Presidency	3,646	4,327	4,099	+681	-227
Burdwan	8,169	7,510	7,737	-659	+227
Dhaka	5,648	5,586	5,439	-62	-147
Chittagong	3,002	2,945	2,901	-57	-44
Rajshahi	3,379	3,694	3,661	+315	-33
Total	23,844	24,062	23,887	+218	-175

Source: R. Nathan's note on Primary Education of boys.[29]

Though the number of schools decreased, the number of students increased by 2.5% during these years. The government of East Bengal devoted the larger part of the grant of Rs. 3.5 lakhs of 1905 to a scheme for establishing a network of lower primary board schools, promotion of Muhamedan education and female education. At the time of Partition of Bengal lower primary schools were mostly private institutions of inferior type. So, special care was needed in this field. And the government decided to have a better school in every square miles. According to the law of 1892, the Municipalities were to spend 3.2% of their income on primary education and a few primary schools were managed by municipalities. It was decided to improve elementary education in Municipal areas as well.

Schemes were undertaken to support the Maktabs. Object of the Scheme was to induce them to give an elementary vernacular education. By 1913 one such model Maktab was established (in West Bengal).[30] In East Bengal as there were many Maktabs, when they started to take up secular instructions they tended to become ordinary lower primary schools. There were 1398 Maktabs and in 1910-11 a grant of Rs. 36,583 was made available to them. The

Committee on Muhamedan Education met at Dhaka in 1909-10. Their aim was to induce the Maktabs give sound elementary training with out losing their special characters. Thus there were two different types of organisation in the two parts of the province.

As an outcome of Simla Conference, institutions for training primary school teachers was established. In East Bengal there was one training school in each subdivision. There was one year training course for the existing teachers, and it was two years for fresh candidates. Residential facilities were one of the important factor for growth of Muslim education. Gulam Hussain Cassim asked a question on 26 March 1913 in the Bengal Legislative Council on this issue. He was told that a good portion of the grant of Rs. 10 lakh from Government of India was spent for the hostels for the Muslims. Privately managed colleges were to offer one fifth of their seats to Muslims.

A Committee was formed to advise on organisation and reform of Madrasah in Eastern Bengal. The feelings which actuated the Committee were not merely the sense that the curriculum required some reform, but also the idea that the centre of gravity of Special Muhamedan education should be located in this Province. But the Committee was primarily concerned with the curriculum of Madrasahs and Maktabs. A statement showed high English schools in Bengal Presidency district by district (31 March 1913).

Table 3.2: Number of English High Schools - District by District, 31 March 1913

Sl. No.	District	Number of Schools	Sl. No	District	Number of Schools
1.	Burdwan	31	15.	Jalpaiguri	2
2.	Birbhum	7	16.	Darjeeling	2
3.	Bankura	13	17.	Rangpur	10
4.	Midnepore	23	18.	Bogra	5
5.	Hoogly	32	19.	Pabna	18
6.	Howrah	26	20.	Malda	3
7.	24 Pargana	37	21.	Dhaka	50
8.	Calcutta	57	22.	Mymensingh	27
9.	Nadia	26	23.	Faridpur	29
10.	Murshidabad	17	24.	Bakerganj	20
11.	Jessore	26	25.	Tippera	20
12.	Khulna	22	26.	Noakhali	11
13.	Rajshahi	7	27.	Chittagong	12
14.	Dinajpur	5	28.	Chitt. Hill.Tr.	1
				Total Number of Schools	539

Source: Proceedings of Government of Bengal, General Department (Education), January 1914, pp 101.[31]

The statement shows that in Eastern part of Bengal there were quite a good number of schools. Out of 593 English high schools Eastern Bengal possessed 243. This was the effect of the government policy of extending educational infrastructures in Muslim majority areas.

The General Report on the Progress of Education in Eastern Bengal and Assam during the years 1907-1908 to 1911-1912 gives a vivid description of the educational structure. At the time of

foundation of the Province, the number of colleges were few, accommodation was scanty. The colleges were remodelled, two government colleges were raised in status. There were four government colleges (in Dhaka, Rajshahi, Chittagong, Gouhati) and all of them were of first grade. Of the five aided and unaided private colleges, only two were of first grade. The popularity of improved college education is proved by a remarkable rise in number of students. It increased from 1,197 to 2,989.[32] When the new Province was created Assam and districts of East Bengal were ill provided with facilities for collegiate education. None of the existing colleges were of good standard and the task of bringing them into "up to the standard" was difficult, but it was done. Each division was done educationally self contained. No parent had the need to send his ward elsewhere to procure the highest education which the university offered.[33]

The secondary education in schools of two grades - (a) high schools up to matriculation, and (b) middle schools those stopped about three years short of that stage. These middle schools were divided into two classes - (i) middle English, and (ii) middle vernacular.

English schools, high and middle, had shown steady increase. In 1901-02, their number was 608, in 1906-07 it was 723 and in 1911-12 it went up to 962. Vernacular schools declined during the period. A great majority of them were converted into Middle English Schools. There were 66 English Secondary Schools under public management and number of privately managed English Secondary Schools was 896.

High schools prepared candidates for Matriculation Examination under Calcutta University. Formal inspection of all recognised high schools on behalf of University began during 1907-08

to 1911-12. Number of high schools increased from 212 to 224, but number of students rose from 47,130 to 74,557 (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3: Increase in Number of Schools and Students, 1907-08 to 1911-1912

Name of Division	% of Increase in Schools	% of Increase in Students
Dhaka	18.4%	52%
Rajshahi	2.2%	63.4%
Chittagong	6.2%	83.4%
SurmaValley	remained same	32.8%

Source: Quinquennial Report on Progress of Education in Eastern Bengal and Assam during the Years 1907-08 to 1911-12.[34]

Progress of education did not necessarily depend on the increased number of schools. The attitude of the parents, job opportunity, syllabus, etc. were also important factors for progress in education.

Middle English Schools showed a remarkable increase in numbers. The reason was the growing desire for English education, specially among the Muslims. Majority of these schools were aided ones. The number of government schools was 6, the number of schools under local bodies was 29, aided schools were 412 in number and 291 were unaided schools. Number of students increased from 41,973 to 88,219.

Middle vernacular schools were unpopular and tendency was of further decline, but Dhaka and Assam Valley did not share the decline because there was increasing desire for higher education in any form.

Muslims were taught in ordinary schools but there were special institutions to meet the need of the community to impart denominational education.

a) Madrasah

b) smaller Madrasah
c) middle Madrasah
d) so called Madrasah or Maktabs
e) Quran schools

Proportion of number of students in these special schools decreased which was a clear sign that the prejudice against modern education was dying out. Number of Muslim students had increased from 3,31,900 in 1901-02 to 5,75,667 in 1911-12, but yet the proportion was not reached, proportion of the community was 58.5%.[35] More interesting was the fact that 92% of the Muslims under instructions were under public schools and at lower classes. In primary classes the percentage of enrolment of Muslim students rose to 55.3% by 1911-12, but at the secondary stage it was 36.6% (27.5% in 1907-08). In Arts Colleges it rose from 5.9% to 12% and in Professional Colleges it rose from 8.6% to 12.5%. The number of Muslim candidates also increased and all these facts indicated the growing desire of the Muslims to educate their children in modern lines.

The number of Madrasah did not increase much but the scheme for establishment of middle Madrasah made considerable progress. Middle Madrasahs were nothing but Middle English Schools where Urdu and Arabic were taught up to certain standard. This class of school had done a lot to help forward the cause of Muslim education. The very name 'Madrasah' was powerful enough to overcome the prejudices of begoted parents. Number of semi-secular Madrasahs was increased from 1299 to 1584 as government grant was increased.

Muhamedan Education Committee was formed to formulate recommendations for the development of Muslim education from village Maktabs to postgraduate studies. A slow but steady progress could be noticed. Reservations of few scholarships at every level, free studentship, new hostels were the main reasons for this progress. The number of Muslim officials was also increased.

Proposals were made for the removal of the Calcutta Madrasah, but it was considered a great mistake, so, its improvement and restoration of its status as an Arts College affiliated to University was kept in view.[36]

Report on Public Instruction, 1914-15 mentioned an increase in number of schools and pupil. The Table 3.4 shows that total increase of schools was 1676. There was no increase in the number of arts and professional colleges.

Table 3.4: Number of Schools and Students in Bengal (1913-14 to 1914-15)

Type of Schools	1913-14	1914-15	Increase
High School	596	627	31
Middle School	1,874	1,930	56
Primary School	34,508	35,962	1,454
Special Schools	3,593	3,728	135
		Total Increase	1676

Source: Based on Report on Public Instruction, Bengal - 1914-15.[37]

The same report mentioned an increase of Muslim students (from 7,56,042 to 8,03,589). Proportion of Muslim students increased to 44.8%, but it was much below actual proportion (which was 52%). But the percentage in higher classes was less than in lower classes. The following table illustrates the percentage of Muslim pupil in different level of educational institutions.

Table 3.5: Ratio of Muslim Students at Different Stages of Education, 1914-1915

Type of Institutions	Percentage (%)
Colleges	7.8
High Schools	16.8
Middle Stage	25.3
Primary Stage	44.0

Source: Proceedings of Government of Bengal, General Department (Education), December 1915, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1915, pp. 123-145.

The two tables that follow (Table 3.6 and 3.7) show the number of literate per thousand and indicate that Muslims were lagging far behind the Hindus in all the districts.

Table 3.6: Number of Literate Muslims and Hindus, 1916 (out of thousand)

Division	Hindu		Muslim	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Dhaka	238.8	28.5	60.1	1.5
Presidency	249.8	33.5	96.1	3.2
Burdwan	208.4	11.6	150.4	7.0
Chittagong	262.7	20.1	80.3	2.2
Rajshahi	136.5	9.4	76.7	1.7

Source: Proceedings of Government of Bengal, General Department (Education), September 1916.

Table 3.7: Number of Literate in English

Division	Hindu		Muslim	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Dhaka	36.9	0.6	3.7	0.03
Presidency	62.5	1.8	7.9	0.1
Burdwan	26.5	0.6	12.4	0.4
Chittagong	30.3	0.5	4.6	0.04
Rajshahi	15.4	0.2	3.4	0.02

Source: Report of the Committee (Muhamedan Education Committee) to Consider the Suggestions Made by the government of India.[38] Note prepared by the Assistant Director of Public Instruction for Muhamedan Education for the information of Muhamedan Education Committee, Proceedings of Government of Bengal, General Department (Education), September 1916.

The interesting part of Table 3.6 and 3.7 is that in Dhaka, Chittagong and Rajshahi, the Muslim population was larger, but number of literate Muslims was smaller there than Presidency and Burdwan.

The following table shows the percentage of Hindus and Muslims to total number of students.

Table 3.8: Percentage of Hindus and Muslims in Total Number of Pupil at Various Stages of Instructions in 1916

Type of Schools	% of Hindus to total pupil at Higher Stage	% of Muslims to total pupil at Higher Stage	% of Hindus to total pupil at Middle Stage	% of Muslims to total pupil at Middle Stage	% of Hindus to total pupil at Primary Stage	% of Muslims to total pupil at Primary Stage
Boys' Secondary	84.4	14.8	74.03	25.1	64.5	34.1
Girls' Secondary	80.6	0.8	63.1	3.2	73.1	3.2
Total Secondary	84.4	14.7	73.9	25.0	64.7	33.2
Boys' Primary	-----	-----	84.2	15.7	53.2	44.9
Girls' Primary	-----	-----	66.2	22.7	56.9	40.4
Total Primary for Boys and Girls	-----	-----	71.2	20.5	53.7	44.3

Source: Proceedings of the Government of Bengal, General Department (Education), September, 1916.[39]

The figures from Table 3.8 show that Muslims were not averse to higher schools. But, their percentage to total number of pupil was very small even in 1916. Lower the classes, higher was the percentage. One reason is obvious, as the Muslims started late, they needed sometime to come for higher stages. Another finding is that, that section of the community which took to higher education was poor.

In 1913-14, in 34 Arts Colleges there were only 1,154 Muslim students out of 14,746 students. In professional colleges out of

811 students studying Medicine only 11 were Muslims and out of 320 studying Engineering 7 were Muslims. Number of Muslim students in Technical and Industrial Schools were 96. Reasons for their small number were many: (a) absence of engineering aptitude, (b) prejudice against engineering pursuit as being associated in idea with manual work, (c) unsuitability of the ordinary school education etc. But poverty was one of the main reason and it was suggested often to increase the number of scholarships for Muslims. Number of Muslims in Colleges were gradually increasing and it was difficult for them to get seats and a separate college for Muslims was demanded in Calcutta. One-third of the seats in Presidency College was asked to be kept reserved for Muslims.

The Director of Public Instructions (DPI) informed the Secretary, government of Bengal, on 8 September 1916 that the total increased cost of introducing the new course in government and aided Madrasahs was Rs. 1,33,506, which is shown in the following two tables (Table 3.9 and 3.10).

Table 3.9: Extra Cost for Muslim Education -- Senior Madrasah, 1917

(in Rs.)

Type of Madrasah	Monthly cost before new scheme	Monthly cost after new scheme	Increase per month	Cost of Govt. before new scheme	Increased cost
Govt. Madrasah	2,724	5,160	2,436	2,724	2,436
Aided Madrasah	1,838	4,650	2,812	500	1,825
				Total	4,261

Source: Proceedings of Government of Bengal, General Department (Education), April 1917, p. 195.

The total increased cost of the government per month for senior Madrasah was Rs. 4,261, i.e. per year it was Rs. 51,132. This increased expenditure on senior Madrasah had a good effect on the scenario of Muslim education. When it was made possible to take to university education even with a Madrasah background, the students of these institutions could take advantage of the policy. The next table shows the extra cost for new scheme in junior Madrasah.

Table 3.10: Extra Cost for Muslim Education -- Junior Madrasah, 1917

(in Rs.)

Type of Madrasah	Annual cost of Govt. before new scheme	Annual cost of Govt. after new scheme	Annual increased cost of Govt
Aided Madrasah	12,798	70,452	57,654
Unaided Madrasah	------	24,720	24,720
		Total	82,374

Source: Proceedings of Government of Bengal, General Department (Education), April 1917, pp 195.[40]

Increased expenditure on junior Madrasah with new scheme resulted in the increased number of Muslim students in remote areas, who otherwise would have not been included in the educational institutions. Not only that, with the new scheme they had fare chances of taking to higher education. The total cost for senior and junior Madrasahs amounted to Rs. 1,33,506. The Report on Public Instruction in Bengal showed an increase in the number of institutions and students. The number of public institutions increased was 2,065 and that of private was 33. The number of pupil increased in public institutions was 41,531 and that in private institutions was 3,121. The following two tables compare the number of public institutions and students in the years 1914-15 to 1915-16.

Table 3.11: Comparative Number of Public Institutions, 1914-15 to 1915-16

Types of Institutions	1914-1915	1915-1916
Arts and Professional Colleges	51	48
High Schools	627	635
Middle Schools	1,930	1,935
Primary Schools	35,962	40,410
Special Schools	3,728	1,317

Source: Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1915-1916.[41]

Table 3.12: Comparative Number of Students at Different Stages of Education, 1914-15 to 1915-16.

Types of Institutions	1914-1915	1915-1916	Number Increased
Colleges	15,921	17,226	+1,305
High Schools	1,89,265	1,97,530	+8,265
Middle Schools	1,53,936	1,51,402	- 2,534
Middle Vernacular Schools	24,912	23,094	-818
Upper Primary Schools	1,64,130	1,59,712	-4,418
Lower Primary Schools	8,82,564	9,64,397	+81,833

Source: Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1915-1916.[42]

The analysis of the two tables (3.11 and 3.12) shows that number of increase in the institutions was the maximum at primary level, and maximum increase in student number was also at primary level. Number of colleges decreased but number of students in colleges increased. At middle schools number of students decreased though number of institutions increased. It shows that mere increase in the number of the institutions do not immediately affect in increase in the number of students, but broadening of educational infrastructure is important for educational progress is proved from the later happenings. The number of students in lower primary schools showed the maximum increase, but Maktab students were included in the figures at this stage. Of the boys attending the primary schools 5,50,806 were Hindus and 5,52,589 were Muslims and in the previous year they figured at 5,39,978 and 4,87,259 respectively, which meant a rate of increase of 2.0% for Hindus and 13.4% for Muslims. But Hindus had 32.7% of their school going boys in schools but Muslims had only 28.9% of school going age boys in schools. And of total number of students in schools, 44.9% were Muslims (Muslims were 52.7% of total population). In middle school it was 25.6%, in high school it was 18.3% and in college it was 8.3%.[43]

The number of Madrasah was 250 and in 1915-16 reformed scheme for Madrasah came into force. It was an attempt to bring the system of specifically islamic education more into time with the requirements of modern life. The main problem was not merely getting Muslim boys into high schools but to get them to these schools at such an age and with such attainments in the matter of general education that they can cope up on equal terms with boys of the other communities. And at the beginning this reformed scheme resulted in the fall of number of students as Muslims were not sure, whether this scheme would produce good results.

A resolution was moved by Maulavi A. K. Fazlul Huq in Bengal Legislative Council on 7 August, 1917, demanding reformed

scheme Madrasah for all district headquarters where Muslim population exceeded 30% of the total population.[44] According to him it would be waste of public money to maintain old type of Madrasah. He also proposed for a Muhamedan Arts College at Dhaka. His proposals were not accepted but for the Muslims some concessions were made. One of the conditions of grant in aid was that 25% of the vacancies were to be reserved for Muslims but if there were not sufficient number of first division Muslim candidates, remaining seats were to be opened for non Muslims with first division, but a Muslim with second division was to be given preference over a non Muslim second division.

How the Muslim education grew can be found in the following table. Progress was not steady. It had ups and downs, but if we compare the figures of 1912-1913 to 1916-1917 there was a definite rise in number of students. Dhaka is taken as an example, in other areas of Eastern Bengal Dhaka definitely had an affect.

Table 3.13: The Progress among Muslims and Hindus in Dhaka Division, 1912-13 to 1916-17.

Year	Number of Brahmin	% increased	Number of Non-Brahmin	% increased	Number of Muslims	% increased
1912 -13	28,505	----	1,63,046	----	2,29,972	----
1913 -14	29,112	2.12	1,69,836	4.16	2,36,259	2.73
1914 -15	29,610	1.71	1,70,935	0.64	2,57,775	9.09
1915 -16	30,694	3.66	1,73,389	1.43	2,69,234	4.45
1916 -17	32,653	6.38	1,81,203	4.50	2,83,533	5.31

Source: Statement of O'malley, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, given in answer to question of Babu B. Kishore Roy at the Council meeting, 14 March, 1918, pp 21.[45]

The Quinquennial Review on Education, 1912-13 to 1916-17, showed that 7.2% of the primary schools were under public management, 5.4% of the secondary schools were under public management. Table 3.14 shows the number of institutions according to management.

Table 3.14: Number of Institutions according to Management, 1912-13 to 1916-17.

Type of Institutions	Under private management	Under public management	Total	% under public management
Primary Schools	38,939	3,027	41,966	7.2
Secondary Schools	2,597	159	2,756	5.4
Special Schools	1,216	115	1,331	8.6
Colleges	33	21	54	38.8

Source: Quinquennial Review on Education, 1912-13 to 1916-17.[46]

The number of institution dealing with secondary education was 2,224, but by 1913 it was 2,649, the increase was 19.1%. Number of high schools where English was taught, increased by 201. Number of Middle English schools increased was 389. But number of vernacular schools decreased by 165. Actually secondary vernacular schools were no longer in demand. These increased number of schools were a result of increased demand for education in one hand, on the other hand, this broadened infrastructure caused the increased demand. Normally a poor parent of a remote area would not have imagined to send his ward for education, with school nearby, he could give a second thought. With one child of the family going to school, urge for sending others was enhanced. It resulted in increase in the number of students. The following table makes this point clear.

Table 3.15: Number of Pupil at Different Stages of Secondary Education in 1911-12 and 1916-17.

Year	High English Schools	Middle English Schools	Middle Vernacular Schools	Total
1911-12	1,42,003	1,25,440	32,876	3,00,319
1916-17	2,18,070	1,60,359	21,253	3,99,682

Source: Quinquennial Report on Education, 1912-13 to 1916-17.[47]

At the primary level there was a remarkable increase in the number of Muslim students. In 1911-12 it was 4,66,046 but in 1916-17 it went up to 5,74,407, a rise by 23.2%, but number of Hindu students decreased by 3.9%. This increase was more apparent than real. Because students of secular Maktabs were included. Hindus had 33.3% of their boys of school going age and Muslims had 29.9%, but in the previous quinquennial the figures were 34.8% and 24.4%.[48] The total number of law students was 1,157 in 1912, in 1917 it was 2,912 of which only 207 were Muslims (in 1912 their number was only 66). Medical students numbered 964, in previous quinquennial it numbered 680. In 1917, the number of students in Shibpur Engineering College was 284 and Muslim students numbered 14. There was a great jump in the number of Muslim girl students; it was about 31.9% increase The following table shows the number of increase in Muslim girl students (detail of progress of Muslim girls in education is given in chapter five).

Table 3.16: Number of Muslim Girls at Different Stages in 1912 and 1917.

Year	College	High School	Middle School	Primary School	Special School
1912	1	46	87	76,353	1,796
1917	2	36	205	1,29341	9,989

Source: Quinquennial Report on Education, 1912-13 to 1916-17.

Some special measures were proposed by the government to increase the number of Muslim students in the existing educational institutions.

i) 25% vacancies in all government and aided colleges were to be kept reserved for Muslims.

ii) A certain percentage of vacancies (to be fixed by Head Master) in each year, in each class were to be reserved for Muslims depending on the percentage of Muslims in the local population.

iii) Money from Mohsin fund was to be used for stipends for Muslims and Madrasahs at Dhaka, Rajshahi, Chittagong were to be maintained by government.

iv) At least one Muslim was to be in the staff of every school.

v) 5 special Assistant Inspectors and one Assistant Director for Muhamedan education was appointed.

vi) In all government institutions work was to be suspended for an hour on Fridays for Jumma and so on.

Only 19.7% of the total number of students in high stage were Muslims. In the middle stage it was 24.3% and in the primary stage of school instruction it was 46.6% by the year 1916-1917.[49]

By the year 1918, the number of public institutions increased to 48,302 and increase in number of pupil was 9,402. Of the total number of public institutions 52 were arts and professional colleges, 767 high schools, 2,019 middle schools, 44,110 primary

schools and 1354 special schools. The previous year the total number was 46,104 and so the actual increase was 2,198 , but increase in private institutions was from 2,269 to 2,584 , that is 315.[50]

The number of Hindu pupil in the primary section was 5,63,459 and that of Muslims was 5,98,443 and if compared to the number of Hindu students in the previous year, then it declined by 0.18%, but Muslims increased by 4.2%. In 1917, Muslim students consisted 45.2% of the total students and in 1918 it became 46%, but it was still below the proportion of population. The following table shows percentage of Muslim students at different stages of education. In professional colleges, the percentage was the lowest. It took sometime to make the Muslims interested in professional studies (details in next chapter).

Table 3.17: Percentage of Muslims at Different Stages of Education in 1918.

Arts Colleges	Professional Colleges	High Schools	Middle Schools	Primary Schools
10%	7.2%	20.2%	32%	56.6%

Source: Report on Public Instruction, 1917-18.[51]

It showed that lower the grade the higher was the percentage. The report said that number of Madrasah fell from 281 to 260. A report on progress of education showed that number of institutions (all classes) was 51,701. The Report on Public Instruction, 1918-19 provide information that there was increase in almost all the types of educational institutions, from college to primary schools (Table 3.18).

Table 3.18: Number of Public Institutions in March 1919 Compared to that of in March 1918.

Year	Colleges	High Schools	Middle Schools	Primary Schools	Special Schools
March 1919	53	847	1,966	44,925	1432
March 1918	52	767	2,019	44,111	1354
Number Increased	1	80	-53	814	78

Source: Report of Public Instruction in Bengal for 1918-19.[52]

It is remarkable that there was a decrease in middle schools. Out of the decreased middle schools, 26 were made high schools and 27 middle vernacular schools were abolished because there were no need for those.

Again, in the number of Muslim students in the primary stage there was a rise of 2.3%, but there was a decrease in the total number of Muslim students. It figured to 8,561. The year 1920 was marked by a general decline in school population. But proportion of Muslim students to total number increased, it was 46.0% and became 46.4%. In Arts Colleges it was same 10%, in professional colleges it rose from 7.2% to 8.0%, in primary schools it rose from 50.6% to 51.4% and in special schools from 64.4% to 64.6%. But in high schools it declined from 20.2% to 20.1%, in middle schools from 32.1% to 31.1%.

In primary schools Muslims had made a great advance. In other stages the advance was not really great. The number of educational institutions had increased. As infrastructure was enlarged number of students also increased. Obviously number of Muslims in

school population was also increased. This was possible due to a number of reasons. Government policy had much to do in this regard. Though government fund was limited, more money was allotted for educational schemes. Public Conferences were common, educational questions were freely debated in imperial and legislative Councils.[53] Money was allotted not only for public institutions, grants were distributed for private colleges. Imperial grant of Rs. 1,10,000 was distributed for private colleges during 1911-12.[54] A sum of Rs. 51,248 was placed at the disposal of district boards and municipalities for grant in non board areas.[55] This money was spent for Maktabs. In those days Maktabs were more popular among the Muslims of remote areas and later on when there was the opportunity to switch over from Maktab to general education, these Maktabs served as tributaries to main stream of education.

Break-up of the allotment:

Money for Maktabs in board areas ---------Rs. 43,780
Money for Maktabs in non board areas ----Rs. 1,227
Money for Maktabs in municipalities ----- Rs. 6,241
Total ----------Rs. 51,248

The Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1910-11, showed that expenditure on education increased by Rs. 10 lakhs. Budget grant under "22 education" was Rs. 59,17,000 and actual expenditure as reported by Accountant General Bengal amounted to Rs. 52,21,384.[56] Special non recurring allotment of Rs. 24,50,000 was made for expenditure in connection with education in Bengal.[57] A recurring grant of Rs. 1,50,000 was made by government of India to government of Bengal for the improvement of secondary aided English schools.[58] Imperial grant of Rs. 50 lakhs was announced at the Coronation Darbar on 12 December 1911, as an addition to provincial budget and was to be recurring, for -- popular education. Allotment for Bengal was Rs. 9 lakhs.

Administration, Finance and Curriculum:

For progress of education money was always a big factor, at the same time educational administration was important, specially when monetary constraints were there. Special emphasis is therefore given in this study on administration, finance, and curriculum.

As provincial and local resources were not forthcoming sufficiently imperial grants were utilised for the promotion of primary education only. Government of East Bengal devoted a large part of this grant to a scheme for establishing a network of lower primary board schools, promotion of Muslim education, female education etc.

From the grant of Rs. 50 lakhs announced at the Darbar, Rs. 9 lakhs were alloted to new Bengal.[59] Grants made from provincial revenue in 1913-1914 amounted to Rs. 2,85,000, and was given for primary education. Table 3.19 shows the allocation of the grant district by district.

Table 3.19: Grant from Provincial Revenue, 1913-1914.

Sl. No.	District	Grant for Primary Education (in Rs.)
1.	Dhaka	15,000
2.	Mymensingh	57,000
3.	Faridpur	20,000
4.	Bakerganj	30,000
5.	Chittagong	13,000
6.	Tippera	23,000
7.	Noakhali	25,000
8.	Rajshahi	27,000
9.	Dinajpur	4,000
10.	Jalpaiguri	12,000
11.	Rangpur	20,000
12.	Bogra	24,000
13.	Pabna	12,000
14.	Malda	3,000

Source: Proceedings of Government of Bengal, General Department (Education), November 1914.

The Report on the Progress of Education in Eastern Bengal and Assam during the years 1907-08 to 1911-12 showed that the expenditure on education was Rs. 35,13,709 in 1901-02, it increased to Rs. 51,81,440 in 1906-07, and in 1911-12, the figure became Rs. 80,46,361.[60] During 1901-02 to 1906-07 the increase was Rs. 16,67,731 but in the next five years (1906-07 to 1911-12) it was Rs. 28,58,941. For the Dhaka University project , the estimated cost for the scheme was Rs. 46,83,000 plus Rs. 71,000 of which Rs. 6,88,000 was to be met from the sale of Shibpur College.[61] In the fiscal year of 1914-15, government of India decided to make a non-recurring grant of

Rs. 2,50,000,00 for improvement of education. In Table 3.20 the break-up of non-recurring grant is given.

Table 3.20: Break-up of Non-Recurring Grant of Rs. 2,50,000,00.

Sl.No.	Type of Education	Amount of Grant (in Lakh Rupees)
1.	University	46
2.	Colleges and Secondary Schools	35
3.	Elementary Schools	84
4.	Educational Hygiene, Gymnasium, etc.	25
5.	Manual Instruction	7
6.	Girls' Schools, Technical and Special Schools	25
7.	European Education	28
	Total	250

Source: Proceedings of Government of Bengal, General Department (Education), February 1915.[62]

The total expenditure on public instruction in 1914-15 was Rs. 2,54,34,128.[63] Revised scheme for Dhaka University project showed its expenditure at Rs. 38,40,000.[64] Amount spent for education was increasing every year. The Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1915-1916, showed a total expenditure of Rs. 2,56,78,348 but the previous year it was Rs. 2,54,34,128. Total expenditure on secondary education was Rs. 67,15,120 , it was an increase of Rs. 4,82,671 over the previous year, which was Rs. 62,32,449. Total expenditure for primary education was Rs. 37,17,242.[65] The

Table 3.21 shows an increase in every consecutive year on expenditure for primary education.

Table 3.21: Increase in Expenditure on Primary Schools, 1911-12 to 1916-17.

Year	Money (in Rs.)	Year	Money (in Rs.)
1911-12	26,85,154	1914-15	34,04,979
1912-13	27,97,954	1915-16	37,12,242
1913-14	32,30,570	1916-17	37,97,976
Increase was 41.4%			

Source: Proceedings of Government of Bengal, General Department (Education), September 1916.[66]

This increased expenditure on primary schools helped the healthy progress in primary education. Primary education was the base for development of the educational structure, and at this stage Muslims were achieving progress fast. The Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for 1918-19 showed an increase of expenditure of Rs. 22,64,096. For collegiate education the increase was from Rs. 19,98,661 to Rs. 21,07,604 (an increase of Rs. 1,08,943). for secondary education, money spent was Rs. 80,42,831 out of which Rs. 70,76,894 was contributed from private sources. For primary education money spent was also increased. Share of public fund was increased. By increasing share of public funds government showed there increased responsibility towards the spread of education. The following table shows that as expenditure from public fund was increasing, expenditure from private funds decreased.

Table 3.22: Share of Public Fund, 1916-17 to 1918-19

Year	% of cost met from public fund	% of cost met from private fund
1916-17	43.4	56.6
1917-18	45.6	54.4
1918-19	49.4	50.6

Source: Report of Public Instruction in Bengal, 1918-1919.[67]

Extra money spent for educational purposes was no doubt one of the most important factors for the enlargement of educational infrastructure, but there were other factors for the increased strength of Muslim students, change or modification of syllabus was one such.

It was observed back in 1911 that as provisions for lectures in Arabic and Persian at the Presidency College was better than that of other colleges in Calcutta, greater number of Muslim students sought admission there.[68] So, when the question of attracting more Muslim students towards education was the goal. change in syllabus was a must. Not only that, when the elementary education bill, introduced by Gokhale in the Council, was sent out for opinion, it was opined that, at that time it was more important to spend money on the conversion of colleges and high schools into really efficient institutions so that something like true education could filter down to the masses, than to distribute primary education among the masses.[69] The government was serious about moral and religious instructions in schools though it was feared that it might lead to serious controversy. But it was also opined that, religious and moral instructions in schools might be an added attraction for Muslims.[70]

Syed M. Saadullah wrote on religious and moral education, "Muhamedans will hail it with delight. Muhamedans send their boys at least for two years for religious training, that two years

will be saved . . .".[71] But in India where there was a number of diverse of caste and creed it was difficult to introduce religious education and the report of the committee suggested lessons on conduct was to be added in school books. Manuals were to be prepared to aid teachers in giving moral education, advisory committee for moral and religious instruction was to be formed, etc.[72] When religious instructions were being added to the secular curriculum, Maktabs in East Bengal were taking up secular instructions and tended to become ordinary lower primary schools.[73] The committee on Muhamedan education which met at Dhaka in 1909-10 gave special emphasis on curriculum. Their aim was to induce the Maktabs to give sound elementary training without losing their special characteristics.[74] It was observed that the chief obstacle in the way to Muslim education was the language difficulty. Knowledge of Urdu, Persian and Arabic was required in addition to vernacular. Study of the Quran was insisted before secular education was taken. Text books were sometimes distasteful to Muslim feelings. Encouragement of the Maktabs to adopt secular course was one of the ways out. Facilities for teaching of Urdu was to be given where Urdu was vernacular, framing of special text books, provisions for Muhamedan teachers were also suggested. But it was to be guaranteed that Urdu teaching was to supplement not supersede the teaching of Bengali.[75] The inclusion of Department of Islamic Studies in the Dhaka University scheme was the result of modernisation of Madrasah. By May 1916, revised courses were introduced in Madrasahs of Dhaka, Rajshahi and Chittagong divisions. In Dhaka Madrasah, it was introduced up to Class VII (Ist year senior class), in other divisions, it was introduced in Junior Sections.

There were two separate curricula in East and West Bengal. It was suggested that general curriculum could not be provided for purely islamic subjects; and at the same time the government could not make school curriculum such as to be unacceptable to Muslim parents. It was suggested that school be open for Muslim boys half an hour before the ordinary school time only to allow them to receive

religious instructions from Maulavis. A list of text books was also published for the consideration of Muslims.[76] The demand for English education increased and English side of the Madrasah gradually developed into High Schools. These High Schools met the special needs of the Muslim boys. Anglo-Persian departments of Dhaka and Chittagong Madrasah became government Muslim high schools and were placed under Inspector of Schools. It was suggested that model agricultural schools, technical and industrial schools should be open for sons of artisans (who were mostly Muslims).[77] It was also found that good number of Muslims had taken Sanskrit as their second language as that was easier than Persian and Arabic.[78] It was a clear indication that society was not objecting to a Muslim learning Sanskrit, but it was expected that a Muslim boy should read Arabic, Urdu or Persian. The method of teaching these languages was difficult, and it was suggested that a thorough training to the Maulavis and Mianjis in the modern method of teaching Arabic, Persian and Urdu should be arranged. It was also suggested that Urdu should be recognised by the University as a second language whose vernacular was not Urdu, and Arabic and Persian courses should be modified. Muhamedan Educational Conference at Burdwan (22 and 23 April 1916) also suggested that Bengali should be included as a subject of study, alternative with Urdu in the junior classes of Anglo-Persian and Arabic Department of Calcutta Madrasah.[79] These changes in the syllabus made education more attractive to the Muslims; and the number of them seeking education swelled gradually.

During this period, some administrative changes were made which helped in the advancement of education. It was suggested that elaborate reports from the inspectorates were not necessary as they were no more considered as the sole sources of information. Public conferences were common by 1911, educational questions were freely discussed and debated in the legislative councils. It was decided that educational statistics with a summary be published and presented with the Imperial Budget.[80] The Government of India made queries on

educational administration because it was an important factor for educational progress. In Bengal, Commissioners were consulted by the education department on all important questions. Co-operation of executive officers and educational authorities helped the progress of education. Director of Public Instructions had personal access to the Lt. Governor and to the Member in-charge of education. Correspondence between the secretariat and DPI were carried on by unofficial reference to make it more prompt and convenient.[81]

New administrative posts were being created for education department. In 1912, three additional posts were created in Indian Education Service, four new posts were created in Provincial Education Service. In subordinate education service the number of new posts were 15. Extensive delegation of powers from government to DPI and from DPI to subordinate officers was made to avoid duplication of work and to economise time and labour.[82] In order to have good and trained teachers, it was decided to increase the pay of the teachers. New teachers training schools were to be opened for the same purpose.[83]

On the basis of the proposals from a Muslim deputation that had waited upon the viceroy, it was decided that a special official, Assistant Director of Public Instruction, in addition to other duty, should have control over special educational organisations that have sprung into being in Eastern Bengal. He should be given the powers to initiation , expenditure and control with respect to educational institutions of all classes in Eastern Bengal independent of the Director at Calcutta. The special officer was to be an European member of Indian Education Service. Muslims would not welcome any scheme which favour Madrasah at the expense of high school and college education. It was decided that the special officer should not be confmed to Muslim institutions. He should acquaint himself thoroughly with Muslim needs and difficulties to point out how obstacles could be removed. He should be given the power of

initiation and control and should correspond directly with the DPI. He should be a member of the governing body of the Calcutta Madrasah and also be made a member of governing body of proposed Dhaka University.[84]

To improve the standard of primary education, board schools were required to serve as models. Abolition of aided system was not possible but measures were taken to have a network of schools managed directly by the boards throughout the province.[85] In this context, conception and promulgation of Sir Archdale - Eartes scheme during 1909-1910 was very important, its object was to improve general education of Muslims. In 1916, it was decided that Maktabs were to be showed as 'Primary' and not as other schools. Recognised secularised Maktabs were to be controlled by district boards and municipalities and subsidised from their funds for primary education.[86] Over the years more powers were delegated from the DPI to his subordinate officers. For extension of primary education decentralisation in respect of making grants to municipality was also suggested.[87]

One very important aspect of this fluid state of education was the gradual change of character of some educational institutions. The Dhaka Madrasah and Chittagong Madrasah were started purely as an Arabic institution but as demand for English education increased English teachers were appointed. and English side developed into a complete high school. These high schools (Government Muslim High School) were specially adapted to the needs of Muslim boys: (i) instruction through Urdu; (ii) special provision for teaching Arabic; and (iii) the members of the staff as far as possible were Muslims. Anglo-Persian department would gain if it were under the same control as other government high schools and so it was suggested that Anglo-Persian department should become a separate institution from the Madrasah. The departments were shifted to new compound. It was further suggested to call these institutions as Dhaka Government

Muslim High School and Chittagong Government Muslim High School and were to be placed under the supervision of a managing committee.[88]

The Special Officer was to deal with the Muslim education as distinct from general educational system, but as Assistant Inspector they were to work under the Inspector who might not be sympathetic to Muslim cause. And so, it was suggested that he be given post or status of Additional Inspector, and the right to correspond directly with the DPI.[89] There was to be one Assistant Inspector for Muslim education in each division, one special Sub-Inspector in each district and if there were more than 90 Maktabs, another Assistant Sub-Inspector of schools was to be provided.[90] This Muslim supervision, it was expected, would encourage and attract the Muslims towards education. In order to safeguard the Muslim interest representation of Muslims in committees related with educational administration were to be increased.

The Reformed Madrasah Scheme was an attempt to bring a system of specifically 'Islamic Education' more in line with the requirements of modern life. But in Chittagong it resulted in a heavy fall in the numbers of students attending the Madrasah and the establishment of private Madrasahs teaching old courses. General improvement in high schools was slow because of low wages and complete absence of prospect of the teachers in secondary schools. No man with an M.A. ever wanted to be a school teacher, and Muslim B.A. were unavailable on the salaries fixed. The domination of University Matriculation over the curriculum, absence of acknowledged law etc. were also important factors in the situation.[91] Proportion of unaided high school was higher even in 1911 than in 1912, and this fact was significant. Table 3.23 shows number of schools and their management.

Table 3.23: Number of Schools and Their Management

Schools	Public Management	Private Management
High	45	653
Middle English	48	1554
Middle Vernacular	46	303

Source: Quinquennial Review on Education, 1912-13 to 1916-17.[92]

Schools under private management outnumbered schools under public management. Government had little control over these private schools, and this affected standard of education adversely. There were suggestions to broaden the basis and aim of secondary education. It was to be the basis of all professional and industrial employment; not only for passing of Matriculation Examination. Primary education was to contain in itself germs of growth, again it was presumed that a great many of the students would never proceed beyond this stage. So, it was to possess two qualifications of being suitable base for further educational progress and of being sufficient in itself to meet the actual needs of cultivation or of industrial worker. Certain administrative measures were taken to foster the Muslim education during 1916-1918 like 25% vacancies in all government and aided colleges were reserved for Muslims. Certain seats were reserved in each class of the school according to the percentage of the Muslim population, a Muslim element in the staff of school was insisted on. Classes were suspended for an hour on Fridays for Jumma prayer, non-collegiate hostels were opened for Muslim students in Calcutta etc.[93]

Though progress of Muslim education was to be helped, the standard of teaching efficiency was not to be lowered to re-adjust the balance between the Hindus and Muslims.[94] It was proposed to set up a special Board for Dhaka, because the 1st and 2nd Year classes of

the Calcutta University courses which were held in colleges with in Dhaka University area would automatically lose affiliation of the Calcutta University. It was desired that at least an organisation be created to recognise and supervise the working of high schools and colleges in Dhaka University area.[95]

Muslim community - Awareness for Educational Advancement:

One of the most important factors for enlargement of educational infrastructure and increased number of Muslim students was the awareness of the community. Muslim leaders were vocal in demanding privileges. This awareness came slowly. From the time of Abdul Latif and Ameer Ali, educated Muslims were aware of the need for education for their community. But it was limited among the educated class and confined to cities. It took a long time to spread this awareness among the masses. Muslims were making reasonably good progress at primary level, and were aware for the need of a extended infrastructure at higher levels. Muslim leaders were quite anxious that no money should be misused.

The Elementary Education Bill was introduced by Mr. Gokhale, non official member of the Governor General's council, the object of which was to provide for the gradual introduction of the principle of compulsion into the elementary education system of the country, was criticised by Nowab Abdur Rahman Khan Bahadur, Secretary, Muhamedan Literal Society. He wrote, "The Committee of Muslim Literal Society are opposed to the provisions of the Bill . . . for as Muhamedans are concerned, they are of the opinion that no such enactment is required by the Muhamedan community, as it is likely to interfere with the higher education of the Muhamedans the development of which is of supreme importance."[96] Maulavi Abdus Salam, Secretary, National Muhamedan Association did not oppose

the Bill, but suggested some safeguards to protect the Muslim interest.[97] Affluent class of Muslim society was eager to help the community in educational advancement. One Maulavi Shamsul Alam made an endowment to give prize to the best student who failed to get scholarship after Matriculation.[98] It showed that where government help was not enough, the affluent class came forward to help out the Muslim student who could not withstand the competition.

In Governor General's council meeting of 18 March 1912, Nawab Saiyid Hossain Haider suggested steps to prevent frequent changes in the text books as that would be a financial burden on guardians and would hamper the educational progress of the Muslims.[99] Inadequate Muslim holidays might discourage the Muslims from sending their boys to school, and this was pointed out by Muslims.[100] There were hot discussions over the syllabus and text books at different stages. Muslim boys used to go to the mosques before attending schools, and thus they were late in the race of life. Muslim leaders suggested inclusion of religious instruction by Muslim teachers three days a week to attract Muslim boys and also suggested that Maktabs should take the place of general schools.[101] Adequate representation in Senate, Syndicate and Board of Studies etc. were also claimed by the Muslims. When the Vice-Roy visited Dhaka, a deputation waited upon him and requested him that an Assistant Director of Public Instruction in the Indian Education Service to look after Muhamedan education.[102] Muslim leaders were conscious about the deplorable condition of their educational system and were eager to reform the system. The government of Bengal desired to co-operate and devote larger sums to the purpose. Muslim leaders realised that the future of the Muslim community lies in the ordinary schools and colleges. Special Officer for Muslim education, therefore, was to be acquainted thoroughly with the Muslim needs and was to point out how to remove the obstacles, Maktabs and Madrasahs were not to be his only look out.[103]

Need of education was felt so deeply that even the middle class Muslims came forward with their small help. Muslim officials of the Settlement Department, Faridpur, raised a fund for the assistance of Muslim education. This gesture was highly appreciated by the Governor.[104] Donations made by rich Muslims was also not uncommon. Chowdhury Muhammad Ismail of Barisal made a large endowment for the purpose of Muslim education. He mentioned in his letter that Muslims lost the wealth and influence which they once possessed because of their backwardness in education. But when they realised it, they found that many of them could not bear the cost of education.[105] The fellow feeling and sympathy showed was inherited from the Muslim tradition. Education in pre-British India was always helped by Muslim Kings, high officials and Zamindars. When this affluent class declined, and the East India Company did not come out with help in this regard, the Muslim educational infrastructure almost broke down. The Christian missionaries lent a hand, but for certain reasons Muslims could not reciprocate. The Muslims had a psyche tampered very much by their religion, that negated a favourable response to the overtures of the missionaries. But at the beginning of 20th century when again Muslim affluent class came out with their money signalled for some positive changes in the dismal educational scenarios of Muslims.

R. Nathan's note on primary education wrote, Numerical progress in Eastern Bengal was very greatly assisted by the feeling in favour of education which has passed in a wave over the Muhamedan population.[106] We find three Muslim Divisional Inspectors of Schools out of fifteen from 1896 to 1913; they were Khan Bahadur Maulavi Muhammad Ibrahim, Maulavi Abdul Karim and Khan Bahadur Maulavi Ahsanullah. These persons definitely played an important role in the progress of education.[107] Moreover, Muslim leaders of the Bengal Legislative Council were vocal. Many facts were brought to light by their questions in the Council which gave clear picture of the scenario of the Muslim education. Many policies were taken by the

government as a result of their hammering demands. In answer to the question of Mr. Gulam Hussain Cassim Arif on 26 March 1913, J. H. Keer, Secretary, Government of Bengal, gave a statement which showed that, out of 263 teaching staff only 63 were Muslims, out of 76 Inspecting Staff 36 were Muslims. The statement further showed that percentage of Muslims passed in examinations was little. Remedies were demanded and suggested. As a result, a sign of progress was noticed in the educational arena of Muslims.

Progress Achieved:

Progress was achieved by the Muslims in education during the period under review in this chapter. The following tables (3.23, a, b, c and d) show a numerical growth of Muslim education. But it was not enough to meet the demand of the age.

Table 3.24: (a) Number of Muslims Passed in 1905 Entrance Examination

Total Number of Students Passed	3,021
Number of Muslims Passed	206 (6.8%)
Muslims Passed in Bengal	188
" " Assam	7
" " Central Province	1
" " Central India	1
Burma	9

(b) Number of Muslims Passed in 1910 Matriculation Examination

Total Number of Students Passed	2,833
Number of Muslims Passed	203 (7.8%)
Muslims Passed in Bengal	105
" " East Bengal and Assam	94
" " Burma	4

(c) Number of Muslims Passed in 1911 Matriculation Examination

Total Number of Students Passed	4,341
Number of Muslims Passed	421 (9.7%)
Muslims Passed in Bengal	242
" " East Bengal and Assam	174
" " Burma	5

(d) Number of Muslim Students Successful at University Examination in 1911-12, Compared to the Number in 1906-07

Name of Examination	1906-1907	1911-1912
M.A.	5	10
B.A.	10	36
B.Sc.	----	4
Intermediate	54	106
Matriculation	123	261

Source: Proceedings of Government of Bengal, April 1913.[108]

Maulavi A. K. Fazlul Huq said, while moving two resolutions regarding Muslim education, "I have no faith in any policy of separatism . . . Muhamedan community is far from being in line with the other advanced communities of this country. They have required and for some time will require some help, encouragement and assistance in educational matters."[109]

The Report on the Progress of Education, 1907-08 to 1911-12, on Muslim education commented that until less than a decade ago the question of Muhamedan education throughout Bengal was one of the greatest difficulties but of late a new spirit of progress has made itself manifest . . . everyone is struck by the awakening of the Muhamedans to the need of education.[110]

We find Muslim names quite often in petitions demanding schools (not only Madrasah) in different parts of East Bengal. Even Shahshahib of Azimpur supported the petition which demanded high school at Dhaka. It showed how interested he was for English education. Leading Muslim leaders of Bengal repeatedly expressed their desire for a general reform of Madrasah. Proposals were made at different time. The committee which was appointed to frame a scheme for the University at Dhaka took into consideration the Madrasah curriculum. It was assumed that complete introduction of the scheme would take four years. It was to be brought into operation in the government and aided Madrasah from April 1915.[111] As number of educated Muslims was not much, representation proposed for convocation and council was in adequate. This fact was raised and argued that as Muslims were inferior to Hindus in educational matters it was all the more necessary to give them adequate representation from the very beginning.[112] Muslims were gradually being interested in technical education. Questions were being asked about the number of Muslim students at Shibpur Engineering College and Dhaka School of Engineering.[113]

It was complained quite often that Inspectors were unsympathetic towards Muslims and so Muslim schemes were not accepted. J. A. Tylor, one of the members of the committee to consider the suggestions made by the Government of India regarding education of Muslim and other matters concerning the educational welfare of that community, explained the situation by saying "reasons why schemes are build up is that Muhamedans are uneducated . . . not able to put up their schemes. The Inspector of Schools are overworked and takes up schemes which came up to him well worked out." He suggested that special officers should help the local people to work out their schemes properly, and then use their influence with the Inspectors.[114]

The note prepared by the Assistant Director of Public Instructions for the information of Muhamedan Education Committee said that "enlightened members of the community realised that there is nothing antagonistic to the principles of Islam in an education given through the medium of English and vernacular. It shows they are anxious for a system of education which will enable them to preserve their social and religious independence."[115] The problem of Muslim education was three fold. There was financial constraints and so it was not possible to set up a separate educational system for Muslims but a part of the Muslim community continued to regard general institutions with suspicion and would not come to these institutions. This group was quite big, and could not be ignored. A policy for fostering Muslim education was to be planned, keeping these problems in mind. A committee was set up to reform the Madrasah and secular education was introduced in Maktabs. Khan Bahadur Maulavi Muhammad Ibrahim, Additional Inspector of Schools, suggested a simpler Bengali Literary Reader, and also suggested that at least one member of the managing committee of each Zilla School must be a Muslim and in aided high schools, Muslim members of the committee should be proportionate to the number of Muslim students.[116] All these were safety measures for Muslim interest in educational system.

Khan Bahadur Fazle Rabbee pointed out that the proportion of Muslims declined as the higher stages were approached, because of poverty and demanded free studentship and scholarships. Poverty was also the reason for small number of Muslim students in medical and engineering, and special facilities were demanded.[117] As cultivators became more prosperous, they spent more money on litigation, and felt that they would fare better if there were more Muslims in the Court and realised that more of their boys should go through the university courses and become pleader and government officers.

Maulavi Kazi Shafiuddin Ahmed, Secretary, Muhamedan Association of Bagerhat, while asking for the construction of a Muslim hostel said, " . . . In recent years a move in the right direction has been perceived. Fifteen years ago there were six Muslim students in the only high school, now this town has two more new schools and total number of Muslim students is 191 . . . Poverty and want of accommodations are the foremost among hindrances . . . a boarding house at Bagerhat will at least double the Muhamedan population in the local schools." He mentioned that a sum of Rs. 3,588 - anna 0 - paisa 9 was collected from Muslims and one single person Syed Showkat contributed Rs. 2,000.[118]

Maulavi A. K. Fazlul Huq while moving a resolution in Bengal Legislative Council on 7 August 1917, said, "Old type Madrasahs are out of date and it is waste of public money to perpetrate them. . . . the difficulty in the way of Musalman student begins after he has gone through the elementary course of education. As he goes higher up he meets with obstacles in his way and the reason for that is that he is generally poorer than brother students of other communities; and there are certain other obstacles which stands in his way more than in the way of those of other communities. One way in which we can effectively further the cause of Muhamedan education is by an increase, to begin with, in the number of institutions approximating to

the type of secondary schools. The Madrasah that I recommend will have the double advantage of leading up these boys to colleges, as also of imparting to them a thorough grounding in their own classics so as to lay the basis for a type of education in which the best that is in the East and the West will be intermingled and happily blended." Fazlul Haq withdrew the resolution but made a small but interesting speech. He knew what controversy would lead to and so thought it better to be thankful for small mercies. He did not hesitate to say that, though claimed that much money was spent for the spread of Muslim education, it was not true. Much larger amount could be spent for that purpose. He pointed out that members of all committees were unanimous in thinking that special facilities be given to them to foster the cause of their education.[119]

In the same session Dr. Abdullah A. Mamun Suhrawardy said that he was against denominational college or university because in the battlefield of life they would have to compete with non Muhamedans. Fazlul Huq's arguments were from a different perspective. In order to bring the Muslims up to a level with other advanced communities some concessions were to be given to them. Other communities could very well take care of themselves. As hundreds of Muslim boys could not find admission into the colleges, a Muslim Arts College was very much needed.[120]

The above discussion indicates the progress of Muslim education from 1911 to 1920 both in terms of quantity and quality. There was a marked increase in the number of educational institutions of primary, secondary and tertiary levels as well as of the intake of Muslim pupils at these institutions. The qualitative change thus registered in the Muslim education scenario in Bengal was the cumulative result of a number of conducive factors that included changed official policy under the exigencies of circumstances, philanthropic contributions of the well-to-do Muslims; and the changed psyche of the Muslims as a disadvantaged community.

As the Muslims of the new generation sought Western education their traditional system of education provided by Maktabs/Madrasahs underwent a modernisation process with much of their curricula secularised. It appears from the discussion that despite much euphoria and available logistic support the quantitative progress was registered more at the primary than at the secondary and tertiary levels. A phenomenon such as this may be explained by the fact that this was the case of a community that started late and would certainly take time to move up the higher stages of education.

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Detail of the Dacca University Scheme can be seen in the same Proceedings.

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Opinion of Sheikh Abdul Jabbar and Sree Sabad Ali on religious and moral instructions in schools. A circular was issued on the question of religious and moral instructions in schools. A number of replies were forwarded by P. R. T. Gurdon, Commissioner, Assam Valley Districts. Muslim leaders like Maulavi Azhar Hussain Khanbahadur and Maulavi Dirajuddin Ahmed, Sub-Deputy Collector, were of the opinion that religious instruction was not practicable and must be left to guardians. Maulavi Muhammad Ismail of Mymensingh was also of the same opinion. *See* pp. 38, 40 and 110 of the same Proceeding (July 1912). It shows that modern ideas were coming up from Muslim leaders or was it that, members of Muslim community realised the need for general education? Muslims who could not imagine "education without religion" were ready to accept education for the sake of education leaving religion as a domestic affair.

Maulavi Alimuzzaman Chowdhury of Belgachi was in favour of religious instructions, but pointed out the problem of expenditure involved.

Maulavi Kamaluddin Ahmed of Chittagong suggested in the same way for religious instructions like arrangements in hostels for religious

studies (*see* pp. 192-193 of the Proceeding). These opinions show that even if Muslims were very serious about religious education they were ready to compromise. This changed attitude was the main force behind the progress achieved by the Muslims in the educational arena.

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Chapter Four

Dyarchy and the Muslim Education 1921-1935

In 1921, India underwent an administrative change. The announcement made by Montagu on 20 August 1917, was, " . . . The policy of His Majesty's government is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire."[1] As a result in 1921, the responsibility for education in the governor's provinces was transferred to ministers, responsible to legislative council. Very wide powers were given to the council to enable it to exercise its responsibility for the " transferred departments". According to the Government of India Act the council could assent or refuse its assent to a demand or reduce the amount of demand. The power of the governor to intervene was limited.[2] As a result of the reforms thus initiated, Hon. P.C. Mitter, the first education minister for Bengal took charge on January 1921.[3] The ministers in all provinces were very enthusiastic. They were under continued pressure of public opinion and were assisted by legislature which readily voted progressively increasing grants for education in their desire to remove the national reproach of illiteracy.[4]

But somehow progress of education or literacy was not much. Ministers embarked almost everywhere on large schemes of quantitative expansion, as if some sort of school and some sort of instruction, however insufficient, was better than no school or no instruction at all.

The Primary Education Act of 1919 empowered the municipalities to levy a cess amounting to the sum required for primary schools after deducting the government grant. But in Bengal, the control of education can scarcely be said to have been handed over to local bodies to any appreciable extent. District boards and municipalities maintained and managed very few secondary schools, and the effective control by government over secondary education was in no way limited by powers possessed by local bodies.[5] Even in the sphere of primary education local bodies in Bengal played only a small part. Out of 53,000 primary schools, they managed only 4,000. District Boards, Municipalities and Union Boards were encouraged to open and maintain an increasing number of primary schools but they were not charged with the duty of generally controlling primary education. But under the Primary Education Act of 1919 and Amending Act of 1921 they were charged with the duty of submitting to government schemes for the provision of schools for the education of all children of school going age and for the assumption of the direct management and control of all such schools. Recognition of primary schools were granted by education department through the inspecting officers and no local body maintained an inspecting staff. So in Bengal, government was mainly responsible for the organisation and the control of primary education.[6]

Directors of Public Instructions were loyal and enthusiastic, but were grappling with immense responsibilities without sufficient support. Even when money was gladly voted for education, expected result was not found. Improvement and expansion of education depended not merely on money. Money was essential but even more essential was well directed policy carried out by effective and competent agencies, determined to eliminate waste of all kinds. Divorce of the government of India from education was unfortunate. The Auxiliary Committee appointed by the Indian Statutory Commission was of the view that, "education is essentially a national service, we are of the opinion that steps should be taken to consider

anew the relation of the central government with this subject."[7] They suggested that central government should not serve only as a centre of educational information for the whole of India but it should share the responsibility for the attainment of universal primary education. The report went on, "we have not suggested, nor do we suggest that responsibilities of ministers in the provinces should be reduced . . . We are of the opinion that they have been reduced too much already by a devolution on local bodies which has taken the control of primary education to a large extent out of their hands, with unfortunate results."[8]

Educational administration was reorganised. Indian Educational Service was divided into two cadres, each divided into three branches - (a) Administration, (b) Collegiate and (c) Special on the 1st December 1919. It was realised that the purely literary education which had so long been imparted no longer offered the chance of a decent livelihood. Demand for a system which would hold out better prospect grew more and more. There were proposals for curriculum changes as well. It was decided that engineering and medical education of Dhaka University was to be improved. Ahsanullah School of Engineering was to be developed into a college and was to provide degree course. Schemes for establishment of medical college was being prepared.[9]

A committee was set up for advancement of technical education which submitted certain recommendations. Six new vocational courses which would open new avenues of employment was suggested.[10] Director of Agriculture, Bengal attributed large proportion of unemployment amongst Bhadrolok purely literary instruction in the schools as it resulted in the rush of country boys to town. He suggested the introduction of agriculture as a vocational subject in schools as was practised in the Punjab.[11] A draft for the Bengal (rural) Primary Education Bill was framed proposing the levy of an education cess of one anna in the rupee of rent on the lines of the

roads and public works cess. The Bill dealt with the rural areas and was destined to go a long way towards free primary education for all boys up to eleven years of age. In 1910, 32% of the boys of school going age were at school, in 1925 the percentage was only 35.[12] So something more was to be done than what was being done, this was the idea behind the Bill. Primary education was no doubt essential for nation building, agricultural development, and for fighting diseases and so on. The Bill was confined to rural areas, for under the Primary Education Act the municipalities had enough power to enforce taxation for the advancement of primary education. Not only that strength of Bengal was its rural population and so their education was the keystone of development. There were much debate over the question of taxation and government funding over the number of school, school going age etc. But everybody was eager to see that government was doing something for the spread of education.

Constitutional changes of 1921 followed by subsequent administrative change had quite a remarkable effect on the growth of education. The period of our study was also marked by some political incidents which impacted on the educational arena. Transfer of education to Province coincided with the non co-operation movement. The withdrawal of pupil from government and aided institutions, withdrawal of recognised institutions from all forms of government control and aid, erection of parallel structure of national education were recommended by Gandhi. It had adverse effect. But it served a useful purpose by helping create a public opinion in favour of practical and vocational education. Wider and real demand for vocational education became eminent due to the belief that practically and vocationally trained men would easily fit into the economic structure and thus could be expected to be valuable members of the society.[13] The concept of large educational institution carried on without help from government was a distinct contribution to the future. The Bengal Pact of 1923, though not directly, but indirectly affected the arena of Muslim education. Following the collapse of non co-operation

movement some Hindu elite of Bengal under the leadership of C. R. Das, went for council entry in 1923 with the policy of wrecking the reforms from inside the legislature. Some of the younger Muslim leaders like Fazlul Huq, Abul Kashem and Abdullah Al Momen Suhrawardy were not in favour of agitational politics; they were well disposed to the safe course of constitutional and elitist politics. The Act of 1919 convinced them that Muslim interest could best be served by taking advantage of the new reforms which had raised the numbers of Muslims voters in the legislative council election. They dropped out of the anti-British agitation in favour of legislative politics which they believed could mend the social imbalance in a orderly way. C. R. Das could read the significance of the rising power of the Muslims. "A sense of accommodation and appeasement inspired him to take the lead in crafting the Bengal Pact in 1923 with an intent to give the Muslims a fair deal."[14] The Pact assured the Muslims of a number of major concessions on the attainment of Swaraj in return for their support of the swarajist strategy of wrecking the reforms of 1919. The Pact had promised the Bengali Muslims separate electorates, representation on all elective bodies and also a share of jobs in government departments and local bodies on the basis of population.[15] This was a great incentive for Muslim for education. When the All India Congress Central Committee rejected the Pact it came as a rude shock to the reconcilable Muslim leadership, but enthusiasm for education was even greater. It was felt that education was the only weapon by which they can fight out their share in every field.

It was hoped that tremendous educational activities would follow the transfer of education to popular control, but it did not. It was checked not only by Noncooperation movement but financial stringency was also an important factor. Reformed government started on its career with a deficit of over Rs. two crores between its estimated recurring income and expenditure for which it was considered necessary to provide in the budget.[16] Financial difficulties made it difficult for the new Bengal government to deal

effectively with educational problem. The Report of the Calcutta University Commission suggested a complete reorganisation of the whole provincial system of higher and secondary education, but the reconstruction demanded expenditure which was beyond the resources of the government.

By the 1920s enthusiasm among people was created for education. Education became a transferred subject, legislature was keen to grant money as much as possible, for education ministers were enthusiastic, officers in the education department were hard working, above all, public opinion was strong in favour of educational progress, but a survey of educational arena shows a gloomy picture.

Primary and Secondary Education (1921-1935):

Rapid extension of primary education was a pressing need. "The present system is defective in quality and is unsatisfactory in result" was the comment in the statement exhibiting Moral and Material Progress of India.[17] Children used to learn to read and write for 2-3 years and when went back to work all attainments were forgotten, only cure would have been introduction of compulsory system under which they could be retained in school until Primary Course was completed. Proposals for a rapid extension of primary education was prepared and large allotments were made to local bodies but progress was slow. Table 4.1 and 4.2 give us a picture of the condition of primary and secondary education that existed in 1910-11 to 1919-20, showing the number of schools, their management and number of students.

Table 4.1 : Number of Primary and Secondary Schools under Different Management, with Number of Students from 1910-11 to 1919-20.

Year	Under Public Management Schools		Under Private Management Schools		Under Public Management Pupil		Under Private Management Pupil	
	Prim.	Sec.	Prim.	Sec.	Prim.	Sec.	Prim.	Sec.
1910-11	597	230	37,892	1,368	28,364	25,962	10,48,464	1,55,262
1911-12	1,584	146	33,602	2,171	74,096	22,565	10,60,660	2,65,675
1912-13	2,073	147	32,832	2,225	95,570	24,280	10,49,196	2,92,627
1913-14	2,595	147	31,913	2,323	1,20,292	25,124	10,05,351	3,23,783
1914-15	2,933	146	33,209	2,411	1,33,418	25,262	10,28,354	3,42,484
1915-16	3,017	148	37,393	2,440	1,35,067	25,108	11,36,328	3,45,092
1916-17	3,027	150	38,393	2,606	1,30,847	25,465	11,73,248	3,65,219
1917-18	3,046	157	41,065	2,635	1,27,955	24,744	12,10,879	3,72,347
1918-19	3,065	157	41,860	2,662	1,21,232	23,926	12,09,834	3,69,918
1919-20	3,102	146	43,138	2,654	1,20,555	22,424	12,08,664	3,62,696

Source: Proceedings of the government of Bengal, Education Department, April 1921.[18]

Table 4.2 : Number of Primary, Middle Vernacular, Middle English and High Schools in Bengal in 1921

Sl. No.	Type of School	Managed by Govt.	Managed by Local Boards or Municipal Boards	Aided by Govt. or Municipal or Local Board	Unaided	Total
1.	Primary	182	2,920	35,526	5,612	44,240
2.	Middle Vernacul.	1	36	231	20	288
3.	Middle English	8	51	952	598	1,609
4.	High School	47	3	312	541	903

Source: Proceedings of government of Bengal , April 1921.[19]

The two tables given above do not show much change in the number of schools, but provide a comparative picture of different types of schools. The aided schools, both of government and board, were preponderant in number. But in the case of high schools the picture was different. Though government high schools were more in number than board schools the aided schools numbered less than the unaided ones. In primary education, on 31 March 1914, there were 10,27,654 pupil of which 4,61,711 were Muslims and at that time the ratio of Muslim population was more than 50% in Bengal. But figures of 1919 show that 7,10,554 out of 13,84,201 were Muslims.[20] This figure corresponded to the Muslim percentage of the total population (52.7%). So it can be said that an advance, both actual and relative, was made in primary education during these years. There were suggestions to encourage Maktabs to adopt secular courses. The policy was carried out throughout Bengal with success. Contribution from public fund towards secularised Maktabs rose in 1918-19 from

Rs. 2,98,004 to Rs. 4,15,741. District Boards were enabled to aid Maktabs at a 50% higher rate than that of Primary Schools.[21] The Report on the Public Instruction in Bengal 1920-21 reveals that there were 47,772 primary schools with 14,56,865 pupil, some pupil were attending the primary section of secondary schools. Of these 5,37,398 were Hindu and 6,20,469 were Muslim. Number of Hindu rose by 5,294 (0.9%) and Muslim by 21,962 (3.6%).[22] General conditions of primary schools in Bengal remained unchanged. Millions of boys went on without any education. Only 5.09% of Hindus and 5.06% of Muslims attended primary schools. Something more was to be done. Primary Education Act was not very successful as public feeling was against local taxation. A complete system of primary education was to be, to a very considerable extent, financed by government.[23]

Retrenchment Committee in their report, para 203, recommended deprovincialisation of government primary schools. A. K. Fazlul Huq said in answer to a question in the council by Maulavi Abdul Quader on 18 February 1924, that the government in the last three years had been willing to assist local bodies in establishing free primary schools.[24] Education Department had accepted the offer of every local body that was willing to take up a scheme on the understanding that local body would share the cost on a half and half basis. Schemes for free primary education was sanctioned for ten municipalities and thirty six unions.

Quinquennial Report on Progress of Education 1917-18 to 1921-22 revealed that in primary education very little progress was achieved. Number of schools rose by 3,027, pupil by 4,811, but population of school-going boys to total population decreased from 17.3% to 17%.[25] This problem was difficult to solve. It needed a well considered scheme based on a fixed policy acceptable to people at large. Panchayati Union scheme was a good step but it had not contributed much to the expansion of primary education. Two surveys were made and a few programmes were prepared during this

quinquennial period (1917-18 to 1921-22). One was drawn by Mr. Biss. The central idea of it was the formation of a network of schools within the reach of every household. To this end populated portion of a given locality was to be divided into fixed school areas and served by central schools. Detailed scheme for municipal area was worked out but the response from local bodies was disappointing,[26] and the general feeling of hopelessness continued. As expansion of primary education was one of the pressing political and social needs, idea of Mr. Biss was being put into practical test. Both Biss Schools and Panchayati Schools were not up to the expectation. Over 2 lakhs of government money distributed for Panchayati Union Schools in 1925-26 were not spent and only in few cases municipalities and union boards were able to fulfil the conditions necessary to launch schemes for the establishment of Biss Schools (the type of schools proposed by Mr. Biss). Existing number of schools were not adequate to promote the great expansion of primary education in rural areas that was intended by the Primary Education Bill. If education was to be placed on solid foundation the first and most vital task would be an attack up on illiteracy. This problem was complicated by factors peculiar to India as a whole and Bengal in particular, like poverty of masses, persistence of diseases, inadequate conditions of communications, persistence of traditional ideas, conflict and commercial interest and the chasm between the rural and urban life. These factors prevented the growth of any desire for education among the masses of the community. Poor cultivator was frequently willing in theory to admit that education would improve his material well-being and would assist him in avoiding the clutches of the money lender but it is not easy to convince people who needed the labour of his children, the ultimate benefits of education are worth the immediate material sacrifice involved. Financial constraints of the government was there. Not only that, in countries where compulsory primary education had been successfully introduced, more than 3/4 of the teachers in primary schools were women. In Bengal assistance of women was not available. Male teachers were engaged for instruction of girls and that

was no doubt one of the most important hindrances to education of Muslim girls. There was difficulty in organisation of a system of primary education adequate to need. Social conditions discouraged men of trained intellect from returning to the villages and from influencing the masses in the direction of education. The role the doctors and clergymen played in the field of education in European countryside was very much absent in Bengal. Even if a Bengali land owner proceeded to university, he would rarely spend the rest of his life upon his ancestral states. There was absence of the honorary services and personal interest of those better educated classes who in Europe had done so much to increase the influence, add to the efficiency and exalt the prestige of the village primary school.[27]

The wastage in the primary classes coupled with the subsequent relapse into illiteracy of a proportion of those passing through the primary schools, were in the main responsible for the slow growth of literacy.[28] If these two obstacles could be overcome a much higher degree of efficiency would have been obtained with that little expenditure on education and with these little number of primary schools. The percentage of boys of school going age attending primary schools was disappointingly small, though it was increasing gradually and that proportion of literate was low both absolutely and relatively to the number of boys attending schools.[29] The Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, presented in June 1928, to Parliament, pointed out the following reasons for less progress in Primary Education: - i) inefficiency of teachers, ii) lack of desire for education, iii) poor pay and prospect of teachers, iv) inadequate facilities for education, and so on. But it is also true that to some extent, facilities in existence remained unutilized.[30] The cost of teaching was a matter of importance to villagers. Though illiterate, they were shrewd enough to appreciate value or lack of value of the tuition given in relation to the life he knew, where most of the people had no experience of the value of education, they might be unwilling, if not unable to incur expenditure on it. In Table 4.3, the wastage of

students at primary level during the period 1922-23 to 1925-25 is shown.

Table 4.3 : Wastage in Primary Schools
(1922-23 to 1925-26).

Class and Year	Number of Pupil	Wastage in Class I Percentage
I in 1922-23	34,53,046	----
II in 1923-24	12,18,758	64.7
III in 1924-25	8,07,510	74.0
IV in 1925-26	6,55,101	81.0

Source: Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, June 1928.[31]

From the table it is quite clear that very few people stayed at school for four years (less than 20%) and large portion of money spent on education was thus wasted. Though the Table 4.3 refers to India as a whole it is true for Bengal as well.

A good deal of useful spade work in respect of Primary Education in rural areas was done during 1928-29. In Bengal the conditions were being improved by employment of teachers, additional grants, but majority of teachers employed in private schools were badly paid and inefficiently qualified. A slow increase in the percentage of Muslim students in primary schools was evident during this period,[32] (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 : The Percentage of Muslim Boys in Different Classes of Schools, 1926-27 to 1931-32.

Years	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V
1926-27	57.3	44.6	37.2	31.5	22.1
1931-32	60.15	50.7	47.8	40.05	33.6

Source: Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education, 1926-27 to 1931-32.[33]

The condition of secondary education was not very satisfactory either. It was badly regulated and was of poor standard.[34] Reorganisation of secondary education was the most important task in the hands of the reformed government. But the demand for secondary education in India was almost inexhaustible and all efforts at improvement seemed to be swept away by overwhelming supply of cheap and bad institutions. However inferior the education available, the proprietors of private schools were able to manage their academies at the lowest limit of efficiency without fear of losing their pupil. The secondary education needed to be radically remodelled in order to bring it more closely into contact with the needs and aspirations of the country. The structure needed to be well balanced and students might not be able to pursue higher studies it ought to be complete in itself.

0.5% of the total population was under instruction in secondary schools.[35] More and more striking were the figures of university. It showed that the structure of education was ill balanced. Secondary and higher education, though were at satisfactory level quantitatively, qualitatively defects were very much prominent.

The Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for 1920-21 shows the number of high schools for boys as 874, middle schools as 1752. Majority of secondary schools were under private management and conditions were not satisfactory.[36] They sprung up often apart

from genuine demand and disappeared after a few years. There was dissatisfaction with curriculum. Non Co-operation movement had an adverse effect on secondary education. Number of pupil decreased from 2,18,070 to 1,90,630 in high schools and from 1,60,350 to 1,08,582 in middle English and from 21,253 to 10,632 in middle vernacular schools. Most of the secondary schools were privately managed,[37] and they suffered most owing to the withdrawal of students. The government, in some cases gave extra grants to save them from extinction. The large decrease of 89,838 students (27,940 in high plus 51,777 in middle English plus 10,621 in middle vernacular) was partly due to non co-operation movement, partly due to the growing distrust of the value of instruction given, and partly due to economic distress. The cost of educating a boy increased in one decade from Rs. 22.6 to Rs. 36.6 in high schools, from Rs. 10.0 to Rs. 18.1 in middle English schools and from Rs. 7.8 to Rs. 14.2 in middle vernacular schools.[38] Poor parents were often unable to bear the burden and were bound to withdraw his son from school. Even if he realised the advantage of education but he found that it had not much of market value. Middle vernacular schools were disappearing because purely vernacular education was not popular. Middle English schools were often raised to high school status or converted into Madrasah. So, a serious thought was being given in the matter of change of curriculum.[39]

Definite progress was made in certain directions. In the Report on Progress of Education (1916-17 to 1926-27) it was stated that the number of Muslim pupil in the high and middle schools was relatively declining but the Report on Progress of Education (1926-27 to 1931-32) (eighth quinquennial report) mentioned that this tendency was arrested. The percentage of Muslim s to all pupil in the high stage had risen from 15.5% to 18.7% and in the middle stage from 19.3 to 24.7 .[40] It shows that the community was realising the value of higher education and was no longer content to let all its children stagnate in

the lowest classes. Table 4.5 and 4.6 show the increase in the percentage of Muslims at higher classes of secondary stage.

Table 4.5 : The Percentage of Muslim Boys in Different Classes of High Schools, 1926-27 to 1931-32

Years	Class VI	Class VII	Class VIII	Class IX	Class X
1926-27	20.7	17.7	15.8	14.3	15.7
1931-32	26.4	24.6	21.5	19.8	18.3

Source: Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education 1926-27 to 1931-32. [41]

Table 4.6 : Number of Successful Muslim Candidates in Matriculation, 1927 and 1931

Year	Number of Successful Muslims	Percentage to Total Number of Successful Candidates
1927	817	10.5
1931	1,455	12.8

Source: Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education 1926-27 to 1931-32.[42]

Progress in secondary education was not much. Reasons for this little progress is not difficult to realise. Muslims were not till then very much attracted to ordinary schools. Muslim guardians preferred special institutions like Madrasah or Maktab which combined secular education with the teaching of Islamic ritual and religion. Inadequacy of Muslim managed high schools, inadequacy of facilities for higher education near the centres of Muslim population and above all, the poverty of mass of the Muslim population were also responsible for this slow growth of educational progress.

College, Professional Colleges and University Education during 1921-1935:

The Report of the Calcutta University Commission suggested a complete reorganisation of the whole provincial system of higher secondary education. The reconstruction demanded a high expenditure which was beyond the resources of the government.[43] The number of Arts and Professional colleges in the provinces was 54 by 1925, but the number of students declined by 8.3%. This decline was 15.3% in government colleges, 3.3% in aided colleges and 9.1% in unaided colleges.[44] The reason was that, the existing system was not in close touch with life, thought and feeling of the country and inadequate for the preparation for the demands of modern life. These courses were popular at one time as it led to government employment and was preliminary to legal profession. But by 1925 government profession was limited and legal profession was overcrowded.

Arts colleges in Bengal numbered 42 of which only 10 were government in 1927. The students studying in those colleges numbered 23,437. [45] Though these colleges could not bring to the pupil opportunities for jobs but demand for higher education was there. The average costs for one Arts college was Rs. 89,542 and the cost of educating a student in an arts college was Rs. 145 anna 2 paisa 4 per annum, of this Rs. 57 anna 12 paisa 5 was borne by provincial revenue.[46]

General control of the university system was under provincial government. The Calcutta University Commission recommended Unitary Universities. Dhaka University was constituted upon these lines.

The Indian education structure was top heavy, it was very true for Bengal. "Bengal with a population that of UK, the proportion of the educated classes who are taking full time university

courses is in such tracts almost ten times as great as in England."[47] The lower classes were largely illiterate, while the middle class who constituted the bulk of the intelligentsia were in point of numbers at least educated to a pitch equal to that of countries considered as highly developed. The reason for this peculiar situation was that, the total educational fund being small, it concentrated upon meeting the demand of those who could perceive the benefits of education, rather than upon cultivating a desire for education where it did not exist. Abnormal distribution of education among the population resulted in certain defects. As it was framed with a view to meeting the demands of the intelligentsia it was predominantly literary type. Only 0.05% of the population were in the professional colleges.[48]

One of the results of Non-cooperation movement was the rising demand for technical or professional studies. It was due to the belief that practically or vocationally trained men would more easily fit into the economic structures and thus would be more valuable members of the society. The idea attracted the attention of the government and the universities. Education department welcomed the prevalent desire that considerable practical bias be imparted to school education in Bengal and that facilities for scientific and other non-literary training beyond the school stage be provided on a more generous scale.[49] The following table (Table 4.7) shows the number of students in technical and professional colleges in 1921.

Table 4.7 : Students in Different Professional and Technical Colleges in 1921.

College	Total number of students	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Other communities
Law	2,502	2,274	214	---	14
Shibpur Engineering College	338	274	16	46	2
Ahsanullah School of Engineering	362	---	---	---	---

Source: Report on the Public Instruction in Bengal for 1920-21.[50]

The above table shows Muslims were little in number in professional colleges but they were gradually becoming interested in professional education. There were one college, one elementary school and three secondary schools teaching agriculture in Bengal.[51] In arts colleges 25% seats had been kept reserved for Muslims from 1916, but no such rules were there in professional colleges. In 1924, governing body of Bengal Engineering College, Shibpur, accepted to reserve 25% of their seats for Muslims but suggested that no lowering of the entrance standard be allowed in order to allow specific number of Muslims. Ahsanullah Engineering School also agreed to reserve 25% of their seats provided that such candidates are qualified for admission. It was also made clear that, if sufficient number of Muslims did not come forward by a fixed date, vacant seats would be filled up with non Muslims.

The Director of Industries, government of Bengal, while writing to the Secretary, Agriculture and Industries Department, government of Bengal, on 'Revision of Pay and Prospect of the

Teaching Staff' in professional schools, mentioned that, "In view of the strong and increasing public interest in technical education at the present time there can be no doubt that additional expenditure for this purpose would be universally approved. Any proposal to close any of the existing school would meet with strong popular opposition."[52]

A committee was formed to consider the question of the commercial education and future of government Commercial Institutes. There were two Muslim members in the committee to take care of the Muslim interest. The need for professional training was felt but it was not easy to readjust suddenly an educational system that had grown up through a course of years and to which the public had become accustomed.[53]

The Ministry of Education formed a committee to draw up a co-ordinated scheme of vocational education. They decided to make grants to some non-government colleges for introduction and improvement of teaching science as that would be the basis of vocational education. The number of students were increasing gradually in professional colleges. In Medical Colleges, the number of students doubled from 1918 to 1922.[54] The number of students in Ahsanullah School of Engineering increased so much that steps were taken to duplicate the classes. The number of students were gradually increasing in Calcutta School of Arts, Government Commercial Institute, Serampur Weaving Institute etc.

The Report of the Dhaka Technical and Vocational Education Committee referred to the "Bifurcation Scheme" and Agricultural Classes that started in 1902 in some Zilla Schools on experimental basis but could not be continued for lack of monetary support of the government. They suggested improvement on engineering and medical education under Dhaka University.[55] The committee recommended six new vocational courses, which were expected to open up new avenues of employment. They supported the

suggestion that Ahsanullah School of Engineering be raised to the status of a college.[56] The note given by the Director, Agriculture, Bengal, to the Dhaka Technical and Vocational Education Committee is interesting. He wrote, "Large population of unemployment amongst 'Bhadrolok' is due to purely literary instruction in the schools ... Suitable vocational education is a way of mitigating the unemployment."[57]

The education department agreed to introduce agricultural education in middle vernacular schools in Bengal as it was done in the Punjab. The Report of the Bengal Unemployment Committee also suggested it.[58] For this some extra money and training of teachers were needed.

Higher education of literary type had resulted in the drift of educated boys from village to town but supply of educated men for routine work under government and business houses excelled demands. It was thought that educated unemployment could only be remedied by spread of education in rural areas and agricultural education. It was suggested that high school curriculum broaden with addition of agriculture with a combined practical course, for schools having rural boys would be an easy way out. It was also suggested by the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India in 1928 that agricultural colleges be affiliated to universities and they should take the lead in movement for uplift of rural classes. "The inertia of centuries can be overcome by the enthusiasm and efforts of those who themselves enjoy the blessing of a liberal education." was the comment of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, June 1928.[59] The report suggested the establishment of an agricultural college in Dhaka.

The most important event in the history of education in Bengal during 1921-35 was the establishment of the Dhaka University. It brought new life to the higher education of the province. The Governor of Bengal in the course of an address delivered at the

convocation of Dhaka University on 22 February 1923 announced the intention of the government, to set up a committee to act as a permanent advisory body to government in their higher education policy. Since the introduction of reformed constitution, the control of Calcutta and Dhaka Universities was in one head, and revenue was insufficient to meet the pressing demand of the province. The amount of money the government of Bengal could afford to spend on higher education was strictly limited.[60] That limited fund was to be spent in most profitable way. The work of the two universities was to be co-ordinated and duplication was to be avoided. It was feared that if the Universities of Calcutta and Dhaka became rivals than collaborators, that would be disastrous to the future generation of Bengalee students. The committee was composed of the Minister of Education, both the Vice Chancellors and fourteen other members of which only two were Muslims.[61]

Up to 24 August 1921, the total number of students admitted to Dhaka University was 734 of which 468 were in Arts. 6 senior and 2 graduate scholarships were created for poor but meritorious Muslim students.[62] It was decided that 50% of the non-European members of the Dhaka University Court were to be Muslims.[63] The Vice Chancellor of Dhaka University demanded the addition of a clause in the Dhaka University Act, providing the University with a non voted grant of approximately 6 lakhs of Rupees for recurring expenditure every year. He referred to a statement of the Governor of Bengal, which said that if the education grants were refused as a whole by the legislative council, then the university would have to close its doors. This was a cause of great anxiety for the executive council. A statutory grant of approximately 6 lakhs Rupees was expected to be made to the university.[64] Extension and improvement of Muslim Hall was needed because influx of students was great and many were refused admission for want of accommodation.[65] In the proposal of Bengal Secondary Education Bill 1929, it was proposed that for better standard of secondary education,

Dhaka University should be given greater control over secondary education. It might control matriculation and intermediate examinations as admission examination and should have the power to inspect, approve and disapprove all institutions which desire to send up candidates for intermediate examination.[66] The Dhaka University was expanding gradually, and demand for annual grant for recurring expenditure on Dhaka University was increasing. The following tables (Table 4.8A and 4.8B) show the rapid expansion of the Dhaka University. The money received was never enough for the development programme, the amount of deficit was ever increasing.

Table 4.8 (A) : Annual Grant for Recurring Expenditure of Dhaka University, 1930-31 to 1934-35

Year	Additional grant necessary under present commitment (in Rupees)	Additional grant necessary for development of the university (in Rupees)	Total (in Rupees)
1930-31	30,900	39,500	70,400
1931-32	1,02,600	42,425	1,45,025
1932-33	1,16,600	47,625	1,64,225
1934-35	1,20,400	49,900	1,79,300

Table 4.8 (B) : Amount of Deficit in Each Year

Year	Receipts (in Rupees)	Expenditure (in Rupees)	Deficit (in Rupees)
1930-31	88,500	9,75,876	90,876
1931-32	88,500	9,87,609	1,02,609
1932-33	88,500	9,94,997	1,09,997
1933-34	88,500	10,01,573	1,16,573
1934-35	88,500	10,05,446	1,20,446

Source: Government of Bengal Education Department, B Proceedings, Prog-1-5B, July 1931.[67]

The educational structure was top heavy. The number of students taking university courses in India was more than that in England.[68] When the Dhaka University was established there was no dearth of students. But the university education, though qualitatively was at satisfactory level, it had certain qualitative defects.[69]

Special Schools for Muslims:

Muslims were backward in educational matters. Special care and special institutions were needed to help them. Many steps were being taken for the last ten years; some improvement was achieved, but lot more was yet to be done. In Table 4.9, the number of special Muslim educational institutions is given.

Table 4.9 : Special Muslim Educational Institutions in Bengal, 1924.

Division	Senior Madrasah	Junior Madrasah	Maktab	Special assistant inspector	Special sub -inspector
Presidency	1	29	1,184	1	4
Burdwan	2	22	1,930	1	3
Dhaka	4	89	5,234	1	3
Chittagong	4	104	4,048	1	2
Rajshahi	1	70	1,907	1	2

Source: Note from DPI to the Secretary, Govt. of Bengal, Education Department. On Special Inspectorate of Mohamedan Education.[70]

The table shows that the inspectorate was not proportionate to number of special institutions of Muslim. But the Bengal Retrenchment Committee suggested the abolition of the post of Special Assistant Inspector of Schools for Mohamedan Education, but the Secretary, government of Bengal Education Department opposed it. Not only that, he suggested that where possible, the general inspectorate should inspect the Muslim institutions. Thus duplication of officers could be avoided. Moreover, Muslim inspecting officers, when recruited for education department, preference should be given to persons knowing Urdu, so that they might be able to inspect the Maktab and Madrasah as well.[71]

Dhaka Madrasah was developed into an Islamic Intermediate College, which would include the two intermediate classes of the curriculum of the Islamic department of Dhaka University and four highest classes of a reformed Madrasah and provide instruction for 120 students in the intermediate class and 240 students at the senior department. It started working on 1 July 1921.[72] The scheme for establishment of Arts College in Calcutta was

submitted in 1917 but even in 1921 it was under consideration. The scheme was for a first grade college for 400 students on a site in Wellesly Street. The Calcutta University Commission recommended that Islamic College should be established as a constituent college of Calcutta University and the Anglo-Persian Department of Calcutta Madrasah should be developed by the addition of two classes. And thus it could be regarded as an intermediate college attached to a high school. The government of India was requested to accord administrative approval to the scheme, and governor-in-council agreed to provide funds from provincial revenue.[73] But from a letter dated 27 May 1921, it appeared that the Government of Bengal in view of the financial condition could not commit themselves to the recurring cost of the proposed Muhamedan Arts College and the scheme was to be regarded as in abeyance.[74] But to give encouragement to the Muslims some scholarships were sanctioned to award among the successful candidates at the special islamic matriculation examination held in 1919.[75] It was also decided to continue the islamic intermediate classes as a permanent part of Dhaka Madrasah. The First Islamic Intermediate Examination was held in 1921. It was obvious that if liberal financial assistance was not available for the students aspiring for reading in the islamic intermediate classes, they would be disappointed and reformed Madrasah scheme would receive a heavy setback in popularity. The DPI suggested in a letter that expenditure on account of financial assistance for students of Dhaka Intermediate Madrasah and students proceeding from it to Dhaka University would be met partly from provincial revenue and partly from Mohsin Fund.[76]

A few scholarships were to be awarded each year, subject to the vote of the council, among poor but deserving Muslims. These scholarships were for junior and senior level for colleges affiliated to Calcutta University and Dhaka University but the numbers were fixed. There were graduate scholarships for both the universities. There were special scholarships for Muslims in Shibpur Engineering College and Ahsanullah Engineering College.[77]

These scholarships were a great help to poor Muslims who could not otherwise go for higher studies for want of money. This type of help was much more fruitful than setting up of special institutions for Muslims. Special arrangements were being made for training of Muslim teachers. The seats were kept reserved for Muslims in two training colleges at Dhaka and Calcutta, 30% of the seats were reserved for Muslims, and provision was there to increase the percentage if needed. But if there were not enough Muslim candidates, the principal could fill up the seats with other candidates.[78]

The rules regarding recruitment of English teachers and sub-inspectors were formed in such a way that Muslims got a preference. Only trained teachers were to be recruited as teachers in government High Schools but for the Muslims, the first three years was relaxed. In the selection committee, Assistant Inspector of Schools for Muslim education was one of the members.[79]

The Reformed Senior Madrasah which prepared students for islamic matriculation were treated as high schools and teachers of these Madrasahs were eligible for deputation to training colleges. There were eleven such Madrasahs in Bengal.[80] Junior classes of Dhaka Madrasah, which was developed into two institutions, Islamia Intermediate College and Dhaka Senior Madrasah, with reformed Madrasah scheme having Bengali side by side, was becoming popular gradually.[81]

A scheme was proposed for the establishment of an Islamic Intermediate College at Chittagong. Chittagong Madrasah was used to prepare boys for senior Madrasah examination under reformed scheme. Students had to join the Islamic Intermediate College at Dhaka for admission at the Dhaka University. This was difficult for poor students. But more than half of the students at Dhaka Islamia College belonged to Chittagong. To make higher studies easily available to the students of Chittagong, it was proposed that the course

of intermediate be introduced to Chittagong Madrasah. It was also argued that the success of the Islamic faculty of Dhaka University could not be assured unless facilities were given for intermediate students at different islamic centres. To draw off the students that join the orthodox Madrasah and to popularise the reformed Madrasah it was essential that an Islamic College at Chittagong was quite obvious.[82]

In Calcutta Medical College number of students admitted was 120, it was decided that one fourth of the seats be reserved for Muslims. In Bengal Engineering College, Shibpur, Muslim applicants were so small in number that no such rule was needed. To attract Muslim students, two scholarships were created for Muslims in Bengal Engineering College. But the cost of messing for Muslims was higher than the Hindus at this college.[83]

The accommodation problem was one of the most important hindrances to progress of Muslims in higher education. Increase of number of hostels was the only way to solve the problem. There were very few government Muslim hostels in Calcutta. In 1933, there were only 3 government Muslim hostels for college and university students. Even then, there was a proposal that Taylor hostel be closed down, because all the seats of the hostel were not occupied. But the DPI opposed the proposal on the ground that it would hamper the growth of higher education among the Muslims. He wrote, "with the large number of matriculation candidates this year and a slight improvement in the depression, it is practically certain that from July this year when colleges open we shall not be able to do without Taylor hostel. . . . Political advantages of this are evident." He further pointed out that it was created for the interest of the poorer Muslims, and it should remain government hostel, otherwise their interest might suffer.[84] The fees for Baker hostel was Rs. 5 annas 8 to Rs. 6 annas 12, for Carmichael hostel it was Rs. 5 to Rs. 6, and for Taylor hostel it

was Rs. 4 annas 3 to Rs. 4 annas 11. It was the cheapest among the lot. And the cost of maintaining this hostel was Rs. 30 per month.[85]

Special steps were taken for the progress of education among the Muslim girls. Some scholarships were reserved for those Muslim girls who agreed to join vernacular training school for girls after junior Madrasah course. With DPI's permission bright girls were allowed to pass on to Class VII of high school if they agreed to join the Medical school, or to pass on to intermediate classes with a view to ultimately join as teacher of secondary schools for girls. Some stipends were created for Muslim middle English school for girls at Dhaka and Chittagong.[86] (About this more elaborate discussion is given in the next chapter).

Ratio of Hindu Muslim Students at Different Stages:

The number of Muslim students in educational institutions and the ratio of Hindus and Muslims in those institutions give us a clear picture of Muslim progress in education. These statistics helped the education department to take up necessary measures to help the backward community to get them due share. The percentage of Muslims in the higher education was not at all satisfactory.

The Dhaka University was established to give the Muslims better opportunity for higher study. But in this university the percentage of Muslims was not very good. On the average Muslim students constituted 21.6% of the total students. They were at 33.3% in 1st Year B.A. Class, and their percentage was lowest in 2nd Year B.Sc. which was only 2.7%. In law classes it was 26.4% and in training classes (B.T.) it was 42%.[87] To attract more Muslim students Rs. 6000 was allocated for stipends for Muslim Hall. Four post graduate scholarships were allocated for Muslims, on top of these

there were special Muslim scholarships from different sources like Ahsanullah Stipend, Dhaka Muhamedan Education Society Scholarship etc.[88]

There were only four Muslim students in upper subordinate course of Dhaka Ahsanullah School of Engineering, whereas the number of Hindus in that class was 70. In lower subordinate classes there were 5 Muslims and 57 Hindus.[89]

In the two training colleges at Dhaka and Calcutta seats were kept reserved (30%) for Muslims.[90] Seats were also reserved for Muslims in government colleges. In Chittagong college seats reserved for Muslims was 25% in 1916. By 1924 it was raised to 30% on the grounds of proportion of literate Muhamedan to literate population.[91] Tables 4.10 A and B show number of Muslims at higher stages of education around 1922-23. The two table deal with Muslim students of Calcutta and Dhaka separately.

Table 4.10 : Hindu and Muslim Students of Calcutta, 31 March 1923

A)

Name of College	Hindu	Muslim
1. Presidency College	797	146
2. Sanskrit College	74	----
3. Scottish Church College	1,021	7
4. St. Xaviers College	556	146
5. St. Pauls College	175	7
6. City College	1,635	154
7. Banga Basi College	1,606	77
8. Ripon College	926	201
9. South Suburban College	652	22
10. Bidya Sagar College	1,334	----
11. Central College	26	3
12. Postgraduate, Arts, Calcutta University	804	65
13. Postgraduate, Science, Calcutta University	166	2
14. University Law College	1,714	147
15. Ripon Law College	442	158
16. Medical College	869	114
17. School of Tropical Medicine	60	----
18. Bethun College	86	----
19. Diocesen College	42	2
20. Loreto College	2	----
Total	12,987	1,247

Source: Statement given by A. K. Fazlul Huq in March 1924 at Bengal Legislative Council.[92]

Table 4.10 : Number of Students of Dhaka University for the Sessions 1921-1922.

B)

Class	Muslims	Other communities
1st Year B.A.	65	130
2nd Year B.A.	46	185
1st Year B.Sc.	2	65
2nd Year B.Sc.	1	35
1st Year M.A.	21	75
2nd Year M.A.	1	17
1st Year M.Sc.	1	21
2nd Year M.Sc.	--	9
1st Year Law	19	53
2nd Year Law	17	58
3rd Year Law	5	51
B.T.	21	29
L.T.	5	12
Total	204	740

Source: Proceedings of Government of Bengal , General Department (Education), October, 1912.

Statement given by P.C. Mitter in answer to a question by Maulavi Fazlul Karim in the Council on 15 March, 1922.

If we compare the number of Muslim students in Calcutta and Dhaka, it appears that the percentage of Muslims was much higher in Dhaka University (22% in Dhaka University and 9% in Calcutta). Special measures for Muslim community had given better results.

Reservation of seats in Arts Colleges for Muslims inspired and enabled them to go for higher studies in Arts, but in Engineering and other technical subjects no such measure was taken for a long time. In 1924, the Governing Body of Shibpur Engineering College and Ahsanullah School of Engineering agreed to such reservation.[93]

In primary education, the Muslims made quite a remarkable advance. There were 52.6% Muslim pupil in primary stage. Higher the stage lower the percentage was. In middle English school percentage of Muslim pupil was 25.1%, in high school it was 14.9%, in Arts Colleges it was 12.8%, and in professional colleges it was 9.4%.[94]

The primary schools were attended by 5,37,398 Hindus and 6,20,469 Muslims in 1922. If compared to the number of previous years, the number of Hindus rose by 0.9%, and Muslims by 3.6%.[95] Enrolment in primary schools was increasing every year. By 1927 increase of Hindu pupil was 30,454 and that of Muslim pupil was 8,866, but Muslims out numbered the Hindus. The Quinquennial Report on Progress of Education, 1921-22 to 1926-27 says that in primary education, Muslim pupil formed 50.5%, in middle school 17.6%, in high school it was 15.0%, in professional colleges it was 13.2% and in Arts Colleges it went up to 13.7%.[96]

If we compare the figures of the two quinquennial 1917-18 to 1921-22 and 1921-22 to 1926-27, one thing is striking- the greatest progress was made in professional colleges. The following table (Table 4.11) shows the number and percentage of Muslims at different stages of education during the year 1921-22 to 1931-32 which covers two quinquennial period. From this table, it is observed that the rise of percentage of Muslims was from 46.1% to 50.8%. But, if we look into it stage by stage, the rise was not uniform at all levels.

Table 4.11 : Number and Percentage of Muslims at Different Stages of Education, 1921-1932

A)

Years	University and Arts Colleges Students Number	%	Professional Colleges Students Number	%	High Stage Students Number	%
1921-22	2,175	12.8	440	9.4	15,715	17.1
1926-27	3,419	14.2	886	14.06	16,049	15.5
1931-32	2,883	13.3	676	12.9	24,118	18.7

B)

Years	Middle Stage Students Number	%	Primary Stage Students Number	%
1921-22	16,047	20.9	7,84,874	49.5
1926-27	18,567	19.9	9,94,855	51.4
1931-32	30,299	24.7	12,58,503	54.5

C)

Years	Total	%
1921-22	8,19,255	46.1
1926-27	10,33,776	47.7
1931-32	13,16,479	50.8

Source for Table 4.11(A, B & C) : Eighth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education, 1927-32.[97]

Training of Muslim Teachers:

One of the most important problems of Progress of Education in Bengal was the lack of properly trained teachers. There was little incentive for men of the right sort to enter the teaching profession. Teachers were handicapped by small salary and this profession was not popular among men of high capacity. In Bengal the average monthly pay was as low as Rs. 8 annas 6 and it was impossible for the teacher to make both ends meets.[98] More than half of the teachers in primary schools were untrained (3,952 teachers out of a total of 20,404 were trained in 1925 in India). The existence of this body of untrained teachers completed the 'vicious cycle' of primary education.[99]

A number of training colleges were established, and the facilities for teachers training were expanded. The Department of Education aimed at securing efficiency through an efficient inspectorate. In practice, departmental control over education was generally admitted to be somewhat less effective than threefold safeguard of inspection, recognition and assistance from government funds might had suggested.[100] Standard of recognition was a minimum standard, withdrawal of recognition was rare, assistance from provincial revenue was nominal. Grants of aids provided a better control. Actually the efficiency of the education system depended on the efficiency and courage of the inspectorate.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture in India (1928) suggested a few ways to improve the educational condition, of which training of teachers, inclusion of more female teachers and rural background of teachers were important.[101] Rules for recruitment of teachers in government school showed that only trained men were to be recruited, but for recruiting more Muslims rules were relaxed. Measures were being taken to raise the number of Muslim trained teachers. Standard percentage of appointments in teaching to be held

by Muslims on the basis of the population could not be fulfilled. So it was suggested that, at least half the number recommended by the Inspector of Schools were to be Muslims.[102]

The Controlling Staff of the Education Department consisted of the Director of Public Instructions, Assistant Director, and special Assistant Director for Muhamedan education. Soon after the appointment as DPI, Mr. W. W. Hornwell found out that the work of his office was of great dimension and needed radical improvement in the organisation of Directing Staff and recommended the appointment of another Assistant Director. The DPI also recommended the post of a Deputy Director of Public Instructions. A motion was moved in the Council on 28 March 1924 to reduce the salaries of inspecting staff. It was opposed by the government but was carried by votes of the majority of the Council.[103] The majority of the members were not aware of the important work done by the inspectorate.

As there were special institutions for Muslims, there were special members in the inspectorate for Muslims. Special Assistant Inspectors could investigate questions of purely Muslim interest in non-sectarian schools. It was also a rule that Assistant Inspectors were to inspect 150 institutions including junior Madrasahs and a few schools. Special sub-inspectors were to inspect the Maktabs only. The following table shows numbers of special Muslim institutions and number of special officials for them. Number of officials was not always proportionate to number of institutions.

Table 4.12 : Special Inspectorate of Muhamedan Education

Division	Senior Madrasah	Junior Madrasah	Maktab	Special Assistant Inspector	Special Sub-Inspector
Presidency	1	29	1,184	1	4
Burdwan	2	22	1,930	1	3
Dhaka	4	89	5,234	1	3
Chittagong	4	104	4,048	1	2
Rajshahi	1	70	1,907	1	2

Source: Note by the DPI to the Secretary, Govt. of Bengal Education Department on Special Directorate, May 1924.[104]

Next table, Table 4.13, shows number and percentage of Muslim teachers by divisions. For obvious reasons the percentage of Muslim teachers was much higher in eastern divisions, but number of inspecting officers do not show the same trend.

Table 4.13 : Number and Percentage of Muslim Teachers and Inspectors by Division

Division	Number of Muslim Teachers	%	Number of Muslim Inspecting Officers	%
Presidency	6,868	32.6	43	63.2
Burdwan	2,367	12.2	22	26.2
Dhaka	18,489	58.6	62	63.2
Chittagong	11,954	66.6	36	30.0
Rajshahi	10,368	61.1	40	57.1
Total	50,046	46.8	203	54.2

Source: Eighth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education 1927-32.[105]

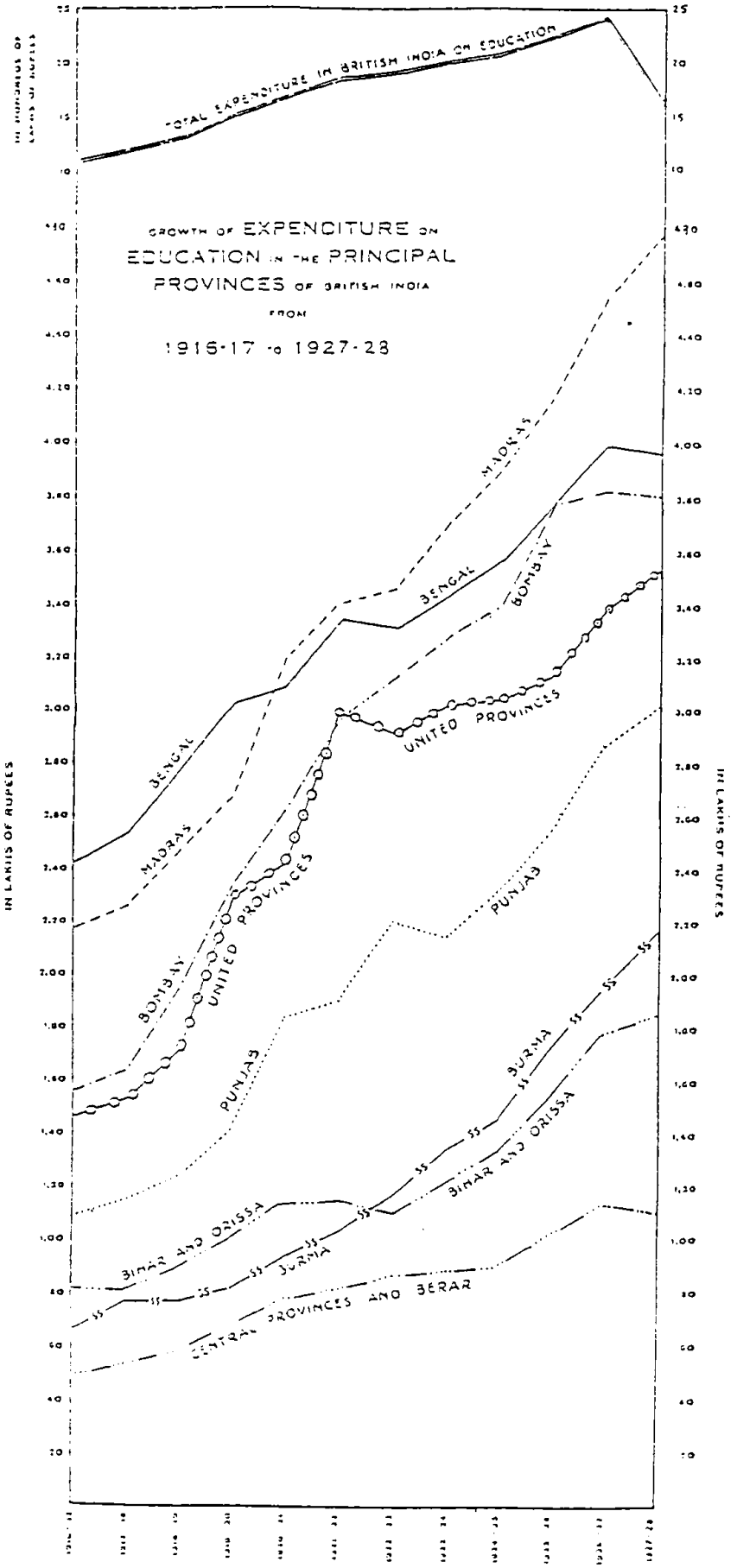
Fund for Education:

The Indian Education as a whole was suffering from financial stringency during this period. Out of 180 million pound revenue India could spend 15 million pound for education which was inadequate to the demands. Defence, law and order etc. were given preference. As funds were not available, educational structure of India could not be expanded as needed.[106] Bengal was probably worst hit. The Moral and Material Progress of India 1922-23 wrote, "Stringency in the provincial budgets since the introduction of Montegue Chelmsford reforms, has served to starve many of those nation building departments which it was the prime object of the new regime to nourish."[107]

Educational progress was a popular demand but transfer of education to popular control had taken place at such a time when provincial resources were at low ebb.

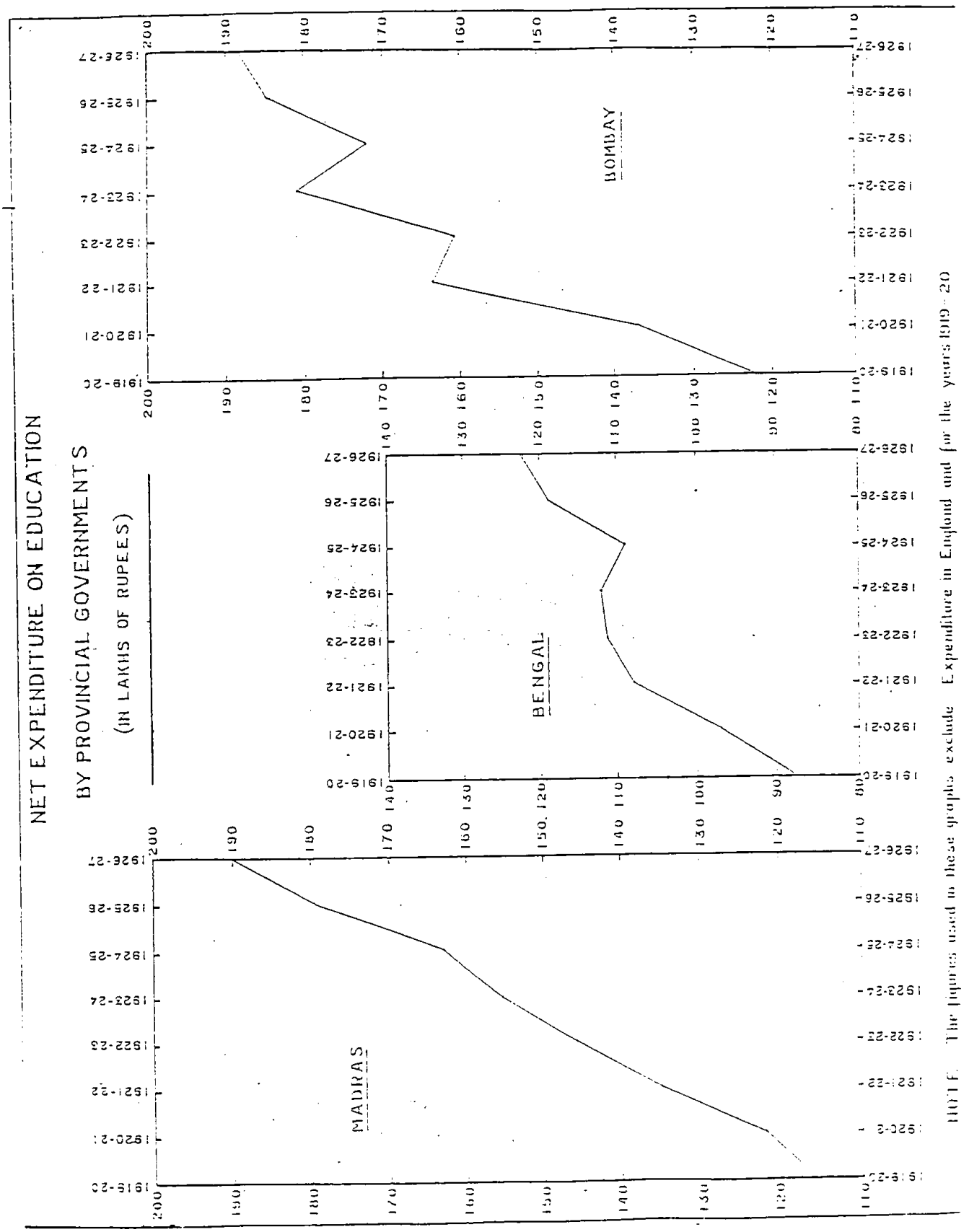
On the average 9% of provincial revenue was devoted to education. The proportion varied from province to province. In Bengal it was 12.6% but it was so modest that allotment per head was as little as Rs. 0.26. In Burma where population was low, spending of 3.7% of the revenue enabled her to spend on institution Rs. 0.46 per head.[108] The following two graphs show the amount of money spent on education in different provinces and indicate the situation of Bengal in this respect.

Graph 4.1 : Growth of Expenditure on Education in the Principal Provinces of British India from 1916-17 to 1927-28.



Source: Moral and Material Progress in India, 1928 - 29.[109]

Graph 4.2 : Net Expenditure on Education by Provincial Governments, 1919-1920 to 1926-1927



Source: Royal Commission on Agriculture, June 1928, p. 687.

The graphs show that money spent for education was always less in Bengal than other provinces. Royal Commission on Agriculture (1928), reports on educational expenditures of nine major provinces and for British India as a whole (Table 4.14).

Table 4.14 : Expenditure on All Forms of Education in Recognised Institutions for Each of the Nine Major Provinces and for British India as a Whole in 1926-27.

Provinces	Population (census of 1921)	Total Expenditure (in Rs.)	Cost per scholar (in Rs.)
Assam	7,606,000	43,84,150	16
Bengal	46,696,000	3,97,76,068	17
Bihar and Orissa	34,005,000	1,77,23,772	17
Bombay	19,292,000	3,81,49,449	34
Burma	13,212,000	1,93,83,804	44
Central Provinces and Berar	13,913,000	1,13,63,933	29
Madras	42,319,000	4,52,72,432	19
Punjab	20,685,000	2,87,65,763	26
United Provinces	45,376,000	3,37,79,166	26
British India (1925-26 figures) including minor administrations	247,098,000	22,77,92,532	23

Source: Royal Commission on Agriculture, June 1928.

The table shows that the money spent per scholar was the lowest in Bengal.

Table 4.15 : Percentage of Expenditure from Different Sources

Provinces	Government Funds	Board Funds	Fees	Other Sources
Assam	57	13	17	13
Bengal	37	6	41	16
Bihar and Orissa	41	28	18	13
Bombay	52	19	17	12
Central Provinces and Berar	49	18	18	15
Madras	63	18.5	10.5	8
Punjab	45	15	19	21
United Provinces	53	14	20	13
British India (1925-26 figures) including minor administrations	58	13	14	15
	48	14	22	16

Source: Royal Commission on Agriculture, June, 1928.[110]

The cost per scholar in Bengal was not only low as compared to other provinces, but percentage of government fund was also the lowest in Bengal as shown in Table 4.15. If we look at the Reports of the Public Instructions in Bengal, we get the same picture i.e. very little public expenditure on education. Report on public instruction 1920-21 says that the total expenditure on public instruction was Rs. 3,09,22,377. The previous year it was 3,01,92,891. The total expenditure on secondary school in 1920-21 was Rs. 88,06,478. The direct expenditure for primary education was Rs. 42,96,750 , of which

Rs. 21,47,121 was from public fund and Rs. 21,49,629 was from private fund, i.e. the public fund contributed 49.9% and the private fund contributed 50.1%.[111]

The total expenditure on arts colleges in Bengal in 1927 was Rs. 34,02,604. The average cost for an arts college was Rs. 89,542. Average cost of educating a student in arts colleges was Rs. 145 annas 2 paisa 4 per annum of which Rs. 57 annas 12 paisa 5 was borne by provincial revenue.

The total cost of maintaining secondary schools in 1927 was Rs. 1,21,05,801. The average maintenance per school was Rs. 4,358 paisa 7 and cost per pupil was Rs. 30 annas 13 paisa 5.

The total cost for primary schools was Rs. 62,33,167 and cost for each school was Rs. 122 annas 6 paisa 5 and for each child it was Rs. 3 annas 12 paisa 5.[112]

The imperial grant of Rs. 1,29,000 which was being given since 1905 was stopped in 1915-16 to 1916-17 and in 1930-31 on financial ground. But there was great protest against it. The Minister had to press hard for its renewal (it was then provincial grant) in 1931-32. Only half of it i.e. Rs. 64,500 was disbursed in 1931-32. But no provision was made for it in the budget of 1932-33 and 1933-34. Private colleges were hard hit, because main purpose of the grant was for the efficiency of non-government colleges in Bengal.[113]

Both the universities in Dhaka and Calcutta suffered for lack of adequate financial resources. In 1923 the legislative council voted 5 lakhs for recurring and 4 lakhs for non-recurring expenditure for Dhaka University.[114] Dhaka University was not getting enough money for its expansion (see previous discussion in this chapter). If inflow of money could be guaranteed the expansion of Dhaka University would have been faster.

The consolidated grant for Shibpur Engineering College was Rs. 51,500 for a period of three years from 1918-19 to 1920-21. In 1921-22 additional grant of Rs. 9,124 was sanctioned to meet the increased expenditure, and consolidated grant was raised to Rs. 59,950. For the smooth development of the college, a grant of Rs. 67,480 was needed, at least for three years. But after much consideration it was fixed at Rs. 55,000 a year.[115] This was the picture of most of the educational institutions.

When education was made a transferred subject it was expected that the member of the council would have the freedom to take steps for the progress of education, and they would do so. But it did not happen all the time. The Dhaka University was getting 5 lakhs as recurring grant, but it demanded 6.75 lakhs, because as the university was expanding more money was needed. But the Retrenchment Committee suggested the recurring grant at 4 lakhs. Such reduction might have wrecked the university.[116]

Efficient inspectorate was essential for the progress of education but it was not felt necessary by the Council. The Council moved a motion to reduce the demand of Rs. 7,46,900 as salaries. It was opposed by the government but was carried by votes of the majority of the Council.[117] Members of the Council, who were expected to be eager for the expansion of educational arena, could not foresee the importance of the inspectorate for the progress of education. May be they were conscious about the fact, but money supplied was so little that they had to compromise.

The cost of educating a boy increased from Rs. 22.6 to Rs. 36.6 in high school, from Rs. 10.0 to Rs. 18.1 in middle English school and from Rs. 7.8 to Rs. 14.2 in middle vernacular school. It had an adverse effect on progress of education. Poor parents were often unable to bear the burden and were bound to withdraw their sons from the schools, though they realised the advantage of it.

Muslims and Education - An Evaluation:

One effect of the transfer of education to the charge of popular ministers was the strengthening of contact between the education department and public opinion. It was left to the legislative council in the provinces to determine the best method of adapting the educational system to the needs and circumstances of the local population. Reports of debates in the local councils show how keen was the interest which the educational problems arouse among the Indian intelligentsia.[118] Attention was devoted to a concentrated attack upon illiteracy in its very stronghold, the masses of population. Even before the transfer, the principle of compulsory education was being considered as a method to increase the percentage of literacy. Thus provided with a foundation upon which to work, the ministers were able to concentrate much of their attention upon the illiteracy problem. Public interest was created in the matter. Definite programmes were taken to double the number of children in primary schools, efforts were made to devise courses of studies which combine good general training with some form of vocational instruction. The need of the time was encouragement of backward districts. The improvement of primary education in a wealthy municipality was not difficult but state assistance was required for those who did not have the source of self help.

Education was a popular demand, but transfer of education to popular control took place at a time when provincial resources were little (due to condition in agriculture and commerce), central government also called upon the provinces for heavy subversions. If the central government could set free the provincial resources for increased expenditure upon education, the situation might have been different. Many useful schemes like provision of school building had to be held up, number of inspecting staff had to be curtailed, the expansion of Dhaka University had to be slow for want of fund. Maximum utilisation of existing sources was needed. It was

done in the Punjab, where number of students rose by 19% in the secondary stage but budget allocation for that purpose was increased by 8%.[119] The Punjab showed that there was room to combine rigid economy with increased efficiency.

Transfer of education coincided with Non-Cooperation movement. It had adverse effect on the progress of education. Actual result of attack varied from province to province. Bengal was worst hit. The Vice Chancellor of Calcutta University stated the loss of Rs. 0.02 crores as examination fees.[120] In a statement laid down before the senate he estimated that more than 47000 pupil or 23% of the total number had disappeared from high schools between July 1920 to July 1921. Up to March 1921 there was a fall of 42% in the enrolment of Arts Colleges.[121] It affected student discipline. National service and self sacrifice found quick response in young minds but National Education System in large degree failed to materialise. A large number of national schools and colleges sprung up, but were not long lasting. Their failure was caused by the end of the movement but another explanation lies in the fact that they enjoyed none of the advantages of the pioneer. In their insistence on national education, they were which was already there. "They differed only in the fact that they considered that they would achieve their end by the destruction rather than remodelling of present system and by elimination of all connection between government and public instruction."[122]

One achievement of the movement was the erection of a national structure of education parallel to that administered by government and other public bodies. Many "national" schools and colleges came into existence, attracted large number of students, but their numbers were small in relation to recognised institutions and pupil. They differed from other institutions as their immediate origin and aim were political. Their continuance depended upon the force of educational ideals that were associated with the political motives animating their founders.[123] The curriculum of national institutions

differed very little from that prescribed by educational department. Teachers were all product of recognised system and were qualified to teach what they had learned.[124]

The concept of large educational institution carried on without the help from government was a distinct contribution to the future. The Non-Cooperation movement brought to light the evidence of a genuine dissatisfaction with the existing character of education provided. There was demand for manual training or vocational training, and it led the education authority to devote attention to the necessity of bringing the curriculum into harmony with the changing requirements. It was believed that practically trained men could easily fit into economic structure.[125] Actually, demand for technical education was demand for employment.

Non-Cooperation movement resulted in the intensifying the feeling that system of education that existed, failed to meet the requirement of age. Courses had been popular because they led to government employment and legal profession, but government profession was limited and legal profession became overcrowded.

The Government of Bengal realised the situation but it was not possible to readjust suddenly an educational system. The absence of fund made the task more difficult. A committee was formed to draw up a co-ordinated scheme of vocational education and grants were made to non-government colleges for introduction and improvement of teaching of science.[126]

As education became a provincial subject certain administrative changes were needed. The Indian Educational Service was reorganised in December 1919, and due importance was given to the inspectorate. It was through this inspection government and ministers could guard against large waste of money. Safe and rapid advance on the right lines was not possible without efficient

inspectorate. In India, in general, inspection was the government's administrative key to advance.[127] That is why, it was argued, "there would be no obvious reason why the District Inspector should not be on at par as regards standing and pay, with the District Officer, the Civil Surgeon or the District Superintendent of Police."[128] But value of the work done by the inspectorate was not realised by the members of the Council, who reduced the money demanded for the inspectorate.

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill 1929 proposed to place all secondary education in the province under the control of a board of 24 members. The chief duty of the Board was to direct, control and inspect all secondary institutions in the province, distribute grants etc.

The extension of primary education was the most pressing need of this period. Percentage of scholar to population was 4.3% in Bengal.[129] It was defective in quality and unsatisfactory in results . The wastage rate was very high, and it was more than 80%.

The secondary stage showed a quantitative progress, but statistical index is not necessarily a guide to quality. Secondary education was badly regulated and was of poor standard. As demand was great cheap and bad institutions could manage to survive. It needed to be remodelled in order to bring it more closely into contact with the needs and aspiration of the country. Some measures were taken: a) Separation of secondary education was done; b) Intermediate Colleges were set up at suitable centres; c) Method of inspection was revised; d) Pay of teachers were raised; e) Syllabus was changed.[130]

During the period the contact between the education department and public opinion was strengthened. It resulted in the encouragement of many developments which were slowly shaping themselves under the older system. Provincial legislative councils were empowered to determine the best method of adapting the existing

machinery to local requirement. Like other provinces, Bengal showed great educational activity. The transfer of education to province would result in developments on many directions but this transfer was done in a somewhat unfavourable circumstances. It coincided with advent of financial stringency. For financial problem expansion of educational structure was difficult. Non-Cooperation movement resulted in the chaos at educational institutions. But even then, in Bengal progress was being made; the number of pupil, institution etc. were increasing. This progress was small but it represented the first fruits of a process of reorganisation, though full effect was delayed by financial stringency and political unrest. New tendency that were marked : i) There was a marked readiness to experiment with new methods; ii) There were encouraging symptom of new desire on the part of local bodies to devote a high percentage of their income to educational expansion. The reasons for unsatisfactory progress as pointed out in the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India 1928, were i) inefficient teachers; ii) pay and prospect of teachers were insufficient to encourage good work; iii) lack of desire for education; and iv) inadequate facilities for education. The same report suggested some remedies: i) Spread of literacy among women as the key to progress of education; ii) Compulsory primary education was suggested but as an interim measure. Establishment of co-operative educational societies was suggested; iii) Training of teachers, recruitment of teachers from men of rural origin was suggested; and iv) Preparation of suitable text books for rural areas.[131]

As public interest was aroused much attention was given to training of teachers, increase of remuneration of teachers, change of curriculum was attempted at and efforts were made to combine vocational and general training. It was realised that the structure of secondary education was to be well balanced, and complete in itself. What steps or measures could be taken was a matter of hot discussion in the assembly.

The economic distress of the people also served as a hindrance to education. The cost of educating a child was increasing every year at every stage. Demand for making vernacular the medium of instructions, English to be taught as a second language and addition of vocational courses in general schools was strong. The Bengal Government gave due importance to all these demands. As poor standard of teaching was detected as one of the cause of poor standard of education, much importance was given to training of teachers.

Muslim education had its peculiar problems. Every Muslim boy who went for educational training had to spend a considerable time in religious instruction. This reduced the period for secular education. Muslims were backward as compared to Hindus but as a result of increased efforts both on its own part and on the part of the administration the percentage of Muslims to pupil of other community in 1930s was almost the same proportion as did the Muslims themselves to the entire population. But one thing is to be remembered that, the percentage of Muslims were higher in lower stages. Greater appreciation among the Muslim leaders of the necessity for increasing educational level of their coreligionist was the most encouraging feature. During this period Muslim education was gaining ground in a satisfactory manner.[132]

There was parallel increase in the student intake of Madrasah and Maktab as well of general educational institutions. The Madrasah/Maktab scenario, however, related only to the rural areas. Revised curriculum for Maktabs was introduced in all districts and it is quite likely that introduction of revised curriculum made the Madrasah more attractive to Muslims. The Report of the Indian Statutory Commission gives an explanation for failure of the provincial government to achieve expected progress of education. " We should be very sorry if our observations were regarded as attributing reproach or blame either to ministers or their official predecessors."[133] The system which they inherited was far from satisfactory and no fair estimate of

their achievement can be made unless large allowances is made for initial handicap. Officers in the education service were aware of many faults and tried to correct them. If the war had not intervened and made it impossible to give effect to the education resolution of 1913, the position in 1921 would have been much more favourable. Nevertheless, education, in general, was handicapped by some circumstantial problems. Villages were scattered and small, and so provision of effective education was expensive and difficult to organise. There was problem arising out of caste and communal feeling. The ignorance and indifference in matters of education that enveloped ordinary household constituted the main obstacle to real progress. Even if the villagers were convinced to send his child to school, as soon as the child was old enough to help him in the fields economic pressure and long tradition were strong inducement to take the child away.[134]

The failure to achieve more substantial results was due to ineffective control, absence of proper direction and administration. The wastage at primary and other stages, underqualified and underpaid teachers, etc. Problems were intensified by the very enthusiasm which had impelled the ministers to insufficiently consider advance on the old lines. Acting under the continued pressure of public opinion and assisted by legislature which usually voted increasing grants for education in their desire to remove the national reproach of illiteracy, they embarked almost every where on large schemes of quantitative expansion with out securing to themselves any adequate power to control and direction. In some cases they abandoned much of power which they had inherited, holding apparently that some sort of instruction, however insufficient was better than no school or no instruction at all. Their well intentioned efforts some times was crippled by radical defects of organisation.

The spirit of the people is the foundation of education and if the people desire to be educated or even could be stirred into a

willingness to be educated well directed efforts to educate them would be successful. This spirit was aroused during this period. The intense public interest in the question of education, the readiness on the part of the legislature to find funds to finance it, the eagerness shown by the ministers to provide wider educational facilities during this period gave a motive power to the development of education.

Administrative changes in India facilitated by the introduction of dyarchy in 1920 had a positive impact on education, specially education in Bengal. Progress achieved at the primary stage was both quantitative and qualitative. Education in the rural areas received much boost; and thus benefited the rural people majority of whom was Muslims. The condition at the secondary stage was not satisfactory in the beginning of the period under review. It was a poor standard and badly regulated. Demand for secondary education was tremendous; to meet the demand schools of poor standard came up. The education given at the secondary stage was found to be not relevant to the needs of the society; and so experiments were made to remodel the curricula. Progress at college and university levels were also not as much as was expected.

The most important event in the history of education of the province during the years 1921 - 35 was the establishment of Dhaka University. Other remarkable features of the period in the educational scenario was the importance given to technical education. Non-Cooperation movement made it clear that technically educated persons were better adjusted in the society. Another outcome of the Non-Cooperation movement was that it showed the chances of erection of a national structure of education parallel to that administered by the government.

The modern system of education, for obvious reasons, held attraction for Muslims; but their attraction for denominational education as evidenced by the continuation of Maktab/Madrasah, did not die out.

But this system of education also felt the impact of modernisation. In the period under review (1921 - 35), the Dhaka and Chittagong Madrasah were turned into Muslim high schools. These schools and secularised Madrasahs led the boys to university and technical institutions; and as such this period was the most important turning point in the history of Muslim education.

This study has so far focused mainly on the progress of Muslims as a community in education, saying, however, nothing on the state of Muslim women in this context As evidence suggests the women folk during these years also had something to benefit from the general induction of Muslims into modern education; this the significant theme we now turn to in the following chapter.

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9. *PGB*, Education Department, April, 1926, Calcutta, Bengal Government Press, 1926, p. 4.

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11. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

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Bhadrolok literally means respectable people or gentlemen. At the beginning of Twentieth century, in cities and villages of Bengal, there was one group of Bengalees who claimed and were accorded recognition as superior in social status to the mass of their fellows. They were distinguished by many aspects of their behaviour, their dress, their speech, their style of housing, their deportment, and their eating habit. They abstained from manual labour and their belief in the inferiority of manual occupation was strong. Education was one of the factor by which person of a lower-class origin could gain for himself a status and could try to include himself in the bhadrolok class. For this psychological factor, children of the working class, after getting education, instead of using that for the development of his ancestral trade, used to hate the profession and went for jobs in offices. (About this problem elaborate discussion is there in this chapter when for certain obvious reasons technical education was being introduced at school levels as a part of government policy).
For details, *see* J. H. Broomfield, *Elite Conflict in a Plural Society-Twentieth Century Bengal*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968.

12. *PGB*, Education Department, October, 1927, Calcutta, Bengal Government Press, 1928, pp. 3-59.

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Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement: While Indian nationalist movement was going on Muslim religious leaders became actively involved in politics over the question of Caliphate (at the beginning of World War I, British Government gave a pledge to the Indian Muslims that under any circumstances the independence of the Caliph of Turkey would be maintained, but this pledge was not kept). At the same time, Jallianwalabad killing took place which added hatred towards British rule and nationalist movement was strengthened. Following the nineteenth century anti-British traditions of Wahabi Movement, Muslim religious leaders were drawn to the politics of Indian national congress and not to the politics of Muslim League was pro-establishment. Thus Khilafat Movement coalesced with the Indian nationalist movement and brought about an unprecedented and wide spread movement against British imperialism. Mahatma Gandhi was chosen as the leader. The protest was over the injustices at the Punjab and Caliphate. Non-violent non-cooperation activity was taken up. Indians quitted government jobs, functions, even educational institutions. Boycott of British goods was propagated, payment of tax was suspended. British Government was

shattered and embarrassed. Khilafat Movement was basically religious and stood for Pan-Islamism, Non-Cooperation Movement was nationalist, territorial and secular. For their contradictory character the two movements could not co-exist for long. For obvious reasons after 1924 when Mustafa Kamal of Turkey abolished Caliphate, the Khilafat Movement lost its force and came to an end. As non-violent non-cooperation resulted in certain violent activities, Gandhi left the Movement and it also died down. But the Movements left certain far reaching results in economic and political arena of India, and also in educational scenario of India as a whole.

14. A. R. Mallick and Syed Anwar Husain, "*Political Basis of Bengali Nationalism*", in Sirajul Islam (Ed.), *History of Bangladesh, 1704-1971*, Vol. I, Political, Dhaka, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 1992, pp. 550-573.

Bengal Pact: With the collapse of Non-Cooperation Movement a group of Congress members, under the leadership of C. R. Das, opted for Council entry. Their policy was to wreck the reforms from inside the legislature. The pro-Council Congress fraction fought the elections under the banner of Swarajya Party. Out of 47 elected members in the House 21 were Muslims. These Muslims joined hands with C. R. Das as the result of a communal accord, called the Bengal Pact. Das reached the Pact late in 1923 with certain Muslim leaders like Abul Kalam Azad, President of Indian National Congress in 1923, Wahed Hussain (Lawyer and MLC), Syed Nasim Ali (MLC), Maulavi Abdul Karim (Educationist), represented Muslims in the negotiations of the Pact. Muslim leaders who joined the Pact had no appetite for agitational politics. They believed in constitutional politics. When Government of India Act 1919 was passed transferring larger powers to Indian hands, they were convinced that Muslim interest could best be served by taking advantages of the new reforms. The Bengal Pact assured the Muslims of a number of major concessions on the attainment of Swaraj in return for their support of the Swarajist strategy of wrecking the reforms of 1919. It promised Bengal Muslim separate electorate, representation on all elective bodies, a share of jobs in government departments, in local and municipal bodies on the basis of population. The Pact placed a voluntary ban on the playing of music by Hindus before the mosque etc. As a result of the Pact, Akram Khan and Syed Mohammad Karim Aga were elected as two of the five older men, and Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy and Haji Abdur Raschid Khan were given the post of Deputy Mayor and Deputy Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation. In filling the vacancies of clerical and other posts in the Corporation, more Muslims were recruited than ever before. According to the Pact the Muslims were to be 80% of total recruit till they had occupied 55% of the total posts. But this communal harmony was short lived. After the death of C. R. Das (1925), the Bengal Pact was rejected

by All India Congress, and the anti-Swarajists and the press raised their voices against the Pact. It was cancelled at the provincial Congress Conference at Krishnanagar in May 1926.

15. Khan, pp. 16-17.

16. *PGB*, Education Department, December, 1925, Calcutta, Bengal Government Press, 1926, p. 203.

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19. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

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Hon. Haroon Jaffar moved a resolution at the Imperial Legislative Council, held on 23 February, 1920, which was accepted by Government of India. The Council recommended to the Governor General-in-Council that he be pleased to enquire from provincial government what further effect can be given to the suggestions and recommendations made by the Government of India to the provincial government regarding the extension and improvement of Muhamedan education.

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22. *PGB*, Education Department, August, 1922, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1922, p. 27.

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23. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

24. *PGB*, Education Department, December, 1924, Calcutta, Bengal Government Press, 1925.

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Chapter Five

Muslim Women: Progress in Education, 1911 -1935

As we consider Muslims a disadvantaged community we are also constrained to consider Muslim women more disadvantaged, lagging far behind their male counterparts. We have noticed that despite the governmental measures for educational uplift of Muslims nothing was said about the education of Muslim women; and no special provision was made for the education of Muslim women even in the early part of the twentieth century. In 1920, when education was made a provincial subject under the Act of 1919, Muslim legislators and ministers were found to be specially concerned about Muslim education, but this was indeed a male dominated concern for their own gender, the opposite gender, that is, women did not have any place in this concern.

Even in 1921, on the fourth session of Bengal legislative Council when a hot debate was going on the subject of women's suffrage, Syed Nasim Ali while opposing women's right to vote said, "Real female education and social reform can be obtained by advancing schemes of female education which will fit its girls for the vocation of wife and mother, and not as magistrates, Munsif etc., not certainly as MLCs and MLAs."[1] In the same session (fourth session, 1921), S. M. Bose said, "Education of a single girl means the uplifting of a whole family in a larger sense than the education of a single man . . . thus the education of a woman has the most profound influence upon the whole texture of national life . . . woman must come to their rescue. One important step is to give them the vote."[2] Muslim members who supported the Bill argued from the point of view that as

Muslim women had the right of inheritance, they surely will fulfil the condition of property qualification. No one said a word on importance of education of women, though Muslim women were lagging far behind other communities in respect of education.

Problem of female education, specially the importance of Muslim female education was being discussed in the media (newspapers and periodicals). In 1930, the *Mihir and Sudhakar* was surprised on the fact that, according to the 1901 census 400 Muslim women knew English. " Since it is possible for the teaching of English to penetrate our Zenanas, what objection is there to setting up schools for the instruction of our girls?"[3] The *Al Eslam* was worried about the type of education given to females and suggested that, Muslim women needed " a type of education suited to Muslim society." A course was suggested that would cover six years and lead to knowledge of Urdu, religious instruction, Bengali, History, Arithmetic, Hygiene, Child Care, House Keeping etc.[4]

Even in 1929, female education was still facing opposition from orthodox religious leaders.[5] The *Saogat* took an important role to propagate for education of the Muslim female. Ayesha Ahmed wrote in the same paper, "Chastity is an inner thing and its preservation requires mental faculties, a sense of duty and the power to discriminate between good and bad. These faculties can be fully developed through education."[6] Although public opinion grew slowly in favour of women education but nothing much was achieved because education was a sphere where governmental intervention was needed.[7] Unfortunately, this intervention came quite late.

Reasons for Backwardness:

Muslim women lagged behind the women of other communities in the field of education. This backwardness of Muslim

women had several explanations. Middle class which gradually emerged in the Muslim society became connected with all strata of the community. Attainment of education was the cultural basis and government employment was the economic basis of middle class. The core consisted of the educated section of the community and enjoyed its status because of its special position in the political set-up. As only English education lead to getting the government jobs, after the provincial autonomy and separate electorate, when more jobs were kept reserved for them, Muslims were coming for English education in greater numbers. When other factors which were considered as obstacles to Muslim education were removed, Muslims reacted positively and there was a remarkable progress in Muslim education (details in previous chapters). But these could not serve as a crystallising factor for Muslim women to come for education. Government jobs and there by having a status in the society was never been a source of inspiration for sending Muslim girls to schools.

Other deterrent was moral in nature. It was feared that an educated girl was less amenable to obedience and less disposed to house hold duties. An education report recorded the remarks of a district official in Assam regarding women education. ". . . Parents think they (girls) ... despise ordinary household duties if they learn how to read and write. Girls thus qualified are also said to become dushta (bad), which I imagine means they are less amenable to discipline and less likely to submit to parents' choice of husbands."[8] It was also feared that education would contravene Purdah. Initially, education was viewed by many as a means for loosening the control exercised by society over women.[9]

The conservatism of the Muslim society regarding female education was criticised at a meeting of the Bengal Social Science Association in Calcutta, where Nawab Abdul Lateef had presented a paper on Muslim education. A question was raised as to whether similar efforts for Muslim female education was being made

in the Muslim community as in the case of Hindu females. In reply, Maulavi Abdul Halim of Calcutta Madrasah said that, many Muslim women were renowned throughout history for their learning but such education was imparted within the house . It was unthinkable that the Muslim girls like the girl of other communities should go outside the home for education violating Purdah. Nawab Abdul Lateef did not say anything.[10] Syed Ameer Ali, though liberal in social thought, was not very much enthusiastic about formal education of the female, though he felt the need of female education.[11]

Traditionally Muslim women received education at home. It was mostly of religious and moral in nature. Urdu, Persian, basic Accounting, etc. were taught. Some times the quality was quite high among the Ashraf but the main aim of education was to help the girls for their future role as wife and mother.

Slow and Gradual Growth of Muslim Female Education:

The Christian missionaries played a significant role in the early stage of female education. Some Muslim girls were benefited from early projects in female education undertaken by the Christian missionaries.[12] The second initiative came from the Company officials, British residents in Bengal, and the third important advocate of female education was a section of urban elite in Bengal, first from Hindu and Brahma and then from Muslim community. The last but the most powerful strength for the development of female education in Bengal came from government.[13]

Very slowly and gradually Muslim girls were coming out of home for education. They were coming to schools and Maktabs exclusively for girls, but of course, in very small number, and economic drive was definitely not there.

As the Muslim girls were slowly taking to modern education they had their own reasons for doing so. When boys were being educated in a Muslim family it was obvious that they would have some influence on their sisters and some Muslim girls became eager to learn and they did it with much trouble. The example of Begum Rokeya Sakhawat Hussain and Nawab Faizunnessa Choudhurani may be sighted. When men like Abdul Lateef or Ameer Ali hardly gave any thought on female education, Faizunnessa realised women must be by the side of men in the path of modernity. These pioneers helped themselves and helped others get education. Influence of the educated girl of other community was also strong. When girls from Hindu Brahmo or Native Christians were coming to girl's school, one or two Muslim names could be found in the registers.

When educated Muslim males took up jobs, Muslim parents who wanted them as sons-in-law, could very well see that their daughters were to be accomplished to be their partners and started to give them education at home by governess. Again, educated Muslim men expected wives who could match them intellectually. Muhammad Nasiruddin, a renowned journalist, while writing about his youth said that he had decided not to get married because to him Muslim girls were uneducated, clumsy and dirty. Only one or two of Muslim families were around who gave their daughter a little education. Ultimately he married a girl from one of those families.[14]

When Muslim girls started to come for education, Muslim ladies who were educated at home came forward to help them with projects for Muslim female education. The very first few girls' schools were established by them. Begum Rokeya Sakhawat Hussain, herself a pioneer firebrand, carried on a systematic and ceaseless effort for Muslim female education. Her school, established in 1911 in Calcutta (Sakhawat Memorial School) was one of the pioneering Muslim girls' Schools. Surhawardiya Begum also established a girl's school in Calcutta in 1909. Eden Female School[15] was established at

Dhaka in 1876, around the same time a middle English school was established for girls in Chittagong which was converted to Dr. Khastagir's Girl's School in 1907.[16] Nowab Faizunnessa's girls' school was already there in Comilla. These schools were the first few schools that helped the progress of female education of Muslims.

Establishment of a few girls' schools was not the only indication of educational progress of the Muslim girls. In the early part of the 20th century, whether the Muslim women should come out of their house for education or not was a much discussed question. Public opinion on female education started gaining ground. The *Mohammadi*, *Saogat*, *Shikha*, and other journals and periodicals of those days published a number of articles on education of the Muslims, specially on Muslim female education and its problems. *Mihir o Sudhakar* suggested that English be taught in girls' Madrasahs.[17] The *Al Eslam* suggested that Muslim women needed " a type of education suited to Muslim society." According to it, it was impossible for Muslim girls "to attend education institutions till well beyond maturity, travelling by carriages and dressed in tight-fitting chemises and blouses . . . the reading of trash dramas and novel, writing of graphic love letters, attending the theatre and enhancing physical beauty with colourful garments and cosmetics have become part of (western type) education. That kind of education perverts taste, undermines religious faiths and gives rise to bad behaviour."[18] The *Saogat* while defending female education from the attacks of orthodox leaders wrote, "the chief impediment to female education are the Mullahs. They think that the diffusion of female education in our society will lead inevitably to its downfall. According to them once enlightened by education women will become uncontrollable, their faith in religion will cease, . . . they will degenerate into sources of evil. All these fears of Mullahs are groundless ... they do not realise that if our women folk are properly educated then they will not only become worthy mothers and housewives but also true mates to their husbands and competent advisers to them.[19]

Private enterprises in the field of Muslim female education were found to be matched by those of the government.

Female Education Committee:

There were government committees for female education to give advice and suggestions on problems of female education and to oversee the progress of female education in general. Female Education Committee of Hindu girls (Mrs. Kumudini Das, B.A. was the Secretary of the Committee) reported that a number of schools existed in each district. These were not conducted on Purdah lines but it did not deter Hindu parents from sending their daughters to these schools. There was paucity of lady teachers. For married girls and for girls above the age of 12, schools conducted on Purdah lines were needed. It also reported that demand for education was no more confined to upper class.[20]

Free Elementary Education:

When question of making elementary education free for all came up, girls' education was also included.[21] It was announced in the Coronation Darbar, on 12 December 1911, that the Government of India would devote Rs. 50 lakh to the promotion of popular education as addition to provincial budgets. This money was to be spent in five sectors to five objects, and one of the sectors was the education (elementary) of girls.[22]

Gradual Increase in Number of Schools

Around 1911-12 there were quite a few schools for girls in Bengal. The Table 5.1 shows the number of girls' schools in the West and East Bengal in 1911-12.

Table 5.1: Number of Girls' Schools in Bengal, 1911-1912.

Type of Schools	In West Bengal	In East Bengal	Total in Bengal
High Schools	10	3	13
Middle English	9	2	11
Mid. Vernacular	13	8	21
Upper Primary	139	61	200
Lower Primary	1,652	4,214	5,866
Special	251	-----	251
Total	2,074	4,288	6,362

Source: Statement of DPI to show expenditure for all branches of education, 1911-12.[23]

The Table 5.1 shows that number of schools in East Bengal was more that that in West Bengal. But, in East Bengal the number of lower primary was higher. In High or Middle, even in upper Primary schools, West Bengal outnumbered East Bengal. These schools were for girls of all communities and thus do not give any picture of Muslim female education.

The Report of Public Instruction in Bengal for 1913-14 showed that in that year the number of public institutions for girls was 7,573. In the previous year the number was 7,263. But it showed no increase in the number of high schools. Number of increased primary schools was 252 and that of special school was 50 and increase in middle school (both vernacular and English) numbered 6.[24] Increased

number of schools definitely indicates increased number of girls. But the progress was confined to lower classes of instructions.

The Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1915-1916, showed that number of institutions for girls was 640. By 1920-21, the number of institution for girls rose to 12,199 (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2: Number of Institutions for Girls, 1920-1921.

Type of Institutions	Number	Type of Institutions	Number
Arts Colleges	3	Training Colleges	1
High Schools	13	Middle Schools	58
Primary Schools	12,059	Training Schools	12
Special Schools	53		

Source: Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1920-21, p. 14.

If we compare the figures given in Table 5.2 with those of 1911-12 (Table 5.1) we find that there was no increase in the number of high schools and colleges. The increase in middle schools was 26, but in primary schools it was doubled. Another interesting information in the Report on Public Instruction, 1920-21, was that the percentage of increase of Muslim girls was higher than that of Hindus.[25] This progress was due to the liberal assistance from the government.

Even in 1932-1933, the number of secondary schools did not change much. The Table 5.3 shows the number of High and Middle Schools for girls, maintained by the government. It also shows the expenditure incurred by the government, the number of students and their creed.

Table 5.3: Government High and Middle English Schools for Indian Girls, 1932-1933.

Sl. No.	Name of School	Total Pupil	Muslim Pupil	Total Expenditure	Expenditure from Provincial Revenue
1.	Bethun Collegiate	370	------	33,106	17,639
2.	Eden High , Dhaka	299	35	49,790	34,294
3.	Vidyamoyee High, Mymensingh	466	37	35,346	26,401
4.	Faizunnessa High, Comilla	234	24	19,265	15,105
5.	Dr. Khastagir High, Chittagong	270	32	41,471	33,193
6.	Faridpur Middle English	174	15	7,584	5,996
7.	Noakhali Middle English	153	20	9,352	7,610

Source: Government of Bengal. Education Dept., March 1936, Progs. No. 181, B Proceedings.[26]

Number of Girl Students:

Increase in the number of institutions definitely meant an increase in the number of students, and in general a progress in education. There were girl students in boys' schools also. In primary schools, sometimes 5% of the students were girls.[27]

The Report on Public Instruction of Bengal mentioned a gradual progress of number of female students. In 1912-13 it was increased by 1423, in 1913-14 number of increase of 6,013. A note prepared by the Assistant Director of Public Instruction for Muhammedan Education, for the information of the Muhammedan Education Committee says that per 1000 literate (can read and write) Muslim female numbered 1.5 in Dhaka, 3.5 in Presidency, 7.0 in Burdwan, 2.2 in Chittagong and 1.7 in Rajshahi divisions (more details

in chapter three). Number of literate Hindu female was much more than that of Muslims. Out of 1000 Muslim female, only 2.3 were literate, and number of literate in English was 0.07. In Hindu community the number of literate and English literate per 1000 was 118.5 and 0.8 respectively.[28] Though number of Muslims were more in Dhaka, Chittagong and Rajshahi divisions, number of literate Muslim women was less in these areas. This was true for literacy of Muslim community as a whole. Percentage of Muslim girls in Girls' Secondary at High stage was 0.8%, where as that of Hindu girls was 80.6%, at middle stage it was 3.2% and 63.1% respectively. In the girls primary, percentage of Muslim girls was better, it was 15.7% in the upper primary, where as Hindus were 84.2%. But in the lower primary it was even better, 44.9%. At the lowest strata Muslim girls found a better position.[29] The total number of female students in 1915-16 was 2,84,813.[30] Progress was not up to the expectation that year. Financial crisis was the cause of less progress. Around that year the attitudes of the parents were gradually changing. Previously parents were not ready to spend even a little amount of money for education of their daughters, but by this time, at least among the Hindu Bhadralok class, education of girls became a necessity. The advantage of systematic instruction at school over that at home was realised. They preferred free education but was also ready to pay fees for it if necessary. A change in the attitude of Muslim parents (though very few in numbers) was also seen. Out of 70 girls attending colleges, 20 were Brahmin, 40 Vaidya and 10 belonged to lower classes and other community. Higher classes contributed 85% in colleges, in high and middle school they contributed 80% and 67% respectively. But, in primary classes the percentage of girls belonging to lower class and Muslims was 57% during 1916-17.[31] Table 5.4 shows number of Muslim girls in different stages of school in 1916 (in colleges the number of Muslim girls was very negligible).

Table 5.4: Number of Muslim Girls at Different Stages of Schools, 1916.

Type of Institution	Total Number of Girls	Number of Muslim Girls
High School	2,181	53
Middle English	1,361	67
Middle Vernacular	3,711	106
Primary	1,63,934	66,277
Total	1,71,187	66,503

Source: Proceedings of Government of Bengal, General Dept. (Education), September 1916.[32]

It is clear from the table that the number of Muslim girls at higher classes of school was really very poor. This drew the attention of the education department. If government could provide separate institutions for different community Muslim could gain more, but it was not possible, and in that case the general progress would have been very slow. So, government was trying to chalk out a plan and establish a system of education designed for all incorporating Arabic etc. in syllabus (more elaborate discussion in the previous chapter). But for Muslim girls, the education department desired to establish limited number of special schools, and Rs. 45,880 was kept separate from imperial recurring grant for special Muslim girls' schools.[33] (government policy on Muslim female education is discussed later in the chapter).

The fifth Quinquennial Review on Progress of Education, 1912-13 to 1916-17, states that the increase of men and boys institutions in this period was 7.9%, but that for women and girls was 35.9%.[34] This progress was marked in primary schools. Percentage of increase in girls school was because of the fact that number of girls school was few. It also informs that the increase in the percentage of Muslim girls was 51.9%, but that of Hindu girls was

12.7%. The following table gives a clear picture of the educational progress of the Muslim girls during the period 1911 to 1917.

Table 5.5: Number of Girls Schools and Students by Race, 1911-1917.

Year	Girls School (Public)	Girls Pupil	Hindu	Muslim
1911-12	6,957	2,22,576	1,29,665	86,476
1912-13	7,263	2,22,749	1,27,924	87,899
1913-14	7,573	3,30,729	1,29,578	93,912
1914-15	8,268	2,47,971	1,31,677	1,08,377
1915-16	8,908	2,68,682	1,40,308	1,20,969
1916-17	9,520	2,85,398	1,46,224	1,31,380

Source: Quinquennial Review on Progress of Education, 1912-13 to 1916-17.[35]

The table shows that Muslim girl students increased from 38.8% to 46.0%. Most of the Muslim girl students were in the primary stage (98.4% of the total Muslim girl students). Only two Muslim girls were at Arts Colleges, 36 were in high schools, 205 in middle schools, 1,790 in special schools and 1,29,341 were in primary schools totalling 1,31,380 in 1917. Corresponding figures in previous report were 1 in college, 46 in high schools, 87 in middle schools, 9,989 in special schools and 76,353 in primary schools, totalling 86,476.[36] The interesting thing was that the number of girl students in special schools decreased during this period. It shows a trend in Muslim female education, non denominational schools were gradually becoming popular. Increased demand for girls education among the poor Muslims was another important feature of the 5th Quinquennial Review. And, as a result, more schools, if not possible, more Maktabs were being established in backward villages, but due to paucity of

trained teachers, and financial constraints, this demand could not be met.[37]

The Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1917-1918, showed the increase of girls in all sorts of school including mixed schools as from 2,85,398 to 2,99,558.[38]

Under the Act of 1919, education became a provincial subject and more enthusiasm from the part of the government was expected. But because of the non cooperation movement there was a sharp fall in the number of students of all community in all sorts of schools. The Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1918-1919, showed that Muslims lost 18,016 scholars, Hindus lost 24,853 scholars of whom 987 were Hindu girls. But there was a gain in the number of Muslim girls in education. Increased number of Muslim girls was 9455.[39]

During the Fifth Quinquennial, Muslim females were in the training colleges, universities and medical colleges. At the end of 1911-12, there were 50 women studying at Calcutta Medical College and Medical School of Bengal, out of which 2 were Muslims and out of 111 lady students of training schools 11 were Muslims.[40]

The Sixth Quinquennial Review (1917-18 to 1921-22) shows the same trend of progress. Inspectress were pleased to see the increasing desire among Muslims to send their daughters to school. In Presidency Division alone, 9 Muslim schools and 30 Maktabs were receiving grants in aid, special arrangements were being made for Muslim girls.[41]

The following table gives us a picture of progress of education of Muslim girls from 1917 to 1922.

Table 5.6: Muslim Girls in Public Institutions on 31 March of 1917 and 1922

Year	Arts College	High School	Middle School	Primary School	Special School
1922	2	76	389	1,73,160	362
1917	2	36	205	1,29,341	1,796

Source: Progress of Education in Bengal, 1917-18 to 1921-22 .[42]

The table shows a good progress, but here also, the increased number of students was due to increase in the number of institutions in the primary stage. Of the total Muslim girl students almost 99.5% were at the primary stage. The trend of decrease in the number of girls at special schools was carried on through out the Quinquennial. Though number of female students was increasing in both the community, but the percentage of waste was very high. Only 1 in 234 girls could go upto higher stage and 1 in 1516 could go upto Matriculate Class. An analysis of the pupil by religion makes the picture still more gloomy. Table 5.7 shows the number of girls by race and creed at different stages of schools.

Table 5.7: Girls in Different Classes of Non-European Schools by Race and Creed, 1926-1927.

Race and Creed	Secondary				Primary	Total in Secondary and Primary
	High	Middle English	Middle Vernacular	Total		
Hindu	3,934	4,939	1,480	10,353	1,71,237	1,81,590
Muslim	172	383	118	673	2,20,330	2,21,003
Others	695	911	430	2,044	4,480	6,533
Total	4,801	6,233	2,036	13,070	3,96,056	4,09,126

Source: Supplement to the Review on Progress of Education in Bengal, 1922-23 to 1926-27.[43]

From the above table it appears that Hindu and Muslim girls at school were roughly in proportion to the size of each community at primary stage, but the proportion varied from division to division. In the whole of Burdwan Division there were not a single girl above primary stage. In Dhaka Division, only 3.7% of the total number of girls in secondary schools were Muslims. In Chittagong Division only 1 out of 37 Muslim girls could go beyond Class I, only 1 out of 1300 survived primary stage.[44] In the face of these figures one is bound to say that the wastage was pathetic and no certain conclusion as to the spread of literacy and progress of education among women, specially Muslim women can be drawn from general statistics of the number of girls at school.

There were three Arts Colleges in Calcutta teaching upto the B.A. standard, and the intermediate department of Eden High School for girls at Dhaka was the only girl's college in Eastern Divisions. Though the number of institutions remained same, number

of students increased. It was 213 in 1922, and went upto 289 in 1927. Some women were in university classes and in male colleges, number totalling 321.[45] Demand for higher education was growing slowly. But this was mostly confined to Hindu women only.

In 1927, Muslim girls at different stages of educational institutions were as shown in the following table.

Table 5.8: Number of Muslim Girls at Different Stages of Educational Institutions in 1927.

Type of Institutions	Number of Muslim Girls
Colleges	7
High Schools	172
Middle Schools	501
Primary Schools	2,20,330
Special Schools	196
Total	2,21,206

Source: Progress of Education in Bengal, 1922 - 1923 to 1926 - 1927.

The total number of Muslim girls amounted to 53.7% of the total girl students. Here again the increase is more marked in some divisions. In Chittagong it was 48.8%, in Dhaka it was 30.3%, but it should be remembered that 96.7% of the Muslim girls were in primary stage, and most of them would leave school after one year of instruction. But there was still advance, not retrogression. In some Madrasahs middle English classes were opened, middle vernacular classes were opened in Maktabs at some places. Primary schools multiplied but conditions were poor. Aids given by the district boards were scanty. Main hindrance to Muslim female education as pointed out by the Inspectress for East Bengal was the scarcity of Muslim lady teachers. But she was hopeful by seeing growing number of Muslim girls in training schools.[46]

Muslim female education kept on a slow but steady progress. By 1932 there were 3,03,830 Muslim girls under public instruction which was 56.2% of the whole.[47] Progress was mainly in primary stage but slowly Muslim girls were coming into higher stages.[48] Shakhawat Memorial Girls School (School established by Begum Rokeya Sakhawat Hussain at Calcutta) presented students as private candidate and two out of three passed in 1931. Suhrawardy Begum School which taught up to Middle English standard won 12 scholarships which was indeed a great achievement.[49]

Muslim society was conservative and it would take time to allow considerable number of its women to secure higher education. Lack of qualified women teacher, lack of provision for teachers of Arabic and Persian, absence of separate hostels for Muslims etc. were main difficulties in the progress of female education of the Muslims. But at primary stage these were not great factors, little girls could go to male teachers, and most of the time Quran, rituals and Dinayat predominated the primary courses.

The following table gives a picture of the progress of education of Muslim girls in comparison to the other community from 1921 - 22 to 1931 - 32 at primary and secondary levels.

Table 5.9: Number of Pupil in Secondary and Primary Schools for Indian Girls by Race and Creed, 1921-22 to 1931-32

Year	European and Eurasian	Indian Christian	Hindu	Muslim	Others	Total
1921-22	66	5,257	1,20,213	1,52,775	1,369	2,79,680
1926-27	30	4,742	1,46,986	2,01,472	1,316	3,34,546
1931-32	66	6,051	2,07,139	3,03,063	22,386	5,38,705

Source: Supplement to the Review on Progress of Education in Bengal, 1927-28 to 1931-32.[50]

The next table gives an idea of the progress of education of Muslim girls, during the years between 1931-32 to 1936-37 at all levels.

Table 5.10: Number of Muslim Women and Girls in Different Types of Institutions, 1931-32 to 1936-37

Year	College		Secondary		Primary	Unrecog-nised	Special	Total
	Arts	Profe-ssional	High Stage	Middle Stage				
1931-32	8	---	92	225	3,02,746	6,116	759	3,09,946
1936-37	45	2	341	614	3,95,478	5,576	2,504	4,04560

Source: Quinquennial Review on Progress of Education in Bengal, 1931 - 32 to 1936 - 37.[51]

From the table , a steady progress of Muslim girls can be seen. This trend was existing in the previous quinquennial review. Muslim girls

were encouraged to take teaching as a profession but there were very few Muslim girls in training colleges and training schools. There was only one Muslim girl in training college and 42 in training school, but number of Hindu girls was 27 and 138 respectively in 1936-37.[52] As supply of qualified lady teachers was the prerequisite for progress of education of Muslim ladies, much importance was given to female training colleges. During the period covered by Ninth Quinquennial Review on education, there was one Muslim girl in medical college and 2 were in medical school, where as Hindus were 17 in medical college and 36 in medical school.[53] Progress of Muslim female education in comparison to other communities can be seen from the following table.

Table 5.11: Girls in Secondary and Primary Schools for Indian by Race and Creed, 1926-27 to 1936-37

Year	European and Anglo-Indians	Indian Christian	Hindu	Muslim	Others	Total
1926-27	30	4,742	1,46,986	2,01,472	1,316	3,54,546
1931-32	66	6,051	2,27,139	3,03,063	2,386	5,38,705
1936-37	7	7,264	3,00,978	3,96,433	2,143	7,06,825

Source: Supplement to the Review on Progress of Education in Bengal, 1931-32 to 1936-37.[54]

The number of Muslim girls increased from 2,01,472 to 3,96,433 during the period 1926-27 to 1936-37. In Arts Colleges and professional colleges there was also a small increase in number.

Zenana Education:

Alongside formal schools there was another system of education for girls known as Zenana education. It was not like a school, nor was it education at home. There was a syllabus. There

were recognised teachers, and there was sometimes examination also. Sometimes there were teachers who went from house to house and taught girls, sometimes the students gathered at a place and received education. This helped the progress of education of Muslim girls. Hindu girls, specially married girls also took advantage of this system.

Zenana instruction differed in Western and Eastern Bengal. In West Bengal house to house visitation scheme was in force. Four Muslim female teachers visited various houses in Calcutta, and there were 14 teachers for house to house teaching in various parts of Mofussil of Bengal.

In East Bengal, central gathering system was followed. New centres in Mymensingh and Faridpur were proposed.[55] Zenana education was quite popular. Appointment of one Assistant Inspectress for Zenana teaching was proposed in Burdwan and Presidency Divisions. Three governesses, one each at Dhaka, Mymensingh and Faridpur were given appointment. 15 Zenana teachers were appointed for West Bengal.[56]

A vivid description of system of Zenana teaching appeared in the Quinquennial Review on Progress of Education, 1912-1916-17 (Fifth Quinquennial) which quoted Miss Bose the Inspectress as "the system of education by means of house to house visitation and a central gathering is a great boon to Purdah Women, both Hindu and Muhammedan, and is highly appreciated by people of both the communities. In 1914-15, an additional annual sum of Rs. 5,400 was sanctioned for the extension of Zenana education"[57]; out of that money 5 Zenana teachers were appointed for Calcutta purely for Muslim women. There were 29 Zenana teachers in 1913-14, 45 in 1914-15 and 47 in 1915-16.[58] But most of the teachers were not competent enough to carry on the work.

But as Muslim female education needed encouragement, and it was not possible to have more schools established, this system of Zenana education had a special purpose to serve. There were 719 married girls and women under this instruction in West Bengal.[59] This system was time consuming because one had to go from house to house and so the second system of central gathering came up with seven branches during the period of Fifth Quinquennial Review (1912-13 to 1916-17).

In East Bengal there were 598 women under Zenana education in Dhaka, Rajshahi and Chittagong divisions. It required frequent inspection to keep them upto the mark. The Assistant Inspectress had to hold regular examinations every year. Some lessons on sick nursing and first aid were introduced in connection with the hygiene lesson. Gradually some more changes in the syllabus was being made.

There were many problems in the system of Zenana education. Its result was not proportionate to the expenditure of the public fund. It made little progress because it was time consuming, standard reached by the pupil was poor because very few teachers had the capacity to teach beyond the lower primary level. Low salaries and inadequate conveyance allowances could not make the post of Zenana teachers attractive and better teachers could not be expected. In reality, in all branches of education supply of female teachers was limited.[60] Waste of time involved in house to house visit, destruction of married life etc. were also some of the drawbacks of Zenana education. That is why, a centre which flourished one year suddenly faded the next year.[61]

Despite all these limitations without Zenana governess many girls would miss the little education they were having. So, it was to be carried on till such time as "with the spread of primary education in Bengal all the girls would have a chance to receive primary

education.[62] Some improvement was being introduced like better pay of teachers. An experiment was carried on the lines based on Parents National Union Scheme of England. The idea was to introduce a correspondence system of instruction from a centre supplemented by a certain amount of visitation. Fortnightly assignments were given in Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Hygiene etc. and visits of governesses were becoming gradually less frequent and independent work was being encouraged. Under the direction of Mr. West, Principal, Dhaka Training College, this system made quite good success.[63]

Syllabus:

The curriculum for vernacular and middle English schools for girls differed from that of boys.[64] For Muslim girls Urdu was taught as far as possible. Arrangement was made for teaching of Urdu to Muslim girls, numbering 30, of the Eden High School and governess were appointed to teach Urdu to Muslim girls in three centres of the town.[65]

Miss Brock, Inspectress of School wrote in her note that Muslim girls were not attracted by the ordinary primary schools. She suggested that, ordinary vernacular curriculum be introduced to Quran reading Maktabs for girls and religious teaching should be taken at the beginning and at the end of school day in ordinary schools.[66]

For girls of district town vernacular was Bengali, but in Calcutta , Murshidabad, and Assansole, most of the Muslim girls attending schools spoke Urdu. Teaching of two languages in primary schools was not possible and thus Bengali was made the medium of instruction in all primary schools with a few exceptions (depending on area).

Scholarships for Muslim Girls:

Scholarships and stipends served as a great incentive for education of the Muslims in general. Poor Muslim parents were often unable and unwilling to spend money for education of their sons. For the education of their daughters they were still more unwilling. Among the poorer classes no economic gain could be foreseen for the expenditure made for the education of the girls.

The Director of Public Instruction proposed in 1912 that a few special scholarships for primary and middle schools for girls in Dhaka, Chittagong and Rajshahi divisions be created to boost up education of girls, both Hindus and Muslims,[67] but there were very few Muslim girls above the primary level. These were sanctioned. In 1916, there were quite a good number of scholarships for girls. Table 5.12 shows the number of scholarships at different stages.

Table 5.12: Number of Scholarships for Girls in 1916.

Type of Scholarships	Number
Primary Scholarships	119
Middle English Scholarships	8
Middle Vernacular Scholarships	13
Junior Scholarships	9
Senior Scholarships	8

Source: Proceedings of Government of Bengal, General Department (Education), September 1916.

The table shows that the number of scholarships at primary stage was the maximum. For obvious reasons number of students competing for it was the highest. Again, number of middle vernacular scholarships was more than tat of middle English. The reason behind it is not difficult to understand. Muslim girls were helped by primary

scholarships, at other levels, there were very few Muslim girls to compete. There were proposals for increase of numbers scholarships from the imperial grant. But no special scholarships were reserved for Muslim girls. Inspectresses of Schools were empowered to deal with the case of Muslim scholarship candidates at their discretion.[68]

Gradually it was felt that reservation of scholarships for Muslim girls would help in the progress of Muslim female education, because, it was tough for them to get those scholarships through open competition. In 1920, some scholarships were kept reserved for Muslim girls. The number of reserved scholarships for Muslim girls is shown in the following table.

Table 5.13: Number of Reserved Scholarships for Muslim Girls, 1921.

Type of Scholarships	Number of Reserved Scholarships	Total Number of Scholarships	Percent (%) Reserved
Middle English	2	18	11.11
Middle Vernacular	2	16	12.5
Upper Primary	2	16	12.5
Lower Primary	17	158	10.75

Source: Progress of Education in Bengal, 1917-18 to 1921-22.[69]

These reservations were not proportionate to the population but at least this was something and helped as an incentive for Muslim girls.

In Dhaka two junior scholarships were created for Eden High School but as two more girls' schools were recognised, these were thrown open for competition. One scholarship of Rs. 10 per month was kept reserved for Muslim girls.[70] In 1935, the DPI made

the following rules for award of and tenure of stipends for Muslim girls:

1. Eleven stipend of Rs. 5 for two years in Class V and VI, the three junior Madrasahs in Rajshahi, Barisal and Suthia Kathi for those who would agree to join vernacular training school for girls after completing junior Madrasah course. Exceptional bright girls were to be allowed to pass on to Class VII of high school with DPI's permission provided they agree to join training classes, medical school or to pass on intermediate class with a view to ultimately join as teachers of secondary schools for girls.

2. Seven stipends of Rs. 5 a month for two years in Class V and VI of Muslim middle English school for girls at Dhaka and Chittagong under the same conditions as in Rule 1.

3. Five stipends for Rs. 8 for two years in Class VII to Class X of high schools for girls under the same conditions as in Rule 1 and 2.

4. Three stipends for Rs. 15 for two years in intermediate classes in Arts Colleges who would agree to join as teachers or study medicine. In absence of candidates it would go to Calcutta University and Dhaka Board on merit but for Muslim girls only.

5. Two stipends of Rs. 20 for two years in 3rd and 4th year of B.A. or B.Sc., who would agree to join BT classes and serve as teachers to girls high schools or study medicine.

In all these scholarships, both poverty and merit were to be considered.[71]

The analysis of the rules for reservation of scholarships for Muslim girls bring out the fact that, government was eager to help the progress of female education of the Muslim community and felt the need of trained teachers and female medical practitioners badly. Paucity of Muslim girls in training colleges and medical schools was striking and it was expected that, these scholarships might help the Muslim girls to study medicine and join the training colleges. In 1936 , 11 additional stipends had to be created for Muslim female training

school at Calcutta on the basis of the report of the Inspectress of Schools, Presidency and Burdwan divisions.[72] There were many applicants for admissions in female training school but were rejected for want of sufficient number of stipends at the disposal of Head Mistress. There was a high demand for trained teachers through out the Province. Scarcity of Muslim female teachers was a serious obstacle to the advancement of education among the Muslim girls. The Inspectress further wrote that Muslim primary girls schools and Maktabs requested her to supply Muslim trained teachers, but number of outgoing trained teachers was much less than the demand. These reserved 11 scholarships might help Muslim girls to join the training school and come out as trained teachers.

Girls in Co-education:

Co-education was not very uncommon in Bengal. In primary classes many little girls attended boys' schools. Girls attended colleges with boys because in many cases there was no college for girls exclusively. Co-education was more popular among Hindus. Little Muslim girls went to primary classes with boys but in higher classes it was not possible. So, co-education was more popular in West Bengal.[73] The absence of separate schools in many places created drift of girls to boys high and middle schools. Government of Bengal encouraged the practice because in provinces like Madras and Bombay duplication of schools were avoided and considerable savings could be made.[74] But in Bengal where Muslims were in great number it was not possible. But still, number of girls in boys school was increasing. The following table shows increased number of girls in boys school.

Table 5.14: Number of Girls in Boys Schools, 1926-27 and 1931-32

Stages	1926-27	1931-32
In Boys Secondary	478	1524
In Boys Primary	58,443	92,285
In Boys Special	377	874

Source: Review on Progress of Education in Bengal, 1927-28 to 1931-32.[75]

Attitude of government towards Female Education:

Education is a field where governmental interference in the positive sense was always needed. Education was full of problems and money available for education was limited. As public opinion grew strong in favour of the female education, and importance of female education for the development of the society was felt, female education and its progress was given importance in government education policy.

The Government of East Bengal devoted larger part of their grant of Rs. 3.5 lakhs to a scheme for establishing a network of lower primary board school, promotion of female education and Muslim education.[76] During 1911-12, Government of East Bengal and Assam had Rs. 11,17,000 as grant, out of which Rs. 9,54,336 was to be spent for East Bengal and the rest for Assam. Out of that Rs. 2,00,000 was spent for female education. The construction of Eden High School for girls at Dhaka which amounted to 21% of the whole money.[77] Money spent for Zenana Schools in 1913-14 was Rs. 21,000 from provincial fund and Rs. 3,000 from imperial fund. In 1914-15 it was Rs. 22,502 from provincial and Rs. 10,870 from imperial fund and in 1915-16 it was Rs. 23,206 from provincial fund and Rs. 10,870 from imperial fund.[78] This shows the attitude of the

government, every year money allotment was increased for Zenana education from both provincial and imperial fund.

In East Bengal it was decided as a policy matter that a secondary female school should be maintained at headquarters of every district. But for financial reason it took a long time to implement the policy.[79]

Female education specially that of Muslim was facing two folds of problems: (a) education of the girls of upper classes or the problem of towns and (b) education of the girls of poorer classes or the problem of rural areas. Female Education Committee recommended that three types of girls schools should be maintained: (1) Urban Schools; (2) Board Schools; and (3) Aided Schools.

Urban School: One Urban School was to be maintained in each subdivision under government management. Existing schools could be utilised by giving trained teachers.

Board School: At every Panchayet Union under Board Management a school should be established and government should provide school house.

Aided School: The government should help privately managed girls school by giving grant in aid. In West Bengal this type of school was very few in number, but in East Bengal they were increasing rapidly. In West Bengal the required standard for government aid was very high, and it was suggested to lower the required standard for eligibility to grants in aid.[80]

Hostel facilities for females could boost up the progress of female education, so, provision for hostels and establishment of Purdah schools were taken as a policy.[81] It was decided that if necessary separate system of schools was to be established and maintained for Muslim girls. The Committee for Muslim Education did not desire to discourage the attendance of Muslim girls at primary schools for boys but it recognised the necessity for a distinct system of

schools for Muslim girls. It was also suggested that provision should be made for giving religious instruction in accordance with the principles advocated for Muslim boys. Anything that would offend the Muslim sentiment was to be avoided in those schools which Muslims might wish to use for educating their girls. It also recommended that ordinary primary school teachers should be encouraged to undertake the separate instruction of Muslim girls. Girls reading in ordinary primary school should be allowed to use the readers used in Maktabs. It was decided that the government policy should be such that where ever there was a demand for a school for girls should be established with liberal aid. To promote education of Muslim girls it was made a rule to include some Muslim ladies among the Assistant Inspectresses. Model schools were to be established at Dhaka and Calcutta, conducted on Purdah lines and managed by the government. University of Calcutta was requested to make necessary arrangement for examinations under strictly Purdah condition for Muslim ladies.[82] A scheme was drawn up by Female Education Committee , whose feature indicates the attitude of the committee and the government for the promotion of education of Muslim girls:

(a) Secular instruction should be added to selected Maktabs.

(b) Departmental schools of certain type should be opened at Muslim centres on experimental basis.

(c) Central female Madrasah be established at Dhaka.

(d) Muslim hostel should be attached to Eden School at Dhaka.

(e) Special reader for primary and Zenana classes be introduced for Muslims.[83]

Much had been attempted at but little was done to improve the position of Muslims of Bengal, much more was to be done to give Muslim girls their due share. It was realised that no scheme, no attempt at development could be made successful unless qualified teachers were there. Grants were given to Muslim girls school but little progress was made. Establishment of a training school for Muslim girls was proposed. The classes were to be in Purdah and all the

students were to be provided with stipend.[84] Girls primary school were not forbidden for grant of stipends (district board) but grants in aid were not given to them in the absence of specific rules. A demand was there to relax the rules.[85] This indicates the eagerness of the district authority to help the progress of female education. The Report of Public Instruction in Bengal, 1915-16, commented that female education was a 'frail plant' and needed special care. Propaganda and other measures were making female education popular. Parents who were not eager to send their daughters for education even if it was free, by this time they were ready to pay fees for them.[86]

The Quinquennial Review on Progress of Education, 1912-13 to 1916-17, mentioned that out of Rs. 2,44,000 of Imperial grant, Rs. 45,000 was reserved for education of Muslim girls. Demand for female education among poorer Muslims was increasing, but because of financial constraints, this demand could not be met.[87]

It was recommended to establish Advisory Committee to advise on women education. Muslim girls were not making much advance on collegiate education but they were doing well in primary stage. Nothing but a great social change, which was quite unlikely in the Muslim community, could have changed the situation. It was expected that this Advisory Committee might suggest better way to face the problem.[88] Pay of the teachers of the primary schools for girls was increased as scarcity of teacher was considered as the greatest hindrance to progress of female education.[89]

In the conclusion and recommendations of the chapter on 'Education: the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, 1928', it was clearly stated that spread of literacy among women was of great importance to rural development. The influence of female education in spreading lasting literacy among the young was realised and relation between female literacy and spread of general literacy was pointed out. The Commission suggested that more female teachers be

provided for small children.[90] It was also suggested that a board be established for female education to advise, to suggest changes of syllabus and to suggest method of improvement. In that board it was expected that Muslim community would have representative to take care of education of Muslim girls.[91] Side by side non-government organisations were also working for girls' education. 'Nari Shiksha Samity' was working in this field. They took care to find out places of dense ignorance, started new or took up in hand existing schools and run for a few years and then handed it over to independent committees and put them on direct grant in aid list of government Education Department. Thus it was widening the field of education.[92]

Female Educational Organisations in Calcutta (1917):

A report was prepared by J. N. Roy, General Press Censor to the Government of Bengal on educational organisations of Calcutta. In this report elaborate description of Muslim female education in Calcutta in 1917 is found.

Ward I: Number of Muslim female who should receive education ------ 298
Number of Muslim girls Maktabs ------ I
Girls attended ------ 16

Ward II: Muslim minority area. Number of Muslim girls eligible for education ------ 20
No special arrangements for Muslim girls.

Ward III: Number of Muslim girls ------ 523
Number of girls Maktab ------ I

Ward IV: For 533 Hindu girls ------ 5 institutions
For 543 Muslim girls, no special provision was there.

Ward V: Muslim minority area. No special provision.

Ward VI: Muslim girls ------379
Number of girls Maktab ------ 6
But, conditions of the Maktabs were deplorable.

Ward VII: No special arrangements for Muslim girls.

Ward VIII: Number of girls ------1,036
Number of Maktabs ------ 6
Number of girls attended ------ 215

Ward IX: Number of girls ------ 828
Number of Maktabs ------ 3
Number of girls attended ------ 49

Ward X: Number of Muslim girls ------ 239
There were 7 Maktabs for boys but some girls attended these. Suhrawardy Moslem Girls School was situated in this area. It was one of the best Muslim girls schools in Bengal founded by Purdaneshin Lady Suhrawardia Begum. Medium of instruction in this school was Urdu.

Ward XI: No special schools for Muslim girls.

Ward XII: Two schools for girls, one upper primary and one Quran school.

Ward XIII: Sakhawat Hussain Memorial Girls School was situated in this ward. Girls from respectable families attended the school. One girls' Maktab was also there.

Ward XIV: One upper and one lower primary schools for girls were there. There were 12 Maktabs and 2 Quran schools for boys, but were attended by girls.

Ward XV, Ward XVI and Ward XVII : Inhabited mostly by Europeans.

Ward XVIII: There was one Maktab for girls.

Ward XIX: 2 lower primary for girls and 1 Maktab for girls.

Ward XX: Number of Muslim girls ------ 1,374
Number of girls under instruction ------ 236
For girls, there were 3 upper primary and 1 high English school (mostly Christian students). For Muslim girls there were 7 Maktabs.

Ward XXI: Number of Muslim girls ------ 1,065
Number of girls under instruction ------ 55
There were 4 upper and 3 lower primary for girls and for Muslim girls 1 Maktab and 1 Quran school.

Ward XXII: No special schools for Muslim girls. For Hindus there were 3 high schools, 1 middle and 2 middle vernacular schools. Diocesan Collegiate School was situated here.

Ward XXIII: Hindu majority area. 2 upper and 2 primary schools for girls.

Ward XXIV: Number of Muslim girls ------ 110
4 Bengali lower primary and 5 Maktabs for girls.

Ward XXV: Number of Muslim girls ------ 78
Number of Maktabs for girls ------ 4

It was commented in the Report that facilities for girls, specially for Muslim girls, were very limited.[93] This Report, though gives only the condition of education in Calcutta, but we know that the pictures of other areas were even worse.

Reasons for Lack of Progress:

Reasons for lack of progress of female education were numerous. Attitude of the parents of both the communities was the main reason for backwardness. So, when they were enlightened, the progress rate was faster. So, Hindu girls made better progress than Muslims, and the progress of Brahmo girls was the best. Gradually, more and more girls were coming for education.

The factor of facilities, how much facility the government was providing for them and how far was it possible for the government to meet the increasing demand for female education was there. Demand for education of males, demand for technical education, demand for higher education were also there. So, government had to meet all these demands with limited resources.

Purdah was also another problem. Because of this in most places a separate school was needed for Muslim girls which in most cases was difficult to establish.

One of the main reasons for slow progress was financial constraint,[94] what ever little fund was available, was taken away by

the growing need for boys' education. If boys and girls could go to the same school, as was in other provinces, it would have been cheaper, but it was not possible in Bengal.

Attitude of the parents was changing slowly. "It was said, if a man is asked to pay anything towards his daughter's education, he will probably remove her from school, but now it is not the attitude of Hindu Bhadrolok class . . . even orthodox parents are beginning to realise the advantage of a systematic instruction at school over that at home . . . they will pay fees for it if necessary."[95]

The attitude of the Muslim parents was changing too. "Increasing number of Moslem girls attending schools, Pathsalas and Maktabs, it may safely be accentuated that the observance of Purdah is no absolute ban to the spread of female education."[96] But observance of Purdah was still a hindrance to progress. In the Fifth Quinquennial Review on Progress of Education (1912-13 to 1916-17) it was commented that, "there is now undoubtedly a desire among the Moslem of Bengal that their girls should receive some education and that, that education should include some instruction in the precepts and sacred book of Islam. But Moslems of the higher classes of society are equally emphatic that there can not at present be any serious modification of the Purdah system."[97] The Inspector of Schools for Rajshahi division was quoted in the Fifth Quinquennial Review as "As it is a religious injunction to observe Purdah, it can not be expected that the Muhamedans will ever do away with the Purdah system altogether.[98]

The problem of Muslim female education had two dimensions: (a) Education of upper class, (b) Education of poorer classes. As a remedy three different types of schools were being established (detail in the section on government attitude).

Muslims of upper class would not lift the Purdah but a merely Purdah school could not meet their demand. The advance of education among women of upper class Muslims depended on establishment and maintenance of Purdah school, staffed by highly qualified Muslim women and confined exclusively to Muslim girls. But it was not an easy task to do.

The main problem on the way to establish this type of school was scarcity of teachers to attract Muslim parents. These schools needed qualified Muslim lady teachers but it was unobtainable. This vicious cycle was to be cut out at a point. So, it was decided to establish home training schools. Muslim girls were given special scholarships for these schools, even Muslim lady teachers were invited from the Punjab and United Province but these projects were not very successful.[99]

The reasons for backwardness may be summarised as:

i) Neither the state nor the community paid due attention to the need for female education,

ii) Paucity of Purdah school,

iii) Absence of conveyance for girls deterred Muslim girls from joining school,

iv) System of education that prevail was not in harmony with their sentiment.

v) Want of encouragement morally and materially,

vi) Absence of Muslim elements for controlling and inspecting agency in respect of Muhammedan female education where even Muslim inspecting officers were appointed number of Muslim students increased.[100]

The Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Vol. I, observed that "the last ten years has seen a distinct turn in the tide of educated public opinion and it is most encouraging to find that as the number of educated women in the middle and upper classes is

increasing realising need for the eradication of well recognised social evils and the urgent desirability of educating their daughters not necessarily for employment, but at least to be more efficient wives and educated mothers in their own house."[101]

All India Education Conference at Delhi in 1928 revealed that the educated women of India were realising their responsibility and their power. The vanguard of progressive women was steadily growing in numbers. It was penetrating fields of public activity which was closed to women before. The educated women of India were doing their best to break down the barriers of custom and prejudice which stand in the way of general educational progress.[102] This tide reached Bengal everywhere there was a ray of hope for further progress. After education became a provincial subject the zeal of provincial Ministers in charge of education with ready support from the colleagues, the rate of progress could have been accelerated but the problem of finance was always there which made it slow.

Progress of Muslim women in education was quite remarkable during the period under review. But before the Muslim women could be enlightened by the modern education they had to cope with the socio-religious constricting factor termed Purdah. It took a long and tortuous time for them to overcome this barrier. During this period they were successful in making at least a window in the wall, if not a small door, which could supply them with enough light and air to survive.

Christian missionaries were pioneer in opening doors of western education to women by female schools. The Company officials also lent there helping hands. But mere establishment of schools was not enough to draw the Muslim girls out of their homes. The Muslim ladies who got the taste of education at home were the one who did the hardest part. Ceaseless efforts of Nawab Faizunnessa and Begum Rokeya Sakhawat Hussain and others were remarkable. Slowly and gradually the

Muslim girls came out of their doors to the courtyard of Maktabs and primary schools.

At this stage government intervention was necessary and it came. Female education committee was formed, special financial grant was given for female education, special attention was given to Muslim females. As a result gradual progress in female education was seen. number of institutions for girls, number of students, both Hindu and Muslim, increased but this progress was limited to primary state of instruction. Muslim society was conservative and it was obvious that, it would take time to allow considerable number of its women to secure higher education.

A special type of non-formal education system came up which was known as Zenana education. The idea was that ladies who could not come to the school for instructions, female teachers would go to their doors to teach them. This was a temporary arrangement and with the spread of primary education it died out.

Muslim girls got a special encouragement from the government through the special scholarship scheme. This scholarships gave them incentives to continue their studies. Girls were encouraged to pass on to high schools from Madrasah which lead them to the doors of medical schools, training schools and so on. Teachers of general schools were encouraged to undertake separate instructions for Muslim girls to attract them to general primary schools. Muslim girls reading in general schools were allowed to read the readers used in Maktabs, so that the parents would not hesitate to send their daughters to English schools. Government policy was to help the Muslim girls who came for education in every possible way. But not much could be done. Whatever progress was achieved was limited to primary education. In secondary and higher education Muslim females lagged behind the ladies of other communities.

There were financial constraints, paucity of teachers, but the main problem was the conservatism of the Muslim community. A great social change was needed for a rapid progress which was yet to come. The period under consideration witnessed the first light of the dawn or at least a ray of hope.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings*, [hereafter *BLCP*], (Official Report), Vol. IV, 4th Session, 1921, p. 371.

Syed Nasim Ali was member of the Bengal Legislative Council (1921-1923) from 24 Parganas.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 313-343.

S. M. Bose was non-Muslim member of the Bengal Legislative Council (1921-1923) from Mymensingh East.

3. *Mihir o Sudhakar*, 23 Magh, 1309 BS (1903).

4. Seikh Abdur Rahman, "*Sikshar Bhitti*", *Al Eslam*, 5th year, 8 Agrahayan, 1326 BS (1919).

5. Islam, p. 197.

6. Ayesha Ahmad, "*Muslim Samaje Unnatir Antaray*", *Saogat*, 7th year, 1st No., Bhadra, 1336 BS (1929).

7. Sonia Nishat Amin, "*The World of Muslim Women in Colonial Bengal, 1876-1939*", Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Dhaka University, 1994, p. 163.

8. *Review on Progress of Education in India*, [hereafter *RPEI*], 1887-1888 to 1891-1892, p. 277.

9. Amin, pp. 165-166.

10. Kazi Abdul Wadud, *Banglar Jagaran*, Calcutta Viswabharati Granthalay, 1956, p. 22.

11. Amin, p. 167.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

14. Muhammad Nasiruddin, "*Nepatthey Nivritite Amar Maa*" Sangbad, 4 June , 1994.

15. A female school was founded in 1873 by Shubha Sadhini Sabha (Philanthropic Society) which was attended mostly by Brahmo girls. The Government of Bengal asked the society if another school could be set up. In response, the Dhaka Brahmos proposed to convert their female adult school into a girl school which was formally opened in June 1878. Within months founders decided to hand over the management to the government under the new name of "Eden Female School" as appreciation for the Lt. Governor, Ashley Eden's interest in the matter of female education in Dhaka. For details *see* Amin, pp. 187-191.

16. In 1876, Dr. Ananda Charan Khastagir established a middle English girls school in Chittagong. In 1907 it was transformed into Dr. Khastagir's Girls High School by his son-in-law.

17. Mihir o Sudhakar, "*Musalman Stri Samaje Ingreji Siksa*", 23 Magh, 1309 BS (1903).

18. Seikh Abdur Rahman, "*Siksar Bhitti*", Al Eslam, 5th year, 8th No., Agrahyan, 1326 BS (1919).

19. Firoza Begum, "*Amader Siksar Prayojanita*", Saogat, 7th year, 1st No., Bhadra, 1336 BS (1929).

20. *PGB*, General Department (Education), July, 1916, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1916, p. 63.

Report of the Female Education Committee on Education of Hindu Girls.

Female Education Committee was constituted during the year 1908 and was consulted by the government on all questions affecting the education of girls. The attention of this committee was directed not only to projects for the expansion and reforms of schools for girls, but also to the inspection of the schools, discussion and prescription of better methods of teaching, encouragement of study among girls and women by formation of ladies committees etc.

21. *Proceedings of the Hon. the Lt. Governor of Bengal in Council*, General Department (Education), August, 1911, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1911, pp. 41-43.

22. *PGB*, General Department (Education), October, 1912, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1912, p. 53.

23. *PGB*, General Department (Education), November, 1912, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1912, p. 73.

24. *PGB*, General Department (Education), January, 1915, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1915, p. 29.

RPIB, 1913-1914.

The Report says that the number of girls in the educational institutions was from 2,22,749 to 2,30,729 or 7,980. The number of Muslim girl students was increased by 6,013, i.e. the increase was mainly due to influx of Muslim girls.

25. *PGB*, General Department (Education), August, 1922, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1922, pp. 32-34.

RPIB, 1920-1921, pp. 14-16.

Inspectresses of schools were of the opinion that the supply of trained teachers were much less than the demand. This paucity of trained teachers was the main hindrance towards progress of female education. Special importance was given to courses on needle-work, hygiene, and first-aid. Special attention was given to training of teachers . Female education received much progress with financial assistance from Imperial Government. It was suggested that increased out turn of female teachers and provision of school houses with quarters for female teachers was needed for a better progress, but it could not be done due to lack of enough fund.

26. Government of Bengal, Education Department, Progs., No. 181, *B Proceedings*, March, 1936.

27. *PGB*, General Department (Education), April, 1913, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1913, p. 3.

Note on primary education of boys by R. Nathan.

28. *PGB*, General Department (Education), September, 1916, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1916, p. 11.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.

30. *RPIB*, 1915-16.

31. *PGB*, General Department (Education), July, 1916, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1916, p. 63.

Report of the Female Education Committee on Education of Hindu Girls.

Mrs. Kumudini Das was the secretary of the Hindu Female Education Committee. The Report suggested that there was no need for transforming the ordinary girls school into Purdah schools, because Hindu parents did not object to send their daughter there. But it suggested that the schools for married girls or girls above the age of twelve were to be conducted on Purdah lines. Government controlled schools were more popular but only 0.96% of primary and 10.46% of secondary schools were under direct government schools.

32. *PGB*, General Department (Education), September, 1916, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1916, p. 22.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

34. *RPEB*, 1912-1913 to 1916-1917, pp. 109-11.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*

38. *PGB*, General Department (Education), May, 1919, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1919, p. 59.

RPIB, 1917-1918.

39. *RPIB*, 1918-1919.

40. *RPEB*, 1912-1913 to 1916-1917, pp. 109-111.

41. *RPEB*, 1917-1918 to 1921-1922, p. 65.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

43. Supplement to the *RPEB*, 1922-1923 to 1926-1977, p. 55.

44. *RPEB*, 1922-1923 to 1926-1927, p. 61.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

47. *RPEB*, 1927-1928 to 1931-1932, p. 76.

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*

50. Supplement to the *RPEB*, 1927-1928 to 1931-1932, p. 21.

51. *RPEB*, 1931-1932 to 1936-1937, p. 113.

52. Supplement to the *RPEB*, 1931-1932 to 1936-1937.

53. *RPEB*, 1931-1932 to 1936-1937, pp. 106-115.

54. *Ibid.*

55. *PGB*, General Department (Education), September, 1916, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1916.

56. *PGB*, General Department (Education), December, 1913, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1913.

57. *RPEB*, 1912-1913 to 1916-1917, pp. 109-111.

58. *PGB*, General Department (Education), July, 1916, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1916.

59. *RPEB*, 1912-1913 to 1916-1917, pp. 109-111.

60. *RPEB*, 1917-1918 to 1921-1922, p. 65.

61. *RPEB*, 1922-1923 to 1926-1927, p. 69.

62. *RPEB*, 1917-1918 to 1921-1922, p. 65.

63. *RPEB*, 1922-1923 to 1926-1927, p. 69.

64. *PGB*, General Department (Education), May, 1912, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1912.

65. *PGB*, General Department (Education), June, 1913, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1913, p. 29.

66. *PGB*, General Department (Education), September, 1916, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1916, p. 52.

Note by Miss Brock, Inspectress of Schools, Presidency and Burdwan divisions.

67. *PGB*, General Department (Education), November, 1912, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1912, pp. 19-20.

68. *PGB*, General Department (Education), September, 1916, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1916, p. 26.

Note prepared by the ADPI for Muhammedan education, for the information of Muhammedan Education Committee. The note writes that out of 11,860, 013 Muslim females in Bengal 27,525 were literate. Though establishment of separate institutions for various communities was expensive, the note suggested the establishment of few special schools for Muhammedan girls.

69. *RPEB*, 1917-1918 to 1921-1922, p. 81.

70. Government of Bengal, Education Department, Progs., No. 557-558, *B Proceedings*, August, 1931.

71. Government of Bengal, Education Department, Progs., No. 37-38, *B Proceedings*, January, 1935.

72. Government of Bengal, Education Department, Progs., No. 574-577, *B Proceedings*, January, 1938.

73. *PGB*, General Department (Education), September, 1916, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1916, pp. 138-140.

74. *RPEB*, 1927-1928 to 1931-1932, p. 75.

75. *Ibid.*

76. *PGB*, General Department (Education), April, 1913, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1913, pp. 119-126.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

78. *PGB*, General Department (Education), July, 1916, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1916, p. 113.

79. *PGB*, General Department (Education), September, 1916, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1916, p. 24.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

81. *Ibid.*, p 23.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
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95. *Ibid.*, p.188.

96 *PGB*, General Department (Education), September, 1916, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1916, pp. 138-139.

97. *RPEB*, 1912-1913 to 1916-1917, p. 109.

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Chapter Six

Conclusion

The educational progress of the Muslims of Bengal during the crucial years between 1911 and 1935 has been discussed keeping in view a number of perspectives which included inter alia the initial reaction of the Muslim community to the Western system of education, identification of the areas from where Muslim students came in greater number, the question of religious versus secular education and the changes brought about by the Act of 1919 in the educational sphere. The last of these perspectives has had important bearing on this study as in official thinking the question of Muslim education in Bengal was reported to have figured prominent while making education a "transferred" subject under the new administrative arrangement. In fact, as has been pointed out, this step presaged much of the structural changes in the provincial education system as well as in how Muslims received education in greater number.

The discussion divides into two major parts; and the first part is the British education system and the reaction of the Muslims of Bengal to it. It deals mainly with educational institutions, their gradual growth in number, number of students and Muslim participation in those institutions. Education as practised by Muslims was, to a large extent, religious in nature. Consequently, secular education imparted by the British could not make much headway among the Muslims. Moreover, they could not take to western education as Bengali was used in such institutions; the overriding reason being not merely dislike of the system but the practical difficulty of following a language not spoken or used by a large number of them in Bengal. But this was not the case with

Muslims of other parts of India; and consequently, they were not in as bad a condition as the Muslims of Bengal had found themselves. Apart from language, which all Muslims did not love or like to speak, the instrument of instruction being invariably Hindu the atmosphere in these schools was never congenial to Muslim students.[1] Teachers were predominantly Hindu, text books were full of Hindu mythology and so on. But perhaps poverty was the major factor responsible for poor response of Muslims to western system of education. Grants-in-aid was one of the most important device to help the expansion of educational infrastructure, but the conditions to be fulfilled before the grants-in-aid could be sought was generally far beyond the reach of the Muslim entrepreneurs.[2] Again poor Muslim ryots could not afford English education as it was expensive. Educational establishments were concentrated in towns and it was out of reach for the poor Muslim masses living in remote areas distanced by lack of hostel facilities, transport, etc. Early in the British rule, however, the main reason for Muslim apathy towards the western education was psychological, how could they take to the system of education sponsored by the race to whom they had lost their empire? As time passed by such other factors as indicated above supervened to distance Muslims from western education. By the turn of the new century betterment of the financial condition of the Muslims, especially the rich peasantry in consequence to the rise in jute price in international market enabled them to send their wards to institutions imparting modern education. The Partition of Bengal and its annulment along with the new policy of government provided fresh impetus for the educational progress of the Muslims of Bengal.

The census of 1911 shows that in Muslim majority areas of Eastern Bengal divisions, the proportion of literate Muslims was smaller than that of Muslim minority areas of Presidency and Burdwan divisions. But the situation gradually changed. The number of Muslim students increased in great numbers in areas like Dhaka, Chittagong and

Mymensingh because educational infrastructure was expanded, partly on government initiative and partly on private enterprises.

Responsibility of government towards special facilities for education of backward Muslims was felt and so the government decided to give attention to the special problems of Muslim education. Training of Muslim teachers, increasing the number of Muslim teachers in schools of Muslim majority areas, special facilities for Muslim students like facility for jumma prayer, special classes on religion at the beginning or end of school hours, hostels for Muslim students, special scholarships for Muslims, and in certain institutions reservation of seats for Muslims were ensured to help the Muslims to go for English education.

The controversy between secular and non-secular education was very much present throughout the period under discussion. Experiments were being carried out to intermix secular and non-secular education to attract Muslims towards English education.

The progress of Muslims in the field of education as discussed in the first part of the study, was confined to primary stage. In the secondary and higher stages the progress was very slow. The reason could be identified as late start. It was obvious that the community would take some time to move upto higher grades.

In the second part of the discussion which deals with the years 1920 - 1935, an enlarged educational infrastructure is noticed. Number of schools increased in remote areas of Eastern Bengal, colleges were established in greater number, and the establishment of a university at Dhaka got higher education at the door step of Muslim population of Eastern Bengal. Some qualitative changes were also noticed in the period under review.

The controversy of secular versus non-secular education among the Muslim, which was the most important aspect of the history of the progress of Muslim education in Bengal came almost to an end. Religion and education were very close in Muslim community. Education without religion was unimaginable to them and probably was the strongest reason against English education which was secular in nature. Two stream of education, the Madrasah system and general education was running parallel to each other for years together. Madrasah was more popular among Muslims. With the change of official language to English, Madrasah educated Muslim youth, without the knowledge of English were not qualified enough for government job. Education that do not help to earn bread could not be expected to be popular, on the other hand, the very name Madrasah was powerful enough to overcome the prejudices of begoted parents. Muslim middle class, with emancipated ideas realised the situation. Education was the cultural basis of this class, to gain the economic basis, they needed government jobs and for that the knowledge of English was essential. Experiments were being made to add English in the curriculum of Calcutta Madrasah for quite a long time.[3] Attempts were also made during the period under study, to add some secular subjects in the Maktabs and Madrasahs. In effect, the middle Madrasahs were turned into middle English schools where Urdu and Arabic were taught. Many junior and senior Madrasahs were turned into general schools on local initiative. This helped the rural masses to go for general education, as there were only Madrasahs at some remote places. The climax was reached with the transformation of a part of Dhaka and Chittagong Madrasah into Muslim High Schools. By the first quarter of the present century, it was possible for a Muslim student to go upto university studies with even a Madrasah background. It broke the barrier and doors of higher education was opened for them. Controversy over secular and non-secular education among the Muslim community was over, and popularity of general education was quite clear. This change of attitude is one of the most remarkable feature of Muslim education during the period under review.

Another important qualitative change that was identified, was the importance given to technical and vocational education. This stress on technical and vocational education was no doubt the result of Non-co-operation Movement which showed that a person with technical knowledge was more adaptable to the needs of the society. Muslims were not at all interested in technical and vocational training, in fact, manual work was looked down upon by them. But as their attitude towards technical education was changed and need for it was felt, new technical schools and colleges like commercial institutes, agricultural institutes were opened. Extra shift was arranged in the Ahsanullah School of Engineering. Influx of Muslim students in these institutions was remarkable. This progress in technical education definitely had a positive influence on the economic life of the Muslim community in Bengal.

The establishment of Dhaka University was the most important happening in the educational scenario of the Bengali Muslims. The Muslims who were adverse to the western type of education in the colleges under Calcutta University, were relieved to find out that the scheme designed for the education system in Dhaka University was quite acceptable to Muslims.[4] Not only that, Muslim parents who were interested to send their wards for higher education could not afford to send them to Calcutta for financial and other problems. With a university at Dhaka they found door to higher education next to their homes. This was indeed a very important landmark. It promoted an intellectual awakening and produced an impact of great social and political significance in Bengal.[5] Attainment of education broke the barrier of conservatism. Muslims of Bengal were predominantly an agricultural and rural people. Practically there was no intelligentsia in eastern part of Bengal. A small Muslim middle class was growing in the later part of nineteenth century in and around Calcutta. With the establishment of a university at Dhaka, youths of rural origin were coming up for higher education and provided for teachers of schools and colleges, as well as employees in government offices. The number of

educated Muslim youth increased and politically conscious middle class emerged who were sons of the soils. They were imbued with the spirit of Muslim cultural traditions and conscious about their political rights and aspire to have a rightful place in the political life of the country.[6] In the first part of our study, the progress of Muslims in educational fields was limited to primary education. With the establishment of more schools at remote areas after the partition of Bengal and with the continuation of the policy even after its annulment Hindu - Muslim ratio at middle and high schools was improving fast and with the establishment of Dhaka University chances of progress in the ratio of Hindu - Muslim students at the highest level of education was better.

Progress of Muslim women in the field of education, as discussed in the last part of the study shows a very slow growth. At the beginning of the period under review, there was hardly any Muslim female above the stage of primary education. The pioneering initiatives to enlarge the educational infrastructure were taken up by the missionaries. But missionary schools could never attract the Muslim masses and the government enterprises closely followed the steps of the missionaries. Muslim ladies with their philanthropic aids helped government to facilitate female education. Initiatives were taken to bring Muslim ladies at the doors of higher education. Special scholarships were offered to Muslim girls which helped them to switch over from Madrasahs to government English schools, training schools, and even to medical schools and universities. Major hindrance to female education was the conservative attitude of the Muslim community. Economic needs, which pushed the male section of the community towards educational institutions, was never a driving force for the women folk. Only a social change in outlook of the community could help, and that change came gradually, and of course, as a result of the educational progress of the Muslim in general.

While observing the progress of Muslim community in the field of education the study focused on certain factors that proved to be

hindrances towards the progress. One of the major hindrances was finance. Money needed for the expansion of educational infrastructure was never supplied. In the budget allocation education was never given its due importance, it came always after 'defence', 'health' and other heads. Money allocated for education in Bengal was less than other provinces and if money spent per person for education is considered, Bengal was the lowest. With this financial constrain, much progress could not be expected. This financial crisis could be overridden by better planning as was done in some other provinces like the Punjab was never taken in Bengal.

Another major hindrance to Muslim education in Bengal was the attitude of the Muslims. Whatever little facilities were given, Muslims were not always enthusiastic to take that. The vicious cycle was that, what was needed was not given, and what little was given was not well utilised.

But ultimately the vicious cycle was broken and Muslim community in Bengal made definite progress in educational fields. Two forces were at work simultaneously to break the barriers, the steps taken by the government and enthusiasm of the Muslim leaders.

Around 1905, after the Partition of Bengal, tremendous educational activity were taken up in Eastern Bengal, but with the annulment of partition this trend was not stopped. To please the Muslim community who were upset at the annulment, educational programmes were carried on with vigour. The Chancellor of Dhaka University, Lord Lytton, expressed that Dhaka University was a compensation to the Muslims for the annulment of the Partition of Bengal.[7] Activities of the leaders of the Muslim community were complimentary to the government policy. From the days of Nawab Abdul Latif and Syed Amir Ali leaders of the Muslim community were very much active in propagating the needs for education for the progress of the community. Educated Muslims who felt the need for English education demanded extra privileges for their community so that the gap between the two

communities, Hindu and Muslim could be narrowed down. The compelled the government to give the Muslims their due share. Heated debates in the councils (see chapters three and four) were nothing but the outburst of their enthusiasms to fight out their rights. Government policies like reservations of seats in schools and colleges, Muslim quota in education department specially in teaching and inspecting posts etc., were the outcome of these demands. Writing of Muslim thinkers in newspapers were strong enough to build up public opinion for English education. Well-to-do Muslims came up with monetary helps for educational institutions. Muslim pleaders, teachers and small businessmen provided lodging for Muslim students in small towns where hostels were not always available. After the Act of 1919, when education was made transferred subject enthusiastic politicians, ministers and legislators took up special programmes for the spread of education to please the electorate. This enthusiasm definitely had a good effect on the progress of education. When the need of English education was felt by the Muslim community, the sail was set. By the end of the life of the government under dyarchy, the condition of the Muslims in the field of education was such that the course was charted, the favourable wind was about to blow and apparently there was nothing that could stop the voyage.

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1. Nawab Abdul Latif in his evidence before the Education Commission emphasised this point as one of the main causes of Muslim boys for not resorting to Pathsalas. *Report of the Bengal Provincial Committee, II, p. 213, reply to Q.1 in 1871.* It was noticed by the government and instructions for appointment of Muslim teachers in schools situated in Muslim areas was issued.

2. Mallick, p.375.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 283-301.

4. M. A. Rahim, *The History of the University of Dacca,* University of Dhaka, Dhaka, 1981, p. 176.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 174.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

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