

TABLE I

(a) Educational Institutions

	1855-56	1901-02	1921-22	1946-47
1. Universities	—	5	14	17
2. Colleges of General Education	21	145	172	496
3. Colleges of Professional & other Education	13	46	74	130
4. Secondary Schools (General)	281	1,170	1,248	5,297
5. Secondary Schools (Vocational & Technical)	—	94	292	665
6. Special and other Schools	7	990	3,729	4,746
7. Middle Schools	4,323	6,739	6,739	11,162
8. Primary Schools	50,676	97,854	160,070	172,681
Total :	50,998	104,627	173,313	196,891

(b) Enrolment by Stages

	1855-56	1901-02	1921-22	1946-47
1. University				
(i) Total	4,355	23,007	58,837	237,546
(ii) Girls	N.A.	264	1,529	23,207
2. Secondary Stage:				
(i) Total	33,801	82,312	218,606	370,812
(ii) Girls	N.A.	1,677	5,818	83,270
3. Middle School Stage:				
(i) Total	—	1,080,670	385,372	2,036,109
(ii) Girls	—	8,133	24,655	281,606
4. Primary School Stage:				
(i) Total	885,624	3,564,122	6,404,200	14,105,418
(ii) Girls	—	380,282	1,297,643	3,728,793
5. Total Enrolment of All Stages:				
(i) Total	923,780	3,886,493	7,207,308	17,750,263
(ii) Girls	N.A.	393,161	1,340,842	4,156,742

increase throughout these years though it varied in different periods. It was slow between 1813 and 1854 as these years were spent in controversies over goals, methods, content and organisation. Real growth started with the creation of the Education Departments (1855) and the establishment of three Universities. (1857). Between 1855 and 1901, there was a steady growth at all levels, specially after the Hunter Commission's (1882) recommendations which encouraged Indian private effort. At the turn of the century, though Curzon's policy tried to restrict the growth of higher education for academic as well as political reasons, this was not successful.

From 1921 to 1947, due to the transfer of education to limited Indian control and as a result of greater political awakening, there was an even more rapid expansion than in the earlier years. The growth was mainly in privately-managed schools and colleges which indicates that the process of educational expansion was, by the early twentieth century, self-generating and would continue, with or without government aid. Official policies failed to control the education juggernaut.

The rate of growth, however, was not uniform throughout the country. There were different rates of growth in one region as compared with another and also between one group in a region as compared with another. The first impact of English education was felt by the three Presidencies because Britain's was a sea empire and these were the first provinces to be annexed. Higher education was widely diffused in Bengal which had the largest number of Arts colleges and pupils (Table II). However, English education was not equally advanced in all parts of a province or among all communities and castes.

Everywhere literacy and education were more widespread among men than women, in cities than in villages, and amongst the higher castes. The first group to respond to the new education were the traditionally literate castes, such as the Brahmins in Madras and Maharashtra, the Kayasthas, Baidyas and Brahmins in Bengal, and the Kayasthas and Saiyeds of the United Provinces. As a rule, the higher castes stood at the top and the scheduled castes and tribes at the

bottom of the education ladder.⁶⁴ However, a great deal depended on occupation and, in many cases, low castes engaged in trade were more literate than others which had a higher social ranking.⁶⁵

TABLE II
English Arts Colleges and Pupils by Provinces (1916-17)
Secondary English Schools and Pupils by Provinces

	Colleges	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
Madras	34	7,724	377	139,796
Bombay	8	4,888	388	61,884
Bengal	33	18,478	2,317	382,420
U.P.	18	4,815	228	55,772
Punjab	10	4,091	271	82,883
Bihar & Orissa	7	2,575	330	58,607
C.P. & Berar	4	1,094	196	21,086
Assam	2	688	149	24,664
N.W.F.P.	2	177	25	7,773
Other Provinces	5	1,244	41	9,503

Progress of Education in India, 1912-1917, Vol. II, p. 125 and p. 131.

Contrary to a widely-held notion, Muslims were not lagging behind in the race for education in all regions of India.⁶⁶ In the United Provinces for instance where they were urbanised and engaged in non-agricultural pursuits,⁶⁵ though they formed only 14 per cent of the population (1921 Census), in 1927 the percentage of Muslim pupils to total pupils was 18.1.⁶⁶ Even at the collegiate stage, Muslim pupils formed 24.1 per cent of the total pupils.⁶⁷ Of all the religious communities, education was most widespread among the Parsis followed by Jews and Jains.⁶⁸

That Indian education had a predominantly literary bias is well-known. Table III compares the number of Arts colleges and professional colleges and the number of pupils in them. Of all the professional colleges, law colleges were the most popular. Law classes were organised on a permanent basis in the Hindu College in 1855, and soon afterwards the Perry Professorships of law were sanctioned at Elphinstone College.⁶⁹

Even before the Universities were instituted in 1857, colleges of medicine existed in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.

TABLE III

Arts Vs. Professional Colleges (1916-17)

	Institutions	Pupils
Arts Colleges	124	154,952
Engineering Colleges	9	1,815
Medicine	5	2,279
Law	28	5,476
Agriculture	5	445

Progress of Education in India, 1912-17, Vol. II, p. 98, 157, 158, 159.

The Medical College of Calcutta was started in 1835.⁷⁰ In the same year a medical school was established in Madras which was raised to the status of a college in 1851.⁷¹ In 1837 Sir Robert Grant who was then Governor of Bombay asked for a report on native medical education. On the basis of this report, he drew up a scheme for the establishment of a Medical College at Bombay which was named after him. The Grant Medical College opened in 1845.⁷²

Admission to these medical colleges was difficult and the fees high; prospects of private practice were uncertain, hospitals few and government employment limited. By 1947 there were 24 medical colleges with an enrolment of 8,797,⁷³ a low figure for a population of 400 million.

The need for engineering education arose out of the necessity for training overseers for the construction and maintenance of public buildings, roads, canals and ports and for the training of artisans and craftsmen for the use of instruments and apparatus needed for the army, the navy, and the survey department. The superintending engineers were mostly recruited from Britain, from the Cooper's Hill College; but this was not possible in the case of the lower grades who were recruited locally. The necessity of making them efficient led to the establishment of industrial schools attached to Ordnance Factories. Such schools are reported to have existed in Calcutta and Bombay as early as 1825,⁷⁴ but the first authentic account we have is that of an industrial school established at Guindy, Madras, in 1842, attached to the Gun Carriage Factory there.

The first Engineering College in India was established at Roorkee in U.P. in 1847 for training civil engineers.⁷⁵ Its establishment was related to the construction of the Upper

Ganges Canal. Three Engineering Colleges were established by about 1856-57 in the three Presidencies,⁷⁶ at Calcutta (Sibpur), Poona and Madras (Guindy) and offered licentiate courses in civil engineering up to 1880 when they organised degree classes. Electrical engineering was first taught at the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, which was established in 1915.

The first degree classes in mechanical and electrical engineering were started by the University of Benares in 1917. It was not till the 1930s that the Sibpur, Poona and Guindy Engineering Colleges introduced degree classes in mechanical and electrical engineering.

Until 1947, the School of Mining at Dhanbad (Bihar) was the only full-fledged school of mining and it took only about 10 students a year.⁷⁷ The Benares Hindu University alone provided a graduate course in mining.

Little attention was paid to agricultural education and in 1947 there were only 29 agricultural colleges with less than 5,000 pupils in them. Even in these, the courses had little reference to the practical needs of Indian agriculture. There were hardly any institutions for teaching dairy or poultry farming, horticulture or veterinary science.

The exclusion of technological subjects from the curriculum and the small number of institutions offering higher technical education was closely tied up with the employment policy of the Government.⁷⁸ Higher appointments in the Indian Engineering Service, Indian Railway Service, Irrigation Department, Ordnance Factories, Posts and Telegraphs, and in fact, in all superior services were reserved for Europeans.⁷⁹ In the private sector, except in Bombay, modern methods of manufacture were confined to Europeans (in the pre-First World War years) and when these industries required men with technical knowledge, they always preferred Europeans.⁸⁰ Thus, opportunities for technically qualified and trained Indians were limited. With only 4 recognised engineering colleges and an annual output of 74 engineering graduates in 1916-17, there were still more engineers than jobs.⁸¹

The government had no deliberate policy of industrialisation. If a provincial government made some effort, as Madras did to appoint a Director of Industries, the European business

community reacted so sharply that the plan had to be withdrawn.⁸² Given the low rate of industrialisation and government's economic and employment policy, there was not much point, of course, in encouraging the growth of technical education.

The Indian education system was top heavy and lopsided. At the beginning of the century, while India was covered with a network of colleges and high-schools, primary education lagged behind. While the country had rushed ahead with English education, the vernaculars "with their multitudinous clientele were left standing at the post". Three out of four villages in 1904, were without a school and less than one-fifth of the boys of school-going age attended school.⁸³ Concentration, since 1835, on the urbanised upper and middle classes had led to the neglect of mass education. Wood's Despatch (1854), the Indian Education Commission (1882), as well as the Education Policy Resolutions of 1904 and 1913, had drawn attention to this failure. Despite pious exhortations from many sides, elementary education was left very much out in the cold. After the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, when education became a transferred subject in charge of Indian Ministers, it seemed that primary education may at least receive its due recognition. Nearly every province passed a Primary Education Act, but these remained largely inoperative, mainly, because local bodies were unwilling to levy special taxes to finance primary education. Of the total government expenditure on education in India, only about 30 per cent was spent on primary education in 1937, as against nearly 70 per cent in most countries of Western Europe, North America or Australia.

A major reason for the failure of primary education in rural areas was the high ratio of wastage and drop-outs. The ordinary peasant had few occasions to read and write, and education was an expensive luxury. Even when it was free, it cost money, since children had to be supplied with books, slates, uniforms and other equipment. The poorer the parent the more likely was he to withdraw his child from school as soon as he could, to be used in the fields. Hence the lack of success of compulsion in the rural areas. The percentage of enrolled to educable population at the primary stage was 31 per cent in India on the eve of World War II, as against 100 per cent in most advanced countries.⁸⁴

One of the most serious handicaps in India's economic development has been the low rate of literacy. This situation was not created by the British. In all probability, even before the beginning of British rule, the masses had been left in a state of ignorance, participating little in the political or cultural life of the elites. The tendency to regard knowledge as sacred, the oral transmission of religious and other texts, and the *Guru* tradition, were all factors which restricted the spread of literacy.

All through these years, education was penetrating inland into new areas and amongst new groups. One of the outstanding developments was the spread of education among women and among the weaker sections, such as, scheduled castes and tribes. The first efforts in the field of women's education were made by the missionaries and enlightened Indians. The establishment of a girls' (Bethune) School in Calcutta, by John Drinkwater Bethune in May 1849, may be regarded as the turning point in the annals of female education. By the 1850s, Lord Dalhousie's government also took a more active interest and directed that girls' schools should be established and help given to spread education among girls in all possible ways.⁸⁶ The Indian Education Commission of 1882 made several important recommendations for the spread of education among women⁸⁸ and this policy was reiterated by successive government Resolutions. The increase in women's education began at the primary stage and expansion at the secondary level was much slower. Higher education of women began even later and there were not more than 50 girls in arts colleges in 1891.⁸⁷ As can be expected, the spread of education among women, as amongst men, began first in the cities and amongst the middle and upper classes. It was slow to spread to rural areas and to the lower classes. By 1921, the percentage of literacy among women had increased only to 1.8.⁸⁸ After 1921, mainly because of the political awakening among women and their participation in the Freedom Movement, the number of girls in educational institutions increased considerably.

The schools established by the East India Company as well as by missionaries were meant for boys from all castes, and in fact, a clear policy was laid down that no untouchable

child should be refused admission to a government school even if it meant the closure of the school. While children from the lower castes did get admission to government schools, their education did not make much progress till 1921. It was only with the launching by Mahatma Gandhi of a nation-wide movement for the abolition of untouchability, that the cause of education of backward castes and tribes received support on a large scale. Major steps in this direction were taken by the Congress Governments when they came to power in 1937. However, the percentage of literacy as well as enrolment among scheduled castes and scheduled tribes was quite low even in 1947. Nevertheless, expansion of education even to this small extent was an important source of vertical mobility for these underprivileged groups.

Another contribution of the British was to promote education among the backward sections. These efforts, to a large extent, were politically motivated. When they found that the "advanced" castes or communities were becoming critical of British rule, they tried to divide society into "advanced", "intermediate" which included Muslims, and "backward" groups, and began to pay special attention to the promotion of education among the second and third groups. From the 1870s, with the publication of Hunter's *Indian Musalman*, government directed its attention to the encouragement of English education among Muslims. This policy was reiterated by successive Education Committees and Commissions. While this encouraged the growth of separatist tendencies, it also helped to promote education among the less-advanced groups.

The low rate of literacy, neglect of mass education, as well as of technical and vocational education, and the methods of teaching, were all handicaps in the path of development. English education created an urban intelligentsia. In a sense this was a major positive achievement, since it was this group which provided the administrators, the professionals, the political leaders and the social reformers who initiated the process of modernisation in India. Educated men defined the ideals of reform and these reflected their own needs and desires. For this very reason the impact of these movements was limited. The role of education as an agent of change and transformation was distorted by the colonial milieu in which it functioned.

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4. Charles Grant, "Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain...", written in 1792 and published in 1813. It appears in the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1832, Appendix I, pp. 82-87.
5. Among the other founder members of the Clapham Sect were William Wilberforce, Zachary Macaulay, Henry Thornton, John Shore and John Venn.
6. E. Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India*, Oxford, 1959, pp. 55-58.
7. Despatch to Bengal, 18-2-1824. H. Sharp, (ed), *Selections from Educational Records*, pt. 1, 1781-1839, p. 91.
8. East India Company Act of 1813, in *Selections from Educational Records*, pt. 1, p. 22.
9. Minto's Minute of 6-3-1811 in *Ibid.* p. 19.
10. T. Richter, *History of Missions in India*, London, 1908. F.W. Thomas, *The History and Prospects of British Education in India*, Cambridge, 1891. E. Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India, 1793-1837*, Cambridge, 1967. M.A. Laird, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal*, Oxford, 1972.
11. *Selection from Educational Records*, op. cit. p. 45.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-101.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
15. Sambaad Sudharak, 7-9-1833. *Bengali Weekly*, 26-1-1828, Sambaad *Kaumudi*, 7-8-1830, etc.
16. Letter of 18-8-1824 from G.C.P.I. to Governor General of India in *Selections from Educational Records*, pt. 1, pp. 93-98.
17. Macaulay's Minute of 2-2-1835 in *Ibid.*, pp. 107-117.
18. T.G.P. Spear, "Bentinck and Education", *The Cambridge Historical Journal*, Vol. VI, No. 1.
19. *Selections from Educational Records*, op. cit., pp. 130-31.
20. N.L. Adams and D.M. Adams, "An Examination of Some Forces Affecting English Educational Politics in India, 1780-1850", *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. II, 1971.
21. C.E. Trevelyan, *On the Education of the People of India*, London, 1838, pp. 189-90.
22. In 1829, there were 1197 Indians in the Revenue and Judicial Services of the Company; by 1849, there were 2,813. B.B. Misra, *The Administrative History of India, 1834-1947*, O.U.P. 1971, p. 203.
23. Parliamentary Papers (House of Lords), No. 445 (iii), 1833, p. 142.
24. *Selections from Educational Records*, ed., J.A. Riehey, pt. II, pp. 364-393.
25. Indian territories, Select Committee, House of Lords, 2nd Report 1852-53, XXXII, paras, 6627 ff, 6247, 6466, 6471.
26. Wood to Dalhousie, 24-11-1853, *Ms Eur. F. 78/L.B.IV.*
27. Wood to Dalhousie, 8-6-1854, *Ms Eur. F. 78/L.B.V.*
28. *Idem.*
29. *Selections from Educational Records*, pt. I, op. cit., p. 6, pp. 45-46, pp. 73-76.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.
31. Minute by Lord Auckland, 24-11-1839, *Ibid.*, pp. 147-70.
32. S.J. Curtis, *History of Education in Great Britain*, London, 1965.
33. *Progress of Education in India, 1932-37*, Vol. I, pp. 136, 164, Vol. II, p. 117.
34. *Progress of Education in India, 1922-27*, Vol. I, p. 33.
35. The G.C.P.I. instituted some junior and senior scholarships and the requirements laid down give some idea of the course pursued. The qualifications for a junior scholarship were knowledge of English reading, English grammar, history of Greece, Rome, England and India, geography, arithmetic, Hindoostani or Bengali. For a senior scholarship candidates were required to study English literature—Shakespeare, Bacon, Milton, Dryden, Swift, Addison, Johnson, English Composition, History, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. *Correspondence and Proceedings of the General Committee of Public Instruction, 1823-1841*, Vol. V, p. 971.
36. *Abstract and Analysis of the Report of Education Commission, India, 1882* by The Rev. J. Johnston, London, 1884. (Henceforth referred as *Education Commission, 1882*), p. 163.
37. By the Hartog Committee, 1929, Sapru Committee, 1934, Abbott-Wood Report on Vocational Education, 1936-37, and by the Sargent Report, 1944.
38. In Marathi medium primary schools in the Bombay Presidency, apart from reading, writing and arithmetic, geography and history were also taught. Morris's *History of India* was translated into Marathi and Gujarati. MacMillan's Science Primers and Prof. Cook's Natural Science Series were also translated. English was taught from Std. IV. *Appendix to Education Commission Report, 1882*, Bombay Vol. 1, *Report of Bombay Provincial Committee*, p.93.

39. In 1855, in the Bombay Presidency, there were 30 English high and middle schools with 3,578 pupils, and 256 vernacular primary schools with 20,011 pupils. *Ibid.*, p. 19. In 1881-82, there were over 20,000 pupils in high and middle schools and 332, 681 in primary schools. *Ibid.*, p. 207.
40. T. Raleigh (ed), *Lord Curzon in India* (speeches), London, 1906, p. 318.
41. Curzon to Godley, 18-10-1899. Curzon Papers (158).
42. Curzon to Godley, 31-1-1901, Curzon Papers (161).
43. T. Raleigh (ed), *Lord Curzon in India*, p. 325.
44. Curzon to Hamilton, 22-8-1901, Curzon Papers (161)
45. *The Indian National Congress* (Madras, 1917), pt. I, 'Presidential Addresses', pp. 622-23, 627, pt. II, 'Resolution', pp. 96, 103-4, 107-8. *Proceedings of the Council of the Governor-General of India*, Vol. XLIII, 1903, pp. 305-6, 310, 321. See also *Native Newspaper Reports of Bengal and Bombay*, 1902, 1903, 1904.
46. Lord Ronaldshay, *The Life of Lord Curzon*, London, 1928, Vol. II, pp. 193-94.
47. *Calcutta University Commission Report, 1919*, Vol. V, p. 302.
48. *Review of the Growth of Education in British India by the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission, 1929*, (Hartong Committee).
49. *The Report of the University Education Commission*, Delhi, 1950. (Radhakrishnan Report).
50. Lajpat Rai, *History of Arya Samaj*, Bombay, 1967, pp. 143-51.
51. *Vishwabharnat and its Institutions*, Shantiniketan, 1956, p. 40.
52. In 1892, the Indian National Congress passed a resolution that it was highly inexpedient that Government grants to higher education should in any way be withdrawn. The request was repeated in successive years. Reference to primary education was made only in 1904 for the first time. *Indian National Congress*, pt. II, Resolutions.
53. Gokhale introduced a resolution in 1910 but withdrew it when the Home Member assured him that the whole question was being carefully examined. The following year he introduced a private bill based mainly on the Compulsory Education Acts of England of 1870 and 1876; it was in Gokhale's words of a 'purely permissive character'. *Proceedings of the Council of the Governor-General of India*, April, 1910—March, 1911, Vol. XLIX, pp. 447-48.
54. The Government of India's first reactions to the Bill were quite favourable. Butler's Note on Free Elementary Education, 13-5-1911, enclosed with Hardinge to Crewe, 1-6-1911, Hardinge Papers (117). Hardinge to Crewe, 13-7-1911, 1-6-1911, 3-8-1911. Hardinge Papers (117). Despite this, the Government opposed Gokhale's bill because of the opposition of the provincial governments (see Edn. A July, 1911, Proc. No. 79, N.A.I.), particularly of Sir George Clarke, Governor of Bombay. Clarke to Hardinge, 2-8-

- 1911, 22-3-1911. Hardinge Papers (81) and (82). The Finance Member, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson was also opposed to the bill.
- ... *Indian National Congress, Presidential Address and Resolutions*. There are repeated references, to 'the imperative need for technical education'. The newspapers were also continually criticizing the government on this account, see *Native Newspaper Reports of Bengal and Bombay*, for almost any year during this period.
56. *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission, 1916-18*, p. 26.
57. For an early history of the Bengal Technical Institute and the Bengal National College, see Haridas and Uma Mukharjee, *The Origins of the National Education Movement*, Calcutta, 1957, pp. 171-74, 404.
58. For Bengal, see *Ibid.* Political Deposit (Confid.), June, 1908, Proc. 20, Edn. Deposit, Jan. 1909, Nos. 26-27, Pol. Deposit, Oct. 1910, No. 2.
59. Gujarat Vidya-pith was established in Ahmedabad in 1921 with Kaka Kalelkar as its first 'Acharya'. K.C. Vyas, *Development of National Education in India*.
60. M.K. Gandhi, *Basic Education*, Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1951 *Towards a New Education*, Navjivan, Ahmedabad, 1953.
61. Literacy in English per 10,000, all ages 5 and over was for male—160 and female 18 in 1921. *Census of India*, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 188. Even in 1941 percentage of literacy for women was 6 per cent as against 22.6 per cent for men. *Report of the National Committee on Women's Education*, Ministry of Education, Government of India, 1959, p. 28. Proportion of girls under instruction of total female population was 1 in 185 and of boys to total male population, 1 in 42 in 1881. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
62. The extreme variation in literacy among different castes can be seen from fact that in 1931 while 782 Baidyas, 607 Kayasthas, 603 Nayars males per thousand were literate, only 11 Bhils and 10 Chamars were literate. While 5,729 Baidya males per 10,000 were literate in English and 2,418 Kayasthas, castes such as Chamars had 3 and Bhils 1 male literate in English per every 10,000. *Census of India, 1931*, Vol. I, pp. 330-332.
63. In Bengal Brahmins were surpassed by Baidyas, Subarnabaniks and Agarwals; in U.P. by Kayasthas, Agarwals and Saiyids. Trading castes always had high male literacy.
64. *Ibid.* *Census of India, 1931*, Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 330-31. Also, *Subsidiary Table V*, pp. 342-45.

Muslim pupils and population with comparative percentage—1927.

	Proportion of Muslim population to total population	Proportion of Muslim pupils to total Pupils
Madras	6.7	11.0
Bombay	19.6	18.1
Bengal	54.0	51.3
U.P.	14.3	18.1
Punjab	55.3	50.0
Bihar & Orissa	10.9	13.1
C.P.	4.1	9.5
Assam	29.0	25.9

65. *Ibid.*
66. *Hartog Committee Report*, pp. 190-91.
67. *Idem.*
68. *Hartog Committee*, p. 187.
Literacy per 1000, age 5 and over, in 1931, was Parsis 791; Jews 416; Jains 353; Christians 279; Sikhs 91; Hindus 84; Muslims 66.
69. *S.E.R.*, pt. II, pp. 362-63.
70. *Ibid.*, pp. 312-15.
71. *Ibid.*, pp. 329-335.
72. *Ibid.*, pp. 335-338.
73. *Education in India, 1947-48*, pp. 143-157.
74. *S.E.R.*, pt. I, pp. 78, 197.
75. *S.E.R.*, pt. II, pp. 356-61.
76. *Ibid.*, pp. 339-43.
77. Atkinson-Dawson Committee Report on the Enquiry to bring Technical Institutions into closer touch and more practical relations with the Employers of Labour in India, Calcutta, 1912.
78. The Imperial Service for Engineers was reserved for Europeans and to this Provincial Engineering Service 9 to 10 appointments were made each year from the 4 engineering colleges. *Progress of Education in India, 1896-97, 1901-02*, Vol. I, p. 249. Upper and middle class appointments in the Railways were held mostly by Europeans and Anglo-Indians. In 1913, Europeans and Anglo-Indians held 90 per cent of the posts, carrying a salary of Rs. 200 and above. *Commission on Public Services in India, 1916*, Vol. I, p. 24. For the disproportionately small number of Indians in the Irrigation Department, Government Ordnance Factories, Posts and Telegraphs, See *Census of India, 1921*, Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 288, 289; *Census of India 1931*, Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 316-317.
79. Except for cotton textiles and iron and steel, most industries were European owned and they preferred to employ their own countrymen
80. Notes, D.G. Harris, 18-3-1918. Edn. A. Jan., 1919, proc. 39.
81. *Report of the Industrial Commission, 1916-18*, Vol. I, p. 70. See also Aparna Basu, *The Growth of Education and Politics in India, 1898-1920*, O.U.P. 1974, p. 90.
82. Government of India, Education Policy Resolution of 1904.
83. *Year Book of Education, 1938*, pp. 37-131.
84. Minute by the Marquess of Dalhousie, 1-4-1850. *S.E.R.*, pt. II, pp. 56-60.
85. *Indian Education Commission (1882)*, pp. 179-82.
86. *Progress of Education in India, 1887-88, 1891-92*, Vol. I, p. 284.
87. *Census of India, 1921*, Vol. I, p. 186.