SOHAN SINGH

HISTORY OF ADULT EDUCATION DURING BRITISH PERIOD

Foreword by DR. V. S. JHA

INDIAN ADULT EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
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FOREWORD

Those interested in the development of Social Education in this country will feel greatly indebted to Shri Sohan Singh for a very interesting and thoughtful account of the state of Adult Education during the British rule in India. Our country has had a glorious tradition of educating the masses. The main object of the older system of mass education was not to make man literate but to make them educated and fully conscious of their moral and social obligations. Through a variety of unique techniques, the sages and saints, the 'Kathakars' and 'pravachauks', the 'Ramlilas' and 'Raslilas' music and song, the people of the country were kept alive to its responsibility towards maintenance of the moral tone of the social order. These forces and traditional institutions were considerably weakened during the British regime and on the other hand new techniques and experiments were tried in the field of adult education. The development of Social Education cannot be viewed apart from the development of the society itself. Every effort of a society to reconstruct its structure and its way of life and thought demands better techniques and more determined means for educating the society. There can be no truly great social development unless the masses are educated to appreciate its ideological aspects and learn the techniques of its realisation. Social Education cannot afford to be a purely formal and dogmatic affair. It will be just a vain blind and futile effort if it is not inspired by some dominant social purpose or ideology. Shri Sohan Singh has analysed the main trends in the field of Social Education in different parts of the country during the British rule and he has given an accurate estimate of the main achievements during this period. One may hope that he will follow up his most interesting study of the development of Social Education during the period which has followed the end of the British rule in India.

Vice-Chancellor's Lodge,
Banaras. 25.5.1957.

V. S. Jha
President
Indian Adult Education Association

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I

The Background

ADULT EDUCATION is the acquisition of new ideas, skills, attitudes and understanding by people whose primary occupation in life is other than learning or studentship. In content, therefore, it deals with all problems of man and society, in scope it covers all population, except that part of it which belongs to schools, colleges and vocational institutions, and in form it is as variegated as life itself.

Adult Education as a social phenomenon depends on the existence of certain economic and social conditions. In order to understand the development of adult education in India it is necessary to understand these social conditions and how far they obtained in India of the nineteenth century.

If we study the origin of education as an institution, we find that it is coeval with "urban" culture, which itself depends on an economic surplus. It is this economic surplus which gives rise to social groups which are included in the term "middle classes". The middle classes tend to occupations in which literacy is an instrument of livelihood and also they tend to develop an ideology of individualism, the social effects of which, e.g. class ideas, politics, enterprise, etc., are definitely favourable for literacy and education.

In the 14th and 15th centuries history brought Europe to a stage, where the middle classes began to flourish and their ideology began to vanquish, eliminate and supplant the pre-existing feudal ideology based on a 'noble' class of landlords and stratified society held together by the relentless chains of

hoary custom. There was then the efflorescence of commerce and industry which the world never knew before, and in commerce and industry, too, there was a growing professionalization. Differentiation of functions developed so far that society became an organism so complex as to bear no comparison at all to the village society of feudal times. Social mobility also increased to such an extent that adults from lower classes and even the twice born higher classes pushed and pulled by inexorable forces began to throng into the middle class fold. In such a situation, Adult Education became a necessary social institution.

The social forces, which had completely changed the European social complex by the 19th century, began to operate in Indian life with the advent of the British. In pre-British days, the predominant social fact in India was the well-nigh self-sufficient village. In this village the peasant tilled his ancestral land with the plough and the bullock-power as it was when the great king Asoka lived and ruled. In this village, the smith, the carpenter and other handicrafts-man plied their primitive instruments and rendered traditional services to the peasants on returns fixed by custom. Birth determined the occupations and status of men and women with the inexporable rigidity we are now accustomed to ascribe only to heredity. In such a society, division of labour was not so sharp. A carpenter could and did till the land as well as a peasant. There was no private property, no buying and selling of land, in fact little buying and selling at all. There was little travelling, little incentive to travelling and, therefore, no reason to have a means of transport other than the ancient bullock-cart. In this self-sufficient village, except at times when the gods were wrathful, men lived out their allotted days on earth in comparative happiness, though a molluscan happiness. Kings and emperors came and went away, but the village lived on 'for ever'.

In such a society adult education, as we know it, would be an exotic plant.

The Indian town of this time, of course, presented a different picture. There was a prosperous, though not a progressive, economic and cultural life in these towns. There was wealth, luxury, trade and commerce, not only internal, but international. There were artisans, merchants and professionals in these towns. But, in the first place, all this rich life centred on the few noble men and their proteges. Secondly, the chains of caste were as strong in the cities as in the villages. The result was that social mobility was non-existing and the lore learned in childhood sufficed to the end of a citizen's days on earth. And, finally, these towns and cities were a mere drop in the sea of Indian humanity.

The British rule introduced a real revolution in India, which the country had not seen since centuries. The main forces of this revolution were :—

(i) The ideology which the British brought with them and which, because it was the ideology of the ruling class, had a prestige not less potent than the prestige of custom.

(ii) The new land relations and administrative system which the British created.

(iii) The new means of communication, which they introduced in India.

The ideology and the new means of communication came later. But the new administrative system alone worked havoc with the traditional village. The British created, for their own convenience, private property in land, thus abolishing the age-old right of the village community over the village lands. This created, on the one hand, landlords and, on the other, peasant proprietors, both of whom could purchase, sell or mortgage land—a phenomenon previously unknown in India.

The British, again, took away the right of village people to settle their own disputes. Local quarrels, which previously ended in the village, now went to courts. The psychological effect of this was great, for this denudation of the power of

self-rule of the village community struck a mortal blow to the spirit of solidarity and cooperativeness among villagers. Instead of a cooperative society, the way was now clear for its transformation into a competitive soeiety—the village now had not the morale to act as the determiner of its own agricultural policy.

Finally, instead of a share in the produce of the land, the British fixed their land revenue in terms of money payment assessed on land. This meant that the agriculturist had to sell his product. This, helped by the British policy of turning India into a colony, a raw-material producing country, resulted in the commercialization of agriculture. This gave rise to the class of middleman which had no *raison de etre* in the self-sufficient village of the pre-British days. Improved transport system gave a further impetus to this commercialization and specialization of agriculture.

Similarly, the new property ideology and economic ideas brought about a change in the social set-up in towns and cities. As a result of this revolution, new social classes came into being in towns, villages and even the social classes of pre-British days that continued into Brititish times changed their nature. Thus, instead of the castes in the old village, we now had the followlng classes in rural areas.

(1) Zamindars
(2) Absentee Landlords
(3) Tenants
(4) Peasant proprietors
(5) Agricultural labourers
(6) Merchants
(7) Money-lenders.

In the social set-up of urban areas, there developed the following four classes :—

Capitalists –in industry, commerce and finance,
Working classes.

Petty traders and shopkeepers.

Professional classes[1].

In the new set-up, there were more classes for which education was of value, and even of necessity, than in the old set-up. Had the social and economic development of India proceeded along natural lines, i.e., according to the needs of Indian economic life, literacy and adult education would have developed in India as they developed in Europe. But this was not the case, for, as the Hartog-Parulekar controversy has brought out, adult literacy in India was the same in 1911 and even in 1921 as in 1835-36.

Why did this happen ?

In Europe the rise of modern classes was simultaneous with the rise of modern commerce and industry. Both agriculture and industry developed parallel to one another and kept a mutual balance essential for a prosperous society. But, in India, this did not happen. The British policy in India was to turn the country into a producer of raw material for British industries, a producer of food for the growing British population and a market for the British goods. The story of the way in which the British transformed India, the textile workshop of the world, into India, the dumping ground of Lancashire goods, is well known. The result of this policy was the growing pressure on land as is shown in the following table :—[2]

Year	*Percentage of population subsisting on land*	*Percentage of population depending on industries*
1891	61.1 per cent	
1901	65.5 ,,	
1911	72.2 ,,	5.5 per cent
1921	73 ,,	4.9 ,,
1931	75 ,,	4.3 ,,

1. Desai, A.R. Social Background of Indian Nationalism. Oxford University Press, 1948, pp. 158-159.
2. Ibid p. 44.

The increasing dependence on land led to fragmentation of holdings and the consequent impoverishing of agriculture. The new land relations introduced by the British further bore hard on the village population. The land revenue in money meant that whether the harvest was good or bad the tiller had to make good the land revenue, even if it meant selling his land. The new property system deprived the villager of the use of the pasture and forest land near his village. Further, the village now being no longer self-sufficient, the agriculturist was at the mercy of commercial currents in the world over which he had no control. More and more he was at the mercy of the middlemen who kept to themselves the lion's share of the profit. A series of taxes, like the notorious salt-tax, made matters worse. And so, year after year the peasant sank deeper and deeper into poverty and indebtedness as the following estimates[3] show:—

Estimates	*Total agricultural indebtedness in British India*
Mac Legan (1911)	300 crores
Darling (1925)	600 ,,
Central Banking Inquiry Committee (1929)	900 ,,
Agricultural Credit Department (1937)	1800 ,,

This indebtedness led to the "polarization" of rural classes—the landlord on the one hand, and, the increasing class of land-labourers on the other. Thus, while in 1882 land labourers were estimated at 75 lakhs in British India, by 1931 their number had swelled to 300 lakhs.[4]

The landlords were, again, mostly of the absentee-parasitic variety. The unfortunate result of this was less number of persons interested in the development of land and the consequent impoverishment of land. This reinforced the

3. Ibid p. 51.
4. Ibid p. 56.

evil consequences of the growing burden on the land. Thus, not only did the agriculturist became poorer and poorer, but the number of poor agriculturists began to swell up.

The same thing happened in the towns and cities. There also the craftsman having lost his market fell more and more on the tender mercies of the middleman. The influx of cheap machine-made British goods, thanks to the improved means of transport, affected not only the handicraftsman in the town, but also in the village. The classes began to be transformed into the modern proletariat. But the rise of modern industry and manufacture did not keep pace with the ruination of the handicraftsman, with the result that he too fell back for his subsistence on the land.[5]

Modern statistics tell this tale of the growing poverty of India in unmistakable language. Writers on Indian economics have shown that the process was fairly on its way by the year 1800. Thus, as Radha Kamal Mookerji says, "By 1800 the disparity between population and resources and the overcrowding of agriculture with its veritable consequences of unemployment and poverty on a scale unparalleled in any modern civilized community represented new features, introduced into the economic scene of India unfamiliar in the past."[6]

This growing poverty of the Indian people, together with the loss of their national freedom, was certainly an inauspicious condition for the growth of any education in India, let alone Adult Education. The wonder is not that India did not progress as well in the matter of Adult Education as other countries in the West—the wonder rather is she made any progress at all. Indeed, whatever progress she did make is a tribute to the vitality of the civilization of this ancient land and its traditions which held learning in high esteem.

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5. Ibid Chapter V.
6. Mukerji, Radhakamal. The Economic History of India, 1600-1800. Longman and Coy. p. 183.

2 The Beginnings and upto the end of World War I. The Informal Agencies of Education.

IN THE LAST YEARS of the 18th century, we find India lying prostrate in economic, political and cultural degradation and ruin. However, as the next century advanced in years new India began to rise from the ashes of the old one, till by 1885 she had recovered her soul as completely as she had first lost it. In terms of individuals, this transformation means that the people of India grasped new ideals, took to new ways of life and learned new techniques. By and large, it was a process of re-education. Children obtained this new education in the new schools, which supplanted the indigenous schools ; the adults picked it up in more informal ways.

Before taking up the rise of the formal institutions of adult education, we will try to understand the work of informal agencies which wrung a change in the ideas and attitudes of Indian adults.

The Press

And the biggest agency of the kind is the printing press.

The printing press turns out newspapers, periodicals and books which enlarge men's mental horizons. The newspaper is the most powerful weapon in favour of new ideas. It is the press.

The first newspaper in India was started in Calcutta by James Augustus Hicky on 29th January 1780. There steadily followed other European-owned newspapers in Calcutta and

later in the other Presidency towns of Bombay and Madras. But these papers had no concern with the Indian people. They ventilated the ideas and squabbles and scandals of the microscopic European minority in India—but a minority which had the sole possession of political power.

In 1816, Gangadhar Bhattacharya established the "Bengal Gazette". The Gazette fell a prey to infant mortality, but has the distinction of being the pioneer Indian owned newspaper.

In 1818, the Baptist Mission at Serampur started their monthly magazine in Bengali, the 'Dig Dursan'. The magazine contained historical and other notices as well as some items of political intelligence. Later, with official approval, they started the "Samachar Durpan". Lord Hasting himself highly commended this enterprise which had as its object "the endeavouring to excite and gratify a spirit of enquiry in the native mind by means of a newspaper". The first newspaper in an Indian language owned by an Indian was "Samuad Kaumudi" founded by Bhowani Charan Bannerji in December, 1821. This was taken over by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in 1822. In this he "mostly published theoretical discussions on statements made by Europeans and missionaries in their "Sumachar Durpan" concerning both Christianity and Hinduism." Raja Ram Mohan Roy also published a newspaper in Persian called the "Miratol Akbar" in which in addition to comments, he also engaged in theoretical controversy and propaganda for social reform.

Bombay had its first Gujerati paper in 1822 when Fardoonji Marzban brought out the "Bombay Samachar" in 1826. In the same year, too, came the first Hindi weekly "Oodunt Martund" published by Jugal Kishore Sookool from Calcutta.

The growth of newspaper and the newspaper-reading public was helped at this time by the controversy over *Sati* in Bengal and over the Parsi Calendar in the Parsi community in Bombay. Many of these newspapers became extinct when the

controversies died down. However, they left behind them a habit of discussion and an interest in public affairs. The repeal in 1835 of Bengal Press Regulations Act 1823, further increased the newspaper reading public in India. Thus, whereas in Bengal in 1828 there were at the most 9 subscribers to a paper, in 1836 the "Sumachar Durpan" alone had 398 subscribers. By 1843, as the testimony of Stocqueler shows, 'the press in Bombay and Bengal had reached a healthy maturity and became literally, the organ of public sentiment." In 1861, there were 17 Indian language newspapers in the U.P., Punjab and Ajmer. Of these, 11 were in Urdu and 6 in Hindi. In 1861 came the Indian Councils Act. By this, Indians of distinction were to be associated with the Government for legislative purposes. The Governor-General in Council and the Council in Madras and Bombay were augmented by European and Indian non-officials. This caused in Indian masses the dreams of regaining their self-government. With this enthusiasm some papers were founded in the following two decades. The more important of these newspapers were : the "Times of India," Bombay 1861, the "Pioneer" of Allahabad, 1865, the "Amrita Bazar Patrika" and the "Madras Mail", 1868, "Statesman" of Calcutta, 1875, the "Civil and Military Gazette", Lahore, 1876, the "Tribune", Lahore, 1877, and the "Hindu", Madras, 1878.[1]

The following statistics show the strength of the Indian languages press in 1876.

Name of Province	*No. of newspapers*
Bombay Presidency	62
N.W.F.P. and C.P.	60
Bengal	28
Madras	19 (Tamil, Telugu)

The circulation of all these newspapers was about a lakh, the highest individual circulation being about 3,000.[2] By

1. Barns, Margarita. "The Indian Press"—A History of the Growth of Public Opinion in India, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1942, p. 248.
2. Barns, p. 276.

1878, India had shaken off the hypnotic effect of the British conquest and Indians began to clamour more and more for a share in the Government of their own country. This was brought about to a large extent by Indian newspapers. By awakening the consciousness of patriotism of the Indian intelligentsia the newspapers had accomplished their political education to such an extent that in 1885 the latter were able to found the Indian National Congress which so ably carried its struggle for freedom from British imperialism to a successful conclusion in the middle of the next century.

With the coming of the Indian Council Act of 1892, the Indian newspapers became almost entirely political. Weekly and technical journalism became formally established by the end of the 19th century. In 1899, Mr. Sachidananda Sinha founded the "Hindustan Review", a monthly periodical, devoted to articles and reviews of topics of political, historical and literary interest.[1] The "Indian Review" and the "Modern Review" followed and in 1900 came "The Times of India Illustrated Weekly". Thus by the beginning of the 20th century, the picture of journalism in India was complete.

We have noticed the first halting steps taken by Indians for their political emancipation between 1861 and 1885. We shall see shortly how the first steps in formal adult education were also taken at this very time.

Beginnings of Modern Literature

Meanwhile, we will notice the development of vernacular literatures as another informal adult educational off-shoot of the printing press. This development has been succinctly described by Naik and Nurullah as follows :—

"One of the most important results of the new education was the birth of a new literature and press in the modern Indian languages. As stated already, the pioneer work in this direction was done by the missionaries. It was they who started the

1. Barns, p. 308

first printing press in India and established the first newspaper. They studied the modern Indian languages, compiled dictionaries, wrote their grammers, and translated the Bible into them. But they never intended to build up a literature in modern Indian languages. Their two main objects were : (a) to create aids for the study of these languages by European missionaries, and (b) to translate the Bible and allied literature into them. As soon as both these objectives were realized, they had no further incentive to attempt the creation of a new literature for the people. The officials of the Company and, later on, the Education Departments took up this work and although they came into the field after the missionaries, they did a far greater and more valuable service to the cause. It was under this official patronage that the first attempts to write and publish books of a secular character in modern Indian languages were made. In keeping with the aims of the educational system, the earliest books published were translations of well-known English books or treatises on subjects like History, Algebra, Geometry, etc., that were being taught in the new system of schools. Prior to 1854, it was the Committees, Boards or Councils which were in charge of education or the special School Book Societies organised for the purpose that prepared and published new books in modern Indian languages and received aid from the Company to do so. After 1855, the work was continued, on a larger scale than before, by Government Book Depots that came to be organised under the Education Departments. A little later, private Indian enterprise came into the field. Some of the men educated under the new system of education felt that books of the type that were found in the English language ought also to be available in modern Indian languages. They, therefore, formed societies for creating such literature in the modern Indian languages or wrote and published books in their individual capacity. They also conducted newspapers with the main object of spreading Western knowledge and bringing about social reforms. As this non-official agency began to develop, the work of Government Book Depots came to be gradually restricted to the preparation and publication

of textbooks for schools, and the task of producing a new genuine literature in modern Indian languages and of building up an Indian press was almost exclusively taken up by enthusiastic and nationally-minded individuals educated in the new system of secondary schools and colleges. They did their task admirably well, especially in view of the almost complete neglect of the study of these languages in the new educational institutions and by 1902, all the important modern languages of India had evolved a fair amount of new literature and the Indian press had developed to a fairly high degree of efficiency."[2]

Transport and Communication

The important means of transport constituted another informal agency of education which brought hitherto far away peoples into contact with one another, and thus forcing them to abandon old ways of thought and take to new ways. The following are the main steps in this development.

In 1837, a Public Postal Service was introduced in India. Twenty years later, the postage stamp was introduced for the first time. Before the advent of railways, the postal service depended on carriages drawn by bullocks and horses.

In 1845, the East India Company sanctioned the building of three experimental lines of railways. By 1857, there were 274 miles of railways in India. Shortly afterwards sanction was given for the construction of 5,000 miles of rail roads for linking the principal cities of India. In 1867-68, the Indian railways carried 1,37,46,000 passengers. Of these, not less than 95% were Indians The tremendous effect of the coming together of people from different parts of India can easily be understood. These people ceased to think in sole terms of their own village or town. *India* was slowly becoming a reality to them.

Again, in 1851, telegraphic connection was established between Calcutta and the Diamond Harbour. By 1855, telegraph lines

2. Nurullah, Syed and Naik, J.P. A history of Education in India (During the British Period) MacMillan & Co. 1951, pp. 311-313.

connected Bombay & Calcutta (via Agra), in 1865, a telegraphic connection between Bombay and London was established via Turkey. It then took 6 days 8 hours and 44 minutes for conveying a message from Bombay to London. In 1873, the time was reduced to 19 hours and 12 minutes on the same line, while the line via Iran and Russia conveyed it in only 3 hours and 9 minutes.

Finally, the Suez Canal was opened in 1869. This not only reduced the sea hours from London to Bombay, but also enabled sailings to be undertaken more regularly than before.

The effect of all these improved means of communication in the way of increasing commerce (and indirectly industry) and increased Europeon population, with the resultant impact on the sensitive Indian mind of the new ways that the commerce and the Europeans brought to them, was first felt in the great Indian ports, but gradually spread into the hinterland regions. Not only that, the mixing of Indians among themselves had considerable educational effect. Caste could no longer remain as sacrosanct with this coming together of people as it would be in a self-sufficient village of pre-British days. It also gave practical education to the intelligentsia in Indian nationalism that was beginning to take shape in the eighteen hundred sixties.

Voluntary Associations

(With the closer contact with Europeans, Indians learned to form new social groups, that is to say, meetings and voluntary associations, for combined action, first for purposes of education and social reform and later for political agitation. Whatever the objects of these associations, they were intimate and powerful agencies of education of the Indian people in the wider sense, for they not only came into contact in these associations with new ideas, but also learnt new modes of group action to which they had become strangers in the course of their political servitude.)

We will notice here only some of the strictly educational associations. In general, the members of these associations met

together to discuss social reforms or to disseminate scientific ideas. In many cases, they also published their discussions. In some cases they even founded schools and libraries.

Naturally, the first of these societies and associations arose in the three presidency towns. Thus, in 1812, we learn of Madras Literary Society which even started a library. Between 1813 and 1833, there were meetings and discussions among Indians on educational and social reform topics, and though we have come across no records there may well have been associations of Indians too dealing with these subjects. Similar was the case in Bombay and particularly among the precocious Parsee community. About 1848, there were the following societies in Bombay Presidency:-

(1) Tract and Book Society in Surat.

(2) Tract and Book Society in Bombay.

(3) Students Literary and Scientific Society.

(4) The Gujerat Vernacular Society (founded in 1848). It published a magazine called 'Bodhi Prakash' and also established a library.

(5) The Deccan Vernacular Society.

(6) The Duxina Prize Committee. This was established in 1849. It had a small fund from which it awarded prizes for useful works in Marathi.

(7) The Deccan Institute in Poona.

Of these, the work of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society may be given here as a model of one of the better working societies. This society was established by the students and assistant teachers of the Elphinstone Institution for dissemination of knowledge through vernacular lectures, for discussion of scientific and social subjects and for publication of cheap periodicals in the vernacular language. This society founded in July, 1849, the 'Gyan Prakash' in Gujerati and the same in Marathi in February, 1850. Later a Marathi monthly for women was also started. The second Gujerati Magazine edited by the Secretary of the 'Boodhi Vardhak Hindu Sangh', the branch of

the Students' Literary Society, was started. We have records of lectures and essays read at the meetings of the Society during 1855-61 and these were said to have been well attended. It will be of interest to know that the Society had also established 16 schools.

By the time of the Indian War of Independence (1857), the three presidencies had a net-work of such societies in every principal town and we may leave their story here. The hinterland provinces of the U.P. (Agra & Oudh), the Punjab and the C. P. picked up this technique of informal education only some years after the War. The Punjab had its first association in 1866-67, while the U. P. had this next year. In the 1866-67 Report of the Punjab Education Department, we read of the following two societies in the new grants-in-aid list :-

(i) A Society for the Diffusion of Vernacular Literature, and

(ii) A Vernacular Lecture Society.

No details are given of the activities of these societies. Such societies had become numerous by the 1880's. U. P. reports are more communicative. The Jalsa-i-Tehzib was first initiated in Lucknow in 1867-68. It held discussions and lectures and maintained a newspaper room. It issued a monthly paper containing the record of the papers, etc., discussed at the meetings of the Jalsa.

In 1869-70, a similar Jalsa was founded at Sitapur and the next year at Gonda—the latter, a rendezvous for the taluqdars. About the papers published by the Sitapur Society in English and Urdu, it is said that they were "really of remarkable merit". At one of the meetings, a paper was read on "Extravagance at Marriages" in consequence of which it was stated, "the Kayasths of Sitapur have adopted rules regulating marriage expenditure. Other castes have applied to the Jalsa to frame similar rules."

By 1875-76, though the Jalsa at Lucknow stood pre-eminent, there were several such associations in the different district towns of the U.P.

In the 1869-70 report of the Education Department of C. P., we find mention of a reading club at Sitabuldee, Nagpur. In Jabbalpur, there were three societies—the Literary and Debating Society which published its proceedings in the "Jubblepur Chronicle" (subscription 4 annas per month), the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge which had 150 members at this time (of whom 125 were school masters) and the Society for the Spread of Medical Knowledge. There was also a Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge at Raipur. These and other societies came into being and became defunct in later years. It is interesting to read the number of the informal agencies of adult education in the C. P. in the 1885-86 Report of the Education Department. In that year, there were 16 printing presses, 12 public libraries and reading clubs and 14 literary societies in the province.

We have so far noticed the effect of the following four types of informal agencies of adult education in India of the 19th century :—

(i) Newspapers
(ii) Vernacular books
(iii) Means of communication, and
(iv) Voluntary Associations.

We have seen that by 1880 they had become a part of the social and cultural situation in India. We shall not, except individually, mention their furthur role as informal agencies of adult education, because though the role became no less important with the historical development of the Indian Society, the work of the more formal agencies must have a prior claim on our attention.

3 The beginning and upto theWorld War I

(Libraries and Museums)

WE now come to two other agencies of adult education which are on the border-line between the formal and informal types of adult education. These are the libraries and the museums. Libraries have, by this time, been fully acknowledged as agencies of adult education, but such is not the case with museums which, on account of the high degree of illiteracy in India should be encouraged by all who have the interest of adult education at heart.

Libraries

The development of libraries proceeded at a very slow pace in the 19th century. This was inevitable because of the high degree of illiteracy in the country and lack of suitable books in vernacular literatures. In the first flush of the imitation of the Western modes of education, a number of libraries were formed at various places in the country, but later, not only was progress suspended until the 20th century had well set in, but even the libraries which were established languished for want of support from the public and the government.

We will now construct a history of libraries in the 19th century from the meagre material that is available. The first modern library in India was formed by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay. This was, however, more a research library than a library which could be called an agency of adult education. *Bombay* had its first public library on the 23rd January, 1845, when a mixed European and Indian Committee of 14 established the Native General Library. The Students' Literary and Scientific Society, mentioned before, got itself amalgamated with the Library, with the result that many public

lectures on useful subjects were delivered in the library. In 1857 a Mechanics' Institute was opened in Bombay. The library of the Institute contained 2,875 volumes and the circulation that year was 4,000.

A subscription library was founded in the city of Ahmedabad in 1840 by the Gujerat Vernacular Society. It started with 300 volumes and 56 members. In 1852, the monthly library subscription was raised to Rs. 3/- with the result that the number of subscribers fell to 33. In 1854, the subscribers were divided into different categories. The library had 108 subscribers and its book-stock was 2,273. Later on, a new building was built for the library through the munificence of Shri Hemabhai. The library was then known after his name as the "Hembhai Institute", and became the City Library of Ahmedabad.

In 1855-56, there were 12 mofussil libraries in the presidency of Bombay. These had a collection of 10,000 books and catered to 650 subscribers. Most of the libraries were merely reading rooms. The library in the Ahmedabad city was one of these 12 libraries. The only other library which deserves separate notice was that of Poona. The remaining 10 libraries were in Bombay city. These were said to have been well conducted.

In 1866-67, excluding the comparatively large public libraries in Bombay and Poona, there were 89 libraries in the towns run by the Education Department. Their number rose to 176 in 1871-72. The number thereafter fell to 72, but again rose to 129 in 1888-89. Thereafter it oscillated between that number and the maximum of 142 (1896-97). In October, 1909, Government promulgated "new rules for the conduct of registered aided public libraries", as a consequence of which the libraries reeled down to 55. They, however, made a fairly rapid recovery and by 1916-17, their number had risen to 289.

As far back as May 1806, Government had approved a proposal to register libraries worthy of aid and to give them

a copy of each book published from the Fund for the Encouragement of Literature. But the Fund itself soon became emaciated and by the middle of 1880 the libraries were left high and dry to their own resources. No wonder it is often mentioned that with the exception of some libraries in the bigger cities, they were mainly serving as reading rooms.

At the end of the first decade of the 20th century there was a remarkable library movement in *Baroda*, which now forms a part of Bombay State. In 1906, His Highness the Gaikwad started giving grant to rural libraries. Next year the system of grant-in-aid to rural libraries was put on a regular footing. In 1910, His Highness obtained the services of an American library expert, Mr. W.A. Boldon, and started the State Library Department, the first effort of its kind in India and the only one in the country for many years to come. The Library Department had two sub-departments under it; the Central Library Department and the Village Library Department. The Central Library received the Maharaja's Library collection of 20,000 volumes in 1911. From the very start, the library was free to the public and was conducted on the open access system. The library not only provided facilities to the public for reading within the library, but also had a circulating department. Rules with regard to village libraries provided that a village which collected Rs. 160/- from its own resources was entitled to an equal grant by the District Board as well as the Library Department. For small towns the amount was fixed at Rs. 100/- and for chief district towns at Rs. 300/-. In both the cases, the Library Department and the District Boards were to add equal amounts. The rules also provided for similar equal contributions by the local people, the Library Department and District Board for putting up library buildings.

In May 1911, the State Department started travelling libraries. Boxes of three sizes containing 12, 20 and 30 books each were transported from place to place, thus introducing fresh books into the village and town libraries which otherwise would have become stale.

The services of Mr. M.A. Amin to the development of libraries during this period are worthy of notice. He started a regular library movement in Baroda, Gujerat and part of Bombay presidency. On numerous places, Mittar Mandal libraries were started. The movement started at Etlaud and spread over a large part of the Gujrati speaking region. As we have seen, in Baroda the movement received unstinted official backing.

For many years to come, the Baroda Library Movement remained practically the only library movement in India. For this the credit must go to the ruler.

In *Bengal*, there was no library movement worth the name, except in the third or fourth decades of the 20th century. However, in 1835 the citizens of Calcutta who counted, that is to say, the European population in Calcutta, founded the Calcutta Public Library. It was then a subscription library and hence cannot be called an adult education library. In 1900, however, the reading rooms of the library were thrown open to the public and it thus became a public library in part. In 1901, the proprietors of the library were paid off their shares by the Central Government. The Secretariat Library which was founded in 1891 was also amalgamated with it. On the 30th January, 1933, the library became fully a public library under the name of the Imperial Library.

Bihar founded many libraries as adjunct to its literacy campaign in the 4th decade of this century, but by the end of 1914 it had only two libraries, both in Patna : the Bihar Hitaishi Library founded in 1882 and the Oriental Public Library donated to the public by Mr. Khuda Bakhsh in 1891.

In the *Central Provinces,* the Education Department was established in 1862 and from that very year a library was opened at Nagpur. In 1864-65 public libraries were opened in some of the principal towns. Chanda and Bhandara libraries had become popular. It is stated that periodical evening meetings were held in these libraries at which discussions were held. By 1868-69, the Government of India began giving

grants in aid of public libraries at Nagpur, Chandwara, Omrair, Chanda, Bundarpur and Bhandara. The grant was given on the condition that an equivalent amount was raised locally. This grant was made subject to the following rules :—

(1) that the library, should be suitably located and under proper management,

(2) that each library shall be open to all persons who are willing to pay the subscription,

(3) that the library and its accounts be open to inspection of the education authorities, and

(4) that on the library ceasing to exist, all books, maps, instruments or other articles given by Government should be returned.

The Nagpur library also received valuable additions at this time. In 1869-70, a reading club was established at Sitabuldi, which we have already noted. By 1883-84, libraries had been established in the following towns of C. P. :—Sitabuldi, Nagpur, Omrair, Bundarpur, Khandava, Dumoah, Chanda, Saugor, Bhandara, Astili and Samalpur. It appears that after this not only did the libraries not increase in number, but they began to wither away.

In the *Punjab* (1866–67) the new revised grant-in-aid regulations provided for the establishment of libraries on the same system as in C. P. Article 11 of the new regulations read as follows :—

"To school libraries and libraries in India for the use of the native community, grants will be made to such an extent as may seem fit in each case, and subject to the condition that an equal sum shall be contributed towards the object from private sources."

In many places advantage was taken of this regulation. In 1885, the Punjab Public Library was founded. By 1890, the membership of the library had risen to 129. In 1896 the Government appointed a Commission to look into the affairs of the library. One of the recommendations of the Commission

is interesting. They proposed that Municipal Committees and District Boards should open libraries which should be fed from the Public Library. Local libraries subscribing annually Rs. 50/- to the Punjab Public Library could borrow 200 books at a time, while those subscribing Rs. 25/- could borrow 50 books at a time which could be kept for three months at a time. The local libraries were required to make their terms with readers. The local bodies were also to make good the losses which occurred while the Punjab Public Library books were in their possession. The recommendation was probably too much in advance of the times and hardly any local body made any use of them.

In the *United Provinces*, the libraries for teachers were started in 1869 as per circular No. 13-160, dated 19-4-1869, which read as follows :-

("With a view to encourage village and other teachers to improve themselves by private reading out of school hours, the Director wishes that each Deputy Inspector should have a library of useful and interesting vernacular books to be lent to teachers to read. With the sanction of the Chief Commissioner, he therefore, proposes to grant Rs. 50/- per annum to each Deupty Inspector to purchase books and in addition authorises them to collect Re 1/- per annum from each village and Rs. 2/- per annum from each town school under their charge as contribution to the library fund.")

Village Teachers' Committees were established to control these libraries. These committees held quarterly meetings. By one of the resolutions of these committees, the libraries were thrown open to anybody in the mofussil, who paid Re. 1/- a year, on the recommendation of a teacher. In 1869-70, such libraries were established at Lucknow, Barabanki, Sitapur, Hardoi, Faizabad, Rai Bareli, Sultanpur and Partabgarh. With the exception of the library at Hardoi, which was given a grant of Rs. 11/-, all of them were given a grant of Rs. 50/-. Very few men from the public made use of the libraries. Thus in the 1870-71 Report of the Education Department,

U. P., we read "that only one private gentleman voluntarily subscribed to the Lucknow library for village school masters. At Barabanki only one lambardar became a subscriber and 4 others had applied for admission as subscribers". The other village libraries were said, "not to be well read".

Meanwhile, an effort was made in 1868-69 to give Lucknow its public library. The Chief Commissioner authorised a grant of books to the value of Rs. 1,000 to the newborn library. The library was placed for the time being in the custody of the Jalsa-i-Tahzib, of which mention has been made before. The reading room, which contained nearly all the vernacular newspapers of North India, was thrown open to the public and in the first year of its existence the library had 718 volumes.

By 1875-76, the book collection in the library had gone up to 4018. "Of the few books 491 were presented by the Registrar of books in accordance with one of the provisions of the Registration Act".

The library movement in U.P. did not pick up any strength until the start of literacy campaign in the fourth decade of the 20th century.

In *Madras*, as we have seen, the Madras Literary Society gave the city its first library in 1812. In 1884 the Coimbatore Literary Association also established a library. These were really private libraries so far and their use was extended to the public through the courtesy of the owners. The Connemara Public Library was founded in 1890 and opened to the public in 1895. In 1891, the Besant Memorial Samwarg Theosophical Society founded a library at Bellary. In the last year of the 19th century, the districts of Bellary, Kombakonam and Tinnevali got their libraries. Other districts also followed later.

In the beginning of the 20th century, the library movement in Madras showed some signs of progress. In 1914, the Andhra Desh Library Association was founded and at

once began to be effective. In that very year it called the first Andhra Desh Library Conference in Bezwada. As a result of the propaganda carried out by this Association, many libraries sprang up in the Andhra area of the Madras Presidency.

The above account gives in the main the progress of libraries in India in the 19th century. We may have left out a few names, for example, of the Public Library at Trivandrum set up in 1848 and that at Indore established in 1854, but in spite of some bright ideas and sincere efforts the whole picture given by the movement is not encouraging. The library movement showed signs of attracting interest of the masses in Madras and Bengal to some extent, but it is difficult to say anything more than that. The progress which the library movement had made until the time of World War I can be seen from the following list of the more important libraries in India which was compiled in 1912. The number of libraries containing more than 3,000 volumes is given in brackets,

Madras	...	86 (27)
Bombay	...	61 (24)
Bengal	...	139 (66)
U. P.	...	17 (12)
Punjab	...	22 (10)
East Bengal, including Assam area	...	55 (11)
C. P.	...	13 (1)
Coorg	...	2 (1)
Total	...	395 (152)

The later history of the growth of libraries in India will be given later.

Museums

The history of museums in India is even more melancholy. In the first place, very few museums were founded. Some of the large cities in India are without museums even now. Secondly, with very few exceptions these museums have failed

to give the educational services which are normally expected of such institutions.

A vast majority of Indian museums owe their origin from one of the four types of forces. Firstly, in the early days of the East India Company rule, the Government attempted to establish scientific museums at the great centres of Government. These museums were intended to be research institutions on the economic and mineral resources of the country. Secondly, some of the Indian States, following this example, established museums to house archaeological collections in their areas. Thirdly, a few teaching institutions in the country, such as the Grant Medical College, Bombay, established museums as adjuncts to teaching work. Finally, the Archaeological Survey of India established a number of museums at famous places of antiquities such as Sanchi, Sarnath, etc.

The first museum in India was the Royal Botanical Gardens founded by Lt. Col. Robert Lloyd of the Bengal Infantry in 1787. It contained collections of dry specimens of the flora of India and even other countries.

Nearly 30 years afterwards, the Asiatic Society of Bengal founded the Indian museum in 1814 to store and preserve the various curiosities which the Society had collected. The museum was divided in two sections: one, the Archaeological and Technical, and the other, dealing with Geology and Zoology. The museum was meant to illustrate "oriental manner and history and to elucidate the peculiarities of art and nature in the East." By the middle of the 19th century the collection of the Society had become so large that Government of India was requested to establish an Imperial Museum at Calcutta. In 1866 the Indian Museum Act was passed founding the Indian Museum. In 1875 the Museum had a building of its own.

The Madras Literary Society, which was a branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, helped to establish a Museum at Madras by offering its small collection at the beginning. The Central Museum was opened in 1851 at the College of Fort St.

George, but three years later shifted to its present building on the Elphinston Road. It was intended from the very beginning to have branches of this museum in different parts of the province. Thus, by 1856, museums were established at six places, viz. Bellary, Cuddalore, Coimbatore, Mangalore, Ootacamund and Rajamundri. Each museum was under the management of a committee comprising the Collector, the Medical Officer and the Engineer of the District. However, by 1861, all these museums, with the exception of that at Rajamundri closed down. The museum at Rajamundri was taken over by the Municipal Committee in 1876.

A museum in connection with the Grant Medical College, Bombay, was started shortly after the foundation of the College in 1845. However, Bombay had its first public museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, opened in March, 1857. The idea of this museum was mooted as early as 1848 when some specimens were collected. In 1855 a Committee was appointed to establish "a museum of economic products, elucidating the raw products of Western India and machines which converted them into manufactured articles and also a collection of natural history." The Committee was given a grant of Rs. 6,000/- in 1855 and Rs. 2,000/- in 1856 and a re-curring monthly allowance of Rs. 86/-.

At that time the British rulers had no great respect for educational institutions as is shown by the following quotation pertaining to this museum, the biggest in India, by Mr. S. F. Markham :—

"On the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857, the military authorities required the rooms of the town barracks in which the collections were lodged. The Brigadier issued peremptory orders to vacate the rooms within 24 hours and so great was the haste with which the order was carried out that the coolies, employed in work of removal, threw most of the specimens out of the window with the result that all of them were damaged and the majority destroyed, while most of the office records were lost. The collections were reorganized and transferred to present building in 1871".

By 1857 India had 12 museums. The political events of that year gave a set-back to the desire of the rulers for indulging in such educational luxury as the museums. Then, between 1863 and 1875, 8 museums were established as follows :—

Lucknow	...	1864
Nagpur	...	1864
Mysore	...	1865
Faizabad	...	1867
Delhi	...	1868
Calcutta	...	1872
Mathura	...	1874
Raipur	...	1875

The Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria gave a further impetus to the establishment of museums. By 1911 more museums were established, bringing the number to 26.

The viceroyality of Lord Curzon (1899-1907) marks another stage in the development of museums in India. The Department of Archaeological Survey under Sir John Marshal was established during this time. Museums were established, not only at the sites of archaeological excavation, such as Sarnath and Nalanda, but at many other places. The most notable of them being the Prince of Wales Museum at Bombay established in 1904.

The period also shows a general increase of interest in museums. In 1907 the first Indian Museum Conference was held at Calcutta sponsored by the Government of India. Four years later the Conference of Orientalists held at Simla, again under the sponsorship of the Government of India, also devoted a part of its time to the subject of museums. Finally, a Museum Conference under the auspices of the Government of India was held at Madras in 1912 and discussed almost every topic connected with museums.

One of the most valuable results of the Conference of Orientalists of 1911 was the Directory of the Indian Museum supplied by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel. The Directory gives information

about 39 museums. Of these, about 12 were "in a state of suspended animation." Five museums mentioned in the Directory have since ceased to exist. By 1917, there were 48 museums in India distributed as follows :—

Bengal	6
Bombay	7
Madras	7
Travancore-Cochin	2
Mysore	1
U. P.	5
Madhya Pradesh	2
Bihar	2
Delhi	2
Bhopal	1
Himachal Pradesh	1
Vindhya Pradesh	1
Rajasthan	4
Saurashtra	2
Assam	3
Orissa	1
Madhya Bharat	1
Total	48

No statistics are available about the educational, let alone the adult educational, use of these museums.

4 The Rumblings

We have so far been considering the great work done by the informal and semi-formal agencies of Adult Education, especially in changing the outlook of the Indian people. We will now take up the survey of the formal agencies of the adult schools proper. Of these, there were, in the main, two types: the evening schools or the night schools for adults, and schools in jails. We will study the former in the present chapter.

In the early years of the 19th century, the East India Company was emerging as the dominant power in the Indian sub-continent and, therefore, the prestige of the English ways and English culture was increasing among the upper class Indians. In the three capital cities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, where for years and even for a generation or two past, people had known no other rulers but the English, there was an increasing tendency to imitate them in everything. Many well-to-do Indians spoke English, read English literature, dressed in the English ways and even discussed English politics, with, of course, a natural bias towards Whigism. Though some missionaries were at this time "contacting" middle class Indian families in Calcutta, Madras went further ahead than others. Here a colloquial knowledge of English was beginning to percolate to the lower strata of society.

To the prestige of English was soon added the necessity of learning it for those who wanted to prosper in the English *Raj*. For the 1834 Minute of Macaulay ended the controversy between the Orientalists and the champions of English and established English as the State language. Lord Hasting's

Government went much further and announced in 1894 that English-knowing candidates would be preferred for Government service. Lord Hasting's announcement gave a *de jure* recognition to a *de facto* state of things. In the Metropolitan cities, English had already become a royal road to lucrative jobs. The prestige of English then spread in the hinterlands and in spite of the brief struggle for Indian Independence of 1857, by the 1860's education was in demand all over India as a means of employment. The soil was thus ready for the growth of adult schools for the ambitious young. Indeed, had not the country suffered from economic anaemia due to causes mentioned in Chapter I, adult education would have had a different tale to tell. As it is, the adult schools soon, too soon, satisfied the need which had given them birth and then slipped into an inglorious existence. At any rate, their history left behind a lesson which adult education workers are too prone to forget, namely, that adult education can flourish only when there is a *felt* need for it. The felt need for such schools could arise only at the economic centres of Indian provinces. No wonder, therefore, that the Provincial Educational Reports repeat again and again that though the schools had something to be said in their favour in large cities, in the rural areas their utility was extremely doubtful.

Even if the authorities had not helped the schools in any way, they would certainly have come into being in the cities in numbers. In fact, by the middle of 1860-s almost every province had such schools. But the Education authorities drew their inspiration from their English history. Night schools had come into being in England as a result of the Industrial Revolution and the Englishmen in India attempted to instal copies of them in India as well. By 1882, when the Indian Education Commission wrote their report, almost every province had made rules to provide for night schools for adults. In *Bombay*, an extra allowance was given to teachers who taught in these schools and a small grant for contingencies was given in addition. A night school attached to a mill or factory and having an average attendance of about 50

could earn a maximum grant of Rs. 100/-. In some schools like that at Kaira in 1881-82 and earlier at Broach, the system of payment by results was introduced, In *Bengal*, the Local Boards were authorised to give fixed monthly grants on terms which were more liberal than for ordinary schools. In the *Punjab* the grants were given as in the case of other schools on the result system, but on easier terms. The system in *C.P.* and Madras was the same. In *Madras*, managers of the adult schools were required to certify that their pupils were unable or unfit to attend day schools of a suitable standard. No one under 12 was admissible in these adult schools.

However, there was no enthusiasm for the schools and as soon as the immediate need for them passed away the schools slipped back into oblivion.

We will now give the history of adult schools — or evening or night schools—in various parts of India.

It is possible that in *Bombay* there were adult schools previous to 1855, though they were not recorded in the educational reports of the province. That year, however, we read of seven evening schools in the Porbundur circle for the instruction of the agricultural population. They were something of a freak, for it is stated that in two cases they were so successful that adults taught in these schools later assisted in the instruction of their children.

The number of night schools steadily increased in the Presidency. In 1871, there were 41 of them with an attendance of 1056. On 15th June, 1871, the Department sent out a letter encouraging the opening of night schools "for the benefit of adults and boys unable to attend the day schools".

In the report of the Indian Education Commission (1882) we read interesting details of the night schools in Bombay Presidency (page 146). By this time, their number had arisen to 134 with an attendance of 3,919. Of these 84 were departmental schools, 48 inspected schools and two aided schools. The two aided schools were opened by the Bombay Theistic Association for working men and messangers, of whom there were 175 in

these schools. The schools were chiefly attended by men who had to work in the day. For example, at Kurla, a suburb of Bombay, a night school was attended by factory boys who worked all the day in the mills. Instruction in these schools was confined to the teaching of reading and writing.

It is interesting to note that in some places, for example, at Kaira in Gujerat the night schools were attended exclusively by men of low caste and high caste men frequently remonstrated against this blasphemy. It is stated that at this time the adult schools were so much in demand that the department could not cope with it.[1]

Besides the separate night schools for adults, there were, in some places, night classes attached to day schools. In the Southern Division, there were 223 such classes attended by 4,962 persons. At Belgaum, one of these classes was attended by 90 adults of whom 60 were low caste Maharas. In 1882, however, all such classes were closed down, the experiment apparently having lasted only for the five years 1878-1883.

The quinquennial qrogress of the night schools in Bombay after 1882 is given in the following table :-

Year	*No. of Schools*	*Attendance*
1886-87	281	7597
1891-92	362	8497[2]
1896-97	239	5608
1901-02	107	2380
1907	733	13728
1912	923	17215
1917	111	3197

It will be noticed that after having reached their peak in 1891-92, the number of night schools declined; till in 1901-02 it reached the lowest figure. Though the number rose to 733 (attendance 13728) in 1907 and still higher to 923 (attendance

1. Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882 p 146-7.
2. In the 1892-97 report, the figures are given as 294 and 6638 respectively.

17215) in 1912, in 1917, it almost came down to the 1902 figure (111 and 3197), thus showing that basically the schools were given up as an educational blind alley.

In the quinquennial report of 1892-96 various causes were mentioned for the failure of adult schools, for example :

(a) want of funds with District Boards for giving grants-in-aid to schools,

(b) Plague and famine, and

(c) their lack of usefulness.

The reasons given in (a) and (b) above cannot explain the decline of schools, because this report itself records the opening of 29 night schools in the state of Savantvadi and that of 5 new un-aided schools in Broach. The reason given at (c) above comes nearer to the truth. Most of these night schools *were useless*. They offered nothing to the adults which they could value. In fact, in this respect the religious schools in mosques and gurdwaras which had their hold in Upper India were better. Thus, the 1887-92 quinquennial report admits that mosque schools attracted such large number of adults that night schools for adults in Sind were not necessary.

That the school had little of value to offer to adults was brought out distinctly in the Sind experiment reported in the 1887-92 quinquennial report. During that period, 6 night schools were opened for the labourers, who were asked to be present for half an hour during their working time whenever work was slack or temporarily stopped. Subjects like reading, writing and elementary book-keeping were taught in these schools. The plan failed in every district.

The report gives a correct assessment of the value of the night schools when it says that in Bombay and other trade centres there may be chances of success of these schools, provided they taught subjects of practical utility, like English and commercial subjects and instruction was made attractive.

In spite of the generally depressed level of these schools, some of them did useful work. In the 1906-07 Report of the Bombay Education Department, e.g , we read of a Night School of Commerce in Girgaum, an unaided institution which prepared students for the London Chamber of Commerce Examinations. Again, there was the St. John's Night School at Umarkhedi, which sent up its pupils for the Matriculation Examination.

In *Bengal* the education authorities evinced little interest in adult schools in the beginning. There is a reference in an appendix of the 1866-67 report of Public Instruction as follows:-

"The smallest grant were for night schools. 9 night schools received grants amounting to Rs. 77/- in all or, on an average, Rs. 8/8/- to each school. These night schools are intended for the lower classes of the community and are situated 3 in the 24 Parganas, 3 in Moorshedabad, 2 in Hooghly and one in Nuddia."

This report, however, also mentions a proposal for establishing night schools in association with village *pathshalas*, "with the object of affording the means of elementary instruction to the masses of the people whose occupations prevent them from attending schools in the day times." The proposal was to open 100 night schools at an average cost of Rs. 35/- per year. The certificated *gurus* were to teach in these schools. It was hoped that if the plan proved a success, it would be extended indefinitely (page 38 of the report of Public Instruction in Bengal, 1866-67).

The success of the plan always remained doubtful, except in the cities, and yet the number of schools increased till by 1882 it was over 1,000. By 1896-97, their number increased to 1,587. This was so incongruous with the utility of the schools that the Inspector suspected the registers and thought most of the schools existed only for the benefit of the *gurus*.

In 1901-02 the number of adult schools fell to 1082 with an attendance of 19,516. This was said to be due to the fact that after the day's hard labour the youth did not find it convenient to attend the schools. Arrangements were, however,

made as an experiment during the quinquennium ending 1902 to start experimentally 200 night or continuation schools in the Presidency Division. The pupils in these schools were to be taught by day school teachers or *gurus* at a monthly stipend of Rs. 2/- and capitation allowance of annas 2 per pupil for 10 pupils or more. They were to be at first only primary schools.

This, however, failed to arrest the decline of the schools. By 1912, the number of pupils had fallen to 4,000, though Government contributed nearly Rs. 13,000/- to their cost. The schools were at that time subject to inquiry. It was pointed out in criticism of the schools that they were not established at centres of trade and industry.

In 1917 the number of schools came down to 886 with an attendance of 18,563. In addition, there were 107 continuation schools with an attendance of 2,739. This was a large decline on the 1912 figure, though the cost, viz. Rs. 40,000/-, was almost the same.

The decline in the number of schools might perhaps have been due to partition of the province. Even then, it was evident that these schools had little to offer to adults attending them.

We find the first mention of adult schools in *Madras* in the Report of the Indian Education Commission where their number was stated to have declined from 312 in 1880 to 291 in 1881-82. The attendance correspondingly fell from 6,972 to 5,420.

Perhaps, the favourable recommendation of the Education Commission gave an impetus to the schools in the province as is shown in the following table :—

Year	*No. of Schools*	*Attendance.*
1886-87	366	14,828
1891-92	803	14,799[1]

1. 14508 in Quinquennial Report 1892-97.

Year	*No. of Schools*	*Attendence.*
1896-97	1437	25,424
1901-02	775	14,212

It will be interesting to know the analysis of the figure of 803 schools in 1891-92. Out of these, one was a middle school and the rest taught only upto the primary standard. 45 of these schools were run by Local Boards. 347 were aided schools and 395 unaided inspected schools, whereas 15 were private schools. The schools utilised the staff and rooms of day schools.

The attitude of Madras Government to the schools seems to have undergone a lowering of temperature in later years. During the quinquennium 1892-97 the grants to night schools were restricted to persons actually earning their subsistence as day labourers. The later reports contain no mention of these schools. We will note subsequently that right upto 1947 the Madras Government remained indifferent to schools for the education of adults.

In the *Central Provinces,* the Deptt. of Education was established in 1862 and from the very start the opening of adult schools was a part of its programme. However, it was only in 1868-69 that a tentative scheme of adult education received the approval of the Chief Commissioner of C. P. According to this scheme, to be introduced "by degrees", grant-in-aid was to be given by results to classes enrolling persons of above 18 years of age.

Accordingly, the 1869-70 report mentions adults classes in several districts. On 31st March 1870, there were 725 adults under instruction. Many of them were already in government employment and were seeking to qualify themselves for posts higher than they occupied. Others were day labourers. The schools met generally at night and the cost of lighting was borne from the educational cess levied by the provincial government. The initial enthusiasm seems to have subsided rather too abruptly, for in 1870-71 we find only 16 unaided adult schools with an enrolment of 238 and an average attendance of 151 in the

district of Nemar in the South Circle of the province, and 8 schools each in the districts of Raipur and Bilaspur in the East Circle with an enrolment of 75 and 140, respectively. On 31st March, 1882, there were three government adult schools, 8 aided schools and one unaided school with 51,291 and 3 pupils, respectively. The average attendance in these schools was 19, 191 and 2, respectively. Government spent Rs. 408 on their own schools and contributed Rs. 504 towards the expenses of the aided schools out of a total expense of Rs. 648 It is interesting to note that the cost per pupil in government schools was Rs. 7/13/6, while in the aided schools it was Rs. 2/4/9. The language-wise distribution of the pupil is given as under :—

Urdu	...	83
Hindi	...	215
Marathi	...	45
Oriya	...	46

The adult schools seem to have continued their obscure existence on that level in C. P. ; for, though no figures are available for the intervening years, in 1917 there were in Yeotmal and Berar (presumably in the whole of C. P.) 32 adult schools with an enrolment of 515.

In C. P. however, an interesting project was launched in the early 1860's which was adopted more generally in the first adult educational movement of the late 1930's, viz. the education of policemen. As early as 1862-63, the Chief Commissioner and the Education Department were engaged in working out the administrative details of the scheme. By 1865-66, there were two police schools in each district of the province, one of which was for adults and the other for boys and girls. That year, 529 constables were receiving their education in the former schools. The management of the schools rested with the Superintendent of Police of the district, while the inspection was presumably carried out by the Department of Education. Three years later, the police schools were reported to be "in good order". It seems that henceforth the Education Department ceased to take an active interest in them.

Adult Education had a more democratic beginning in the *Punjab*, though it soon surrendered itself to bureaucratic control as in other provinces. About 1860, some government employees in Lahore banded together to engage a teacher who would teach them in out-of-office hours. They agreed to contribute 4% of their salaries for payment to the teacher. Soon several bankers, traders and other citizens desirous of learning English swelled the membership. Classes were also opened by Government bodies under the patronage of the Deputy Commissioners at Rawalpindi and Jhelum. This good beginning, incidentally, made the English Director of Education remark patronisingly about "the increasing readiness with which the natives are willing to make pecuniary sacrifices to acquire a knowledge of English".

The class at Rawalpindi was almost still-born. But the Lahore class soon had a rival. For, "at the request of many influential citizens, Rev. Mr. Forman of the Lahore Misson School started another adult class where fees were much smaller. As a result, the enrolment at the Government school fell from 130 to 60. The Lahore Misson Adult School received a grant of Rs. 25/- from Government in 1862-63. This was raised to Rs. 30/- in 1864-65.

The two Lahore schools seem to have settled down to a harmonious co-existence, the former for higher and latter for the lower paid Government employees. In 1862-63, the membership in the government school showed an inerease and the highest class was ready for the University Entrance Course in English: misgivings were, however, expressed that it would be difficult to keep up the institution with its high rate of fees ".....along side another institution of the same standard where the rate was smaller." It was remarked, however, that it had served its purpose in setting English education afoot among the adult population of the City.

The Mission School had at this time an enrolment of 107. It was said to be doing "a vast amount of good" and was "in the most flourishing condition."

In 863-64, another adult school was opened at Delhi which was attended by 108 students, mainly munshis from government offices. But this, along with the school opened at Ambala and Rewaree, was closed next year. The new adult school at Gurgaon, Jagadhari, however, made "tolerable progress".

As in other provinces, so in the Punjab, after the first flush of enthusiasm the adult schools sank into obscurity and perhaps went out of existence. For, in 1866-67 we read of the declining attendance at the Lahore schools and hear no more of them. A school here and a school there might have existed in the Punjab, but the adult school movement, weak as it was, died down in the Province to be awakened after the World War I by receiving inspiration from quite a different sources, namely, the co-operative movement.

Except for the Lucknow schools, adult schools in *U. P.* seem to have rceceived little attention from the Education Department. In I872 in Sitapur District alone there were 4 night schools, but information about other districts and for other years is not available.

We give here a history of the brief life of the Lucknow evening school as typical of the adult schools of the time in India. The school started in July 1867 with 115 names on its rolls with the object of supplying means of evening instruction for those whose day was taken up in earning their daily bread. The school fees ranged from Re. 1 to Rs. 5 and it was said that it was paid with difficulty. In 1869-70 the school had 4 classes under proper management and supervision and the committee of management met monthly. Next year the number of classes came down to 3.

The strength of the schools and the expenditure during its short life was as follows :-

Year	*Enrolment*	*Expenditure*	*Govt. Grant*
1867-68			
July, 1867	115	...	...

March, 1868	93	...	...
1868-69			
June, 1868	82	...	1150
March, 1869	Between 75-80	...	900
1869-70			
March, 1870	62		
1870-71			
March, 1871	40	1490	675
1871-72	...	...	43
1872-73	...	...	...

During its life time, the school enabled several of its pupils to obtain "fairly lucrative appointments." All lovers of adult education will be interested to read the following remarks of the headmaster of the school :-

"It is refreshing sight to see aged men toiling their way through elementary books and learning in one year what boys in day schools do in three".

Several years later, there were two night schools attached to industrial centres at Lucknow and Gorakhpur. At Lucknow, the workshop of the institution was thrown open to the pupils at night in order that they might study the modern machinery in operation. These schools were said to be popular, their popularity being due to the nature of the institutions to which they were attached.

There were, no doubt, adult schools in other parts of India than those recorded above. For example, in 1917, we read of 259 such schools in *Bihar and Orissa*, which were incidentally the result of a "large decline" from a previous (non-recorded) figure. However, in the absence of a strong movement of adult education in the *masses*, many of them proved only mushroom institutions.

We must here record one noble experiment in the field of adult education. In 1912, Sir M. Visveswarya, the then Dewan of Mysore, made a unique attempt at mass education by opening night schools for the benefit of the illiterates in some villages

which had primary schools and established a net-work of circulating libraries in the State. Nearly six to seven thousand literacy classes flourished in the Mysore State at this time. A magazine *Vigyan* (Science) was also started to popularize scientific knowledge. But as soon as Sir Visveswarya left the State all his schemes were set aside one by one, till in 1948 the 75 adult schools, the sorry tail-end of a noble effort, were handed over by the Education Department to the Mysore State Adult Education Council.

We have thus reviewed the history of adult schools in India prior to 1917. The mainsprings of the movement - if at all it can be called by that name - were clear. On the one hand, and especially in the three Presidencies (particularly in Bombay), it was an attempt on the part of enlightened bureaucrats to plant English forms of adult education on Indian soil. The result eventually was the petering out of insignificant amounts of grant to some adult schools which seldom aroused any enthusiasm in the minds of the masses or even the education authorities, who at best tolerated them. On the other hand, English education opened up some opportunities of employment to the middle classes, but, in the Indian economy reduced to a colonial economy, these opportuities soon exhausted out and with them the Adult Education movement for the classes also died out to be replaced much later by an Adult Education movement for the masses.

5 Jail Schools— The Experiment that attracted some attention

In 1951, Dr. Walker conducted an interesting experiment in the Agra Jail; he organised classes for prisoners. To overcome the natural apathy of the convicts, who mostly came from a class with no talent for the alphabet, he attracted them witn book prizes, sweatmeats. fruits, a bath in the Jamuna or a visit to the Royal Gardens. In such ways, he succeeded in gathering together 2,000 prisoners in his classes. These prisoners received instruction daily from 4.30 P.M. to 6 P.M. at a low cost of 2 pice per prisoner.

The experiment soon attracted attention in other provinces. We will here give only the initial history of these schools in the provinces of Bombay. C. P.. and U .P. for which such material is available.

The jail schools came within the inspectorial scope of the Bombay Education Department only in 1869-70. There were at that time such schools in all the principal jails. There were two systems of teaching in the schools — teaching by paid teachers and teaching by fellow prisoners. The former showed better rasults.

From the beginning, it seems, Bombay had these schools not only for the breakers of law, but also for the custodians of law. Out of the nine schools in 1870-71, eight were for prisoners and one for the police. The nine schools had an enrolment of 160.

The statistics for some subsequent years are as follows:

Year	*No. of schools*	*Enrolment*	
1875-76	11	...	
1877-78	21	1257	
1878-81	28	1377	
1881-82	30*	1485	* Two new schools
1884.85	29	1126	were for womeu prisoners,

After 1884-85. the Department seems to have lost its enthusiasm for these schools. Jail schools seem to have a trophied soon after. In 1894-95, all police schools were closed down, "now that it is possible to enlist men who have learnt to read and write in the ordinary schools". The optimism of this remark, however, is not justified, since in the 1912-13, Report we read of a night school in Bombay where there were arrangements "for the instruction of about 150 police men, who are left off their duty for an hour for this purpose on alternate days." The writer of this report goes on to wax eloquent— "...to see these bearded custodians of our life and property at the age of 40 or 45 laying aside for a while their police batons for English books, and studying with the zeal of school boys under the discipline of a spare-sized man, is an unusual sight in a Bombay night school."

In *C.P.*, education was introduced in jails by an order of the Chief Commissioner in July, 1862. Later, a report on the state of education in jails was periodically submitted to the Inspector of Jails.

The 1862-63 Report of the Education Department of C.P. gives interesting details of education in Dumoh jail. Here several women prisoners were taught how to read and "one of them read remarkably well ; she had been taught by one of the jail officials, and in turn, she was employed to teach the other women." This was the only jail in C.P. where women were taught to read and write.

The Jail schools soon fell into disrepute. The 1865-66

report expresses dissatisfaction with their progress and comments as follows:—

"Under the present system much improvement cannot be expected for, the time allowed is normally an hour, but in reality not so much, there is no paid teacher, and the teaching agency is a matter of accident both as to its quantity and in quality."

After this we hear no more of the jail schools in the C.P. Education Report.

Education in jails was introduced in *Punjab* in 1862-63 The experiment was first tried in the Central Jail. The education report of that year giving the arrangements in the institution says that, "for that institution (Central Jail) three (afterwards reduced to two on account of the expense) trained teachers should be employed, with 10 or 12 of the best educated prisoners as pupil-teachers, in teaching for one hour in each ward in succession. After putting aside the very old men as impracticable scholars, there are from 120 to 150 prisoners to be taught in each ward and the number of wards is 8 or 9. There are already one or two men in each ward who are excused from labour in order that they may act as supervisors over their comrades and being selected for their general intelligence usually possess some education. The 10 or 12 pupil-teachers are in like manner excused from other labour than that of teaching and qualifying themselves as teachers ; for, after spending from 4 to 5 hours in the former work, they form a normal class, receive special instructions in higher subjects, and will be trained in the art and practice of tuition. This plan is being carefully carried out at the Central Jail and will no doubt in time produce good results.....It is clearly a vast improvement upon the former practice of devoting that hour of day light to the so-called instruction of the whole of the prisoners at the same time. The Darogah, or native superintendent, some of the Burkundazees belonging to the Guard, and a few of the Lambardars, or convict members did what they could to teach a certain number, but it was impossible for them to extend the instruction to the mass of prisoners as is done

now. The instruction was necessarily very superficial, as after the day's regular work was over, neither the scholars, nor the amateur-teachers were fresh, or inclined for mental exertion. The same principal is gradually being applied to the improvement of education in the other jails as far as the necessary cost of trained teachers can be met by the officer incharge. From 1st May, 1863, attendance and progress reports of jail schools will be furnished to the Education Department, and they will be regularly inspected and reported like others under our general supervision."[1]

This system seems to have led to a little progress. In many cases, however, the jail Darogas still carried on the teaching in addition to their other multifarious duties. The education in jails where this system operated was naturally hopeless.

The statistics of jail schools in the Punjab from 1863-64 to 1866-67 are as follows :—

Year	*No of Schools*	*No. of prisioners under instruction*	*Average daily attendance*	*No. of prisoners reading*			
				Urdu	*Hindi*	*Persian*	*English*
1863-64	23	6106	...	5519	368	240	31
1864-65	21	4460	3882	3999	358	105	154
1865-66	22	4780	4385	4496	280	131	1*
1866-68	22	4690	4315	4398	284	116	...

(* in Ambala jail)

The 1863-64 report expressed a strong opposition to giving "anything but the plainest vernacular education in jails". It expressed the agreement of the Inspector-General of Prisons, Punjab, with the opinion that English should be taught in the Central Jail to those prisoners only, who were entered for very long terms or for life or who could help in the work of the Government press which was done largely by means of prison labour. The report also expressed the opinion that only those prisoners who were to act as pupil-teachers should be allowed to carry their studies beyond ordinary reading, writing and

1. (P. 26 of the Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and its dependencies for the year 1861-62).

arithmetic in Urdu. It was due to this opposition of the authorities to education in English that we find the number of those who were studying English reduced to one in 1865-66 and nil the next year.

It seems that later on the Education Department, Punjab withdrew from their inspectoral function so far as the schools in jails were concerned.

In spite of the lead given by Dr. Walker in *U. P.*, we first hear of jail schools in 1867 when the number of students in the Lucknow jail schools was 114. The next year there were 78 pupils in the Lucknow jail and 14 in the Sultanpur jail and the year after the figures came down to 76 and 12, respectively. The average daily attendance in the Lucknow jail at this time was 56. It was reported that at this time instruction in jail schools was given for 3 hours a day, which compares very favourably with the number of hours of teaching in other provinces. The more advanced had reached class II of vernacular town school standard.

In 1870-71, we hear of education only in the Lucknow jail, where there were 3 schools, one for adult males of whom there were 47 of them, one for boys with an enrolment of 44 and one for women. There were at this time four classes in the male school. 58 of the pupils were reading Hindi and 33 Urdu. The teacher was paid Rs. 30/- per annum.

No idea with regard to the expenditure on jail schools is given in any of the provincial reports, except in the 1869-70 and 1870-71 reports of U.P., where it is stated that Government spent Rs. 380/- and Rs. 383/- respectively on these schools.

There is no mention of the jail schools in the later reports of Education Department of U.P.

From the above account of jail schools, we may note the following main characteristics of these institutions :

(1) The schools gave only free elementary instructions in reading and writing.

(2) The pupils mostly came from a class who had no use for the alphabet and hence relapsed into illiteracy as soon as they were out of jail.

(3) Teaching was poor in quality.

(4) Government was anxious to educate the greatest number of prisoners with the least amount of money.

It is sufficient to draw attention to these four facts and leave the readers to the easy task of judging why the jail schools were more a ridiculous attempt at satisfying the superficial humanity of some of the Government officials than a serious concern for the betterment of the lot of prisoners through education. Indeed, it is only because of our desire to give a comprehensive picture of adult education in the 19th century and the pre-World War I era that we have included in this history, a few extracts from the history of jail school in India. Otherwise, their intrinsic importance in the education of adults was nil.

6 Signs of Awakening

WE have reviewed in the preceding pages the history of adult education in the country before the end of World War I It gives us the impression of an anaemic body yearning for a greater whiff of life. The adult schools had hardly developed any roots among the people and were dependent for their existence on the benevolent whims of an educational officer or so. The slightest wind in the form of a famine or an economic depression was sufficient to blow away these delicate benevolences and jeopardize the existence of the tender plants of these adult education schools.

But the darkest of nights holds secretly within itself the promise of a bright dawn. The ancient land had suffered long and suffered much, but the nation was gradually recovering its soul. By 1918, the middle classes had grown up in new cities and were taking the leadership in the national renaissance of multifarious hue. The cheap newspaper had established itself firmly ; it had developed a large and increasing body of readers and had taken charge of the political education of the people. The growing political consciousness did much to restore to the people their self-respect without which no education can be of any avail. And it is most interesting to note that the peaks and troughs through which adult education passed in the post-1917 era fairly clearly correlated with the tempo of our political struggle for free nationhood.

In the strictly adult educational fields, too, the country had its reportory of institutions. Night schools were working in the advanced provinces of Bombay and Bengal. In Baroda

the foresight of a ruler had established public libraries as far back as 1910, and this State had even its travelling libraries a few years later. No doubt this was an oasis in an otherwise unrelieved desert, but though few copied the example of Baroda, many envied it and there was hope even in that.

Further afield, there were sporadic attempts by some universities to institute a few lectures for their local communities. The Co-operative Movement was slowly spreading and in some places was linking itself with education.

The cumulative effect of all the forces mentioned above was to turn the minds of thinking men to the need for spreading education. No doubt, this need was felt more for education of children than of adults, but the forces working in one field of education could not for long leave undisturbed the other field. Henceforth, in post-World War I era, though adult educational effort was miserably incommensurate with the needs of the country, it threw into shade its own previous history.

The later history of Adult Education in India can be roughly divided into five periods as follows :

(i) *Period I 1918-27* was a period of some progress in Adult Education.

(ii) *Period II 1927-36* was that of decline.

(iii) *Period III 1937-42* was again a period of progress followed by another period,

(iv) *Period IV 1942-47*, of decline.

(v) *Period V*. Finally, 1947 ushered in a new era of hope for Adult Education.

We will now give a detailed account of the work achieved in the four pre-Independence periods.

Period I—1918-27

The earlier half of this period was a time of economic depression which began to improve towards the latter half. However, there were important factors working in this period which helped in the progress of Adult Education. In the first

place, there was renewed political activity in the post-war years and discussions on franchise and other controversial political matters helped to stimulate men's intelligence. Then, again, the Indian soldiers returning home brought a leaven of awakening consciousness with them. This was further helped by the growth of the Co-operative Movement. Thus, whereas, in 1910 there were only 1926 Co-operative Societies in India, by the middle of 1926 they had grown to 80,182. In the Punjab, where the hold of the Co-operative Movement was the greatest, over 100 night schools were working, mostly in the rural areas, in 19ss, with an enrolment of 1,784. Teaching work in these schools was done by local school-teachers at a small honorarium contributed by the local co-operative credit society. Sometimes a literate cultivator carried on this burden. In some cases, the District Board came forward to help these rural schools.

In 1921-22, the *Punjab* Government for the first time made a provision in their budget for adult literacy and helped in the opening of many adult night schools. The classes were run in local schools or private schools and the teachers taking the classes received honorarium for the extra work and also a small amount for contingencies, such as oil, registers and rent of the room. As a result, as the following table shows, the number of night schools and their enrolment increased rapidly from year to year till it reached the peak in 1926-27, the end of the Ist period :—

Year	*No. of Schools*	*No. of Pupils*	*Expenditure Rs.*
1922-23	630	17,776	15000 Estimated
1923-24	1,528	40,883	32,841 (1924)
1924-25	2,373	61,691	47,183 (1925)
1925-26	3,206	85,371	1,01,950 (1926)
1926-27	3,784	28,414	1,28,561 (1927)
TOTAL	11,521	3,04,405	3,25,535

The Royal Commission on Agriculture has a few significant words to say on these statistics[1] :

1 Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, H. M. 80, 1928, page 529.

"It is interesting to note that in the rural areas in the Punjab, there has been an intimate connection between the literacy movement and the Co-operative Department. The Department starts the schools and when their success is assured, they are handed over to the Education Department. Thus of the last 4 figures in column No. 3 above agriculturists number 17,469, 35,679, 48,934 and 58,800 respectively."

In *Bengal*, in 1926 there were 926 adult schools with 20, 319 pupils, of whom 442 were reading in 17 urban schools.

Besides, there were 40 schools run by Co-operative Societies and about 100 continuation schools.

In *Bombay*, in 1922, 37 schools were maintained from funds placed by Sir V.D. Thackersay at the disposal of the Central Co-operative Institute. These were circulating schools stationed at each centre for two years. The classes opened two hours daily in the afternoon, except Sundays and holidays. Generally, local buildings and teachers were utilised. In order to earn a grant from the Thakersay Fund, the school had to show an attendance of at least 20 persons between 16-40 who should be members of a co-operative society or children of such members. Teaching was given in the three R's, elementary knowledge and co-operative accountancy.

However, on the death of the donor in 1924, the schools were discontinued, leaving behind a lesson, namely, that it is risky to depend on private munificence for a task of the national importance of adult education.

The Government of Bombay, however also maintained primary schools for adults in urban as well as rural areas. In 1926, e.g, there were 116 schools in rural areas whose 4,012 pupils were educated at a cost of Rs. 17,038/-

Other provinces were not much affected by the educational aspect of the cooperative movement. But certain interesting developments took place in some of them. Thus, in 1921 the *U.P.* Government offered a subsidy to 6 Municipal Committee for the development of a system of night schools

for adults. In the C.P., the Manager of the Empress Mills, Nagpur, was running 7 schools for adults, especially members of the depressed classes, with the help of the local Y.M.C.A.

About 1924, the Government of *Travancore* promulgated rules for recognizing night schools for purposes of grant-in-aid. According to these rules, a night school had to give instructions for 2 or 3 hours daily for at least 100 school days in a year to 20-40 pupils of about 16 years of age. The course lasted 2 years and comprised instruction in the three R's, hygiene, first aid and historical stories. A teacher who had no other work was paid Rs. 5/- per mensem, whereas, a part-time teacher was paid Rs. 3/- p.m. Besides, Re. 1/- was allowed for lighting charges.

Before closing this period, we would like to draw the attention of the reader to two new and significant facts in the adult education situation in the country—as yet mere bendings of a few straws, but sufficient to indicate which way the wind was blowing. In the first place, adult education was now showing signs of disengaging itself from its sole dependence on bureautic pleasure. As yet, it was a far cry from a mass movement, but munificent men, municipalities and mills taking up adult education was a sign of life returning, although returning slowly, into an almost life less body and a remote promise of its support from the people. Secondly, in the Punjab at least adult education was showing signs of extricating itself from a life-depriving isolation and linking itself to a movement for general uplift of standards of living as evinced by its connection with the Co-operative Movement. We will notice that even in the next period, which was one of emancipation, it did not entirely relinquish the two tendencies of growing independence of the pleasure of a few officials and thrusting for roots in the people and a linkage to something more than mere literacy.

Period II—1927-36

This was a period of uniform decline in Adult Education due to the economic distress which was beginning to assume

global proportions at that time. Expenditure was cut down in all directions and, as usual, such activities as Adult Education were the first to feel the axe. The period was also politically disturbed and communal bitterness was on the increase. Most of the new schools working in the previous period were abolished, ostensibly on grounds of eliminating inefficient schools. but really because funds were not forthcoming for adult education.

Some missionaries did creditable work during this period. The names of Dr. J.J. Lucas of Allahabad who prepared many booklets in Hindustani in Roman alphabets (characteristically, a missionary attempt), Dr. J. H. Lawrence of Manipur who conducted schools in Hindi with Devnagri script and Dr. Daniel of Madras who prepared Tamil readers may be mentioned in this connection.

There was also in this period a missionary of another sort in Bengal. Shri Munindradeb Rai Mahashaya of Banesbaria, Hoogly, at this time devoted his public life to libraries and not only Bengal, but the whole of India owes much to him in making people library conscious. He founded the Hoogly District Association of Libraries and also the Bengal Library Association in 1927.

We have mentioned the rapid progress made in the *Punjab* in the previous period. Unfortunately, the present period registered an equally, if not a more precipitous decline. In five years, i.e. by 1931-32, the number of schools had come down to 585 with the enrolment figure at 12,696, i.e., lower even than the 1922-23 figure. During 1936-37, the number of schools had come down to a paltry figures of 189, with the enrolment at 4,988.

In the Punjab, however, two interesting experiments were tried during the period. Teachers in normal schools were asked to interest themselves in Adult Education and village libraries. though established earlier, continued to grow in number and popularity. These libraries were generally

attached to middle schools in rural areas and formed something like nascent cultural centres for checking relapse into illiteracy and for providing convenient meeting places where lectures on various topics could be delivered to peasants. In 1939, there were 1,594 of such libraries in the province. A similar scheme of village libraries was started in C.P. and Berar in 1928.

In contrast to the bleak fortunes of Adult Education in other provinces, the presidency showed a welcome advance. Thus, while in 1932-33, there were 143 schools for adults in the province with an enrolment of 5,660 pupils, in 1937 the number increased to 180 with an enrolment of 6,299. This increase was due to two causes. In the first place, the Government had begun to take interest in the education of adults, and secondly, several associations, such as the Reconstruction Association and the Adult Education League of Poona, with whom the name of Shri S. R. Bhagwat was so closely associated, the City of Bombay Literacy Association, the Seva Sadan and the Social League did substantial and creditable work in the field.

About 1935, *Travancore* also started in the footsteps of Baroda. Private rural libraries, receiving Government grants for maintenance and sometimes for furniture and even buildings, were already there. But at that time, the Education Department began to take a direct interest in the development of libraries and set up 80 State rural libraries. These were in addition to the 40 private libraries in the State.

The libraries and reading rooms were set up in selected departmental primary schools.

7 Adult Education Comes of Age

Period III—1937-42[1]

WITH the advent of popular Ministries in the Provinces, Adult Education in the country received not only new life but new orientation. In the beginning, there was enthusiasm all round. Shri Syed Mahmud, the Minister of Education in Bihar, stood on the road with a piece of chalk in his hand and a black-board beside him to teach the unlettered. Shri C. Rajagopalchari, then the Premier of Madras, himself wrote text books for adults in Tamil. In Aundh the royal father and son wandered from village to village preaching the message of literacy. The Prince closed the primary schools for 2 to 3 months and teachers and students were sent in the rural areas for teaching the peasants reading and writing. It is stated that they made 12,000 persons literate in these three months.

Thus, now for the first time in the history of India, Adult Education was accepted as a definite responsibility of the Government and organized work was taken in hand. Again, the new syllabus of Adult Education was not confined to pure literacy, but included, in theory at least, civic education of adults. The media of education were extended to include publications, posters, cinema shows, etc. The plans were generally well thought out, except for post-literacy work, which was a weak link in the chain.

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1. The material for this and the next chapter is taken, except for slight incursions into the Decennial Review and an unpublished paper with the author, from reports submitted by various provinces and states to the Central Advisory Board of Education.

In the Central Advisory Board of Education

The movement for adult literacy, for as yet it was not very much more than that, began in the provinces, but the Central Advisory Board of Education reflected accurately the interest and thought of the country on the subject. In its 4th meeting held in December, 1938, the Board appointed a Committee to consider the question of adult education. The highlights of the Report of the Committee submitted to the 5th meeting of the Board held in May, 1940, are the following recommendations :

(1) Literacy is a movement of further education and must not be regarded as an end in itself. The primary aim of the campaign must be not merely to make adults literate, but to keep them literate. (Recommendation 3 of the Committee).

(2) Whatever subjects are introduced in the curriculum and whatever the teaching method adopted, the form in which instruction is given must be intelligible and interesting to the student and the instruction itself should be closely related to his occupation, his personal interests and the social and economic conditions under which he lives. (Recommendation 6).

(3) A boy under the age of 12 should not be admitted to an adult centre under any circumstances ; a boy attending a full-time day school also should not be encouraged to attend evening class for adults, and separate classes should be organized for boys between the age of 12-16. No age limits were fixed for girls. (Recommendation 8).

(4) Every effort should be made to enlist the help of voluntary agencies. Of course, safeguard should be provided against any risk of the movement being used for religious or political propaganda. (Recommendation 9).

(5) Mechanical aids to learning such as radio, the cinema, gramophone and magic lantern can be used with great effect in adult education. Steps should be taken to increase their supply and reduce the cost. (Recommendation 14).

(6) An adequate supply of trained and competent teachers is the fundamental need in adult education. Teachers in day schools will require a special course of training. The course of training in the Normal schools should include instructions in the technique of teaching adults. (Recommendation 15).

(7) A library is an essential adjunct to every adult education centre. Liberal grants should be given to increase the number and size of the libraries, particularly in rural areas, and to assist the production of suitable literature.

(8) The importance of a wide expansion of facilities for adult education is even more important in the case of women than that of men. (Recommendation 20).

(9) With regard to literate workers in urban areas, it is essential to secure the co-operation of employers of labour and associations of workers. The question of levying a tax on those employers of labour who do not make adequate provision for the education of their employees is worthy of consideration. (Recommendation 23).

(11) The Central Government should afford financial assistance to those provincial Governments which are prepared to carry out approved schemes within the next 5 years. (Recommendation 24).

These views now sound as pleasant generalities. In 1940, these were bold ideas. The report, together with the views of the Board on some of the recommendations, were forwarded to the Provincial Governments for consideration and "such action as they might consider necessary." Unfortunately, the report reached the provincial capitals when the popular Ministries were no longer there. Their substitutes were not particularly known for any tender feelings for the fortunes of the literacy movement.

The 5th meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education (1940) also asked the Educational Commissioner to collect information from provincial educational authorities on adult educational developments in their areas. These reports were later

supplemented by reports from Centrally Administered Areas and Indian States ; and however meagre and sometimes perfunctory these reports often were, these reports to the C.A.B.E. since its 6th meeting became a valuable source of information on the progress of Adult Education in India.

In the Provinces

We will now review the provincial records of the literacy movement.

Assam

In Assam, though some night schools existed previously, the Mass Literacy Movement was first launched in September, 1940. The work was organised by the Provincial Literacy Committee and various sub-divisional committees. Officials and non-officials were associated with all these Committees. The Education Department opened literacy and post-literacy classes in every sub-division. Within a year, it had run 1,840 classes, including 47 for women.

From September, 1940 to August, 1942, 21, 16, 713 persons took the literacy test. Upto April 1943, the Government had established 407 village libraries, reading rooms and clubs ; and 200 circulating libraries further it had distributed to its literacy and post-literacy centres. 1,40,000 primers, 70,000 post-literacy readers, 80,000 pictures and poster, 8,000 charts and reading sheets and the periodical *Jan Shiksha*. The Government spent on this Mass Literacy Scheme Rs. 1,97,863 annas 7 from September, 1940 to March, 1942.

Bengal

In Bengal, in 1938 there were schools run by some village associations sponsored by the Rural Reconstruction Department, which was also in control of Adult Education in the province. These schools ran on the system of *mushti-bhiksha*, i. e., the handful of rice collected from house to house as traditional charity. In 1939, however, there were 10,000 classes

with an enrolment of 1,50,000. By 1942, the number of classes had risen to 22,547 with an enrolment of 5,30,178.

In 1938, the Calcutta University Institute gave two short courses of training in Adult Education—one before the summer vacations and the other before the Pooja holidays—to University and college students to enable them to take up the work in the villages. In 1939, Government ran 50 sub-divisional camps which gave training in Adult Education to workers and local officers.

Government helped to publicize the literacy campaign by organising Adult Education Weeks and Anti-Thumb-impression campaigns. They also insisted that chaukidars should get themselves literate. A rough survey carried out at this time showed that in 1942 there were 712 public libraries in Bengal of which 217 were in Calcutta, and 75 in Hoogly.

Since 1937, the Bengal Library Association ran regular Summer Schools in Library Training.

Bihar

The years 1938-42 are particularly notable in the history of Adult Education in India for the stupendous effort made by the Government and people of Bihar in the cause of Mass Literacy. By his personal example, Dr. Syed Mahmud, the Education Minister of Bihar, whipped up an enthusiasm for the movement which before this time the people had shown only for the freedom movement of Gandhiji. It was due to this enthusiasm that in the first year of the Mass Literacy campaign four and a half lakh adults passed their literacy test at a cost of Rs. 1,21,431, of which only Rs. 80,000 went from Government exchequer.

The main body controlling the movement was the Mass Literacy Committee of 53 members, including 7 women, with Dr. Syed Mahmud as the Chairman and Prof. B.B. Mookerjee as the Secretary. In 1941-42, the Committee had a whole-time Secretary.

Between this Committee and the village teacher were three other committees :

(i) The District Literacy Committee, with the Collector as its President and the District Inspector of Schools as its Secretary.

(ii) A Sub-Divisional Literacy Committee with the Sub-Divisional Officer as the President and the Deputy Inspector of Schools as the Secretary.

(iii) The Village Committee with the local headmaster as its President or Secretary.

The Village Committee checked the admission of illiterate adults, persuaded them to attend literacy classes, raised funds for contingencies, like oil, etc., and checked the reports and returns going from its centre to the Sub-Divisional Committee.

The Mass Literacy Committee made use of the following agencies for its programme :

(i) Primary School Teachers—In the first year, the movement relied mainly on them. In all fairness to this class, it may be said that they responded splendidly to their Minister's call. Some of them not only gave their labour free, but even met the expenditure on contingencies from their lean – all too lean—pockets.

(ii) Later, however, as the following table shows, many volunteers from the non-teaching professions gave their support to the literacy movement :—

Year	*Total No. of volunteers*	*Teachers included under column 2*
1	2	3
1939-40	20,567	5,267
1940-41	23,480	6,569
1941-42	20,342	4,963

(iii) Schools and College Students—They were urged to teach their women relatives and to lend their hand to the "Make Your Home Literate" movement.

(iv) Government Departments—The Rural Development Department and the Jail Department did particularly

good work. Thus from June, 1938 to June 1939, 32,192 out of 52, 263 convicts in provincial jails were made literate. Similarly, Government offered all facilities to chaukidars to become literate and pressed by the Chief Minister's order for chaukidars below 40 to make themselves literate, 22,795 out of 43,505 illiterate chaukidars availed themselves of these facilities.

(v) The Industry—Sugar Mills, Cane-growers, Co-operative Socities and factories—started classes for their employees. For example, in Jamshedpur, the material for the class and supervision was supplied by the company until it withdrew itself from this activity.

In the first phase of the first year's work (26th April to October, 1938) the Mass Literacy Committee let the work grow as it may, but during the second phase (October, 1938 to March, 1939) one thana in each district and two sub-divisions, Simdega in Ranchi District and Banka in Bhagalpur District, were taken up for intensive work.

The literacy work under the Mass Literacy scheme was supported by the Adult Education literature published by the Government and the establishment of village libraries. The fortnightly *Raushni* (Hindi) was launched early and even in the first year of literacy compaign, 30,000 copies of it were published and circulated to centres. By 1941-42 Government had published primers in Hindi, Urdu, Bengali Uraon, Mundari and Santhali languages and dialects as well as other follow-up books such as, song-books.

The Bihar Mass Literacy campaign was not as strong on the point of training of workers as the exigencies of the campaign required. Some instruction to workers was attempted in 1940-41 and in 1941-42. There was a Summer School at Ranchi with an "average daily attendance of over 400." It may be reminded that there were over 20,000 voluntary workers scattered over the province that year.

We will now allow the following table to tell us the remaining story of the four years of Bihar's magnificent literacy campaign that fall within the period we are reviewing :

Year	*No. of classes held*	*No. of adults attending the classes*	*No. of adults literated*	*Total expenditure*	*Govt. Contributions under column 5*
(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(6)*
1938-39	50,820	9,09,081	4,50,000	1,21,431	80,000
1939-40	18,878	11,68,325	4,13,482	2,00,000	1,80,000
1940-41	17,294	4,56,682	3,21,393	2,08,504	1,98,811
1941-42	13,534	2,40,507	2,03,264	2,03,764	2,03,764
Total	*1,00,526*	*27,74,595*	*13,88,149*	*7,33,699*	*6,62,575*

Some conclusions follow: In the first place, the per capita cost of literacy, though rising year by year (from nearly 5 annas in 1938-39 to nearly 15 annas in 1941-42) was, on the whole, astrongishly low—average of 9 annas for the 4 years. How did they manage it? Secondly, it is clear that by 1942 the campaign had lost its pristine vigour. Of the nearly 14 lakh adults rendered literate during the 4 years, the very first year accounts for a little less than half the number. Thirdly, the dwindling of the campaign cannot be wholly attributed to the apathy of the Government. The yealy comparison of column 5 and 6 shows clearly the decline of contributions from non-government sources, and hence a languishing of the people's interest in a movement which once served as an inspiration to the whole of India.

The question, Why so is as difficult to answer as it is intriguing to the educationist. There is, of course, always the inevitability of even the best of the efforts exhausting itself out in the course of time. But perhaps a better answer lies in the fact that no adult education movement can ever prosper in a nation with a withdering morale. For, after the resignation of Congress Ministeries the morale of the people was sagging.

The Bihar Government gave a considerable thought to the setting up of village libraries during this period. They believed that without libraries, the literacy of the people will vanish away

as soon as it is achieved. The statistics relating to libraries are as follows:

Year	*No. of libraries opened.*	*No. of books issued from these libraries.*
(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*
1939-40	4,000	...
1940-41	2,000	6,00,123
1941-42	1,000	6,34,000

It seems that there was no adequate provision for the maintenance of these libraries and most of the 7,000 libraries set up during the three years 1939-42 went quickly out of existence. Only thus can we reconcile the figure of 2,215 libraries in 1942-43 for which we have reliable statistics.

There were some good libraries in the towns.

Bombay

Adult Education work by the Government began in Bombay in 1937 when a Committee was appointed to work out a detailed scheme. The recommendations of the Committee were not accepted, as that would have put a financial burden on the Government which they were not prepared to bear at the time. The Government, however, appointed an Advisory Adult Education Board in 1938 to secure public co-operation, to encourage and produce suitable literature for adults, to collect funds for literacy work and in general to advise the Government on assessing the development of Adult Education in the province.

The Board had a three-year tenure. It had a non official majority and Shri S. R. Bhagwat, who had organised a magnificient literacy work in Poona, was appointed its chairman. The Board registered adult education workers and only classes run by these workers were recognised by the inspecting officers of the districts. These officers held literacy tests and paid grants to the class teachers.

At first, in 1938-39, the rules for grants to adult classes wer quite liberal. For equipment the class received the cost of

the articles, subject to the maximum of Rs. 40 and the teacher at his choice, Rs. 4 for an adult made literate or Rs. 5 p.m. plus Rs. 2/- per adult made literate. Later in 1939-40, however, the equipment grant was reduced to Rs. 12 and the teacher was paid only As. 10 for every adult made literate, except for classes in villages having no schools, where the rate was fixed at Re 1/- per adult made literate. The result of this was a sudden drop in the scale of work. Thus, whereas in the early part of 1939-40 the classes rose from 211 in 1937-38 to 1,503 with an enrollment of 58,053 adults out of whom 13,200 adults were made literate, at the end of that year the classes came down by nearly half and the literacy rate to only 36 per cent of the enrolment. During 1940-41, the classes came down to 694 and, naturally, the expenditure too came down. The economies were however, obtained in lieu of an unwelcome drop in the quality and quantity of work and to restore the work the old 1939-40 scale of grants was restored with effect from 1941-42. As a consequence, the number of classes shot up to 1,100 in 1941-42.

During 1937—47, more than 23,037 adults were made literate through 3,072 literacy classes at an expenditure of Rs. 2,25,910.[1]

The syllabuses of these classes comprised the ability to read a passage from the second book of primary sc ools with understanding and to write answers to 4 or 5 simple questions.

In 1939, the Government of Bombay appointed a Library Development Committee and as a result of the recommendations of the Committee it embarked on a systematic programme of developing *peta* (village), taluka and regional libraries, with the Central Library at the head of the system. Under this scheme, registered village libraries were given grants of Rs. 30 to 50 according to the size of the village. In 1941-42, 750 village libraries were opened and a grant of Rs. 22,000 paid to them.

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1. See also Indian Ministry of Education. Progress of Education in India 1937-47. Decennial Review, Vol. I, pp 147-55. The statistics given there differ sometimes widely from those given here.

In 1941-42, the Bombay Government also started training of adult education workers. That year 196 workers were given a two-week course during the summer and winter vacations at Government Training Institutes at the five divisional centres. A grant of Rs. 25 was given to each centre for equipment and each trainee was given Rs. 10/- as boarding expenses. The trainees were required to register themselves as adult education workers and to make at least 10 adults literate during the next 12 months or else refund the stipend of Rs. 10/-.

As in the early period, voluntary organisations continued to do their good work in the province in the field of adult education. Bombay Presidency Adult Education Association and Bombay Literacy Association are the two associations (which were not mentioned in the previous period) which did meritorious work in this period. The Bombay Literacy Association was at one time running 66 classes with an enrolement of 1,996 adults. A sum of Rs. 10 was set apart by the Government of Bombay in 1937-38 to aid such voluntary organisations.

In Bombay, some special work was done for women in some centres at the beginning of the period. The village uplift committees were also taking part in adult education work.

Bombay City

The literacy campaign in Bombay City, though it was carried on under Government auspices, forms a separate chapter in the progress of adult Education in the Province. It also deserves a special mention as the most systematic work in the field in this period,

On 4th April, 1939, a large-scale literacy campaign was started by the Adult Education Commitee nominated by the Provincial Board of Adult Education and Social Service League, Bombay, under the presidentship of Shri. B.G. Kher. the then Premier and Minister for Education, Bombay. On Ist May, 1939, 596 literacy classes were started under the auspices of the Committee. Later on, the Bombay Government appointed an independent committee, called the Bombay Adult Education Committee, with a view to organise literacy movement in

Bombay city on a permanent basis. Shri B. G. Kher continued to be the President of the new Government Committee.

On the advice of one of their officers lent by the Government of Bombay, the number of literacy classes was reduced to 360 in the interest of efficiency. These classes were attended by 7,000 adult pupils and continued a 4-month course of literacy instruction.

Later on 3rd October, 1939, the Bombay Adult Education Committee appointed a full time officer with a view to organise the literacy campaign on a wider scale. By the end of the year, the Bombay Adult Education Committee had absorbed the Bombay City Literacy Association, which was doing similar work under the Chairmanship of Mr. K. F. Nariman.

In January, 1940, the Committee adopted a scheme of opening literacy classes every month so that an adult could start his literacy lesson in any month and not wait for opening of a new session. This, however, was stopped later in 1940-41.

The scheme of literacy classes took final shape during the first year. According to this scheme, the Committee ran three types of classes:

(1) Those wholly managed by the Committee. The general plan of these classes was as follows:—

(a) There were 20 to 25 adults on roll in each class and a minimum every day attendance of 15 insisted upon. During the period under review, each class was in charge of a teacher who was paid Rs. 7 per mensem as out-of-pocket expenses. The adults were instructed daily for one hour, except on Sundays and other important holidays.

(b) Some head teachers or experienced assistant teachers in Municipal schools were requested to organise the classes by contacting working class pupils. They visited the classes, helped the teachers to maintain attendance, provided substitutes for absent teachers and submitted weekly reports regarding classes,

proposed accommodation and kept check over contingent expenditure. They were called supervisors and were paid Rs. 10/- p. m. for their supervisory work. In addition, there were 5 organizing superintendents, of whom one was a lady. The superintendents were paid Rs. 40/- p. m. as conveyance allowance. Their duties were the same as those of supervisors, but in addition they made arrangements for training of teachers and supervised and guided on the spot the examiners holding literacy tests, etc.

(c) The classes were generally housed in Municipal school buildings, development department, port-trust and municipal chawls and secondary school buildings. Classes were even held in private houses if no rent was charged by the landlords. In fair season, classes could also be held in the open air.

(d) The standard of literacy test was the ability to read simple sentences forming a story or a letter and to write answers to simple questions or a letter and to sign one's name and know numbers up to 100.

(e) The literacy course covered a period of 4 months.

(f) Teachers from secondary or municipal schools were selected as examiners.

(g) Literacy certificates were awarded at a function presided over by some distinguished persons. Such functions were held at places where pupils attending classes in the area could conveniently be present and participate.

(h) The suggested one-hour time-table for the literacy classes was as follows:

Prayer	3 minutes
General talk	10 ,,
Formal teaching—revision ...	10 ,,
Formal teaching—new lesson ...	25 ,,
Roll call	5 ,,
News discussion, etc	5 ,,
Prayer or common songs ...	2 ,,

(2) Classes managed on the grants-in-aid basis. These received 50 per cent grant on their admissible expenditure. The object was to encourage private social and educational associations to start literacy classes of their own. In course of time, many private organisations took advantage of the offer. Syllabus, etc., of these classes was the same as that of the classes run by the Committee.

(3) Classes maintained by big employers of labour for their employees at their own cost but under the direction of the Committee. Here also, many factories and mills and business concerns offered their cooperation to the Committee.

The Committee realized from the very beginning that their effort to liquidate illiteracy would be fntile if the adults made literate were left to themselves. In the first year, the Committee only gave one suitable book to each neo-literate for his supplementary reading at the time of awarding him the literacy certificate and also advised his supervisor and teacher to keep in close touch with him and help him in reading the book or other reading material which might be available. Later, however, the Committee started post-literacy classes. These classes, unlike the literacy classes, were continuously held during the whole year and the neo-literates were persuaded to attend them for at least 6 months after having obtained their literacy certificates. It was felt that an adult who had received his four months' training in the literacy class and also took the benefit of the post-literacy class for another 6 to 8 months would develop sufficient interest in reading for himself so as to avoid any lapse into illiteracy. Each class was in charge of a teacher and the pupils were divided into groups of 4 or 5 each. Each group was given a separate set of books at a time; these when finished were exchanged with books given to other groups. The necessary guidance was given by the teacher. The teacher also read to the adults attending the post-literacy classes interesting accounts from newspapers or magazines and told them stories or held simple discussions on popular topics. The pupils learned to write simple letters to relatives and to answer short questions relating to the stories they worte or some other topic

in their daily life. Some private associations also conducted these post-literacy classes.

The Bombay City Adult Education Committee published their own text books in Marathi for literacy classes as well as for supplementary reading in Marathi, Gujerati, Urdu and Hindi. Other books available in the market were also purchased and supplied to the classes. The Committee started in 1941-42 its fortnightly news-sheet for neo-literates in Marathi, named the *Saksharata Deep*, which became more and more popular as year followed year. They also supplied the Urdu fortnightly *Rahber*, published by Mrs. Kulsum Sayani, for their post-literacy classes.

Soon after the starting of literacy compaign, the Committee realized the need for training literacy teachers. Three classes were held in 1940-41 and five in 1941-42. The classes lasted for a fortnight each. The daily programme consisted of talks on the general principles governing the working of the adult mind, their interests, attitudes, environments etc. and the method of teaching adults. These were followed by demonstration lessons. The teachers under training were given opportunities to conduct lessons under the guidance of the demonstrators. They were also given training on methods of propaganda, maintenance of good attendance, general knowledge and the special follow-up techniques.

In 1941-42, a training class was specially arranged for college students, attended by 35 of them. A few of these students were employed in the classes in mills and their work was found satisfactory.

In 1941-42, too, the Committee enlarged the scope of teaching aids and included cinema, films, lectures and recreational activities in the programme of the classes.

The Committee also conducted in 1940-41 and 1941-42 model classes to find out the best method of imparting literacy, duration of the literacy course, etc. In 1941-42, two such classes were held in Marathi and one in Hindi.

From the very start of the campaign, the Bombay City Adult Education Committee paid a good deal of attention to propaganda and collection of funds from the public. From 1940-41, two forms of this work took shape ; firstly, Variety Entertainment and, secondly, the Literacy Week. Every year some public spirited persons organized Variety Entertainment in aid of the literacy campaign. The first Variety Entertainment was held on 16th November, 1940. The whole work was organized under influential committees and the programmes consisted of *Bhajans*, simple songs, devotional prayers, etc.

The first Literacy Week was celebrated from 3rd March to 9th March, 1940—the 5th March specially being observed as the Literacy Day. The following programme was drawn up :

(1) Volunteers went round to collect funds from public in sealed boxes provided by the special literacy officers through conveners of different zones.

(2) In 1945-46, the Committee instituted a merit shield to be awarded to any institution making the largest collection in any year, the shield becoming the property of the institution winning it for 3 successive years. Leaflets giving the importance of literacy and the work so far done by the Bombay Adult Education Committee were distributed in schools to children and the heads of schools arranged to address them on the subject.

(3) In the evening mass meetings were held and addressed by prominent leaders at several centres in different parts of the city.

(4) Button flags with a suitable symbol and slogan were distributed as mementos of the Day.

(5) Cinema shows were arranged in different parts of the city in the morning on any day specially convenient to the schools concerned, except the 5th of March which as mentioned above was the Literacy Day.

Students from several schools participated in the collection of funds during the Literacy Week as a regular feature.

During the three years 1939-42, the literacy campaign enrolled about 62,000 adults of all ages, out of whom, 40,000 adults, including over 7,300 women, were made literate at a cost of Rs. 1,59,000. Excluding certain items of expenditure which do not directly bear on the achievement of literacy, but including the over-head charges, the cost of making one adult literate worked out at an average of Rs. 3/13/- for the three years. There were 46 post-literacy classes in 1940-41 and 130 post-literacy classes in 1941-42.

The Central Provinces & Berar

The Province of C. P. & Berar, which did such magnificent work in Social Education later in the post-Independence period, did practically little in the 1937-42 period. The 47 night schools for adults reported to be working in 1937-38 were reduced to 30 in the next year. 752 adults were enrolled in these 30 schools, while the average attendance reported was only 466. There were 44 village and circulating libraries—two in each district. There were, besides, 87 libraries which received no government aid. In 1941-42, the Education Department introduced the subject of village uplift and literacy classes in the training given in Normal schools.

Madras

The Government of Madras, believing that the only permanent and satisfactory solution of the problem of illiteracy lies in the development of primary education, left literacy work entirely to private agencies and local bodies who conducted night schools for adults as well as for boys and girls. There were 223 of these schools in 1939-40 with an enrolment of 10,452 boys and 746 girls. In 1940-41, the number had come down to 131 schools with an enrolment of 7,746 boys and 321 girls.

Orissa

In Orissa, the visit early in 1939, of Dr. Frank Laubach, the American Missionary expert on literacy, aroused some enthusiasm for literacy work. Over 500 students taught literacy in villages in the summer vacation and made 1,500 persons literate. Many voluntary bodies took up the work, of which the Gandhi Seva Sangh, which conducted 30 centres in one thana of Cuttack District, deserves mention. The Government established a Provincial Mass Literary Committee in 1939 and sanctioned a sum of Rs. 17,000 for literary work, out of which Rs. 5,000 were meant for equipping and running literacy centres, while Rs. 12,000 were reserved for printing charts, primers and readers. Sets of these charts, primers and readers were given to literacy centres at a nominal price of 1 pice per set. At one time, 1,168 schools with an enrolment of 27,979 were reported to be conducting literacy classes. Later, the number fell to 907 centres with an enrolment of 21,737 adults, out of whom 19,870 were made literate. Later still, in the same year 1939-40, the number of centres fell to 433 with an enrolment of 9,392 persons. No later report is available to tell us of the dwindling fortunes of the literacy movement in Orissa. In fact, it seems to have collapsed at its very birth.

There were also libraries in a few villages.

Punjab

We have given earlier the unbroken, though uneven, history of literacy work in the Punjab since 1922. Once more the movement came to its own in the Province in the present period. In February 1937, Dr. Laubach visited the Punjab and held a conference at Village Teachers Training School, Moga. The conference organised a Continuation Committee at Moga for doing experimental work in literacy and for preparing adult literature on Laubach lines. The Punjab Government themselves took keen interest in the work of this Committee and contributed towards its expenses Rs. 350 in March 1937, and Rs. 700 in January 1938. The Committee prepared primers in Urdu and Punjabi (Persian script). In

May 1937, the Committee started its literacy campaign on Laubach lines in 12 missionary headquarters. Other teachers also took up the work. The results were very encouraging and seemed to have contributed to the decision of the Punjab Government to embark on a five-year literacy programme, which they did in 1939 with an initial recurring investment of Rs. 22800/-

The fillip given to the literacy movement in the Punjab by the Continuation Committee, the missionaries and other enthusiastic teachers was further helped by the rapid growth of the middle classes in the province and the awakening of political consciousness among the Punjabis. This is indicated by the fact that whereas the country as a whole made a 70 per cent advance in literacy in the decade 1931-41, in the Punjab the advance was 140 per cent. We now find literacy leagues springing up all over the province. In 1938-39, in Multan Division alone, there were 1, 129 of them running literacy classes for 10,305 adults. We have also figures available for Jullundur and Ambala Divisions where 4,556 and 11,182 adults, respectively, took their literacy lessons during that year. Some schools and school teachers also came forward to do their bit. Thus, schools at Gakhar and Lalamusa taught 608 and 1,556 adults respectively, and the Punjab Board of Teachers Union ran classes for 478 adults.

The Punjab Government also purchased regularly during 1938-41 primers and follow-up books and distributed them free to literacy classes. In 1938-39, they distributed 42,000 primers and about 50,000 books. In 1939-40, the corresponding figures were 308,000 and 57,000. In 1940-41, when the Government's Five Year programme came into full stride they purchased for free distribution 2,20,000 primers and 1,48,000 follow-up books at a cost of Rs. 34,881. They also distributed books to travelling libraries, of which there were reported to be 600 in 1940-41. That year, 54,585 books were thus distributed, of which 21,550 were specially purchased for these libraries. The Government also paid subventions

to some journals for bringing out articles of interest to adults. These journals were then distributed to these libraries. In 1940-41, the Government spent Rs. 7,362/12/- on this item alone.

As stated before, the Punjab Government launched their Five-Year Literacy Programme in 1939-40. Normal schools were asked to take up literacy work through their pupil teachers. Staff and students of Government schools were asked to do the work and the Inspectors of Schools put moral pressure on schools run by local bodies and private managements to similar end. Classes were conducted in factories, jails and religious places. In each district, 20 teachers were given an extra allowance of Rs. 7 p.m. for teaching adults regularly. Each district Board was asked to spare 2 teachers on its pay rolls to supervise the literacy work in the district. These supervising teachers as well as District Inspectors of Schools were paid a special allowance of Rs. 15 p.m. for this work. Further, the 20 literacy teachers in each district were given one to two weeks' refresher courses for which Rs. 1000 were sanctioned for each district. A sum of Rs. 100 per district was also set apart to be given away in prizes to the most successful workers and each District Inspector of Schools was authorised to spend Rs. 150 a year on contingencies. Thus, in each district the literacy work was subsidized as follows:

Allowance to 20 teachers @ Rs. 7=20×7×12	
	=Rs. 1680 per year
Allowance to 2 teachers @ Rs. 15=2×15×12	
	=Rs. 360 per year
Allowance to District Inspectors	15×12
	=Rs. 180 per year
Cost of training	100 per year
Prizes to voluntary workers	100
Contingencies	150

This comes to Rs. 75,000 for the Province. In 1941-42 this was reduced to Rs. 49,000.

The progress of the literacy campaign in the Punjab during 1938-42 can be seen from the following table:

Year	Literacy Centre	Enrolment	No. of adults made literate.	Government Expenditure.	Remarks.
1938-39	2,000*	45,440	13,296	22,800	Cost of purchase of primers not known.
1939-40	2,407	82,461	46,841	47,800	Including Rs. 25,000 for production and distribution of literature.
1940-41	3,243	1,18,298	67,415	98,446	Rs. 65,000 non-recurring from Govt. of India, Rs. 22,800 non-recurring, and Rs. 1,000 recurring from funds of Pb. Edn. Board, and Rs. 10,000 from Spl. Dept. Fund.
1941-42	3,266	1,16,123	64,000	48,800	No new litreature purchased during the year. Financial stringency beginning to be felt.
Total	10,916	3,62,322	1,91,522	2,17,846	

During 1938-42, the Punjab Government succeeded in making 1,91,552 adults literate at a cost of approximately Rs. 2,17,800.

The United Provinces

In U. P. adult literacy work was carried on at the beginning of the 1937-42 period by the Rural Development Department, which was created with the object of ameliorating the moral and material condition of the villagers. But the new Congress Ministry felt that the problem of adult literacy was

* Estimated.

too big for the Rural Development Department. Hence, in August, 1938, a new Department, the Education Expansion Department, was created under the Minister for Education and was placed in the charge of an Education Expansion Officer, who worked through the machinery of the Education Department. Thus, in each District the Deupty Inspector of Schools was the local executive officer of the Education Expansion Department. He was the controlling officer of the teachers of adult schools, libraries, etc. in the district.

The Education Expansion scheme was inaugurated on the 15th July, 1939, and up till March, 1942, it had made more than 7.25 lakh adults literate. Literacy work in U. P. was organised by four types of agencies.

(a) Government
(b) Educational institutions
(c) Private agencies
(d) Volunteers.

(a) Five Government Departments conducted schools or classes for adults.

(1) Education Expansion Department—The Department appointed 960 adult teachers and, on an average, 20 of them were alloted to each District. These teachers were peripatetic. A teacher was given a group of 8 to 10 villages. He began his work in one of the villages and when all the educable and willing adults within the village became literate, he moved on to the next village of his group. After he had finshed his group, he was given another group of villages.

(2) Rural Development Department—As we have seen, adult literacy was an important item in the programme of rural uplift, which the Rural Development Department was administering. In 1938-39, the Department controlled 1,761 adult schools.

(3) Co-operative Deparment—In 1938-39, 250 schools for adult members of the Co-operative Societies were working, besides a regular scheme for co-operative training and education which was being financed by the Government of India.

(4) Police Department—In 1940-41, the Department started 190 special police literacy schools at the rate of 5 schools per district, in 38 districts, to make illiterate constables and chaukidars literate. The enrolment was 1,750. A special reader was prepared for them by a Senior I. P. S. officer and published by the Education Department. In 1940-41, again, Government made special grants for teachers and books to introduce literacy in jails.

(b) Educational Institutions—All Intermediate Colleges, High Schools and Vernacular Middle Schools were requested to adopt a village each and to try to make all educable and willing adults in that village literate within a year.

(c) Adult schools run by reliable private bodies - such as Ramakrishna Mission, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Labour Welfare Centres, Local bodies, factories, banks, etc.—were given aid @ Rs. 5/- per month.

(d) The Government of U. P. made impressive efforts in attracting voluntary workers in the cause of adult literacy. Each year, a Literacy Day was celebrated—the first one on the 15th July, 1939, the day the Education Expansion Scheme was inaugurated, and then every year in the first week of February. On such days meetings were held in towns and villages and the attention of the people drawn to the curse of illiteracy and their co-operation invited in fighting it. They were asked to sign literacy pledges, promising to make at least one person literate in a year or else pay Rs. 2/-. Those who volunteered to do literacy work were given a bonus of Re 1/- per person made literate by them. On the first Literacy Day, 2,73,326 persons signed the pledge. Out of these, 13,061 paid the money, and though it is sure to tax the degree of one's faith in the reliability of men's promises and pledges to believe that the remaining ladies and gentlemen made good their word, yet the propaganda value of Literacy Day is unquestionable. In 1940-41

and 1941-42 6,877 and 8,877 persons, respectively, availed themselves of the bonus system to spread literacy.

The literacy propaganda also aroused some students to give their time to literacy work. It was, however, felt that teaching an adult requires consistent work for some months, which a student cannot easily give. Nevertheless, it was considered advisable to avail of their enthusiasm and the students and teachers were, therefore, asked to promote "No Thumb-Impression" campaigns in the simple expectation that once an illiterate person learns to write his name, he will be better disposed to attend a literacy school. In 1941-42 the students succeeded in teaching 63,726 adults how to sign their names.

The following are the results obtained in the three years (1939-42) of this manifold literacy work :—

		Persons made literate in the year		
		1939-40	*1940-41*	*1941-42*
1.	960 schools run by Education Expansion Department.	(960)	(960)	(960) 56,985
2.	Rural Development Deptt. schools.	X	X	X
3.	Special Police Literacy Schools.	X	(190)	(139) 1942
4.	Co-operative Department Schools.	X	X	X
5.	Schools in Jails.	X	X	29,173
6.	Schools run by Educational Institutions under the "Village Adoption Scheme".	(437)	(300)	4,123
7.	Aided Schools run by Private Bodies.	(915)	(679)*	(1006) 12,541
8.	Volunteers working on the bonus system.	X	(6877)	(8877) 47,647
	Total	2,79,604	3,00,000	1,53,185

N.B.—Figures in brackets give the number of schools in a particular class in a particular year.

X No statistics available.
* including 100 women's schools.

The Government of U. P. gave as much attention to the spread of literacy as to its maintenance through a system of libraries and reading rooms. On the first Literacy Day, 768 libraries and 3,600 reading rooms were opened in the rural areas. The number of libraries was increased to 1,000 in 1940-41, and to 1,040 in 1941-42, the number of reading rooms remaining constant. 40 additional libraries were opened for women in 1940-41 and given books worth Rs. 150 and some periodicals each. Besides the libraries opened by Government, grants were given to about 500 private libraries in rural areas in 1939-40 and 506 such libraries in 1940-41 and 1941-42. 250 libraries of the Rural Development Department were also supplied with weeklies and other periodicals in 1941-42. Again, 50 women welfare centres of the Rural Development Department in Fyzabad were given a grant of Rs. 500 each, together with supplies of magazines and periodicals. Each Government library was supplied with the necessary equipment and about 300 books on various subjects in Hindi and Urdu worth Rs. 200 and 10 per cent of the initial cost was provided each year for replacements and additions. Each library had branches within a radius of 5—8 miles which received every month a box containing 20-30 books. The library was housed in a school and the teacher-incharge of it was paid Rs. 2 per month for looking after the library and keeping the records and for sending out books to the branch libraries. Each institution was managed by a local committee of 3 men which decided the days and hours of opening and rules for issuing books.

The housing and management of reading rooms was the same as in the case of libraries. Each reading room was given two weeklies, one monthly paper, a *panchang*, a *Jantri* and a copy of *Sachitra Bharat*. The Reading rooms where the readers agreed to contribute half the cost were also given daily vernacular papers of their choice. In places which had educated or literate women, special ladies' magazines in Hindi and Urdu were supplied. The man incharge of the reading room got an allowance of Re. 1 per month for reading out newspapers to illiterate villagers. A reading room also got a box of 15 to 20

books from a neighbouring Education Expansion Library. Private libraries were given one of the following three grades of grants so that they may work more efficiently:—

(i) Rs. 8 p. m. or Rs. 96 per year.

(ii) Rs. 5 p. m. or Rs. 60 per year.

(iii) Rs. 3 p. m. or Rs. 36 per year.

They were also given two periodicals each.

The following statistics will give an idea of the use of the library system of U. P. during 1939-42 :—

(*a*) *Libraries.*

Year	*Number*	*No. of Hindi books supplied*	*No. of Urdu books supplied*	*No. of books issued from libraries & reading rooms*	*Total attendance in libraries & reading rooms*
1939-40	768	1,58,721	51,015	...	...
1940-41	1,000 (40 for women)	...	...	17,00,000	...
1941-42	1,040	...	...	16,81,375	53,82,943

(*b*) *Reading Rooms.*

Year	*Copies of weeklies supplied*	*Copies of monthlies supplied*	*No. of persons to whom newspapers, etc. were read out.*
1939-40	7,200	4,156	...
1940-41	...	...	...
1941-42	...	...	42,74,976

The Government of U. P. also published special books for adults in Hindi and Urdu on History, Geography, Arithmetic and General Science. Books were also published on adult psychology. The Government also introduced visual education scheme of showing useful films to adults at various centres.

The Centrally Administered Areas.

Ajmer

Very little work was done during the period in the Centrally Administered Areas. In Ajmer there were two adult schools in 1939-40, one run by the Municipal Committee, Beawar and the other by the Cantonment Board, Nasirabad. There were 12 schools run by Co-operative Societies which had an enrolment of 213. A few adults from these schools appeared for the departmental upper primary examination for boys. These schools were run at the cost of the District Board. Later, they were taken over by the Department of Education.

Coorg

In Coorg, in 1939-40, there was only one night school at Koodige run by the Better Living Society. This was meant for Harijans and had an enrolment of 32.

Delhi

In Delhi in 1939-40, there were 19 schools for adults with an enrolment of 269. Out of these, 15 were run by the District Boards, 2 by the Notified Area Committee, 1 by the Delhi Municipal Committee and one by the Government. In the adult schools run by the District Board, the equipment and furniture of the day schools was used during the evenings for the adult schools. These schools were supplied each with 20 *takhtis*, 2 slates, 20 readers (primers) and 1 steel trunk for depositing the material. The cost of all reed pens, slates, pencils, ink and clay for *takhtis* calculated at the average attendance of the previous month was given as contingencies at the following rates :—

Average attendance	*Lanterns*	*Cost of oil Rs.*	*Teachers' allowance Rs.*
10	1	2	4
15	2	2/8	6
25	3	5	8

In addition to the lanterns, one hanging lantern was supplied to each school. Usually, only an adult above 16 was admitted to these schools. The District Inspector of Schools appointed teachers for day-schools for which the hours were fixed in the winter from 7 to 9 p. m. and in the summer from 8 to 10 p. m. The syllabus consisted of reading, writing and arithmetic and all students were required to finish the primary course in these subjects. No tuition fee was charged, but a school had to have not less than 10 scholars in order to be eligible for aid.

In 1940-41, the number of classes came down to 13, but the enrolment was 286. 36 persons got their literacy certificates during the year. In 1941-42, many new schools were opened. The Delhi Municipality itself was running 17 schools at that time. The enrolment in all these schools was 2,652.

Indian States

Some of the Indian States did fairly good work during the period. In Baroda, Primary Education was already compulsory since 1906. Baroda also had a system of village libraries which was far in advance of the times in India. Most of the villages having primary schools had village libraries, and travelling libraries served the needs of those areas that were not served by schools or libraries. Literacy work was started in Baroda State in June 1939, and during the next two years 1,648 classes were conducted. These classes were attended by 23,916 adults of whom 9,562 received their literacy certificates.

These classes were taken by elementary school teachers with a volunteer here and there, particularly in towns. Special classes were organized for women. Tuition was free and school buildings were made available free of charge. Contingency grants were also given by the State to centres where public help was not forthcoming.

Adult classes in backward areas were paid monthly contingency grants of Rs. 2 to Rs. 4 and in addition a yearly grant of Rs. 50 for every batch of 50 persons rendered literate. At

other places work done was regarded as honorary, but schools or centres doing good work were given prizes ranging from Rs. 50 to Rs. 250 per annum.

Cochin

In Cochin, an Adult Education Association was formed in 1940-41. Some night schools were run by private efforts. There were 160 village libraries in the State.

Hyderabad

In Hyderabad, in 1925-26, there were 3 night schools in the State run by private agencies. Four years later, the movement extended to districts. In 1933-34, special rules and regulations and curriculum for adult schools were framed. The syllabus consisted of the three R's and an adult had to complete the course in 18 months. In 1938-39, there were 47 adult schools with an enrolment of 1,556. Out of these, 33 were aided by the State, while the remaining were recognised but not aided. In September, 1942, there were 93 schools with an attendance of 2,882 adults. In addition, there were 5 schools for women having an attendance of 298.

Jaipur

The Rural and Education Departments of Jaipur State (in the then Rajputana) began literacy work in January 1939. Up to June 1943, 45 villages had evening classes and 1,000 adults had been made literate.

Jammu and Kashmir

In Jammu and Kashmir State an Education Reorganization Committee, which did its work in 1938, recommended the provision of adult educational opportunities for masses. From the beginning of the new financial year, which began in the State in mid-October, the adult education scheme recommended by the Committee was launched. Local bodies were made responsible for provision of funds for expenses on light. The classes were run mostly by school teachers who were entitled to an honorarium of Re 1 per

adult made literate, subject to a maximum of Rs. 20 for a Government servant and Rs. 30 for a private voluntary worker in one year. Some of the Government Departments took up literacy work and aimed at making all of their employees literate within a specified period. Some of the departments even imposed penalties on those who failed to become literate. The work of the Sericulture Department was particularly notable. About 1,500 of its operators received instruction in the premises of the Department during factory hours. Teaching was conducted by the Sericulture staff under the guidance of the officers of the Adult Education Department.

An intensive literacy campaign was started in the town of Anantnag.

The standard for literacy was reading and understanding the meaning of a paragraph in easy language, the writing of a letter or a passage to dictation and the practical manipulation of the first four compound rules in Arithmetic with reference to small sums of money. Literacy could be acquired in 4 languages; Urdu, Hindi, Gurmukhi and Bodhi.

Government established 125 libraries in 1938-39. These libraries were located in rural areas and were supplied with suitable and easy books of adult taste. Each library had an average of 2,000 to 3,000 books. Librarians, who were paid Re 1 to Rs. 3 p.m. were mostly village school teachers. They were expected not only to issue and recover books, but also organize and supervise study groups for such literates as could read books independently. On holidays, the librarian was expected to visit neighbouring villages and give talks to villagers on problems of health, sanitation, agriculture and also read from books so as to inspire in them a desire to acquire literacy for themselves.

In 1939, the Department of Adult Education published and distributed 56,000 books.

The progress of the literacy campaign in Jammu and Kashmir can be judged from the fact that in 1942-43 there were 4,050 adult classes in the State with an attendance of

44,987—7,000 more than the previous year. Of these, 29,073 were government employees. That year the the number of libraries reached the figure 480 with the circulation figure at 2,87,562. During the year, adult Readers in Urdu, Hindi and Punjabi worth Rs. 37,000 were distributed to the adult classes. Up to that time 57,035 books had been thus distributed.

Mysore

The State of Mysore is well known for its adult education work which, starting in 1940, has progressed regularly up till now.

In 1940, the University Union of Mysore trained 600 students in adult psychology, organization of adult classes and teaching the alphabet. These students started classes in Mandirs, Gardis and Anjumans in the various mohallas of Mysore city. At first teaching was wholly voluntary, but in the latter half of the period of 6 months for which this work continued, the volunteers were given a small honorarium of Rs. 5 p.m. The University Union gave a grant of Rs. 300 for this work. During this period, 470 adults received their literacy education and of these 197 passed the test.

Later on, some students of the Mysore University stayed behind during vacations and with the help of primary school teachers conducted work in Mysore City. The city Municipal Council assisted them in organizing the classes and also made a grant of Rs. 500/- towards the allowances of the teachers. The Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University also sanctioned an additional amount of Rs. 500/- for the work in the villages by members of the Union. The total number of adult students who joined the summer classes was 650. 470 of them took the literacy test and 450 adults passed. These classes were availed of by the menial establishment of several offices in large numbers and the heads of offices allowed the holding of classes in the office buildings. At this time, the Welfare Committee of the Bhadravati Iron & Steel Works also enabled 79 of their illiterate employees to complete the first course of literacy.

In 1941, Bangalore City had its City Literacy Campaign launched in July. There were 13 centres, 11 in Kannada and 2 in Urdu. These were run by 21 workers trained by the City Literacy Campaign with the help of the Kannada Sahitya Parishad. Government paid Rs. 2,000/- towards the expenses of the campaign, Rs. 200 were paid by the City Municipal Committee and another sum of Rs. 200/- was received as donation. The total number of pupils in all the centres was 285 and most of them completed the first adult literacy primer.

In January, 1942, a non-official committee, called the Mysore City Literacy Council, was formed to organize literacy work on a State-wide scale. The Council consisted of actua workers and interested members of legislature. The programme of the Council comprised, besides literacy work, the publication of primers and follow-up books as well as the establishment of libraries.

A characteristics of the literacy work in Mysore was and continues to be the close co-operation between Government Departments and voluntary workers. Government has its representatives on the Council. Education Department helps in supervision, inspection and conducting of examinations. The officers of the Rural Reconstruction Department help in the the rural reconstruction work and in organising camps, etc. The Deputy Commissioner and other revenue officers help in organizing literacy centres and libraries. The chairman and members of the Local Boards give grants and co-operate in the organizational work.

The literacy centres as well as the libraries are run mostly by village school teachers. 95 per cent of teachers of literacy classes are from Government Primary schools. The teachers are given training in adult psychology and teaching of adults. Wherever possible, the services of the literate community are also utilised for teaching work. There is one supervisor for every 30 literacy classes. He is usually middle school passed and is selected on the ground of his local influence and organizational abilities.

Early in its career, the Mysore Literacy Council realized the need of specially written primers, readers and follow-up books for adults. The first two primers and readers were soon published. The first primer was published at 6 pies per copy, the second at As. 2 and 6 pies per copy and the readers at As. 3 per copy. All the 3 were well-illustrated. They were supplied free to all adult education centres of the Council and were even sold outside the State for use in literacy classes. The following number of copies of primers were printed during the period under review :—

1940	...	1000
1941	...	2000
1942	...	7500
	Total	10,500

In 1942, the Council planned the Adult Education Series and secured the co-operation of Kannada writers who could write simply and attractively. The Council also started a weekly newspaper for adults, the *Belaku* (light) in 1942 and printed and circulated nearly 1,200 copies of it during that year.

In the early years, the Council devised the following follow-up programme. Before an adult literacy class completed the test, the students were invited to form a club (Vidya Mandir), with their teacher as leader. The Council supplied free of charge a set of booklets and the *Belaku* for a year to the club. The clubs and its leaders were expected to circulate the booklets and the newspaper regularly among the members, to arrange frequent meetings of the members for reading the booklets and to send periodical reports to the Council.

The follow-up clubs developed into libraries. The Council framed the following scheme for setting up rural libraries. The Council agreed to set up a rural library in a village on receiving an application from the local Panchayat. The Panchayat contributed Rs. 25/- for starting the library and the Council

contributed Rs. 75/-. This sum of Rs. 100/- was allocated as follows :—

Books	...	Rs. 30
Newspaper	...	Rs. 20
Box & Contingency	...	Rs. 26
Librarian's remuneration		Rs. 24
	Total	Rs. 100

The average recurring cost of a rural library was Rs. 60/- per library per annum, 50 per cent of which was contributed by the village Panchayat.

Every library was managed by a Library Committee consisting of the elders of the village, a teacher or teachers of the primary school in the area and the librarian who acted as the Secretary. The Council also appointed the librarian from among the teachers of the area. The Rural Library Committee made all decisions regarding the work of its library, subject to the rules framed by the Council for the purpose. The Committee recommended a person of its choice for appointment as librarian and decided on the newspapers which it would like to subscribe to for its reading rooms.

The Council also trained the rural librarians. The training course was short and comprised the fundamentals of library science and rural library service.

Later on, the Council started a monthly, called the *Pustaka Prapancha* (the Book World), for the special use of librarians and book lovers. The journal contained articles on library science, library needs, notices of all books and periodicals published in Kannada every month, reviews of works of many authors and short summaries of useful books and articles published in other languages. The journal proved very helpful to the rural librarians.

The Council also gave guidance to the rural libraries on book selection. The first set of books was always selected by an expert committee of the Council. The Expert Committee

also issued periodically catalogues of new books published every year, suitable to rural readers. The Council conducted a book store to enable the rural libraries to obtain their books and equipment cheaply.

Later on, the Council decided to start a Central Library for every 100 rural libraries. The Central Library stocked books of every description in Kannada and kept more than one copy of the books in great demand. It lent books in boxes of not more than 25 books to member libraries who paid a small annual subscription of Rs. 2.

The first rural library was opened in 1941. The growth for the first two years was not very encouraging, but from 1943 onwards it was remarkable.

Travancore

The only other State which did adult education work during the period was Travancore. There were some night schools in the State, though the number is not known. Forty private libraries and the 80 rural libraries established in the previous period continued to serve the public. It appears that these libraries increased in number in the latter part of the period.

Adult Education in the Army

The structure of the Indian Army was based on that of the British Army. However, the education in the Indian Army was weaker than that in its British counterpart. Its beginning was made in 1921. This was the result of the lessons learnt in the war of 1914-18 to the effect that an intelligent and educated soldier is a more efficient part of the army than an illiterate soldier.

In 1921, the training of instructors for the educational programme of the army was started at Belgaum. The school also compiled the necessary text books. At first, the education was conceived on broader lines to include vocational education as well. Later on, the main feature of the education was to increase educational qualifications of the soldiers and to help

them to obtain a succession of certificates. Eight certificates were instituted : four in Hindustani and four in English. The four certificates in Hindustani pertained to : (a) Recruits' Test, (b) Army Third Class Certificate of Education, (c) Army Second-class Certificate of Education and (d) Army First Class Certificate of Education. The four English certificates were : (a) Army Third class English Certificates, (b) Army Second class English certificate, (c) Army First class English Certificate and (d) Army Special Certificate of Education. The last certificate was equivalent to the Matriculation certificate of the Indian Universities and was taken after a successful examination in the following subjects: English, Mathematics, Geography, History of India, Citizenship, General Science and one of the 14 modern languages of India.

As most of the soldiers came from rural areas, the subjects of Citizenship, Rural Reconstruction and General Knowledge were specially included in the various syllabuses.

The medium of instruction in the Army was simple Hindustani written in Roman script.

In the 2nd World War (1939-45) the educational work of the Army was expanded and the educational staff was increased, including the recruitment of Commissioned Officers. The concept of education was widened to give the soldier a knowledge of why he was fighting, where he was to fight, against whom he was to fight and the means with which he would fight. This kind of education had earned its merit as an excellent device to raise the morale of the British soldier and it was adopted bodily in the Indian army. This education was conducted in small discussion groups under the officers who were to lead the soldiers in war. These discussions were as much a part of the soldier's duty as his drill.

The Directorate of Army General Headquarters brought out many useful books for education of the soldiers as well as instructors. There was the necessary arrangement to train officers to do the type of educational work required in the army.

The interested reader will find more details of the structure of educational work in the Indian Army in the All India Report

of Social Education for 1947-51 published by the Ministry of Education.

For obvious reason, details of educational work in the Army are not available.

General

The period 1937-42 witnessed a gigantic increase in the stature of adult education in India. This is particularly true of the years 1939-42, before India began to feel the pinch of the preposterous War that Herr Hitler let loose on a nervous humanity. While adult educational statistics are notoriously fickle and even treacherous, an attempt may yet be made to assess the total impact of the work. The attempt may perhaps

Province/State	*No. of adult classes/centres*	*Enrolment in the classes*	*No. of adults made literate*
Provinces			
Assam	10.000*	21,16,713	99,656
Bengal	32 574	6,80,178	3,40,000
Bihar	1,00,526	27,74,595	13,88,149
Bombay (including Bombay City)@	6,432	1,29,000	66,537
C. P.	77	1,692@	850*
Madras	354	19.265	10,000
Orissa	2,547	64,108@	39,970@
Punjab	10,928	3,62,322	1,91,552
U. P.	21,300	14,00,000*	7,32,789
Centrally Administered Areas			
Ajmer	14	213	100*
Coorg	1	32	16*
Delhi	158@	3.207	1,600*
State			
Baroda	1,648	23,916	9,562
Hyderabad	155@	3,736	2,500*
Jaipur	2,000*	37,987	20,000*
Mysore	63@	1,225	787@
	1,88,777	76,18.189	29,04,068

* Indicates figures estimated wholly and @ figures partially estimated.

** The figures are taken from the provincial reports, etc. submitted to the Central Advisory Board of Education. In many cases, there is no recognisable relation between these figures and the corresponding figures in the Decennial Report. In such a quandry the position of the author is unenviable, particularly so when he has preferred the C.A.B E. reports to the Decennial Report.

yield the order of the magnitude of work undertaken in the period. And as, in spite of the theories professed by adult education workers, it was mainly a literacy movement, we will let the literacy figures give their version of the story :—

This period also showed a marked increase in the number of libraries and an increase in their service. As we have seen, the Government of Bombay launched systematic library work and the vogue of village libraries was spreading. Many public libraries began to serve adults during this period and libraries which were founded before this time considerably expanded their services. Thus, the second edition of the Directory of Indian Libraries show more than a 100 per cent increase in the number of libraries, with a much larger increase in their book capacity and circulation figures. Besides the public libraries in urban areas, nearly 13000 libraries sprang up in the villages as a welcome by-product of the Adult Education movement. It was during this period, again, that the radio came to play some part in Adult Education. The actual range of its educational services was as yet limited, but the potentialities were considerable.

Some of the most important work in Adult Education during this period was done by the Jamia Millia, Delhi. It started a separate department for Adult Education and opened centres which were the first ones of their kind. By 1941-42, 29 Jamia centres were working with an enrolment of 652. Both in these, as well as in the considerable adult literature published by it, it set up models which others could well follow.

A notable event of this period was the founding of the Indian Adult Education Association. The Delhi Adult Education Association, which had come into being in 1937 and had done good work in Delhi city, took initiative and called the first Indian Adult Education Conference in 1938. The Conference met in Delhi under the Presidentship of the late Dr. Shah Sulaiman. It was a fairly large representative gathering of adult education workers throughout India and a committee with Dr. Shah

Sulaiman as Chairman and Prof. H. B. Richardson as Secretary was appointed to review the adult education work in India preparatory to the founding of the Central Organisation. The Committee published its report in 1939.

The report of the Committee covered all the Provinces and Princely States. Commenting on its findings, the Committee said that "too much emphasis is at present being laid on literacy work ; if it is to be of any real use to the people, it must be intimately connected with their traditional and inherited occupations. We would strongly recommend that the trade of the individual should be used as much as possible as the basis of all literacy work so that literacy may be a natural expression of an inward need, and not merely an artificial growth grafted on to the exterior of the human mind, where it is more likely that it will act as irritant, than as a stimulant to further knowledge."

The most important result of the work of the Committee, however, was that it stimulated opinion among adult education workers on the need for a central organisation. The second conference organised by the sponsors of the first conference was a great success. At this conference, held in Bhagalpur in 1939 and presided over by Shri R. P. Masani, the Indian Adult Education Association was founded. It may be said that with the founding of the Association, adult education work in India came of age, for the Association became henceforward a focus of opinion of adult education workers. During this phase of the movement, when it had developed sizable proportions, there was great need to impress on public bodies and the Government correct and well-thought out policies towards adult education. This the Association set out to do through its conferences where the collective wisdom and experience of field workers was available, and through the *Indian Journal of Adult Education*, which was brought out in 1940.

The second conference formally adopted a comprehensive resolution which brought the Association into being. It stated *inter-alia* the role that the Association had to play in the development of the movement and recognized the *Indian Journal of Adult Education* as its official organ.

The third conference which met at Indore made important and significant reco nmendations. It called upon the government to establish an Adult Education Department in the Central Government and requested the Central Advisory Board of Education and Inter-Uuiversity Board to appoint a Special Sub-Committee to make such suggestions to various universities as would strengthen adult education through assessing the various teaching methods evolved during the last few years by literacy workers in various parts of the country.

The fourth and the last conference before Independence was held in 1946 and adopted a resolution which, considering "the importance, immensity and urgency of the problem of adult education in India, said that the demand for any comprehensive scheme on adult education in all its aspects could be worked out effectively only by a sufficient number of trained and full-time workers in linguistic areas under the direction and guidance of a Central Institute of Adult Education." The Conference, therefore, urged upon governments of Provinces and States and the centrally administered areas to start adult education sections as integral parts of their Education Departments. The conference also recommended legislation to make it compulsory for employers of more than ten persons to provide facilities for adult education work.

On the whole, 1937-42 was a bright period for Adult Education in India. It will not be an exaggeration to say that the remarkable advance of 70 per cent in the literacy figures in India in the decade 1931-41, which is due to several educational forces and movements, owes not a little to the effort in the field of Adult Education.

Evaluating the status of Adult Education during the period, we may say that though the movement had obtained a recognition, it had not achieved the degree of maturity which could enable it to render its contribution to the strength of the national fabric. In the background of the previous and the subsequent periods, the 1938-40 period gives the

appearance of a temporary effervescence. Surely, the movement had not taken root in the people, as had the movement for the education of children. The movement was, further, but a literacy movement and there too the post-literacy work was weak. The institutions which lend stability to the movement and enable to strike roots in the national traditions, e.g. libraries, extension work, etc., were not there or were there as mere weaklings.

Nevertheless, the movement made enduring achievements during the period. Adult Education came to be recognised as a respectable, even a very necessary, part of national educational system. All Governments recognised it as their responsibility in the same way as the education of children, and most Education Departments began to make room for it. Men of ability and substance began to devote their talents to the furtherance of the movement. Leaving aside the enhanced volume of work, which never came as low as in the previous period, the movement began to overflow mere literacy. During 1942-47, the movement withered with the decline of national morale, but never again did it lose in respectability and there was a promise in the period that the advent of national Independence would also bring new life to the adult education movement.

8 Rough Weather

Period IV—(1942-47)

IN contrast to the previous period, this period was one of decline in all branches of adult education. The country began to feel the pinch of World War II in about 1942. Expenditure was cut down in all nation building departments. National morale was at a low ebb due to the temporary setback suffered by the national movement in 1942 and the increasing ascendency of communalists. In the paragraphs that follow, most of the provinces tell a tale of uniform retrogression.

Assam

In Assam, the number of schools fell to 300 in 1943-44. Whereas nearly a lakh of adults were made literate in the province in 1940-41, in 1944-45 only 11,663 adults were made literate. There were also some post-literacy centres getting each a grant in aid of Rs. 25/-. There were also 200 rural and 160 circulating libraries in Assam Valley in February 1947 and 120 rural and 97 circulating libraries in the Surma valley in February 1945. Rs. 35/- was given as a grant in aid to a rural library.

Bengal

The 22,000 adult schools in Bengal dwindled down to 11,233 in 1943. There were no provincial reports available for subsequent years. However, it is presumed that the number of schools went down still further.

Some of the schools taught up to the middle standard and in some schools vocational subjects like tailoring and typing

was taught. Cinema shows and lectures were given by the National Welfare units.

Bihar

In Bihar, the main elements of literacy campaign continued as in the previous period, but the original tempo could not be maintained. In fact, as noticed earlier, public enthusiasm had begun to languish even in the previous period. Thus whereas in 1941-42 there were 20,I42 literacy workers, in 1946-47 there were only 8,103 of them, comprising 2,411 teachers and 5,692 others. However, for a part of the period at least the Government did not relax their efforts. Thus, in 1942-43, 16 new thanas comprising 1,670 villages were selected for intensive work. Talks and lectures on better farming were given in 100 centres and lectures on cattle diseases were given in 20 centres. The Government spent Rs. 1,74,130/4/9 on literacy campaign that year. Next year (1943-44) besides taking up 15 new thanas (1752 centres) for intensive work, special efforts were made to promote literacy among women. The District Inspectresses of Schools were made responsible for the work and there were Ladies' Committees in many centres. 11,168 women were enrolled in 414 principal literacy centres and of these 7,734 passed their literacy test. Again, 2,664 women availed themselves of post-literacy education in 191 centres. Of these, 1,623 were successful. In Monghyr and Gaya district centres for women, education was given in Hygiene and child welfare. In Champaran district, some of the best literacy centres for women, were organised among semi-aboriginal tribes. Though literacy work was suspended in jails, the police succeeded in making 3, 234 adult chaukidars literate. Government spent Rs. 2,00,697 on literacy campaign this year. The order of expenditure prevailed in the whole of this period.

Intensive work was taken up in 15 new thanas in 1944-45. In 1946-47, one thana or a part of it in each district was taken up for such intensive work and there were near 1557 centres in these areas which catered to 81924 adults, of whom 55999 were made literate.

The course of literacy work in the province in this period may be seen from the following table.—

Year	*No. of adults passing the pre-literacy tests*	*No. of adults passing the post-literacy tests*	*Total number of adults passing the pre and post-literacy tests*
1942—43	1,40,973	77,329	2,18,302
1943—44	1,22.266	70,854	1,93,120
1944—45	57,038	27,208	84,246
1945—46	57,859	27,206	85,065
1946—47	61,836	35,015	96,851
Total	4,39,972	2,37,612	6,77,584

Thus we see that during this period over 6.77 lakh adults attained literacy. The quinquennium thus compares unfavourably with the preceding quinquennium when over 13.88 lakh adults were made literate.

The Bihar Government also continued to open new village libraries for which statistics are available:

Year	*No. of village libraries*	*No. of books issued from these libraries*
(1)	(2)	(3)
1942—43	2,215	8,33,535
1943—44	2,215	3,90,013
1944—45	2,215	5,34,207
1945—46	1,914	6,30,981
1946—47	...	5,53,337
Total		29,42,073

Bombay

In Bombay, literacy work gradually retrogressed until 1945-46, when the Government introduced the Compact Area Scheme. In this scheme, a compact area of a suitable size

was selected for concentrated effort. Each area was put in charge of a Special Officer, whose duty it was to try and see that about 1,000 adults were made literate every year in his compact area. The Special Officer was either a social worker or an Assistant Deputy Educational Inspector. In 1945-46, the scheme was started in 5 areas. In 1946-47, it was worked in 19 areas, out of which one was for women. 763 classes were held in these areas enrolling 21,349 adults of whom 3,786 were women. In the previosuly existing 5 compact areas, 8146 adults (including 497 women) were made literate during the year.

The Government of Bombay also started that year—1945-46—its Home Classes for women in urban areas. Boys and girls of higher standards of full-grade primary schools were asked to prepare lists of illiterate women and to teach them reading and writing in their homes. The head of the school to which the boy or girl belonged, supervised the classes and inspecting officers tested the stage of literacy of the women taught. For each woman made literate the boy wasor girl given Rs. 2, the class teacher Re. 1/- and the headmaster/ headmistress As. 8, a further sum of As. 8 being granted for charts and booklets, etc. The difference which these schemes made to the progress of literacy in Bombay is shown in the following table :—

Year	*No. of classes*	*Enrolment*	*Adults made literate*	*Expenditure on literacy classes*	*Total expandiure on Adult Education*
1942-43	1039	24,000	19,600	90,000	1,15,750
1943-44	900	35,000	20,000	80,000	1,00,000
1944-45	750	26,000	17,000	78,000	1,07,000
1945-46*	2000	44.000	29,000	1,00,000	1,25,000*
1946-47	3300	70,000	46,000	2,10,000	2,60,000x
Total	7989	1,99,000	1,31,600	5,58,000	7,17,750

(* Compact area and Home classes schemes started)
x estimated.

The Government of Bombay continued to train adult education workers to sustain their literacy programme. The number of workers trained in the quinquennium was as follows:

Year	*No. of classes*	*No. of workers trained*	*Expenditure*
1942-43	3	100	1,100
1943-44	3	115	2,500
1944-45	1	40	600
1945-46	3	140	3,000
1946-47	4	136	2,900
Total	14	531	10,100

We have seen earlier that Government of Bombay aided the development of village libraries in order to help the maintenance of literacy. It was again in 1945-46—a happy year for adult education in the province—that the Government introduced their new scheme for development of libraries and decided to recognise for purposes of grant-in-aid one library in each district. The library must be open to the public without any distinction. The Government was to give a grant to these libraries on a matching basis subject to the maximum of Rs. 4,000. Again, the Government gave grant on similar basis to Taluka town libraries, subject to the maximum of Rs. 450/- per annum. The Taluka town libraries had reading rooms which later on proved the greatest attraction to the public. In some places, the Taluka town libraries had reserved space for women and opened for 8 to 12 hours a day. All this was in addition to the encouragement which the Government was already giving to village libraries according to which the latter received Rs. 30 to Rs. 50 for the purchase of equipment in addition to the annual subsidy of Rs. 10/- each for the purchase of periodicals suitable to adults. These libraries also received the reading material published by the Director of Information.

The progress of library work in Bombay Province is given in the following table :—

Year	*No. of new libraries opened*	*Total No. of libraries*	*Expenditure on libraries*
1942-43	580	1,200	18,840
1943-44	300	1,500	18,800
1944-45	200	1,700	20,000
1945-46	260	1,960	27,000
1946-47	430	2,390	34,000
Total	1,770	8,750	1,18,640

The progress of literacy campaign in Bombay city upto 1941-42 has been described in the previous chapter. The Bombay Adult Education Committee was re-constitued on 18-7-1941 and was re-nominated every 3 years thereafter. In 1944-45, it became known as the Bombay City Adult Education Committee.

In 1943-44, the Committee adopted the policy of intensive approach to smaller areas. The scheme provided for taking a preliminary complete census of the population of the selected area in collaboration with local authorities and local leaders. A reading room was also a part of the plan—the purpose being to create an educational atmosphere in the area. The scheme was worked in 1943 in two areas under the Bombay Port Trust, the Bombay Port Trust Estates at Wadi Bunder and the Bombay Port Trust Colony at Antop Village, with the following results :—

Name of area	*No. of literacy classes*	*Enrolment*	*Adults literated*	*No. of post literacy classes*	*Average daily attendance*	*Remarks*
Wadi Bunder Estate	76	1642	781 (298)	25 (5)	500 (110)	Figures in brackets pertain to women. These are included in the unbracketed figures.
Antop village	22 (5)	407 (99)	212 (58)			

As teachers were not readily available for taking up work at Antop village, a special training class was held to train young men and women for literacy work. The course comprised :

(a) The theory of teaching adults ;
(b) The practice of teaching adults ; and
(c) Class organization and management.

The class lasted 3 weeks at the end of which 25 youngmen and women, mostly belonging to the village itself, were awarded the Adult Education certificate. The Intensive Approach Scheme was, unfortunately, not pursued in later years owing to the difficult war conditions.

We have stated earlier that the Committee conceived its activities to include cinema, lectures and recreational activities. They later included in their programme the celebration of festivals and anniversaries of prominent persons. In 1943-44, three whole-day outings were made to places outside the city under the guidance of teachers and supervisors of the Committee and a number of pupils were taken to see the Health, Home and Social Welfare Exhibitions organised in February, 1943, by the Bombay Women's Association.

In 1944-45, the Bombay Congress Committee appointed a "Liquidation of Illiteracy Committee" for spreading literacy. The Committee opened nearly 70 classes in the city, but owing to disturbances in the city a large majority of these had to be closed down and the remaining ones taken over by the Bombay City Adult Education Committee in 1945-46.

The management of the Imperial Chemical Industries (India) set an example of social work in education in March, 1946, which deserves a few lines in this History. The management decided to make all their employees literate and allowed them to attend the classes daily for one hour *during their working time, without any reduction in wages.* The teaching work was done by a few clerks of the company who were given a short course of training before hand.

In March, 1946, the Committee enlarged its activities to include education through films. In a programme of about 1 to 1½ hours 2 or 3 short films, preceded and followed by short commentaries, were shown in a local cinema house. The films pertained to such subjects as cottage industries, sanitation, personal hygiene, etc. and two such shows were given every week. Admission to these shows was by free passes issued over the signature of the Special Literacy Officer and given through the Committee's workers.

In 1945-46, was instituted the Kiliban Lavangia Prize of the value of Rs. 20 for 5 years to be awarded to the best woman worker in the Committee's literacy campaign.

In 1946, the Committee adopted, with the approval of Bombay Government, a Ten-year Plan for the liquidation of illiteracy from adult population of age-group 15-to 40 (6,65,000 adults) in Bombay city. The scheme envisaged the organization of 900 literacy and 300 post-literacy classes in the first year rising to 1,800 and 600, respectively, in the 10th year and the total estimated expenditure for the plan was Rs. 35 lakhs. However, as sufficient finances were not forthcoming, the plan had to be put into operation later only in a modified and restricted form.

The table gives on next page gives the essential statistics for the years 1942-47.

Year	No. of classes	No. of adults enrolled	No. of adults made literate	No. of post-literacy classes	Receipts	Govt. grants	Expenditure on literacy	Cost per aultd made literate
1942-43	1,477 (418)	28,128 (6,182)	12,337 (2455)	174 (36)	60,927	50,000	67,254	4/8
1943-44	1,073 (313)	21,214 (5,378)	14,230 (3,074)	191 (52)	1,02,161	50,000	90,945	5/4
1944-45	921 (248)	17,931 (4,189)	12,269 (2,636)	125 (58)	83,761	56,900	87,840	5/15
1945-46	1452 (348)	28,144 (5,791)	19,178 (2,741)	208 (58)	1,57,052	53,050	127,637	5/6
1946-47	1,634 (282)	32,261 (4723)	23,203 (3055)	205 (32)	1,63,232	78,421	1,73,650	6/8
Total	6,557 (1609)	127,678 (26263)	81,217 (13961)	903 (236)	567,133	288,371	547,326	

N.B. (1) The number of classes includes those organised by the Committee itself, which form by far the larger majority of total number of classes, as well as the grant-in-aid classes organised by employers and other associations and voluntary classes. All the classes were, however, supervised by officers of the Committee.

(2) Figures in brackets relate to women. These figures are included in the general figures.

Punjab

The quinquennium shows a general decline in literacy work in the Punjab for the first 3 years.

Year	*No. of Centres*	*No. of adults enrolled*	*No. of adults made literate*
1942-43	...	97,683	46000 *
1943-44	...	66,797	31,030
1944-45	1760 (run by 1573 literacy leagues)	63,854	29,658
Total		228,334	106,688

The figure of 29,658 adults made literate in 1944-45 presents a sorry comparison to the figure of 64,000 adults made literate in 1941-42. In 1942-43, and 1943-44, Government provided Rs. 43000 and Rs. 38000/-, respectively, for adult education work. This may be compared to the expenditure of nearly Rs. 49000/- in 1941-42, which itself was a drastic reduction from a previous provision of Rs. 75000/-.

In 1944-45, the Government extended their adult education programme for a further period of 5 years, but only at an annual cost of Rs. 40,000. As estimated in the Decennial Report during 1945-47 in all 5827 persons attended the adult schools.

U.P.

Reports of only first two years of the quinquennium are available for U.P. While the number of schools run by the Education Expansion Department remained constant at 960, the number of other institutions for imparting literacy declined. The 100 aided schools for women in 1940-41, continued in the next year, but were reduced to 70 in 1943-45. The number of

* estimated

aided schools themselves which stood at 1,006 in 1941-42, came down to 383 in 1942-43 and 225 next year. The Special Police Literacy Schools and literacy work in jails came to an end in 1943-44. In 1942-43, 102,908 adults were made literate. Of these, only 2,705 were women. In 1943-44, reports mention a figure no higher than 51,724 adults made literate. It is interesting to note the ebbing away of the zest for literacy, as is evident from the following table of adults made literate by the 960 schools of the Education Expansion Department.

1941-42	...	56,986	(for comparison)
1942-43	...	54,825	
1943-44	...	50,960	

This is the story in Government schools. In aided schools, the rot also set in. In 1943-44, the 225 aided schools, while showing the enrolment of 7,209 adults, literated only 764 of them— a mere 10½ per cent of the enrolment and only 3 to 4 adults per school.

The 1,040 village libraries and 3,600 reading rooms established in the previous period continued to exist. The libraries issued from 16 to 17 lakh book, in a year, including about half a lakh to women. But the attendance which had increased from 53,82,943 in 1941-42 to 75,82,175 in the next year fell precipitatedly to 37,78,889 in 1943-44, because the Government stopped supplying dailies to the reading rooms. In 1942-43 new magazines were read to 50,48,782 adults, including 1,78,831 women. The number of aided libraries stood at 250 in 1943-44 as against 205 in 1941-42 and they issued 2,32,985 books in that year. In 1942-43, the Government started a Central Lending Library at Allahabad.

In 1943-44, the Government introduced the use of a mobile cinema van in adult education, which gave 50 shows during the year. It was probably one good thing blown in by the War.

The Provinces of C.P. & Berar, Madras and Orissa had nothing to report during the quinquennium.

Centrally Administered Areas

A similar downward trend prevailed in the Centrally Administered Areas. In 1943-44, in Ajmer there was only one night school for adults run by the Beawar Municipality. In Coorg, we hear in 1946-47 of a solitary teacher taking a night class of 25 Harijans at Hebbar for the lure of Rs. 12 p.m. he received for his labours from the District Board. In Coorg also, the Mahila Samaj organized three classes for teaching Hindi and knitting to women.

In Delhi, there were 29 adult schools in 1942-43 with an enrolment of 725. The Jail Department also organised a literacy class for 33 of its inmates. Next year, the number Of schools came down to 27, but the enrolment went up to 758. Of the 27 schools, 15 were run by the Municipality, 11 by the District Board and 1 by the Prisoners' Aid Society.

Indian States

We have given an account of adult education work in Indian States in the previous period. Except for Mysore, the record was not impressive, but except again for Mysore—and in its own small sphere Travancore—whatever work was there, diminished in the present period. Thus Hyderabad and Jammu and Kashmir had nothing to report. In Baroda, there were 997 adult classes with an enrolment of 4,712. The extremely small enrolment — average 5 per class—forces the obvious conclusion that many and perhaps more than half of these classes had their sole existence on paper.

In Cochin, the few Adult Education centres, which had managed to exist until 1946-47, were closed down that year.

Mysore

We have already noticed the establishment of the Mysore State Literacy Council in 1942. In 1941-42, it received a Government grant of Rs. 5,500 and in 1942-43 Rs. 27,000. In 1943, however, Government of Mysore started a Five-Year

Plan of Rural Reconstruction and education was a part of the plan. Accordingly, in 1943-44, the Government increased its grant to the Council to Rs. 1 lakh. The Council in its turn justified the grant by increased activities, taking into its scope all adult educational items. In July, 1945, the Council was re-constituted as Mysore State Adult Education Council with the following functions:—

1. Organization of literacy classes.
2. Organization of libraries.
3. Organization of lectures with modern scientific aids as part of the continuation programme.
4. Conducting People's colleges.
5. Publication of graded books for literacy classes and libraries.
6. Encouraging folk arts as means to popular instruction and recreation.
7. Research in literacy and adult education methods.

The Council consists of:

(i) Members selected by a sister organization known as the People's Education Organization.

(ii) Workers in the Adult Education movements.

(iii) Representatives of the Education and the Rural Reconstruction Departments.

(iv) Representatives of the Kannada Sahitya Academy.

(v) Representatives of the Teachers' Federation, and

(vi) Members nominated by the Government of Mysore.

The Council elects its own office-bearers, who are the President, the Vice-President, the Treasurer and the General Secretary.

The Council at its annual meeting elects an Executive Committee which is the main governing body of the Council. A committee of experts in charge of each of its main activities

advises the Executive Committee on problems within its sphere of work. The more important committees are: the Language Committee, the Library Committee, the Folk Arts Committee, the Publication Committee and the Vidyapeeth (the People's Colleges) Committee. The funds of the Council chiefly consist of grants from Government, from local bodies and from public donations. There is a District Committee in each District, consisting mainly of non-officials, with the Deputy Commissioner or the Municipal Commissioner as the Chairman, to assist the Committee in its work. Each District Committee has a non-official Secretary who serves as a link between the Adult Education Council and the District Office.

The chief agent of the Council in a taluka is the supervisor. He organises literacy classes, follow-up clubs, libraries, folk art displays and helps in the distribution of adult education material to the centres and supervises the work intensively. There is one supervisor incharge of 30 to 40 such centres of work. With the help of the supervisor, the Council tries to enlist the cooperation and support of the village officers and the village panchayats.

The Chief Executive Officer of the Mysore State Adult Education Council is deputed from the Department of Education, Mysore. The whole State is divided into three divisions and an officer known as the Divisional Officer is appointed for each division to superintend the work of the division. At the District level, besides the Organizing Secretary mentioned above, there is always an Organizer and a lady Supervisor for organisational work.

We have already noted the close co-operation extended by the Government of Mysore to the Mysore Adult Education Council. In accordance with this, Government placed at the disposal of the Council the services of a gazetted officer of the status of District Educational Officer.

The progress of adult education work in Mysore in 1942-47 is given on the opposite page.

The progress of adult education in Mysore during the quinquennium 1942-47 is given as follows :—

Year	*No. of classes*	*Enrolment*	*No. of adults made literate*	*No. of new libraries*	*Expenditure*	*Income from Government*	*Total Income*
1942-43	488	6,201	...	...	22,533	27,000	40,000
1943-44	1,227	23,239	7,076	203	70,640	1,00,000	1,23,250
1944-45	2,204	35,311	13,638	227	1,26,545	1,52,000	1,75,485
1945-46	4,530	89,896	50,817	790	4,38,748	3,44,000	3,99,500
1946-47	3,941	78,611	44,265	396	4,67,026	4,00,000	4,15,691
Total	12,390	2,33,258	1,15,796	1,616	11,25,492	9,23,000	11,53,926

We have seen that the publication of Adult Education literature formed an integral part of the activities of the Mysore Council. During the quinquennium, it printed nearly 2¾ lakh copies of its primers and readers, and brought up the number of pamphlets in the Adult Education series to 83. These pamphlets of 24 to 32 page each in 14 point Kannada type were written on various subjects of adult interest and sold at As. 2 per copy. The Council also started the Library Series of books of 150-200 pages and published 3 books in the Series. 1,200, 3,500, 3,756, 5,020 and 5,000 copies of the *Belaku* were printed during each of the 5 years under review. The *Pustaka Prapanch* also continued to be published.

Travancore

In Travancore, there were reported to be 18 night schools in 1942-43. However, as we have seen libraries formed the stronger aspect of Adult Education work in the State. This was in the fitness of things, because of the high percentage of literacy in the State. There were 62 aided reading rooms and libraries and 92 State rural libraries in 1942-43. By 1946-47, the number of State Libraries was 124 on which the State spent Rs. 20,000. Thanks to the good work done by the All Travancore Library Association, the number of aided private libraries also rose to 72, for which the Government of Travancore made a provision of Rs. 15,000 in that year.

Conclusion

Thus, we have seen that the period 1942-47 was a period of difficulties for Adult Education—the overall magnitude of work in the period falling nearly to a half of that in the preceding period, as shown by the following statistics of the literacy work done in this period.

Province/State	*No. of adult classes/ centres*	*Enrolment in the classes*	*No. of adults made literate*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Assam@	1,600	30,000*	15,663*
Bengal	11,233	2,60,000*	1,330,000*
Bihar	60,000*	13,00,000*	6,77,584
Bombay(including Bombay city)	14,546	3,26,678	2,12,817
Punjab	10,000*	2,28,334	1,06,688
U.P.	20,000*	5,00,000*	2,60,417
Ajmer	1	20*	10*
Coorg	1	25	10*
Delhi	56	1'483	840*
Baroda	997	4,712	2,000
Mysore	12,390	2,33,258	1,15,796
Travancore	18	360*	200*
	1,30,742	28,84,870	15,22,025
Corresponding figures for 1937-42	2,06,777	76,18,189	29,04,068

Thus, we have seen that the period 1942-47 was a period of difficulties for Adult Education.

The Central Advisory Board of Education in their 10th session of January, 1944, regretted the tendency to reduce expenditure on Adult Education. The Board advised that until better times returned, Provinces may well concentrate on selected areas in which the complete scheme of Adult Education as envisaged in the Report on Post War Educational Development may be introduced. The report outlined a plan to make literate within 25 years the estimated 12.70 crores of people and also "to organise a system of adult education which will be a permanent part of the general education system." The cost of this programme was estimated at Rs. 59,71,09,500 which came to an average annual cost of Rs. 3 crores. However, here we are concerned with the "complete scheme of Adult Education," i.e., the lines along which the Report recommended that adult education work should be organised in the country. The

* Indicates figures estimated wholly and @ figures partially estimated.

scheme, following more or less the recommendations of the Adult Education Committee of the C. A. B. E. summaried earlier in this book, may be summed up in 8 points as follows† :—

1. Adult Education, which would in the first stages be mainly literacy work, should be conducted in classes of two kinds: one for men and the other for women. The men's group would include, firstly, classes for boys from 10 to 16 years of age, and, secondly, for grown-ups from 17 to 40 years of age. Women's classes will not be divided into age groups and would cater to women from 10 to 40 years of age.

2. Teaching in the Adult Education Centres will be practical and relate to the activities and the environments of the adults. The Centres "will also have vocational classes for those who may not, at least to begin with, be attracted by the cultural side of adult instruction and may wish to learn some craft."

3. The literacy course should be of a year's duration. The adults will attend classes for about 4 days a week and there will be no classes in busy seasons.

4. The teachers at the Adult Education Centres should be fully trained for their work. The Inspectors and Organisers who will look after the Adult Education Centres should themselves be experts in Adult Education. Besides, "a nucleus of specially trained teachers should be appointed, who will not only teach but will also assist in selecting, training and supervising other teachers."

5. Fullest possible use should be made of audio-visual aids to education. A place should also be found in these Centres for Folk Dances, Music and Drama.

6. Every Adult Education Centre should have a library or have access to a neighbouring library.

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† See Bureau of Education, India, Pamphlet No. 27-Post-War Education Development in India: Report by the Central Advisory Board of Education, January 1944. Fifth Edition (1947), pages 46-52.

7. While the primary responsibility of Adult Education should be of the Government, the latter should welcome the voluntary services of organisations such as employers of labour, commercial firms and other trade associations, big landlords etc. Of course, the Voluntary organisations should conform to the general principles of the scheme of Adult Education and keep to the standards of instructional work required by the Government.

8. Particular attention should be paid to the adult education of women.

However, with the exception of Bombay no province lent its ears to this advice. In fact, few provinces gave any thought to Adult Education A paralysing lassitude seems to have descended on the country after the hectic effort of the previous period. This is clear from the fact that few Governments sent in their reports of Adult Education to the Board and those that were sent were conspicuous by what they did not disclose rather than what they did disclose. In their 12th session of January, 1947, the Board requested the provinces and States to send fuller reports of their Adult Education activities. But few heeded. The country was preparing for a metamorphosis. Indeed, in some places, it was ominously heading for a catyclysm. Who then would care for Adult Education !

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