

CHAPTER	+	
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*****	+	DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION
*****	+	FOR GIRLS IN GUJARAT IN THE FIRST-
*****	+	HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY
	+	(1901 - 1947)
	+	
	+	

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Our principal conclusion in the preceding chapter was that the initial inertia in regard to female education in Gujarat had been largely overcome by the end of the nineteenth century. The Gujarati girl had entered the primary school in a number of the urban centres: at a few places like Navsari, Surat and Ahmedabad in the British Gujarat and at Rajkot, Bhavnagar and Junagadh in Kathiawad. She had entered the high school also and had begun receiving English education. But secondary education for girls had not yet achieved popularity. Few girls were in fact pursuing secondary education. The number of secondary school-going girls was so small in Gujarat that it could warrant a

conclusion like the one that "the people at large encourage or tolerate the education of their girls only upto an age and upto a standard at which it can do little good, or according to their point of view, little harm".(1)

The spread of education among women was very small. According to the Census of 1901, the female population in the whole of the Bombay Presidency was 89,62,708, but the total number of girls at school was 9,36,083. The percentage of literacy among women was a little more than one per cent. In Gujarat, the number of girls at school was 93,064. The number of literates women was 21,490. The total female literates in English in 1901 was 644, or 0.01 per cent of the total female population. As the teaching of English began in the middle school, one could say that at the close of the country even less than one per cent of girls in Gujarat had received middle school or high school education.

In this Chapter, we will trace and discuss the development of secondary education for girls in the next period, i.e. in the first half of the twentieth century till the end of the British rule in India. We will discuss its major problems. We will divide our discussion under three periods, viz. (1) 1901 to 1917 - the period during which the struggle for secondary education for girls continued, (2) 1917 to 1937 - the period during which this struggle became intense, and (3) 1937 to 1947 - the period during which this struggle succeeded.

We would like to point out one major difficulty of data collection on the subject during this period. This difficulty was not new for this period; it was there throughout the British period and continued till the fifties of the present century. The difficulty pertained to data collection. Our primary sources of data for treatment of the development of girls' secondary education in Gujarat are the Annual and Quinquennial Reports of the Director of Public Instruction on the progress of education in the Bombay Presidency. These Reports present in the consolidated form data with their varied break-ups for all the four Divisions of the Presidency. The Supplementary Volumes of these Reports do not present the break-up of all the important aspects of the development of secondary education for girls such as co-education, women teachers, their training status, stagnation, wastage, per capita expenditure, sources of income, heads of expenditure, etc. We would have liked to present data on all such important aspects while discussing development of secondary education for girls in Gujarat. But most of these data as stated above are available only in the consolidated form for the whole of the British territories of the Bombay Presidency, from which it is not possible to draw valid conclusions for Gujarat. Similarly, all full data on the development of secondary education for girls for the Native States and Agencies of Cambay, Kathiawad, the Palanpur Agency, the Mahikantha Agency, the Revakantha Agency, the Surat Agency and Kutch are also not available, because they did not

publish systematic Annual Reports and Reviews of the progress of education in their territories. We had, therefore, to depend upon whatever the secondary category of data that was available to us for the period under review. The case of the Baroda State is different. Some of the systematic records of the development of education in the Baroda State are available and, therefore, they will be made use of. Such detailed data of the Baroda State will be treated in the separate section for the Baroda State. For the Bombay Presidency, the consolidated data would be briefly presented so that the Bombay picture ^{does} ~~do~~ not dominate and make the Gujarat data superfluous, trifle and on a micro scale. The Bombay data could at the best show the major trends and problems of development of girls' secondary education in Gujarat.

In the treatment of each of the three sub-divisions of the period under review we will preface it by a short overview of the major developments in it.

5.2 SOME SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIA AND IN GUJARAT AFFECTING DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR GIRLS IN GUJARAT (1901 - 1921)

Some Significant Developments

This period was marked by several important events that took place at the national level. At the turn of the century,

Lord Curzon was the Viceroy of India from 1899 to 1905. He recognised the sordid fact that women's education, as operating at that time, constituted "the most conspicuous blot on the educational system of India"(2). Lord Curzon, in order to improve the spread of female education in the country, had initiated a change in the Central policy on the development of women's education. He was responsible for making funds, larger than before, available for women's education. We had earlier noted that a Resolution of ^{the} Government of India on its Educational Policy was issued on 11th March 1904 which had its repercussions on some significant developments which influenced the growth of women's education in the country and in Gujarat such as increased allocation of public funds for education; opening of a large number of model girls' schools by Government, opening of women's teacher training colleges, employment of more school inspectresses, encouragement to local authorities to develop primary education with government aid, etc.(3) Another policy resolution was passed by the Government of India in 1913 which recommended measures to be taken to eliminate or reduce the prevailing social prejudice against women's education. The Policy Resolution of 1913 dwelt upon such measures to be taken up which would be more suitable to local conditions. It also recommended :

"The education of girls should be practical with reference to the position which they will fill in social life; it should not seek to imitate the education suitable for boys, nor should it be dominated by examinations; special attention should be paid to hygiene and the surroundings

of school life; the services of women should be more freely enlisted for instruction and inspection; and, continuity in inspection and control should be specially aimed at".(4)

During this period, the First World War (1914-1918) broke out. Though India was not directly involved in the War, it being a British Colony and Britain being one of the parties in the War, the World War affected in several ways the public life in India, and education was one of them. It resulted in economic depression which affected Government finances very much and, therefore, many important schemes of educational expansion and development were postponed. "For two years no imperial grants were issued to local governments which were further instructed not to draw upon the unspent balances of grants already allocated".(5) The Simla Conference of a representative nature was another educational event of this period.

The Partition of Bengal in 1905 had given rise to the Swadeshi Movement which led subsequently to political, economic and to some extent social awakening in the country. We have already made reference in Chapter II to the part played by the National Congress and the resultant political awakening in creating increased interest among the public in women's education (6).

A Declaration was made on 20th August 1917 under which it was announced that "the policy of His Majesty's Government,

with which the Government of India are in complete accord was that of increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration". The Government of India Act of 1919 transferred fairly large powers to the people under the system of Dyarchy. This change in the political situation added greatly to the importance of education, and gave a fillip to the growth of female education. This aspect has been also discussed in Chapter II.

Such were the major events that took place at the national level in India during the first two decades of the twentieth century.

In Gujarat also, a number of important events affecting women's access to education took place during the first two decades.

The first one was the terrible famine that took place in Gujarat in the last years of the nineteenth century. This was wide spread. This was followed by a plague. In 1901, the great increase in the proportion of urban residents in the Gujarat Districts seemed due to the decrease in the rural population directly traceable to mortality in the famine. Thus, in Gujarat the number of towns of each case with 5,000 inhabitants and over had decreased (7).

A trend in Gujarat had begun since the last decade of the nineteenth century to open secondary schools which could provide education at a cheaper rate to children of the middle

class and lower class families (8). In Surat, the pioneers were Shri Chunilal Shah, Shri Jekisondas Addawala, Shri Dahyabhai Bardoliwala and Shri Bhaidas Reshamwala. Each of these four young under-graduates of the Bombay University contributed Rs. 50 to open a high school (9).

The Education Department offered them to give grant for their school provided they raised the rate of fee to be charged in the school. But they refused to do so because they submitted that they could plead no justification for the existence of the school, if what was their original aim, i.e. the aim of giving cheaper and better education ~~for~~ was subverted (10). A similar awakening took place in some of the other districts of Gujarat. Their efforts, later on, developed into the establishment of the Sarvajanic Society of Education at Surat on the model of the Deccan Education Society of Poona.

The establishment of the Sarvajanic Education Society at Surat influenced the development of secondary education not only in the Surat District but also in the whole Gujarat Province. It blazed the trail for the establishment of similar organizations in other townships of Gujarat.

A movement for organising the First Educational Conference of Gujarat had begun in 1909. It materialised, however, late in 1916. One of the objectives of this Conference was to educate public opinion on several aspects of education including women's education. (11)

In 1913, Diwan Bahadur Ambalal Sakerlal had established Gujarat Kelvani Mandal with the help of some elites. One of the objectives of this Mandal was to take all such steps that would be necessary to give good education to women of Gujarat (12).

In 1916, Vithalbhai Patel moved a Resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council for making primary education free and compulsory within the limits of municipal areas throughout the Presidency. The Resolution was lost with 25 members voting against it and 20 voting in favour (13). Undismayed by his failure in this attempt, Vithalbhai Patel pursued the problem and on 25th July 1917 he moved a Bill on the same subject in the Bombay Legislative Council. The Bill was passed and the Bombay Presidency became the first British Province to put on the Statute book an Act to introduce compulsory primary education in municipal areas all throughout the Bombay Presidency. This event also created considerable awakening in Gujarat for ^{the} development of girls' education. Gujarat was slowly but surely changing politically, socially and economically. This change had begun to affect ^{the} educational development of women in Gujarat.

During this period the Dakshnamurti was started at Bhavnagar. It initiated a movement of boarding schools in Gujarat under the inspiring leadership of Nanabhai (Shri Nrusinhprasad Bhatt).

The plan for the establishment of the Charotar Education Society in the Kaira District was also mooted out during this period. It was announced at the time of the Tenth Annual Day of the Petlad Boarding House

5.3 A BRIEF REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR GIRLS IN BOMBAY PRESIDENCY (1901-1917)

As the British Gujarat constituted the Northern Division - one of the total four Divisions of the Bombay Presidency, we have preferred to preface our study of the developments of secondary education for girls in the Presidency as a whole. Our main reasons in adopting this approach are these : the educational policy was centrally decided by the Provincial Government; the Provincial Educational Department administered and controlled education all throughout the Presidency for all the four Division in an Uniform manner; the funds for all the four Divisions were provided as a whole in the Provincial annual budgets; educational institutions of all types and in all parts of the Presidency were supervised and controlled by the same kind and set of European principals and inspectors; the syllabi for schools were formulated centrally by the Bombay Educationa Department; the Grant-in-aid Code for schools and service conditions of teachers were also centrally determined and they were the same in Gujarat and in other Divisions; the problems of wastage and stagnation, with some local variations and shades of intensity were also similar in Gujarat ^{and} in the rest of the Presidency.

The twentieth century dawned upon India with an improved climate for female education. In 1901, the proportion of girls under instruction increased in the country to 2.4 per cent in primary and secondary schools. Thus, though there was progress in female education, there existed wide disparity between the education of boys and girls. Lord Curzon estimated in 1901 that only 1 girl attended school for every 10 of the male sex (12). The situation in the Bombay Presidency was better than in the country, but it was not encouraging in Gujarat.

(a) Expansion

In 1901-02, in the Bombay Presidency, there were 494 secondary schools of which 67 or 13.5 per cent schools were secondary schools for girls. The number of girl students in those schools was 4,984 but the Hindu and Muslim girls were only 301, that is, only 6 per cent. The Table VII shows the development in secondary schools from 1901-02 to 1916-17.

Table VII

Secondary Schools in the Bombay Presidency from
1901-02 to 1916-17

Sr. No.	Years	No. of Institutions for		Total Secondary Schools
		Girls	Boys	
1.	1901-02	67	427	494
2.	1906-07	72	445	517
3.	1911-12	79	480	559
4.	1916-17	77	388	465

From the above figures, it will be seen that in 1901-02 there were 67 secondary schools for girls in the Bombay Presidency including the five districts of the British Gujarat. This number increased to 77, that is, by 10 in 1916-17. As compared to 465 total secondary schools, the 77 girls' schools accounted for 16.5 per cent while 83.5 per cent of secondary schools were for boys. This shows the prevalence of a very big gap between the secondary education of boys and girls. Such a trend in disparity could be expected in British Gujarat also.

(b) Enrolment

It would be interesting to note the increase in the enrolment of girl-pupils in secondary schools in the Presidency during this period.

Table VIII

Enrolment of Girl-Pupils in Secondary Schools in the Bombay Presidency (1901-02 to 1916-17)

Year	Total No. of pupils in Schools for		Total No. of pupils in Secondary Schools				Total No. of Pupils in Secondary Schools	
	Girls	Boys	Girls		Boys		No.	%age
			No.	%age	No.	%age		
1901-02	4320	664	4984	10.26	43594	89.74	48,533	100.0
1906-07	4956	976	5932	10.23	52056	89.77	57,988	100.0
1911-12	6251	1283	7534	10.09	67067	89.91	74,601	100.0
1916-17	7702	1335	9037	12.80	61513	87.20	70,550	100.0

The above table shows the growth in the enrolment of girls in Girls' Secondary Schools in the Presidency. In 1901-02, there were 4984 girls under instruction in the secondary schools. During the course of fifteen years, the enrolment rose to 9037 or it increased by 81.3 per cent. In the Bombay Presidency, girls had begun to study in boys' schools. In 1901, out of the total 4984 girls enrolled in secondary schools, 664 or 13.4 per cent were studying in boys' secondary schools. This number rose to 1335 in 1916-17. In 1916-17, the percentage of girls studying in mixed secondary schools was 17.3. Thus, there was a rise in the percentage of girls studying in the mixed schools in the Presidency. The percentage of girls studying in co-educational schools at the national level at this time was 37.7 (13). The Bombay figures of enrolment in girls' secondary schools for 1901 and 1917 show that parents of this period had preference for independent girls' schools for educating their daughters, and the society, by and large, did not favour co-education.

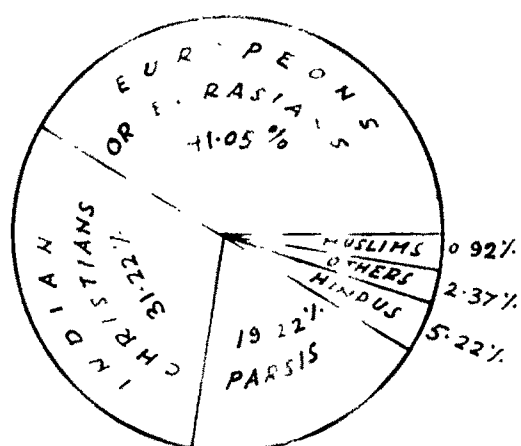
(c) Girl Students by Religion

In the Presidency in 1901, girls belonging to the Hindus and Muslim communities formed 5.22 per cent and 0.92 per cent only. In 1906, the girls of the European and the Eurasian communities constituted 41.05 per cent, the Parsis 21.45 and the Indian Christians 31.22 per cent. In 1916-17, the number of Hindu girls studying in secondary schools rose from

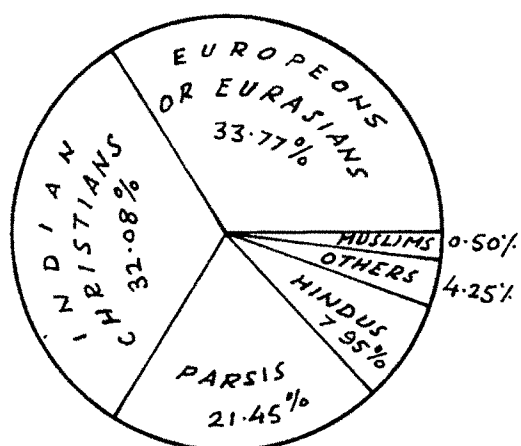
CHART-

GRAPH FOR NUMBER OF GIRL PUPILS IN
SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY
CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO RACE OR CREED.

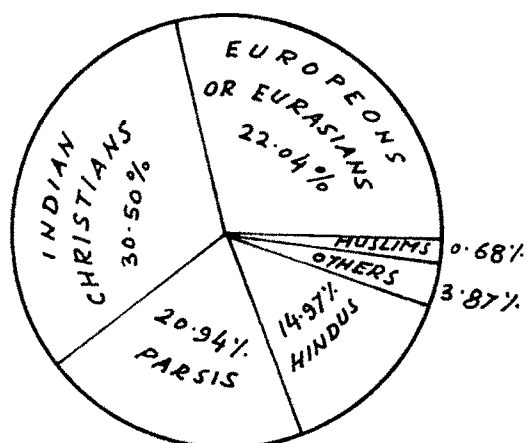
(1901 - 1917)



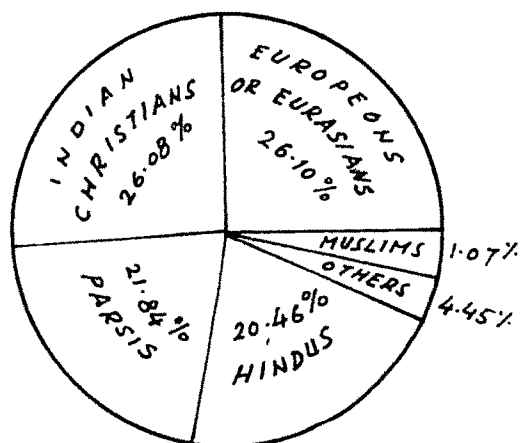
1901 - 1902



1906 - 1907



1911 - 1912



1916 - 1917

255 in 1901-02 to 1849 in 1916-17. This marked more than three-fold increase. The growth in the number of Muslim girls attending secondary schools was less striking - it rose from 46 in 1901-02 to 96 in 1917. The percentage of Muslim girls in secondary schools registered a small increase from 0.92 per cent in 1901 to 1.07 in 1917, which can be seen from the table given below.

Table IX

Number of Girl Students in Secondary Schools in the Bombay Presidency Classified according to Race or Creed
(1901-02 to 1916-17)

Figures in the Brackets indicate percentage

Sr. No.	Races	1901-02	1906-07	1911-12	1916-17
1.	Europeans and Eurasians	2,046 (41.05)	2,004 (33.77)	2,188 (29.04)	2,359 (26.10)
2.	Indian Christians	1,561 (31.22)	1,903 (32.08)	2,298 (30.50)	2,356 (26.08)
3.	Hindus	255 (5.22)	471 (7.95)	1,128 (14.97)	1,849 (20.46)
4.	Muslims	46 (0.92)	29 (0.50)	51 (0.68)	96 (1.07)
5.	Parsis	958 (19.22)	1,273 (21.45)	1,578 (20.94)	1,974 (21.84)
6.	Others	118 (2.37)	252 (4.25)	291 (3.87)	403 (4.45)
Total		4,984 (100.0)	5,932 (100.0)	7,534 (100.0)	9,037 (100.0)

From the above Table, it would be clear that the majority of girls came from the European, the Christian and the Parsi families. In 1901-02, 41.05 per cent girls were Europeans,

31.22 per cent and 19.22 per cent girls were Christian and Parsi respectively, while in 1916-17 the percentages of the number of girl students in secondary schools were 20.46 and 21.84 for Hindu and Parsi girls students in comparison to the figures of 1901-02, which show an increase in the number of girl students.

The Table IX is illuminating on another score. The percentages of girls' enrolment from the Hindu, Parsi and Muslim and other communities had increased, but those of the European and Christian communities decreased. This means that the communities other than European and the Christian had overtaken the European and Christian communities in the matter of girls' secondary education.

Table X

Number of Girls at Different Stages of Secondary Schools in the
Presidency according to Race and Creed
(1901-02 to 1916-17)

<u>Year</u> <u>School</u>	Eurasians and Europeans	Native Chri- stians	Parsis	Hindus	Muslims	Others	Total
<u>1901-02</u>							
High	1,325	155	616	82	13	75	2,266
Middle	721	1,406	342	173	33	43	2,718
Total	2,046	1,561	958	255	46	118	4,984
<u>1906-07</u>							
High	1,217	193	875	115	21	96	2,517
Middle	787	1,710	398	356	8	156	3,415
Total	2,004	1,903	1,273	471	29	252	5,932
<u>1911-12</u>							
High	1,508	260	1,155	502	30	207	3,662
Middle	680	2,038	423	626	21	84	3,872
Total	2,188	2,298	1,578	1,128	51	291	7,534
<u>1916-17</u>							
High	1,654	472	1,387	1,018	64	231	4,826
Middle	705	1,884	587	831	32	172	4,211
Total	2,359	2,356	1,974	1,849	96	403	9,037

From the Table X, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. The Total Growth in Enrolment : The number of girls studying in high schools rose from 2,266 in 1901-02 to 4,826 in 1916-17. The increase was 2,560 or about 113 per cent. At the middle school stage, the increase of girl students was from 2,718 in 1901-02 to 4,211 in 1916-17. The increase was 1,493 or about 55 per cent.
2. European and Eurasian Girls : The enrolment of European and Eurasian girls at the high school stage rose from 1,325 in 1901-02 to 1,654 in 1916-17. The increase was 329 or 24 per cent; at the middle school stage, there was ^a decrease of 16 from 721 in 1901-02 to 705 in 1916-17.
3. Native Christians : The enrolment of native Christian girls increased at the high school stage from 155 in 1901-02 to 472 in 1916-17. The increase was 317 or by about 200 per cent; at the middle school stage the increase in the enrolment of Christian girls was from 1,406 in 1901-02 to 1,884 in 1916-17. The increase was about 34 per cent.
4. The Parsi Girls : The enrolment of Parsi girls at the high school stage rose from 616 in 1901-02 to 1,387 in 1916-17. The increase was 751 or about 120 per cent. At the middle school stage, the enrolment rose from 342 in 1901-02 to 587 in 1916-17. The increase was 245 or about 71 per cent.

5. The Hindu Girls : In 1901-02, there were only 82 Hindu girls studying in high schools. This number became as much as 1,018. The increase was 936 which was about eleven times. This shows that the Hindu community is slightly changing in ^{its} ~~her~~ attitude by permitting more girls than before to go in for secondary education. The increase in enrolment was from 33 in 1901-02 to 831 in 1916-17. The increase was about twenty-four times. This increase at the middle school stage supports our conclusion regarding ^{the} changing attitude of ^{the} Hindu community towards secondary education of girls.

6. The Muslims : The enrolment of Muslim girls at the high school stage was very small. But it rose in the course of 15 years and the meagre initial number of 13 in 1901-02 became 64 in 1916-17. The increase was nearly four times. At the middle school stage, the position was worse. The number was 33 in 1901-02; instead of rising it went down and stood at 32.

If the Table as a whole is kept in view, it will be seen that there was an increase in the number of the Hindu and the Muslim girls, but it should be borne in mind that the increase in the number of the secondary school girls was due to the increase in the population of these two communities, and hence there was actually little and slow progress in their education at the secondary stage. It was clear that the work of spreading education among the Hindu girls and the Muslim girls had not progressed as desired by the society.

(d) Matriculation Examinations

We might also try to get an idea of the number of girls enrolled in high school and middle schools completing their education. The Table given below presents this data. It shows the number of girls who appeared at the Matriculation and Middle School Examinations and who got through them.

Table XI
Number of Girls who Passed the Matriculation
Examination (1901-02 to 1916-17)

Sr. No.	Year	Number appeared	Number Passed	
			No.	%age
1.	1901-02	97	56	57.7
2.	1906-07	89	51	57.3
3.	1911-12	109	64	58.7
4.	1916-17	166	70	42.1

The community-wise analysis of the number of girls who could complete secondary education would be enlightening.

Table XII
Number of Girls who Passed the Matriculation Examination
According to Race and Creed (1901-02 to 1916-17)

Year	Europeans and Eurasians	Native Chri- stians	Parsi	Hindu	Muslim	Others	Total
1901-02	20	11	23	1	-	1	56
1906-07	10	15	17	8	-	1	51
1911-12	12	14	17	14	1	6	64
1916-17	4	12	25	23	2	4	70

From the above Table, it will be found that only one Hindu girl passed the Matriculation Examination in 1901-02, while not a single Muslim girl was successful in getting through it. Parsi girls were educationally better prepared as compared to the Hindu and Muslim girls. No Muslim girl passed the Matriculation Examination upto 1906-07. This very fact shows that the Hindu society and the Muslim society were not very keen about the higher education of girls. The Hindus were educationally far advanced as compared to the Muslims but were backward as compared to the Parsi community. Most of the girls could not complete their secondary education as they withdrew from the schools earlier, while in many cases parents were not willing to send their daughters to mixed schools. Married girls could study only if their husbands or their parents-in-law permitted them to do so. As a consequence, only a few girls living in urban areas had the opportunity to complete their secondary education.

It would be further instructive to know how many girls could complete their middle school education.

(e) Wastage

As stated earlier, there were 2,666 girls studying in the high schools. Of them 97 girls appeared at the Matriculation Examination in 1901-02. It shows that the number of girls decreased as they went up in the upper standards. Out of 2,666 girls only 97 girls, i.e. only 3.6 per cent of girls

reached upto the Matric Class. This shows colossal wastage in girls' secondary education as most of the girls who entered class V could not complete their secondary education. From this the conclusion can be drawn that there was^a lack of favourable climate in the society for the full secondary education of girls. Girls usually left school as soon as they got married. And the usual age of marriage for girls at this period was about 12 years. There was no appreciable improvement in this situation even in 1916-17. This could be seen from the fact that out of 4,826 girls, only 166 girls were in^{the} Matric Class; and they appeared at the Matriculation Examination.

(f) Middle School Examination

In the Bombay Presidency, in 1866-67, a Public Examination was instituted. In the beginning it was instituted at the end of Primary IV Class. It was raised to Class V in 1870-71 and to Class VI in 1870-71. There was also a Public Service Examination held at the end of the Middle School Course. But it was discontinued in 1904-05. It was replaced by^{the} Vernacular School Final Examination in 1906-07 (14). Our interest in this Examination is due to the fact that it opened up a job opportunity for women in primary schools.

Table XIII shows the number of girls who appeared at the V.F. Examination at the conclusion of studies in Std. VII, i.e. the middle school stage.

Table XIII

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Number of Girls who Appeared and Passed the V.F.
School Examination (1901-02 to 1916-17)

Sr. No.	Year	Number Appeared	Number No.	Passed %age
1.	1901-02	54	43	79.6
2.	1906-07	114	87	76.3
3.	1911-12	51	31	60.7
4.	1916-17	478	332	69.4

In 1901-02, 2,718 girls were studying at the middle stage of the secondary schools. Out of 2,718 girls only 54 were in the last standard of the middle school stage. Out of those 54 girls, who appeared at the Middle School Examination, ~~one~~ only 43 girls got through it. It means 79.6 per cent of girls could complete their middle school education, while 20.4 per cent of girls or 11 girls could not complete their education in 1901-02. In 1916-17, 4,211 girls were studying at the middle school stage and out of these 4,211 girls, only 478 girls appeared at V.F. School Examination. The result was 69.4 per cent.

If the result of the middle school examination would be compared with that of the high school, it could be easily stated that the achievement was higher at the V.F. School Examination. So the proportion of wastage was less at the middle school Examination.

It is also necessary to know to which race or creed the number of girls who passed the Middle School Examination belonged.

Table XIV

Number of Girls who Passed the V.F. School Examination
According to Race or Creed (1901-02 to 1916-17)

Year	Europeans and Eurasians	Native Chri- stians	Parsi	Hindu	Muslim	Others	Total
1901-02	14	17	9	2	-	1	43
1906-07	26	28	13	12	1	7	87
1911-12	-	-	10	21	-	-	31
1916-17	9	39	152	104	9	19	332

The above table shows that the number of girls who passed the Middle School Examination was larger than that of girls who passed the Matriculation Examination. It was natural that the European girls would not be interested in this examination, but it was very popular among the Hindu girls and the Hindu society believed that Middle School Education was quite enough for the girls. Secondly, most of the girls were married at the age of twelve or thirteen. Thirdly, success in this examination was the minimum qualification for primary teachers, girls were encouraged to pass this Examination to enable them to get jobs as primary school teachers.

As compared to the number of girls studying in the middle school, the number of girls passing this examination was not significant. In 1901-02, out of 173 Hindu girls only 2 girls passed this examination. Out of 33 Muslim girls, no girl was successful. Out of 342 Parsi girls only 9 girls and out of 1,406 Christian girls only 17 girls were successful. From this it can be guessed that very few girls reached the standard VII, the same was the position in the year 1916-17.

If the above Table be kept in view it can be easily stated that in 1901-02, 20.4 per cent of girls were not able to pass their Middle School Examination; while in 1916-17, only 30.6 per cent of girls could not complete their studies. One can easily say that the education of girls at the middle school stage had become somewhat popular but not as much as desired.

Such were the high lights of development and problems of secondary education of girls between 1901 and 1917. We will now turn to a similar study in Gujarat, but because of non-existence of break-up of such important data Division or Region wise, our treatment of the development of secondary education in Gujarat during 1901-1917 would be limited to those data available from the primary source, i.e. the Annual and Quinquennial Reports on the Progress of Public Instruction of the Bombay Presidency, the similar reports on the progress of education in the Baroda State published by the then Baroda Government, published during this period, and other secondary sources that were available to this researcher. As our study

concerns Gujarat, we would present some vital data of Gujarat from the Census of India in 1901 and 1911.

5.4 SOME BASIC DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

Demographic Picture of Gujarat

With the help of the Census of India for the Bombay Presidency for the years 1901 and 1921, we will try to construct some main aspects of the demographic picture of Gujarat that has relevance to our study.

Area

At the turn of the twentieth century, the Bombay Presidency, including the Native States and Agencies and Aden, but excluding the Baroda State had an area of 188,825 square miles. The area of the British Gujarat and the Gujarat Group of Native States excepting the Baroda State was 55,452 square miles. Thus, in terms of geographical area, the British Gujarat and the Gujarat Groups of the Native States constituted a little less than 30 per cent of the total area of the Presidency. The area of the Baroda State was, in 1901, 8,099 square miles which constituted 23.3 per cent of the total Presidency area.

In 1901, the population of the Bombay Presidency including the Native States and Agencies, but excluding the Baroda State, was about 2.55 crores. The population of the British Gujarat

and the Gujarat Groups of Native States and Agencies was a little more than one-fifth of that of the Presidency minus the Baroda State. The Presidency had 23 districts including 5 districts of the British Gujarat. The population of the Baroda State was about 19.53 lakhs which was roughly 1/13th of the population of the Presidency.

In 1901, Gujarat was spread over as stated earlier, the Northern Division of the Bombay Presidency, over the Gujarat Groups of Native States and the Agencies and over the Baroda State. For the sake of convenience of presentation, we will classify these three groups as Group I consisting of the five British districts of Ahmedabad, Kaira, Panch Mahals, Broach, and Surat; Group II, the Native States of Cambay, Cutch, Kathiawad, the Mahikantha Agency, the Palanpur Agency, the Revakantha Agency and the Surat Agency; and the Group III the Baroda State.

Population

In 1901, the population of Gujarat was 190,35,002 (Group I : 27,02,100; Group II : 43,80,210; and Group III : 1,952,692). Thus, in population, the Baroda State constituted the biggest block, the other Native States came next to it and the British Gujarat was the smallest. The total female population in Gujarat in 1901 was 44,11,008 (Group I : 13,20,031; Group II : 21,46,919; and Group III : 944,058). In the course of next 20 years the population in Gujarat decreased and it became 94,32,076 (Group I : 29,28,849; Group II : 43,76,705

and Group III : 2,126,522). The total female population in 1921 was 48,21,065 (Group I : 14,13,473; Group II : 24,05,985; and Group III : 1,001,607).

Urbanisation

In 1901, in the Group I, Ahmedabad and Surat were the only two cities, each having a population of 1 lakh and more. In the Ahmedabad District, out of the total 800,000 population, 285,000 lived in towns; in the Surat District, out of the 535,000 population 165,000 lived in towns; in the Kaira District, out of the total 720,000 population, 135,000 population lived in towns; in the Broach District, out of the total 295,000 population, 70,000 lived in towns and in the Panch Mahal District, the urban population 45,000 out of 270,000 total population. In Kathiawad excepting a few large towns like Navanagar, Rajkot, Bhavnagar, Gondal most of the population lived in rural areas. In the Baroda State in 1901, there were 47 towns and 3400 villages. 66.6 per cent contain a population of less than 500. The rural population was just three times the urban population in the Baroda State.

In 1921, in Group I, there were 36 towns and 3263 villages; in Group II, there were 51 towns and 1008 villages; and in Group III, there were 43 towns and 2902 villages.

In Group I, about 23 per cent of the population lived in urban areas; in Group II about 16 per cent population lived in urban areas; and in Group III 21 per cent of population was

urban. Thus, in 1921, the population in Gujarat being predominantly rural, the female secondary education suffered from lack of motivation, lack of educational facilities, overpowering social traditions and prejudices and lack of openings for educated females.

Religion

In 1901, in the British Gujarat, the Hindus constituted 80.70 per cent of the total population, Muslims constituted 10.98 per cent, the Christians constituted 0.91 per cent, the Parsis constituted 0.64 per cent, the Jains 1.93 per cent and the rest were others. The Muslim community was spread in all the five districts of Gujarat but its population was more in Ahmedabad and Broach Districts. The Christian community was particularly concentrated in the Kaira District. In the Broach and the Surat Districts, most of the Parsis lived. In the Baroda District, out of its total population of 19.53 lakhs, 15.47 were Hindus, 1.7 lakhs Muslims, 0.84 lakhs Parsis, 0.77 lakhs Christians and the rest belonged to other religions. The Parsi community was educationally adventurous and progressive, and, therefore, it stood the chances of achieving greater and faster educational progress. The Christian community was more exposed to missionary activities and had much larger educational facilities in comparison to the size of their population. The females had a better social climate for education. So, they outclassed the Hindus and the Muslims in female education at all the stages.

Age of Marriage for Females

In 1901, most of the females in Gujarat married before the age of 15. The Table XV gives the distribution of married females in the age-groups 0-10 and 10-15 in respect of their total population in these age-groups. (The total population is per 10,000 females for each district).

Table XV
Married Females in Gujarat in the Age-groups of 0-10 and 10-15 years (1901)

District	Age Group : 0-10				Age Group : 10-15		
	Total in a 10,000 Block	No. of married females	%age of 3 to 2		Total in a 10,000 Block	No. of married females	%age of 5 to 6
1	2	3	4		5	6	7
Ahmedabad	1967	175	8.9		1201	540	44.4
Broach	2164	163	7.0		1188	513	46.9
Kaira	1999	282	14.1		1153	706	60.9
Panchmahals	2611	96	3.6		1271	286	22.7
Surat	2711	197	8.9		1082	487	45.3

Source : Census of India, 1901, Vol. IX, p.113.

It would, thus, be seen that in the Gujarat Districts, excepting the Panch Mahal District, 6 to 8 per cent of the female children were married at an age 10 or below it. The percentage was the highest in the Kaira District. Excepting again the Kaira District where the percentage of females

marrying in the age-group 10-15 was over 60, in the districts of Ahmedabad, Broach and Surat it ranged between 44 and 46 percents. Surprisingly, in the Panch Mahal District, less females married in the age-group 0-10 and 10-15. For Native States and Agencies, no such data were available.

The Table XVI gives the marital status of females in the British Gujarat in 1921.

Table XVI
Married Females in the Age-groups 10-15 and 15-20
in Gujarat (1921)
Figures in 1,000 in round numbers

District	Age - Group			
	10 - 15		15 - 20	
	Total Females	Married Females	Total Females	Married Females
Ahmedabad	46	21	30	26
Broach	17	8	10	9
Kaira	35	23	22	19
Panch Mahals	22	9	12	9
Surat	37	16	25	20
Cambay	4	3	3	2
Cutch	28	7	17	14
Kathiawad	147	51	84	71
Palanpur Agency	30	11	15	12
Mahikantha Agency	27	12	14	12
Revakantha Agency	43	12	23	17
Surat Agency	9	2	6	4

Source : Census Report, 1921, Vol. VIII, Part II, p.126

Thus, even in 1921, girls in Gujarat were married away in the age-group 10-15. This naturally came in the way of their secondary schooling.

In the Baroda State, the situation was even worse. In 1901, one-fourth of the total females in the age-group 0-5 were married; in the next age-group of 10-15, in most of the British Districts of Gujarat and the Native States and Agencies, about 50 per cent of the females were married. The early marriage age was one serious factor that blocked the progress of secondary education of girls in Gujarat. The 1921 Census of Baroda State refers to ^{the} deficiency of females in the age-group 10-20 years, early marriage, premature cohabitation, the Purda system, female infanticide. The Census Report also mentions that the vast majority of marriages in the State took place at the age of 13 or earlier. These data show that social customs and early age of marriage for females had continued to constitute in 1921 a serious obstacle to the progress of female secondary education in the Baroda State.

Literacy

In 1901, in the Bombay Presidency, the percentage of literacy was 6.4, the integer figure (i.e. 6) represented male literacy and the decimal (i.e. .6) represented female literacy. In other words in every 1000 persons only 60 males and 4 females were literate in the Presidency. The female literacy did not signify a very encouraging result of many years' work on the part of the primary schools.

In the British Gujarat, literacy for all persons was 206 in every 1000 males and was 16 in every 1000 females. Female literacy was comparatively better in Surat, Broach and Ahmedabad. In the Surat District in 1000 females, 23 females were literate; in the Broach District the proportion was 18 and in the Ahmedabad District it was 17. In the Kaira and the Panch Mahal District, the corresponding figures were 9 and 8 respectively.

The details of the growth of female literacy in all the three groups of Gujarat from 1901 to 1921 is given in the following table. In 1921, female literacy in Gujarat among the Jains was 304, among the Parsis it was 83, among Musalmans it was 33 and among the Hindus it was 32.

Table XVII

Progress of Female Literacy in Gujarat (1901-1921)

	Number per 1,000 who were literate					
	1901		1911		1921	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Baroda State	3	163	21	175	40	210
British Gujarat	16	206	26	210	42	223
Kathiawad	13	186	20	178	36	185
Palanpur Agency	3	80	5	74	8	86
Mahikantha , ,	3	121	5	90	9	100
Revakantha , ,	Not available		6	73	13	80

Source : Census of India, 1921, Vol. VIII, Part I, p-135.

In 1901, female literacy was best in the British Gujarat; Kathiawad followed it closely. But it was miserable in the Baroda State, and the other Native States Agencies. In 1911, the British Gujarat continued to occupy the first rank in female literacy, but the Baroda State overtook Kathiawad and secured the second place. That was perhaps the result of compulsory primary education introduced on a larger scale in the Baroda State in the first decade. In 1921, the British Gujarat continued to hold the first place, but the Baroda State followed it very closely. Kathiawad and other States continued to show progress.

5.6 DEVELOPMENT OF GIRLS' SECONDARY EDUCATION IN GUJARAT (1901-1917)

We will now trace the development of secondary education for girls in the early decades of the twentieth century. We will discuss developments in the three Groups separately. The nature and extent of discussion in each Group would depend upon the nature and detailed data available from official records. We would also make use of the data from the secondary sources which we could lay our hands on.

A. British Gujarat

Expansion : During the period 1901-1921, the number of secondary schools in the Gujarat Districts of the Presidency increased from 90 in 1901 to 152 in 1921 (15). Thus, there was

an increase of 68.8 per cent in the number of secondary schools in Gujarat. These schools were either boys' schools or mixed schools. The student enrolment in these schools had risen from 9,720 in 1901 to 23,439 in 1921. The enrolment, thus, registered an increase of 141.1 per cent. The number of girls studying in the 152 total secondary schools in 1921 is not known.

There was^a similar increase in the number of girls' secondary schools in Gujarat. In 1901, out of the 77 girls' secondary schools in the Bombay Presidency, there were 10 located in Gujarat, mostly in cities like Ahmedabad and Surat. In the next period of 15 years, most of the developments in the secondary education of girls took place in Ahmedabad City and Surat City.

In the city of Ahmedabad, a Government Girls' School for girls had already been established in 1893-94 with a total strength of 64 girls. Another Middle School for girls with 27 girl students had also come into existence in Ahmedabad City during that period. In 1903-04, in the City of Ahmedabad, there were 3 girls' secondary schools, out of which 2 were Middle Schools and 1 was High School. There were 183 girls studying in those schools. Thus, the number of secondary schools for girl students had begun to increase in the City of Ahmedabad in the first decade.

There were other developments also during the period under review which helped the cause of female education in the City. To improve the condition of widows, the Saraswati Mandir was opened in 1906-07 which later on was known as "The Ahmedabad

Vanita Vishram". This institution started "The Mahila Vidyalaya" which was affiliated to the Women's University at Bombay in 1916-17. One Shri Somnath Bhudarbhai gave a sumptuous donation to this Mahila Vidyalaya which came to be re-named (on that account) in the memory of his wife as "Jivkor Vanita Vishram". Out of 112 girls studying in this institution, 23 were widows, 37 were married girls and 52 were unmarried. But this institution was at that period not a secondary school.

A similar institution - 'Vanita Vishram' was founded in 1907 by one Shrimati Maniben Gajjar in Surat for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of Hindu women. It maintained a boarding house which had 85 inmates who consisted of 32 widows, 19 married girls and 34 were unmarried girls. The school had on its roll over 200 girls and women whose ages ranged from 7 to 45. This, too, was not a secondary school.

There was also a Zanana School in Surat managed by the Irish Presbyterian Mission. According to the Inspection Report made by Miss Ashwert, "The attendance had increased from 48 to 56" (16).

There was another school for Parsi girls established at Surat in 1910. It came to be known as "Piraja Patel Parsi Girls' School" in memory of Sir Edalji Kuvarji Patel's aunt established out of a donation of Rs. 1,00,000 given by him. The school was managed by the Parsi Panchayat. When it was established, it was a communal school, not affiliated to any University.

The Parsi Panchayat at Broach also founded a Girls' High School in 1903. It was maintained from the donations made by the Parsi families. The school was named after the principal donor as the J.N. Petit Girls' School.

Table XVIII
High Schools and Middle Schools in Gujarat (1906-07)

Type of Schools	For Boys	For Girls	Total Schools
High Schools	32	2	34
Middle Schools	111	7	118
Total Schools	143	9	152

Table XIX
Pupils in High Schools and Middle Schools in Gujarat
(1906-07)

Type of Schools	Boy Pupils	Girls Pupils	Total Pupils
High Schools	5,424	36	5,460
Middle Schools	9,301	287	9,588
Total	14,725	323	15,048

Note:- Number of girls reading in the high and middle schools for boys was not available.

Table XX

High Schools and Middle Schools in the Presidency of Bombay
(1906-07)

Type of Schools	Schools for Boys			Schools for Girls			Total Schools in the Bombay Presidency
	Bombay Presi- dency	In Gujarat	- Total	Bombay Presi- dency	In Gujarat	Total	
High Schools	60	32	92	19	2	21	113
Middle Schools	158	111	269	29	7	36	305
Total	218	143	361	48	9	57	418

Table XXI

Pupils in High Schools and Middle Schools in the Presidency of Bombay
(1906-07)

Type of Schools	Boy Pupils in Schools			Girl Pupils in Schools			Total No. of Pupils in the Schools
	In Bombay Presi- dency	In Gujarat	Total	In Bombay Presi- dency	In Gujarat	Total	
High Schools	10,082	5,424	15,506	644	36	680	16,186
Middle Schools	16,631	9,301	25,932	3,629	287	3,916	29,848
Total	26,713	14,725	41,438	4,273	323	4,596	46,034

Tables XVIII to XXI give the picture of the development of secondary education for girls in ~~the~~ British Gujarat in 1906-07. From the Table XVIII, it would be seen that in 1906-07 there were 9 secondary schools for girls as against 143 for boys. The Table XIX shows that in 1906-07, 323 girl students were receiving secondary education as against a total of 14,725 boys enrolled in high schools and middle schools. It could, therefore, be rightly said that as against every four boys who were receiving secondary education in ~~the~~ British Gujarat in 1906-07 there was only one girl being given a similar benefit.

Table XX gives a comparative picture of the progress of secondary education for boys as well as for girls in the Presidency as well as in the British Gujarat. In 1906-07, there were totally 92 high schools in the Presidency, of which 32 or 34.7 per cent were in the Gujarat Districts. The number of middle schools in the Presidency in that year was 269, of which 111 or 41.2 per cent were in the Gujarat Districts. In 1906-07, there were only 2 girls' high schools in the Gujarat Districts as against 19 in the Presidency. The situation in respect of girls' middle schools was slightly better. Of the total 36 girls' middle schools, 7 were in Gujarat. Of course, their enrolment was small - they had in all 287 girls studying in them.

Table XXI gives a comparative consolidated picture of the development of boys' and girls' secondary schools in the Presidency and in its Gujarat Districts.

The Tables XXII and XXIII show the growth of secondary education for girls in Gujarat in the next decade.'

Table XXII

High Schools for Girls in British Gujarat
(1916-17)

Place	No.	High	Middle School Divisions	Total
<u>Govt.</u>				
Ahmedabad	1	52	150	202
<u>Aided</u>				
Broach	1	35	35	70
Surat	3	118	165	235
Total	5	205	350	507

Table XXIII

Middle Schools for Girls in the British Gujarat
(1916-17)

Place	Number of Schools	Total Girls Studying
<u>Municipal</u> - Broach	2	190
<u>European Schools</u>		
Surat	1	23
Ahmedabad	1	118
Total	4	331

Tables XXII and XXIII present the picture in regard to girls' high schools and middle schools as it appeared in 1916-17.

There were 5 high schools for girls against two in the previous decade of 1906-07. One of these 5 high schools was Government; the others were private aided schools. Ahmedabad, Surat and Broach were the only three cities where girls' high schools could be set up by this time. The enrolment of girl students studying in the girls' high schools had risen from 36 in 1906-07 to 205 in 1916-17. It was true that in the second decade the number of girls going to secondary girls' schools had grown more than five times. But the size of enrolment was too small to justify enthusiasm. It did prove that the Gujarati society was not yet ready for girls' secondary education. The struggle for it had continued.. The early age of marriage for girls and the traditional attitude of parents which did not recognise utility of education for girls were responsible for this miserably slow growth.

Wastage : At the high school stage the number of girls studying was much less than the number at the middle school stage. This was the case in 1906-07 and was also the case in 1916-17. In 1906-07, 287 girls were enrolled in the middle schools whereas in high school classes it was only 205. This shows that a number of girls left their schooling

after the middle school stage. This could be explained on social, economic and educational grounds. In many of the communities, where female education could spread by this time, the age of marriage for females was around 13, and parents withdrew their daughters from schools as soon as they were married. Again high school education was quite expensive at this period. Therefore, some parents might have been forced to discontinue the education of their daughters beyond the middle school stage on economic grounds. In the 3rd standard of the middle school, girls could appear at the Vernacular Final School Examination. A pass in this examination would qualify them for a teaching career in primary schools. This must have also tempted ^{them} to terminate their education at the end of the middle school stage. Among the educational causes, the lack of secondary schooling facilities beyond the middle school stage, the hesitancy of parents to send their daughters to co-educational boys' high schools, the undifferentiated curriculum for girls' schools, the dearth of women teachers, etc. could be included. The Government left the expansion of secondary education for girls mostly to the private enterprise. Excepting opening one girls' high school at Ahmedabad, the Government practically did nothing by way of shouldering the direct responsibility for girls' secondary education in Gujarat. It maintained only one high school in the Presidency as a whole and that was, as stated earlier, at Ahmedabad. In the Maharashtra Districts Government ran 4 middle schools and in the Karnatak Districts

it conducted 2 middle schools. But in the Gujarat Districts, it did not come forward to run any middle school. All the middle schools that came to be set up during this period were private schools. All the secondary schools were in urban areas; but in the British Gujarat, 77 per cent of the population lived in rural areas, the female residents of which went without facilities of secondary education.

Curriculum : Early in the present century, there was a strong criticism of the prevalent policy of adopting common curricula for boys and girls. The points of attack were mainly two : (1) the common courses had little utility for the later life of girls when they would be expected to be good mothers and wives, and (2) the courses meant for boys were too difficult or arduous^u for the girls and that they had an adverse effect on their bodily and mental development (18).

There was a strong opinion held in Gujarat during this period that the existing common curriculum for boys and girls should be differentiated and that the teaching of those subjects should be provided which were more useful to girls in their later life and for which women were supposed to have a greater aptitude. Such a view was a dominant note in the First Gujarat Education Conference held at Ahmedabad in 1916 (19). This view was reiterated at the Second Gujarat Education Conference held at Broach in 1917. But the Bombay Government continued to adopt the common curriculum for boys

and girls. English, Mathematics, Science, Gujarati, Sanskrit, etc. were the subjects the girls had to learn along with boys (20).

Teachers : We saw earlier that there were only 5 high schools and 4 middle schools for girls. Data regarding the strength of these schools, their sex, educational qualifications, etc. are not available. But their number of teachers must have been small. At this period, higher education of women had just begun. The first two Gujarati ladies - Vidyaben Nilkanth and Shardaben - graduated in 1902. Hansaben Mehta's following observation is significant in this respect.

"Shri. Vidyaben and Shri. Shardaben are the first among Gujarati Hindu women graduates. They graduated in 1902. Thereafter, after the lapse of many years, other Gujarati ladies had graduated. It is only in the last decade (1920-30) that their number had increased. We read 2 or 3 names of Gujarati women among the successful graduates each year." (21).

Between 1902 and 1917 hardly 20 to 25 ladies must have graduated in Gujarat. Very few of them must have joined the teaching profession. From the memoirs of Shardaben Mehta, Vidyaben Nilkanth, Hansaben Mehta and other few outstanding Gujarati graduate women of this period, it appears that most of the teachers of these schools were men; among the women teachers, most of them were European, Christian or Parsi ladies.

As there was ^adearth of graduate teachers, most of the teachers in the girls' schools must ^{have been} ~~be~~ under-graduates. Very

few of these teachers must have ^{been} ~~un~~trained because the policy of ^{the} Government was not to require rigorously professional training for graduates and the Secondary Teachers' Training College for the Presidency Examination was established only in 1906. In 1917, there were only 37 trainees in the College (22).

Finance : Very scant and sketchy data on the financing of secondary education for girls in Gujarat ^{are} ~~is~~ available for the period under review.

In 1906, the expenditure incurred on girls' secondary schools in British Gujarat and the Native States was Rs.17,711. Its break-up according to the sources of income is given below.

Table XXIV

Expenditure on Girls' Secondary Schools in Gujarat by Sources of Income (1906-07 and 1916-17)

Sources	1906-07		1916-17	
	Rs.	%age	Rs.	%age
Provincial Revenues	3,126	17.6	11,652	45.6
Fees	3,276	18.5	4,437	17.2
Revenues of Native States	4,866	27.4	-	-
Subscriptions	2,284	13.1	6,933	26.9
Endowments and All Other Sources	4,159	23.4	2,657	10.3
Total	17,711	100.0	25,679	100.0

It will be seen from the above statistics that the expenditure on secondary schools for girls in the British Gujarat districts increased from Rs. 17,711 in 1906-07 to Rs. 25,679 in 1916-17, registering an increase of Rs. 7,968 or an average yearly increase of a meagre sum of Rs. 796.8. In terms of percentage the increase during the decade was around 45 per cent.

In 1916-17, the share of the provincial government expenditure shows substantial increase in percentage. The percentage became 45.6 in 1916-17 as against 17.6 in 1906-07. That means that the Provincial Government had come forward to allocate more money for the expansion of girls' secondary education in Gujarat. The income from fees which was 18.5 per cent in 1906-07 became reduced in proportion as the percentage in 1916-17 was 17.2. More than one-third of the expenditure on secondary education for girls both in 1906-07 and in 1916-17 came from private sources such as subscriptions, endowments, etc.

The average annual cost for educating a girl-student in the girls' secondary schools in Gujarat in 1906-07 ranged from Rs. 164.87 in Ahmedabad to Rs. 29.33 in Broach. The average per student annual cost for the whole of Gujarat was Rs. 66.7. It was Rs. 87.31 for Kathiawad, and Rs. 49.44 for the rest of the Bombay Presidency. The average annual expenditure to Government per girl-student was Rs. 11.73 in 1906-07.

In 1916-17, the average annual cost for educating a student in the girls' secondary schools in Gujarat ranged from Rs. 128.4 in the Baroda Camp to Rs. 46.54 in the City of Ahmedabad. The average per student annual cost was Rs. 80.45 for the British Gujarat districts. The corresponding figure for the rest of the Bombay Presidency was Rs. 48.30 in the year. In 1916-17, the average annual cost per girl-student was Rs. 18.6. This also shows an increase from the corresponding cost in 1906-07 which was Rs. 11.73. Thus, in the course of the decade from 1906-07 -- 1916-17, the average per student annual cost had increased from Rs. 66.7 to Rs. 80.45.

Such were the main facets and problems of development of secondary education for girls in British Gujarat during 1901 - 1917.

B. Kathiawad and Other Native States

Much progress in female school education could not be expected in Kathiawad because the extent of literacy among females had remained very low during the period under review. This could be evident from a comparative statistics of literacy in 1921 for Kathiawad, British Gujarat and the Baroda State.

Table XXV (a)

Comparison of Literacy in Kathiawad with literacy in British Districts of Gujarat and in the Baroda State (1921)

			Number per mille who are literate in certain age-groups					
			0-10		10-15		15-20	
			Fe- male	Male	Fe- male	Male	Fe- male	Male
Kathiawad	...	1921	14	45	76	238	85	291
		1911	7	33	52	260	42	250
Gujarat British Districts								
		1921	18	49	88	264	94	342
		1911	9	31	58	252	56	271
Baroda State	...	1921	10	23	99	281	105	355
		1911	10	24	72	275	40	258

Source : Census of India, 1921, Vol. VIII, Part I, p.136

These figures show that Kathiawad's female literacies in the age-groups 10-15 and 15-20 were lower ^{than those} ~~than those~~ for the corresponding age-groups in the British Gujarat and the Baroda State.

The growth of secondary education for girls continued to be ~~seane and~~ slow during this period also. In Kathiawad (23), there were two secondary schools for girls in 1900-01, one of which was located in Bhavnagar and the other in Gondal. The enrolment in these schools was 19 in 1901. It increased to 46

in 1906-07. Out of these 46 girls, only 2 girls were studying at the high school stage and the other 44 were in the middle schools. Of these 46 girls, 29 were Hindus, 13 were Parsis, 3 were Christians, and only 1 was Muslim. No girl appeared at the Matriculation Examination upto 1906-07. In the earlier years 1905-06, three girls had appeared at the V.F. School Examination. From the low figure of enrolment of girls in secondary schools in Kathiawad, it is clear that secondary education was in the initial stage still in 1906-07. Even in 1910, only 68 girls could be enrolled in the Monghiba Girls' High School, Gondal. Ten girls were studying in the English class attached to Majiraj Girls' School, Bhavnagar. There was also a Mission Anglo-Vernacular School managed by Rev. J.S. Stevenson at Rajkot. But these were small efforts.

Cutch continued to be a neglected region during the period under review so far as the development of secondary education for girls was concerned.

C. Baroda State

Girls' high school education in the Baroda State can be said to have really begun in the first decade of the present century, though some separate and mixed middle schools for girls had come into existence in the concluding decades of the nineteenth century. The Census of India, 1911 for the Baroda State had observed that "English education increased

from 1 in 1891 to 2 in 1901 and 5 in the present Census per 10,000 of the female population"(24). This proportion, though very small as compared to that of males (which was 90) was much better than most other Native States in the country and British Districts in Gujarat and in other parts of the country.

In February 1905, an Anglo-Vernacular School for girls was started as an experimental measure in the Baroda City. The girls of the two practising Schools attached to the Female Training College attended this girls' school. The experiment was a modest success. This school was upgraded into a high school in 1907-08 which was named as Baroda Girls' High School which later on was named as the Maharani Girls' High School. The step of the Baroda Government to convert the A.V. Girls' School into a full-fledged high school is explained by Jyoti Christian as one actuated by 'the sympathetic response given by the people'(25). In 1907-08, there were 119 girls on the attendance roll of the school. The Government Administrative Report made the following observations regarding this school.

"A fair attempt at English Education has thus been made and if parents would appreciate its advantages, there is good future for the institution. English has been introduced in the Girls' Vernacular Schools at Petlad, Visnagar, and Patan, the object being that if a taste is created in girls for the subject, they may join the Baroda Girls' High School and the district schools may serve the purpose of feeder schools"(26).

The State Administration Report made further observations that "the girls themselves evince interest in this new study. But it will take some time before their parents and guardians get over their prejudices against it. English is taught in higher standards where the number of pupils is generally limited. A large proportion of them are withdrawn from school early owing to the prevalence of the custom of early marriage"(27).

The enrolment in this girls' high school, in the early years, was small. The wastage was quite high. We quote the Administration Report further as it throws light on this aspect.

"The returns do not disclose any desire on the part of their parents to continue them at schools for a longer period. The maximum age of the girls studying in the regular school is 13 in the case of the Hindus and 15 in the case of the Parsis"(28)

The First Education Commission : In 1909, the Baroda Government appointed an Education Commission to go into many important questions relating to school and higher education which required re-appraisal and reorientation in the light of the past official experience and of the changing public opinion. Mr. C.N. Sedden was the Chairman of this Commission. This Commission had examined, among others, the question of expansion and development of women's education.

The Commission regarded the extension and improvement of female education as a matter of supreme importance and recommended that the State should spare no effort to put girls' schools on a firm footing and to widen their influence. The Commission

observed, "The superficiality of the influence of education on Indian society is largely due to its comparative failure to enter the domestic life of the people. This can only be done if women are educated." (29)

The Commission noted that apart from other obstacles, the paucity of lady teachers was a serious handicap. It held the view that not only all classes in girls' schools be taught by lady teachers, but also the infant classes in boys' schools should have women teachers. If succinctly summarised the major problem of female education by observing that "the problem of female education may almost be reduced in plain terms to the provision of lady teachers in large numbers". The Commission gave several reasons for this sorry state of affairs :

- There was no spinster class from which the female teachers might be recruited;
- The major classes furnishing lady teachers were widows and the wives of educational servants of the Government;
- There was a dearth of Indian women whose education was advanced enough to enable her to do teaching work in upper classes;
- The few educated women that we had were all married women. Their husbands were well stationed in social position and economic status, and therefore, they hardly preferred to work as teachers in primary and secondary schools. With some exceptions, their husbands were able to maintain them, and they expected their women folk to

look after home and devote time and care for upbringing and educate their children;

- There were situations where, though women were educated and though their husbands were willing to allow them to do teaching in schools, they themselves were not bold enough to take up work in schools owing to fear of public censure, their natural timidity, they being accustomed to secluded life at home and their fear of a loss in social estimation.

The Commission made a number of recommendations to ease the acute shortage of women teachers for girls' schools : (20)

- The service in school should be made as attractive as possible;
- The pay offered to women teachers was too small, and therefore, the minimum should be immediately advanced;
- A number of local scholarships attached to girls' schools should be reserved for those girls who would promise to continue their studies in that school or in one in their neighbourhood.

In 1909, ^{the} Commission marked a land mark in the educational development in the Baroda State and it helped considerably to advance the cause of the development of women's education. For instance, in 1910, the Baroda Government, following the recommendation of the Commission, sanctioned Rs. 3,240 for scholarships to those grown up girls studying in girls' schools

who promised to teach in their own native place or in the neighbouring towns.(31)

By 1917, the girls' secondary education advanced both quantitatively and qualitatively. High school education for girls was concentrated largely in Baroda City and Navsari Town. In the Baroda City, in all, there were 57 females per 10,000 of the population who were literate in English. Next to the city came the Navsari District where female literates in English was 3 per 10,000. The advantage of English education was taken to an appreciable extent by the females of the Nagar, Kayastha, and Parsi communities. "Except in the city of Baroda, where there were some Indian ladies literate in English, the proportion of females, who are acquainted with English, is every where so small that it may practically be said to be non-existing."(32)

Before we conclude this Section, we would like to note a few developments that have relevance to our study on the secondary education for girls in the Baroda State. One such development was the effect of education on child marriage and the postponement of marriage-age.

"Among the factors in the postponement of marriage are the influences of education that have led to a ~~humaner~~ ^{humaner} attitude towards women. But it is only in the higher castes where the educational influences are really operative that any real change has taken place in this respect....."

There has been a general decline of the proportion of the married amongst girls below 5 and even 10; as a consequence there has been a

general movement towards marrying off the girls at about 10th or 11th year amongst communities like Anjana, Kadwa, Lewa, Soni, Bhavsar, Ghanchi, Rajput, Suthar, Koli, Dhed. Education had shifted the marriage age from 0.5 and 5-10 to 10-12." (33)

Even then this was unsatisfactory. A 10-12 age range of marriage for females was detrimental to the spread of secondary education among girls.

The second development related to the effect of English education on the adult marriage of males (which, in its turn, affected the adult marriage of females).

"The order accorded to literacy in English to castes is : Prabhu, Parsi, Deshastha, Nagar, Hindu Vania, Anavala, Maratha, Kshatriya, Jain Vania and Audich Brahmin. The proportion of adult male unmarried aged 20-40 (per mille) was 327, 370, 334, 251, 233, 266, 224, 285 and 282. The conclusion is, English education has been mainly to raise the standard of life." (34)

Thus, education was one of the factors responsible for encouraging a tendency among the above mentioned advanced communities to postpone the marriage of the males to an age when they were able to support a family. And when the marriage age of a male was postponed, there was a corresponding postponement in the age of marriage of females. This development opened an opportunity for females for these communities to go in for middle school and high school education.

The third event was the effect of social legislation on the marriage age of females. The Baroda State had passed the Infant Prevention Law in July 1904. The Law defined the age at which marriage was permissible - 12 for girls and 16 for boys. In the first seven years of its existence, the Law had to encounter the sullen and stiff opposition of the people. It was first applied with little strictness. In the first seven years of the operation of the Law, there were, on an average, 3,341 convictions per year. Since 1911, the enforcement of the Act was made more vigorous (35). In 1911, the number of offences tried were 6,317. This number increased to 10,351 in 1920. In that year 8,591 convictions were made. Because of such vigorous action on the part of the Baroda State, the percentage of marriages below the age which was 40.0 per cent in 1917 was reduced to 29.3 per cent in 1920. Such vigorous enforcement of social legislation was a vital condition for the speedier development of girls' secondary education in Gujarat.

5.6 DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION FOR GIRLS

IN THE BOMBAY PROVINCE (1916-17 TO 1936-37)

As usual we will preface our discussion on the development of secondary education for girls in the Bombay Province during the third and fourth decades of the century by presenting some relevant demographic data.

Demographic Data

The area of the Bombay Presidency including the Native States and the Agencies slightly increased from 151,523 square miles in 1921 to 151,593 square miles in 1931. The population of the Presidency rose from 231.60 lakhs in 1921 to 263.48 lakhs in 1931, the average density per square ~~mile~~^{mile} became 173 in 1931.

There was some increase in number of towns - from 273 in 1921 to 295 in 1931. The urban population was 20.9 per cent. More than two-thirds of the population lived in units with a population of less than 5,000 persons. Between 1921 and 1931, there was universal increase in the population of towns.

In the British Districts, for every 698 Hindus, there were 228 Musalmans, 40 Christians, 17 Parsis, 13 Jains and 4 of all other religions.

The male literacy increased ^{from} 13.4 per cent in 1921 to 14.3 per cent in 1931; during this period the female literacy rose from 2.3 per cent in 1921 to 2.4 in 1931. The female literacy was 2.3 per cent among the Hindus, 9.6 per cent among the Jains, and 1.6 per cent among the Muslims. Among Parsi and Indian Christian women, there were 727 and 97 women literate per 1000 women. Female literates in English in the Presidency were 48 per 10,000 in 1931.

Major Developments

Between 1917 and 1937, several important events took place at the national level as well as in the Bombay Province which

had affected in varying degrees the development of education for women in the Province as well as in Gujarat.

The first was the appointment of the Calcutta University Commission in 1917 and the publication of its Report and recommendations in 1919; the second was Diarchy type of government introduced in all the British Provinces from 1921 to 1937 under which education became a transferred subject; the third was the absence of the interest of the Central Government and assistance for educational expansion and developments in the British Provinces; the fourth was the Non-Co-operation Movement and the Civil Disobedience Movements organised by the Indian National Congress and the tide of militant nationalism continuing to dominate the political life in the country; the fifth was the raising of the age of consent in 1925; the sixth was the passing of the Sarda Act which raised the minimum age of marriage for girls to 14 years; the seventh was the financial difficulties created by the world economic depression that began about 1930; the eighth was the appointment of the Hartog Committee (1927-29) and the publication of its Report and recommendations; the ninth was the revival of the Central Advisory Board of Education; the tenth was the passing of the Government of India Act of 1935 which ended the diarchy form of government and introduced Provincial Governments in all the British Provinces, and the last was the establishment of All-India Women's Conferences which began to strive actively to improve the social, economic and educational lot of women.

In the Bombay Province, public life was marked by a great awakening that had taken place particularly among the people of the country-side; the private Indian enterprise had made very rapid strides of progress; the use of English as a medium of instruction at the secondary stage was abandoned almost completely by 1936-37; the desire to study English had, however, spread to rural areas during this period; and most of the high schools in the Province had continued to follow the academic course which led to the University through the Matriculation Examination.

With this general review of the major events in the country and in the Bombay Province that happened between 1917 and 1937, we will take up a broad discussion of the development of secondary education for girls in the Province during this period and high light some of its main problems.

Development of Secondary Education for Girls

There took place rapid expansion of secondary education for girls between 1917 and 1937. The number of secondary schools increased by 174 and the number reached 639 while the number of secondary schools for girls increased by 27 bringing the total to 104 girls' schools. The below mentioned table shows the increase in the secondary schools for boys as well as for girls during the period under review.

Table XXV (b)

Number of Secondary Schools for Girls and Boys (1916-17 to 1936-37)

Year	Secondary Schools for				Total Secondary Schools	
	Girls		Boys			
	No.	%age	No.	%age	No.	%age
1916-17	77	16.5	388	83.5	465	100.0
1926-27	87	16.4	442	83.6	529	100.0
1936-37	104	16.2	535	83.8	639	100.0

It will be seen that in the Province in 1916-17, there were only 16.5 per cent girls' schools and 83.5 per cent boys' schools; in 1926-27 though the number of girls' secondary schools rose by 10, the percentage became a decimal point less; in 1936-37, the number of girls' secondary schools again registered an increase of 17 over the number of girls' schools in the preceding decade. Thus, during these two decades of 1917 to 1937, the imbalance between the boys' and girls' secondary education continued in alarming proportion.

However, this period marked a greater expansion of girls' secondary education in the Presidency. During the period under review the increase in secondary schools for girls was 35 per cent as compared with the increase during the previous fifteen years, that is, 1901-02 to 1916-17, which was only 14.9 per cent.

The increase during this period was more than double. But if the increase in the number of girls' schools be compared with that of the boys' schools, it would be found that there was a big gap between the rate of progress of secondary education for boys and for girls.

The Muslim community made a demand for the conversion of an Anglo-Urdu Middle School into a High School. There was a genuine need for an Anglo-Urdu High School in the Presidency but the Government was not prepared to take initiative, unless and until the Muslim community evinced a sincere desire for such a school by keeping their girls at school till the completion of their studies. As a majority of Muslim girls left school earlier, it was difficult to run a school without incurring a great financial loss.

The increase of secondary schools for girls naturally indicates increase in the number of girl students. The table given below shows the increase in the number of girls studying in the secondary schools in the Bombay Presidency from 1916-17 to 1936-37.

Table XXVI

Enrolment of Girls in Secondary Schools in the Bombay Province
(1916-17 to 1936-37)

Year	Girls Pupils in						Total Number of Pupils in Secondary Schools	
	Girls' Schools		Boys' Schools		Total			
	No.	%age	No.	%age	No.	%age	No.	%age
1916-17	7,702	85.2	1,335	14.8	9,037	12.8	70,550	100.0
1926-27	11,509	80.5	2,022	19.5	13,531	13.4	100,294	100.0
1936-37	19,446	75.3	6,374	24.7	25,820	20.3	127,087	100.0

The above table reveals the fact that 12.8 per cent of girls were studying in secondary schools in 1916-17. This percentage improved to 20.3 in 1936-37. So, it can be concluded that during these twenty years the percentage of girls studying in the secondary schools increased by 8.3 per cent.

In 1916-17, 85.2 per cent of girls were studying in secondary schools for girls and 14.8 per cent of girls were studying in mixed schools. In bare numbers, the total girl pupils increased from 9,037 in 1916-17 to 25,820, an increase of 185.9 per cent. The average annual rate of growth was around 839 girls. In 1936-37, 75.3 per cent of girls were studying in the girls' schools and 24.7 per cent of girls were studying in mixed schools.

A few conclusions can be drawn from these statistics. Firstly, the number of girls studying in the secondary schools had increased; secondly, the rate of progress was very slow as compared with the increase of boy-pupils in the secondary schools; thirdly, the girls mostly preferred girls' schools, yet wherever a separate girls' school was not available, they took admission in mixed schools with the result that in 1936-37 the number of girl-pupils studying in mixed secondary schools had increased; fourthly, one can hazard a guess that a large number of mofussil towns were without separate girls' schools. The girls who studied in boys' schools took very little part in co-curricular activities. In the class-room they sat apart and formed a small minority; fifthly, parents had begun to show a trend towards preferring co-educational schools because at some places even where separate girls' schools were available in the town, parents preferred to send their daughters to boys' schools, as they thought the boys' schools were more efficient than ~~that~~ of girls' schools.

Mr. Jalaudin S. Kadri, I.E.S., Educational Inspector, B.D. made the following observations on the progress of girls' education which applied to the whole Presidency.

"There has of late been a wide and rapid awakening in regard to female education not only among classes, but also among the backward classes which were till recently very apathetic, nay hostile, to the education of girls.

More girls are now coming forward to take advantage of higher primary standards with a view to appear for the Vernacular Final Examination for girls. Since the establishment of this Examination, the number of girls appearing for the examination in all the districts has steadily increased and the districts of Ratnagiri and Nasik have been prominent among them. Even Muslim girls are now coming out of their seclusion and trying for the examination".

"The rush for secondary education among the higher and middle classes is equally great. Even grown-up girls are now to be found rubbing shoulders with boys in the higher standards of high schools and competing with them in public examinations.

I have seen a large number of Maratha and backward class Hindu girls and also a sprinkling of Khoja and other Muslim girls in the secondary schools of Bombay.

These are the signs of growing appreciation of female education in the country brought about by improved social and political conditions and the larger scope of rights and privileges and freedom enjoyed by women in recent years."

Mr. K. G. Joshi, I.E.S., Educational Inspector C.D. expressed similar views regarding the progress of education for girls.

Table XXVII gives the break-up of girls in secondary schools and middle schools.

Table XXVII

Enrolment in Secondary Schools for Girls in the Province
of Bombay by Religion
(1916-17 to 1936-37)

(Figures in the brackets indicate percentage)

Years	Stage	Euro- peans No.	Native Chri- stians No.	Hindus No.	Parsi No.	Muslim No.	Others No.	Total No.
1916-17	High	1,654 (34.3)	472 (9.8)	1,387 (28.8)	1,018 (21.1)	64 (1.2)	231 (4.8)	4,826 (100.0)
	Middle	705 (16.7)	1,884 (44.7)	587 (13.9)	831 (19.9)	32 (0.7)	172 (4.1)	4,211 (100.0)
	Total	2,359 (26.1)	2,356 (26.1)	1,974 (21.8)	1,849 (20.5)	96 (1.1)	403 (4.4)	9,037 (100.0)
1926-27	High	1,957 (19.1)	2,217 (21.5)	3,013 (29.4)	198 (1.9)	2,410 (3.5)	479 (4.6)	10,274 (100.0)
	Middle	524 (16.1)	1,420 (43.6)	665 (20.4)	34 (1.1)	552 (16.9)	62 (1.9)	3,257 (100.0)
	Total	2,481 (18.1)	3,637 (28.2)	3,678 (26.2)	232 (17.2)	2,962 (7.1)	541 (3.2)	13,531 (100.0)
1936-37	High	2,197 (12.4)	3,402 (17.0)	10,742 (52.8)	620 (3.0)	3,256 (12.6)	906 (2.2)	21,123 (100.0)
	Middle	515 (10.9)	1,307 (27.8)	2,334 (49.8)	277 (5.8)	91 (1.9)	173 (3.8)	4,697 (100.0)
	Total	2,712 (10.5)	4,709 (18.3)	13,076 (50.6)	897 (3.5)	3,347 (12.9)	1,079 (4.2)	25,820 (100.0)

The following conclusions can be drawn from Table XXVII.

1. Excepting the Parsi community, girls from all other communities have shown a substantial increase in the enrolment at the high school stage in the two decades. The rise is most spectacular in the case of Christian and Hindu girls. The increase of Muslim girls at the high school stage has been also spectacular. It rose from only 64 in 1916-17 to 3,256 in 1936-37. The fall in the enrolment of the Parsi girls at the high school stage is surprising, because that community is educationally a highly motivated community. The fall in the enrolment of the Parsi girls has occurred in the decade 1927-1937.
2. In 1916-17, at the middle school stage, Christian girls dominated in enrolment; the Parsi girls came next to them. The number of Hindu girls was very small considering their great population. But in 1936-37, the number of the Hindu girls is the highest; the Christian girls come next to them. The number of Parsi girls studying at this stage has also gone down in 1937. The small number of Muslim girls at the middle school stage in 1936-37 considering the flattering figure of 3,256 enrolment at the high school stage is inexplicable.

From the above, it will be noticed that in 1916-17, 4,826 girls were studying in high schools. Out of these girls 34.3 per cent were Europeans, 23.8 per cent Hindus, 21.1 per cent Parsis, 9.8 per cent Christians, 4.8 per cent others and

1.2 per cent were Muslim girls. In middle schools, 4,211 girls were studying and out of these girls 44.7 per cent were Christian girls, 19.9 per cent were Parsis, 16.7 per cent Europeans, 13.9 per cent Hindus, 4.1 per cent others and 0.7 per cent were Muslim girls.

In 1926-27, 10,274 girls were studying in high schools. Out of these girls 29.4 per cent were Hindu girls, 21.5 per cent Christian girls, 19.1 per cent European, 4.6 per cent other girls, 3.5 per cent were Muslim girls and 1.9 per cent were Parsi girls. 3,257 girls were studying in middle schools. Out of these girls 43.6 per cent were Christian girls, 20.4 per cent Hindus, 16.9 per cent Muslims, 16.1 per cent Europeans, 1.9 others and 1.1 per cent were Parsi girls.

In 1936-37, 21,123 girls were studying in high schools. Out of these girls 52.8 per cent were Hindu, 12.6 per cent Muslim, 12.4 per cent European, 17.0 per cent Christian, 3.0 per cent Parsi and 2.2 per cent were other girls. 4,697 girls were studying in the middle schools. Out of these 49.8 per cent were Hindus, 27.8 per cent Christians, 10.9 per cent Europeans, 5.8 per cent Parsis, 3.8 per cent others and 1.9 per cent were Muslim girls.

In 1936-37, 25,820 girls were studying in secondary schools. Out of these girls, 50.6 per cent were Hindu, 18.3 per cent Christians, 12.9 per cent Muslims, 10.5 per cent Europeans, 4.2 per cent others and 3.5 per cent were Parsi girls.

In 1936-37, 10,742 Hindu girls were studying in high schools. Out of these only 57 backward class ~~go~~^{joined} high schools and out of 2,344 girls only 18 backward class girls were studying in middle schools. This proves that mostly Hindu girls of advanced families could study in secondary schools. It was only at a few urban centres such as Bombay, Poona, Ahmedabad and Surat that serious and earnest attempts were made for advanced communities.

"The progress in Gujarat is disappointing compared with the promise of 50 years ago. It is among the Brahmins of Poona that the most noticeable advance was made. The high school for Indian girls was a very notable institution. Of 481 girls in the schools, only 8 were married, only 8 were widows. The school sent up every year, between 20 and 30 girls for the School Leaving Examination." (36)

Thus, by the thirties of the present century, the struggle for secondary education for girls had become intensified so far as the upper strata of the Hindu and Muslim societies was concerned. The struggle was in the initial stage in the backward communities.

Wastage and Stagnation

The Table XXVIII given below broadly indicates wastage in the secondary education of girls and the stagnation at the Matriculation level.

Table XXVIII

Number of Girls in the Presidency who appeared and passed Matriculation Examination (1916-17 to 1936-37)

Year	Number Appeared	Number Passed	
		No.	%age
1916-17	166	70	42.1
1926-27	342	163	47.6
1936-37	1,810	597	32.9

In 1916-17, only 166 girls could go up to the Matriculation Class and appear at the Matriculation Examination. This means a large number of girls dropped down on the way. Only 70 girls, that is, only 42.1 per cent of girls got through the Examination. While in 1936-37, the number of girls appearing at the Matriculation Examination had substantially increased, the result was not so satisfactory. In that year, out of 1,810 girls, only 597 girls got through it. Thus, about 67 per cent of the girls could not complete successfully their secondary education. Thus, the percentage of wastage was higher in 1936-37.

If we look at it from another angle, the fact of increasing number of girls appearing at the Matriculation Examination was very gratifying. The girls showed their abilities and proved that they were intelligent and in no way inferior to boys.

In 1923, Kamala Ukidve won the second Jagnath Shankershet Scholarship in Sanskrit. In 1925, Sita Deshpande was awarded the Dalvi Scholarship in the same subject and Boda Parwar won the Dhamanskar Scholarship. In 1926, Remu Abhyankar topped the list of successful candidates at the School Leaving Examination in the whole Presidency and won several prizes. Inspite of the above mentioned flattering performance. of some girls at the Matriculation Examinations, the sad and distressing fact remained, namely, that ^{the} number of girls completing their secondary education was very small.

The figures given in the table below will show, how many girls were studying in middle schools and how many of them completed their Middle School Education.

Table XXIX

Number of Girls who appeared at and passed the Middle School Examination (1916-17 to 1936-37)

Year	Number Appeared	Number Passed	
		No.	%age
1916-17	478	332	69.4
1926-27	1,522	690	45.5
1936-37	2,721	2,308	74.5

In 1916-17, 478 girls appeared at the Middle School Examination. Out of these, 332 or 69.4 per cent of girls got through. The number of girl students appearing at the Middle School Examinations increased from 478 in 1916-17 to 2,721 in 1936-37, showing an increase of 2,243 or 469 per cent. The annual average rate of increase was about 112.

If the number of girls who appeared at the Matriculation Examination is compared with that of the girls who appeared at the Middle School Examination, it will be seen that the number of girls who appeared at the Middle School Examination was higher than that of girls who appeared at the Matriculation Examination, and that girls performed much better at the Middle School Examination than at the Matriculation Examination. Another gratifying feature of the development of this period was the fact that nearly 70 per cent of the girls were able to complete their middle school education. Thus, the middle school education had become popular in the society.

Such were the major aspects and problems of development of girls' secondary education in the Bombay Province during the period 1917 to 1937. We will now discuss the same in respect of Gujarat.

5.7 DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

FOR GIRLS IN GUJARAT (1916-17 to 1936-37)

(a) British Gujarat Districts

We will preface as usual our discussion on the development of secondary education for girls during the period under review by citing some significant demographic data for the British Gujarat.

Demographic Data : During the period under review, the British districts of Gujarat constituted about one-fifteenth area of the Bombay Presidency. The population of the British Gujarat districts had increased from 29.58 millions in 1921 to 32.23 million in 1931. In 1921, the urban population in British Gujarat had constituted 28.3 per cent of its total population. This proportion of the urban population slightly decreased in 1931 - it became 27.6 per cent. Moreover, in Gujarat people lived in villages coming under the population slab of 500 to 1000 than in any other population slabs. However, urbanisation was more in British Gujarat, Kathiawad Native States and Agencies and in the Baroda State than in the Presidency as a whole. The number of inhabited towns and villages in Gujarat was around 3304 in 1921 and 1931.

In the 1931 Census, Gujarat showed the highest figures of early marriages. This was next to the Deccan region. Per million of the population, the married girls in Gujarat in the

age-group 0-5 was 64; in the age-group 5-10 it was 273 and in the age-group 10-15 it was 465 (37). The unmarried women in the age-group 20-40 per millie was only 17. The incidence of early marriages was the highest in the Mahikantha Agency. The other areas in terms of higher incidence of early marriages of females could be arranged in the descending order as follows. the Kaira District, the Ahmedabad District, the Broach District, the Pandh Mahal District, the Revakantha District, the Surat District and the Surat Agency.(38)

The distribution of population according to religious groups in 1931 was as under. (The figures are in thousands)

	Hindus	Muslims	Jains	Parsis	Christians
British Gujarat	547	213	20	10	17
Native States and Agencies	487	99	20	-	5

The Parsis and Christians were found most in the British Gujarat districts.

With thesedemographic data in the background, we will present our analysis and interpretation of the development of secondary education in Gujarat during the period 1916-17 to 1936-37.

Female Literacy : Tables XXX, XXXI and XXXII relate to female literacy in Gujarat in 1931. It would be seen from Table XXXI that Gujarat led the Bombay Presidency (as a whole),

Sind, Deccan and Bombay States and Agencies in female literacy both in 1921 and 1931. From Table XXXII, it would be seen that the Surat District had the highest number of female literates per millie both in the age-groups 10-15 and 15-20; the Broach District came next; the Panch Mahal District was the lowest in the rank. Table XXX shows that in 1931 the British Gujarat had higher female literacy than the Presidency as a whole and the Native States and Agencies put together in all religious groups - Hindus, Muslims, Jains and Parsis - excepting Indian Christians. From the female literacy point of view, Gujarat was better placed for the development of girls' secondary education.

Table XXX
Female Literacy by Religion
1931

Unit	Hindu	Muslim	Jain	Parsi	Christian
Bombay					
Presidency	23	16	94	727	277
Gujarat	38	44	239	755	194
Native States and Agencies	13	316	68	654	150

Source : Census of 1931, Vol. VIII, Part I, p.296.

Table XXXI

A Comparison of Female Literacy in Gujarat with
that in Other Regions of the Bombay Presidency
(1921 and 1931)

	Female Literacy per mille in the year	
	1921	1931
Bombay Presidency	23	24
British Districts	25	27
<u>Gujarat</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>39</u>
Sind	17	17
Deccan	13	17
Konkan	43	48
Bombay States and Agencies	13	13

Source : Census of India, 1931, Vol.VIII, Part I, p.293

Table XXXII

Literacy of Female in British Gujarat in age-groups
10-15 and 15-20 and by Districts
(1931)

Province and Districts	Number per Millie who are literates	
	10-15	15-20
Gujarat	60	73
Ahmedabad	54	60
Broach	62	76
Kaira	59	68
Panch Mahals	32	43
Surat	87	116

Source: Census of India, 1931, Vol.VIII, Part I, p.300.

Expansion : During the twenty years of the period 1916-17 to 1936-37, the expansion of secondary education for girls made rapid strides. In 1916-17 the number of girls' high schools and middle schools in the British Gujarat was 5 as against the corresponding figure of 87 for boys. Thus, in 1916-17, girls' secondary schools constituted only 5.4 per cent of the total secondary schools in the British Gujarat. There were 517 girls under instruction, 122 in high schools and 395 in middle schools. The percentage of girls under instruction in 1916-17 to the total students in secondary schools was 3.8. There were 4 girls against 96 boys studying in secondary schools. Girls constituted a little more than 1/26th part of the total secondary pupils under instruction.

Table XXXIII presents the picture of the growth that took place in the next decade, i.e. between 1916-17 and 1926-27. From Table XXXIII(a), it would be seen that the total number of secondary schools had dropped down to 88 from 92 in 1916-17. However, the secondary schools for girls had increased from a total of 5 in 1916-17 to a total of 7 in 1926-27. The number of girl students shows much more striking growth. The enrolment of girls rose from 517 in 1916-17 to 968 in 1926-27, an increase of 451 or about 87.4 per cent. In 1926-27, girls' enrolment constituted 5.2 per cent of the total enrolment in secondary schools. Thus, in 1926-27, there were between 5 to 6 girls against 94 or 95 boys enrolled in the secondary schools of Gujarat.

Table XXXIII

Development of Girls' High Schools and Middle Schools Education
in Gujarat (1926-1927)

(a) Girls' Schools in British Gujarat

Type of Schools	Number of Schools		
	for Boys	for Girls	Total
High Schools	35	5	40
Middle Schools	2	2	4
Classes attached to primary schools	44	-	44
Total	81	7	88

(b) Girls' Pupils in British Gujarat

Type of Schools	Number of Pupils		
	Boys	Girls	Total
High Schools	7,201	205	7,406
Middle Schools	7,113	763	7,876
Classes attached to primary schools	3,211	-	3,211
Total	17,525	968	18,493

(c) High Schools and Middle Schools for Girls in the Bombay Presidency

Type of Schools	No. of Schools for Boys			No. of Schools for Girls			Grand :Total
	Bombay Province	Guja- rat	Total	Bombay Province	Guja- rat	Total	
High Schools	104	35	139	33	5	38	177
Middle Schools	118	2	120	26	2	28	148
Classes attached	-	44	44	-	-	-	44
Total	222	81	303	59	7	66	369

In the next decade of 1926-27 to 1936-37, the growth in girls' secondary schools and their enrolment at this stage continued to grow. This would be evident from Tables XXXIII and XXXIV. From these tables, it will be seen that the number of girls' secondary schools which was 7 in 1926-27 had become 12 in 1936-37. In 1926-27, the number of girls' secondary schools constituted 7.9 per cent of the total secondary schools in Gujarat; in 1936-37, this percentage was 6.6. Thus, the growth was less in 1936-37 in terms of percentage.

In 1926-27, there were 968 girls under instruction in all categories of secondary schools in Gujarat. This figure improved to 1,424 in 1936-37. Of this 1,424 total enrolment, 999 or 70.2 per cent was in high schools. The percentage of girls under instruction in 1936-37 was 5.2, which was the same in 1926-27. Thus, in 1937 only 5 to 6 girls studied in the secondary schools of Gujarat against 94 or 95 boys.

Table XXXIV

Development of Girls' High School and Middle School Education and Girls Pupils in British Gujarat (1936-37)

(a) Secondary Schools for Girls in the British Gujarat and Enrolment in

Types of Schools	No.	Middle	High	Total
High Schools	6	425	702	1,127
Middle Schools	3	-	135	135
English class attached	2	-	149	149
Anglo-European	1	-	13	13
Total	12	425	999	1,424

(b) Secondary Schools for Boys and Girls in the British Gujarat

Types of Schools	For Boys	For Girls	Total
High Schools	54	6	60
Middle Schools	39	3	42
English classes attached	75	2	77
Anglo-European	-	1	1
Total	168	12	180

(c) Secondary Schools for Boys and Girls in the whole Bombay Presidency and in the British Gujarat

Types of Schools	Schools for Boys			Schools for Girls			Grand Total
	Bom- bay	Guja- rat	Total	Bom- bay	Guja- rat	Total	
High Schools	173	54	227	41	6	47	274
Middle Schools	105	39	144	13	3	16	160
English classes attached schools	64	75	139	7	2	9	148
Anglo-European Schools	8	-	8	8	1	9	17
Total	350	168	518	69	12	81	599

Table XXXIV contd.....

(d) Pupils in Secondary Schools in the British Gujarat

Types of Schools	Number of Pupils		Total
	Boys	Girls	
High Schools	19,313	1,127	20,440
Middle Schools	4,155	135	4,290
English classes attached schools	2,270	149	2,419
Anglo-European schools	-	13	13
Total	25,738	1,424	27,162

(e) Pupils in Secondary Schools in the whole Bombay Presidency and in the British Gujarat

Types of Schools	No. of Boy Pupils in			No. of Girl Pupils in			Grand Total
	Bombay	Gujarat	Total	Bombay	Gujarat	Total	
High Schools	62,645	19,313	81,958	8,495	1,127	9,622	91,580
Middle Schools	16,398	4,155	20,553	923	135	1,058	21,611
English classes attached schools	2,378	2,270	4,648	150	149	299	4,947
Anglo-European schools	926	-	926	6,854	13	6,867	7,793
Total	82,347	25,738	108,085	16,222	1,424	17,846	125,931

Table XXXIV(e) gives comparison of the development of secondary education for boys and girls with that in the Province as a whole. In 1936-37, the total enrolment in the Presidency at the secondary stage was 1,25,931 of which enrolment in secondary schools constituted 21.5 per cent. In other words, ~~of~~ every 100 secondary students in the Province about 21 to 22 came from the British Gujarat districts. In the Province girls' enrolment at the secondary stage was 16,322 to which the British Gujarat contributed 1,424 or 8.7 per cent. In other words, out of every 100 girls studying at the secondary stage in the Bombay Province, 8 to 9 came from Gujarat. In the Presidency, girls' enrolment at the secondary stage constituted 12.9 per cent of the total enrolment; in British Gujarat it was 5.2. Thus, the proportion of girls going to secondary schools had continued to be much lower in the British Gujarat than in the Bombay Province.

In 1936-37, all the girls' secondary schools in Gujarat were situated in the urban areas. There were five secondary schools in Ahmedabad; namely, the Government Girls' High School (1893), Mount Carmel High School (1925), Vanita Vishram High School (1906), the Rao Bahadur M.K. Girls' High School (1929), and the Municipal Girls' High School (1930)

In the Kaira District, there was not a single girls' high school upto 1916-17. During these twenty years (1916-17 to 1936-37), two girls' high schools were started. They were

J.S. Patel High School, Sojitra, 1934, and the Vithal Kanya Vidyalaya, Nadiad, 1935.

In the Surat District, upto 1916-17, there were only three girls' schools; and one new girls' school was started in Surat in 1927. So, there were four girls' schools, namely, the I.P. Mission Girls' High School, (1874), the Bai P.M. Patel Girls' High School, (1912), and the C.G.S.M. V. Ambalal Girls' High School, (1927), and the C.G.S.M.B. Girls' High School, (1916).

In Broach and in Bulsar each there was only one girls' school upto 1916-17 and there was no addition to that number after that.

In 1926, a notable step was taken by the Proprietary High School, Ahmedabad (Diwan Ballubhai Madhyamik Shala). The management of this high school was ^{the} pioneer in admitting girls in their boys' school.

Before we conclude this section, we would like to refer to a study of the development of girls' education in Gujarat during the period under review, done by Shri Chandulal Kashiram Dave, which covers the period under review. According to the survey, about 1,700 girls (in secondary, middle and primary schools where English was introduced in upper standards) were studying both in Gujarat and Kathiawar.

Out of total 1,700 girls studying in Gujarat and Kathiawar, 1,400 girls were studying in secondary schools in Gujarat. Out of 1,400 girls, 425 girls were studying in Ahmedabad, 425 girls in Surat, 200 girls in Baroda, 170 in Navsari and Billimora, and in other places remaining 200 girls were studying in secondary schools.

This will show that Ahmedabad and Surat led other places in the secondary education of girls. Out of 1,700 girls studying in secondary schools, 900 girls were Hindus, 600 Parsis, and 200 Christians and others. From the statistical point of view, the number of the Hindu girls studying in secondary schools was smaller than that of the Parsi girls, if the population of both the communities were taken into consideration, as education of girls of the Parsi community had made remarkable progress. The Nagar, Brahmakshatriya, Kayastha and the Bania girls and the girls of other advanced families were studying in the secondary schools.

If 1,700 girls were distributed standardwise, a clear picture of the progress of secondary education for girls would emerge. Out of 1,700 girls, only 350 girls were studying in the higher standards and 1,350 girls were studying in the lower standards of secondary schools. Out of 350 girls, only 25 girls were studying in Kathiawar and 325 girls in Gujarat. Out of 325 girls, 120 girls, 75 girls, 60 girls, 40 girls and 30 girls were studying in Surat, Ahmedabad, Baroda, Broach and

Navsari respectively. The number of girls studying in secondary schools in Gujarat was very negligible as compared to the total number of girls studying in secondary schools in the whole Presidency.

Before we conclude this sub-section we would like to make a reference to the state of girls' secondary education among the Muslim community and the backward classes in the British Gujarat.

Though secondary education for Muslim girls was apparently recording progress, they were deplorably behind other communities. The Muslim girls had considerable leeway to make up before they could come into line with the girls of advanced communities. The Purdah was mainly responsible for retarded progress and unless the Purdah could disappear, progress of secondary education for Muslim girls was bound to be painfully slow. The following excerpt from the Report on Public Instruction in the Province of Bombay for the year 1937-38 throws light on the sad state of affairs in secondary education for Muslim girls :

"The greatest hindrance to the progress of Muslim education is the poor condition of their girls' schools. There is a lack of qualified Muslim women teachers and unfortunately for them, the Muslim parents are not enthusiastic about sending their girls to schools taught by men. Even where qualified Muslim women are available and are appointed, such women observe the Purdah very strictly so that it is not possible for Inspecting Officers to watch them at work, find out their defects, and show them how to improve their teaching." (39)

The problem of spreading education among the girls of the backward classes and scheduled tribes was a very difficult one. Even adequate primary education could not be extended among their boys. The question of primary education for girls was a herculean task in itself. The gravity of the situation in respect of secondary education among these girls could be well imagined. The percentage of pupils in all educational institutions and of both the sexes was in 1937-38, 4.2 only. Thus, secondary education for girls of backward class communities was an extremely difficult problem.

Curriculum : Although music and needle-work were taught in girls' secondary schools, most of them continued to their earlier tradition of preparing girls for the Matriculation Examination and to follow a curriculum based on the examination. For this examination girls are allowed to offer Domestic Science as the school subject, but the option was rarely exercised. It was hardly in any school that adequate arrangements were made for the teaching of Domestic Science. The following observation of the Inspectress of Girls' School, Bombay and Northern (Gujarat) Division are pertinent in this respect.

"Though the Bombay University has a satisfactory alternative Science course for girls, no schools, save the Sharda Mandir School in Bombay, are offering this Science for the Matriculation Examination. Even those that take physiology and hygiene instead of General Science or Physics and Chemistry are offering this merely as a book subject."(40)

Women Teachers : Even for 1937-38, no statistics of women teachers working in the secondary schools for girls and mixed schools for the British Gujarat Districts are available. Figures are available for the Bombay Province as a whole. In 1937-38, there were 1,507 women teachers in position in Middle Schools and High Schools for girls. Of them, only 697 or about 46 per cent were trained. It is possible that ⁱⁿ the Gujarat percentage of trained teachers must be, by and large, lower than that of the Province. Such a conclusion can be broadly drawn from the scant and large material available on the women teachers in Gujarat during this period. Such a conclusion was suggested by a former Inspectress of Girls' Schools of Bombay and Northern Division. The following observations in the Annual Report of ^{the} Progress of Public Instruction in the Bombay Province for 1937-38 explain the shortage of women teachers in Gujarat at this period.

"The recruitment of teachers of girls' schools is very much more difficult than that of boys' schools, even though the teachers are given a starting salary in some cases twice as much, and, in others, even three times as much as the Government rates. Very often the young trained women teachers, as soon as they find they are to have families, take leave sometimes for six months and even for two years. Thus, girls' schools, however, hard they try to maintain a permanent staff, are very often left without some senior member of the staff."(41)

Finances : In 1936-37, the total expenditure on girls' high schools rose from Rs. 38,833 in 1926-27 to Rs. 81,345. The increase in the expenditure during the decade was Rs. 42,512 or 109.5 per cent.

Table XXXV gives the expenditure on girls' high schools in 1926-27 and 1936-37.

Table XXXV

Expenditure on High Schools for Girls in British
Gujarat
(1926-27 to 1936-37)

District	Source of Expenditure			Total
	Provincial Revenues	Fees	Subscri- ptions and other sources	
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
<u>Ahmedabad</u>				
1926-27	18,215	1,649	-	19,864
1936-37	17,122	2,852	-	19,974
<u>Broach</u>				
1926-27	3,294	2,059	6,157	11,510
1936-37	3,488	3,244	6,022	12,754
<u>Surat</u>				
1926-27	2,277	610	4,572	7,459
1936-37	12,230	17,658	19,729	56,008
Total				
1926-27	23,786	4,318	10,729	38,833
P.C.	61.2	10.4	28.4	100.0
1936-37	32,840	22,754	25,751	81,345
P.C.	40.3	28.1	31.6	100.0

In 1926-27, the contribution of the Provincial revenues to the expenditure on girls' high schools in the British Gujarat was 61.2 per cent; it dropped down to 40.3 per cent in 1936-37; the income from fees bore 11.4 per cent of the expenditure on girls' high schools in 1926-27; this share rose to 28.1 per cent in 1936-37, thereby demonstrating more dependence on income from fees to meet expenditure on girls' high schools; the really striking feature was a high percentage of contribution from subscriptions and other sources - 23.4 per cent in 1926-27 and 31.6 per cent in 1936-37 towards the total expenditure on girls' high schools.

In 1926-27, the average annual cost per girl student in a high school was Rs. 107.66; government ~~being~~ ~~to~~ costs being Rs. 65. In 1936-37, this average annual cost dropped down to Rs. 83.50 of which the cost to government was Rs. 49. Thus, government's spending on girls' high school education showed a downward trend.

Table XXXVI relates to expenditure on girls' middle schools in the British Gujarat in 1926-27 and 1936-37.

Table XXXVI

Expenditure on Girls' Middle Schools in the British Gujarat
(1926-27 to 1936-37)

District	Source of Expenditure					Total Rs.
	Provin- cial Revenues	Muni- cipal Funds	Fees	Subscri- ption & other sources		
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		
<u>Ahmedabad</u>						
1926-27	1,375	-	2,181	5,498	9,054	
1936-37	830	-	1,817	1,022	3,669	
<u>Broach</u>						
1926-27	-	1,140	-	-	1,140	
1936-37	-	-	-	-	-	
<u>Kaira</u>						
1926-27	-	-	-	-	-	
1936-37	-	-	-	-	-	
<u>Surat</u>						
1926-27	-	-	231	5,121	5,352	
1936-37	1,500	-	2,349	3,267	7,216	
<u>Panch Mahals</u>						
1926-27	-	-	-	-	-	
1936-37	-	250	-	259	509	
<hr/>						
Total	1926-27	1,375	1,140	2,412	10,619	15,546
	P.C.	8.8	7.3	15.8	66.1	100.0
	1936-37	2,330	250	4,166	4,548	11,294
	P.C.	20.7	2.2	36.9	40.2	100.0

The above table shows a decline in the expenditure on the girls' middle schools during the decade 1926-27 to 1936-37. The decrease in expenditure was Rs. 4,252 or 27.4 per cent. In 1926-27, government share in the total expenditure on girls' middle schools in the British Gujarat was only 8.8 per cent; in 1936-37, its dimension grew more than two times - it became 20.7 per cent. The percentage of income from fees also rose from 15.8 per cent in 1926-27 to 36.9 in 1936-37. However, the percentage of income from subscriptions, etc. dropped down to 40.2 in 1936-37 from 66.1 in 1926-27.

Our conclusion about the financing of high schools and middle schools for girls in the British Gujarat during the period under review is that expenditure was small and inadequate. The annual cost per girl student in the girls' middle school in 1926-27 was Rs. 49; in 1936-37, it dropped down to Rs. 41. In 1926-27, the cost per student in the girls' middle schools was only Rs. 4 to Government and in 1936-37 only Rs. 7 to Government. This was very probable due to the fact that there was terrible world-wide economic depression around 1930, and the merciless axe fell on the education budgets of Provinces. Girls' education never received priority in Government budgets. The policy of depending on private enterprise was deeply rooted, and the resources of the private enterprise was not adequate. Girls' high schools and middle schools cost more to the private managements than that of the boys' high schools and middle

schools ~~did~~. In order to motivate parents to continue the education of their daughters beyond the primary stage, fees in girls' schools had be charged at a lower stage than that in boys' schools. Parents were not enthusiastic about sending their daughters to secondary schools staffed by male teachers. So, women teachers had to be recruited. But there was acute shortage of women teachers at the secondary level and they had to be paid higher salaries in order to attract them to join girls' schools.

During this period, the Finance Departments of Provinces were reserved subjects, and very often they turned down the enthusiastic proposals of Education Departments on several grounds. So, educational development programmes like girls' secondary education always were allotted smaller and inadequate funds. Unfortunately, during this period, the Central Government almost withdrew its interest and financial support to education programmes in Provinces. There was a complete 'divorce', as described by the Hartog Committee (1927-29) between the Central Government and the Provincial Governments so far as education was concerned.

In education budgets, secondary education received a smaller percentage of allocation. In 1936-37, the allocation was 12.1 per cent as against 62.8 on primary education.(42)

Such was the financial picture of girls' secondary education at the end of the year 1936-37.

Conclusion : During the period under review, secondary education for girls in the British Gujarat maintained steady progress. The rate of expansion in the British Gujarat was on a smaller scale in the British Gujarat than in the Bombay Province as a whole. There continued to prevail striking imbalance between the secondary education of boys and girls. There were only 8 girls against every 100 boys in the secondary schools of British Gujarat. Girls had entered the mixed schools also, and partly on the ground of greater efficiency and quality and partly because of absence of separate girls' schools locally or in the immediate neighbourhood, parents had begun to send their daughters to boys' schools. But, it was not real co-education. It was in fact segregated female education in boys' dominated secondary schools.

Most of the girls' secondary schools belonged to private enterprise. The private enterprise was, during the period under review, greatly handicapped by lack of funds. The income realised from fees was small compared to the income from fees in boys' schools and a trained woman teacher demanded a relatively higher salary. Even in places like Ahmedabad and Surat where there was no dearth of qualified women, the salary paid to a woman teacher was higher than the salary paid to a man with the same qualifications. There was no separate Training College for women either in the Province or in British Gujarat. Even in men's Secondary Training Colleges, 5 to 10 women teachers would be enrolled.

Although the number of women teachers was increasing, well qualified women teachers were not forthcoming to serve the secondary schools in the mofussil.

The general attitude of the public was also to regard girls' schools as of secondary importance and its financial support, by and large, went to high schools for boys. This made the task of private managements of girls' high schools and middle schools difficult.

We may conclude this over-view by the following concluding remarks made in the Annual Report on Public Instruction in the Province of Bombay (1937-38) :

"The increasing pressure for admission of girls in all kinds of institutions is an encouraging feature, but none the less we cannot ignore the fact that, for various reasons, parents are not keen on sending their girls to school. Take any moderate size village with a school with 150 children. The sons take advantage of the facilities available, but the daughters are kept at home. There is no doubt that more advantages could be taken of existing facilities, and it would help greatly if local leaders gave a lead to public opinion in this direction. Concerted action would have results which would indeed be remarkable." (43)

(b) Kathiawad and Other Native States

According to the 1931 Census, the population of Kathiawad and other Agencies which constituted Western Indian States was 39.99 lakhs. 8.84 lakhs of this population lived in 66 towns. Of these total towns in the Agency, 56 contained a population

of over 5,000 persons each. Most of the States were small and each had a capital of its own. There was, therefore, quite a powerful influence making for the success of moderately small towns in an area which was largely agricultural.

Urbanisation generally is conducive to the development of schools. In Kathiawad and other Native States, primary schools and the middle schools came up during the period, but they were largely for boys. The development of girls' education was small and slow. The large scale practice of child marriages and also marriages of females taking place on in the age-groups 10-15 was responsible for unsatisfactory progress of female education in Kathiawad and other Native States and Agencies in Gujarat. The redeeming feature in comparison to the British Gujarat was that initiative was taken by some States in establishing secondary schools for girls. The private enterprise also played its part.

Female literacy in the Western India States Agency was per mille who were literates, 53 in the age-group 10-15 and 66 in the age-group 15-20. In 1931, the number of female literates in English per 1,000 of female literates was 46 in this region as against 61 in the British Gujarat Districts. The number of female literates in English is another indicator of the spread of English type of secondary education. In this respect, Kathiawad and other Native States lagged far behind the British Gujarat.

The following girls' high schools had been established in Kathiawad by 1937 :

1. Bai Sahebaba Girls' High School, Rajkot (established in 1914)
2. Moghiba Girls' High School, Gondal (established in 1958)
3. Kanya Vidyalaya, Dhoraji (established in 1867)
4. G.T. Girls' High School, Rajkot (established in 1928)
5. I.P. Mission Girls' High School, Rajkot (established in 1906)
6. Majiraj Girls' High School, Bhavnagar (established in 1889)
7. Mukta Lakshmi Mahila Vidyalaya, Bhavnagar (established in 1925)
8. Geeta Vidyalaya, Bhavnagar (established in 1912)
9. Sajuba Girls' High School, Jamnagar (established in 1936)
10. Victoria Jubilee Madressa Girls' High School, Porbunder (established in 1887)
11. Baluba Kanya Vidyalaya, Jamnagar (established in 1935)
12. Arya Kanya Gurukul, Purbunder (established in 1937)

Just as 4 new girls' schools were started in the British Gujarat during the period under review, similarly in Kathiawad 6 new girls' schools were opened. There were in all 12 girls' schools functioning in Kathiawad in 1936-37.

We had already referred to a study by Shri Chandulal Kashiram Dave, according to which 300 girls were studying in secondary schools in Kathiawad by 1937.

Out of these 300 girls, 75, 75, 50, 30, 30 and 40 girls were studying in schools in Rajkot, Jamnagar, Bhavnagar, Gondal, Wadhvan and Porbunder respectively. Secondary education for girls in Kathiawad was backward as compared to that in Gujarat. In Gondal, there was only one school for girls and there were only 30 girls in that school, and yet the management of that school ran the school for 30 girls. Small size secondary schools were economically not viable. They meant considerable financial strain on the management. But this fact speaks very well for their genuine interest in girls' education. Such an institution deserves to be congratulated.

Out of 300 girls studying in Saurashtra, only 25 girls were studying in the higher standards of secondary schools. Only one girl was studying in the Matriculation Class in the Monghiba Girls' High School, Gondal upto 1925. Cutch did not have a high school for girls in 1936-37.

(c) Baroda State

In 1931, the Baroda State covered an area of 8,164 square miles as against 8,127 square miles in 1921. The population in 1931 rose to 24.43 lakhs from 21.26 lakhs in 1921 registering an increase of 14.9 per cent. In 1931, in the Baroda State there were 50 towns, each having 5,000 or more populations (the average being 9,184) as against 43 towns in 1921. The urban population was 21 per cent in 1931. There were 2,920 villages as against 2,903 in 1921. In 1921, 59 per cent of

the villages had a population under 500, 37 per cent a population between 500 and 2000 and 4 per cent a population between 2000 and 5000. In 1931, 58 per cent of the population lived in villages of average size 500-2000. This means that high schools for girls could not be expected from 1194 villages of average size and 1580 villages of small size (with population under 500).

In 1931, only 11 in every 1000 females were married below the age of 5; in the age-group 5-10 only 20.2 per cent females were found married, and in the age-group ^{42.0} 10-15 per 1000 females were recorded as married. Thus, even in 1931, in the Baroda State a sizeable number of females' marriage took place below the age of 15 which constituted a serious obstacle to the progress of girls' secondary education.

The Baroda State had a better record of literacy in 1931. The number of literates had increased between 1921 and 1931 by 59 per cent - the male literates by 54 per cent while the female literates by 93 per cent. This shows that compulsory primary education proved really effective in expanding female education at the primary stage. In 1931, per 1000 female population, the Hindus had 126 female literate, the Muslims had also 126, the Jains 447, the Christians 325, the Parsis 724 and the tribal women 3. This shows that female education was increasing among the Hindus as well as the Muslims; but the Parsis, the Jains and the Christians still continued to be educationally more advanced. The

percentage of female literacy was 17.5 in the urban areas and 5.8 per cent in the rural areas.

Table XXXVII shows a comparison of female literacy of the Baroda State with that of the British Gujarat Districts and the Western India States Agency (Kathiawad and other native States) in 1921 and 1931.

Table XXXVII

Comparison of Female Literacy in Baroda with the British District of Gujarat and Western India Agency in the Age-groups 10-15 and 15-20

Number per mille who are literate in the age-group		
	10-15	15-20
Baroda State		
1921	99	100
1931	132	147
British Districts		
1921	83	94
1931	59	73
Western India Agency		
1921	62	73
1931	53	66

Source : Census of India, 1931, Vol. VIII, Part I, p.295.

It will be seen from the Table XXVII that the Baroda State was very much ahead of British Gujarat and Kathiawad States and Native Agencies in the matter of female literacy in 1921. It maintained the same leading position in 1931.

Even in respect of female literacy in certain caste-groups such as Audich Brahmins, Ghanchi and Kanbis, the Baroda State was ahead of British Gujarat (except in the case of female literacy among the Audich Brahmins). This will be evident from Table XXXVIII.

Table XXXVIII

Comparison of Female Literacy in the Baroda State and the British Districts of Gujarat in respect of Certain Castes (1931)

Caste	Gujarat		: Baroda
	For which district examined	Number per 1000 female who are literate	:Number per 1000 female who are literate
Brahmin	Gujarat		
Audich	Districts	267	229
Ghanchi	Ahmedabad Surat	110	112
Kanbi of Gujarat	Ahmedabad Broach	82	163

Source : Census of India, 1931, Vol. VIII, Part I, p.294.

English literacy among the females was still in infancy in 1931 in the Baroda State. It was limited to such communities as Parsis, Prabhus, Hindus, Aryas, Indian Christians,

Kokanstha and Deshas~~th~~tha Brahmins, the Nagar Brahmins. Among every 10,000 females, there were 100 or more English literates.

"The majority of castes, however, whose males take to English education from utilitarian motives, show a low English literacy for their females, e.g. Audich (1259 and 18), Lewa Patidar (457 and 8), Disawal Bania (2096 and 17), Lad Vania (2242 and 13)." (44)

We will now discuss the progress of secondary education for girls in the Baroda State from 1917 to 1937.

In 1917-18, there were 7 high schools and 23 A.V.Schools in the Baroda State. The total number of pupils studying in the secondary schools was 6976. Besides this, there were 666 pupils learning English in 16 primary schools which included about 66 girls.

At the primary stage, by this time, girls' education had made rapid strides. "The percentage of girls at schools came to 67.3 of the school-going age reckoning at 12 per cent of the total female population as the average of girls of school-going age." (45)

The 7 high schools were located at Baroda (4 high schools) and one each at Dharmaj, Navsari and Siddhpur. Of ~~this~~ ^{these} 7 schools, 4 were government and the other 3 were private aided. The Maharani High School at Baroda was the only girls' school in the State and the rest were for boys. In the Maharani High School for Girls the number of girl-pupils was 137. In 1917-18, the percentage of age-wise distribution

of girls was : 10-11 years, 10.1 per cent; 11-12 years, 12.9 per cent; 12-13 years, 5.1 per cent; 13-14 years, 0.7 per cent; 14-15 years, 0.2 per cent; 15-16 years, 0.1 per cent and 16-17 years, 0.1 per cent.

In 1917, the girls formed 27.8 per cent of the total enrolment in secondary schools. It is not known for certain as to how many girls studied in boys' secondary schools. The probability was that in 1917, only a few girls were studying in mixed schools. Co-education was not popular at the secondary stage in the State. In 1917-18, Government spent 10.3 per cent of its education budget on secondary schools.

The average annual cost per pupil in 1917 in Government Secondary Schools was Rs. 40.70. In a private secondary school, the government had to spend about Rs. 14.75 per student cost in the Maharani Girls' school was Rs. 100.70.

In the course of next two decades secondary education grew at a steady rate in the Baroda State. There were 16 government high schools, 31 government middle schools and classes, 13 aided high schools, 9 aided middle schools and 2 unaided and 52 unaided middle schools and classes. Thus, in 1937-38, there were totally 123 secondary institutions in the State, of which 47 or about 38 per cent were government, the remaining being all private. Of these 123 secondary schools, only 5 schools were exclusively for girls, 1 being a high

school at Baroda and the other being all middle schools and classes. The number of girls studying in secondary schools was 1,782 as against 15,259 boys. Thus, in 1937-38, the percentage of girls studying at the secondary stage to the total secondary school pupils was a little less than 10 per cent. Or, roughly we might say that in 1937-38, there was 1 girl against 9 boys enrolled in secondary schools.

The total number of secondary schools rose from 123 in 1917-18 to 128 in 1937-38. The total number of pupils in secondary schools in 1937-38 was 22,740 of which 1899 or about 8.4 per cent were girls. Thus, even after 20 years, in 1937-38 the disparity between the secondary education of girls and boys continued. In fact, it was further aggravated because in 1937-38, only 8 to 9 girls against 91 to 92 boys could get the benefit of secondary education. The imbalance was a little less in 1917-18. However, in these two decades more girls had begun to go to boys' schools. In 1937-38, as much as 47 per cent of secondary school girls were studying in boys' schools. Thus, the prejudice against co-education was fast breaking down in the Baroda State. "Co-education was introduced in the State as a measure of policy and efficiency a long time ago, and it is ^anoteworthy fact that it is becoming more and more popular every year." (46)

In 1937-38, of the total 1,899 girls enrolled in secondary schools in the State, 73.3 per cent were in government institutions.

The average cost per pupil in all categories of secondary schools was Rs. 15.48 in 1937-38.

In 1937-38, the average number of teachers in a secondary school was 10.5 and the average number of pupils per teacher was 24.4.

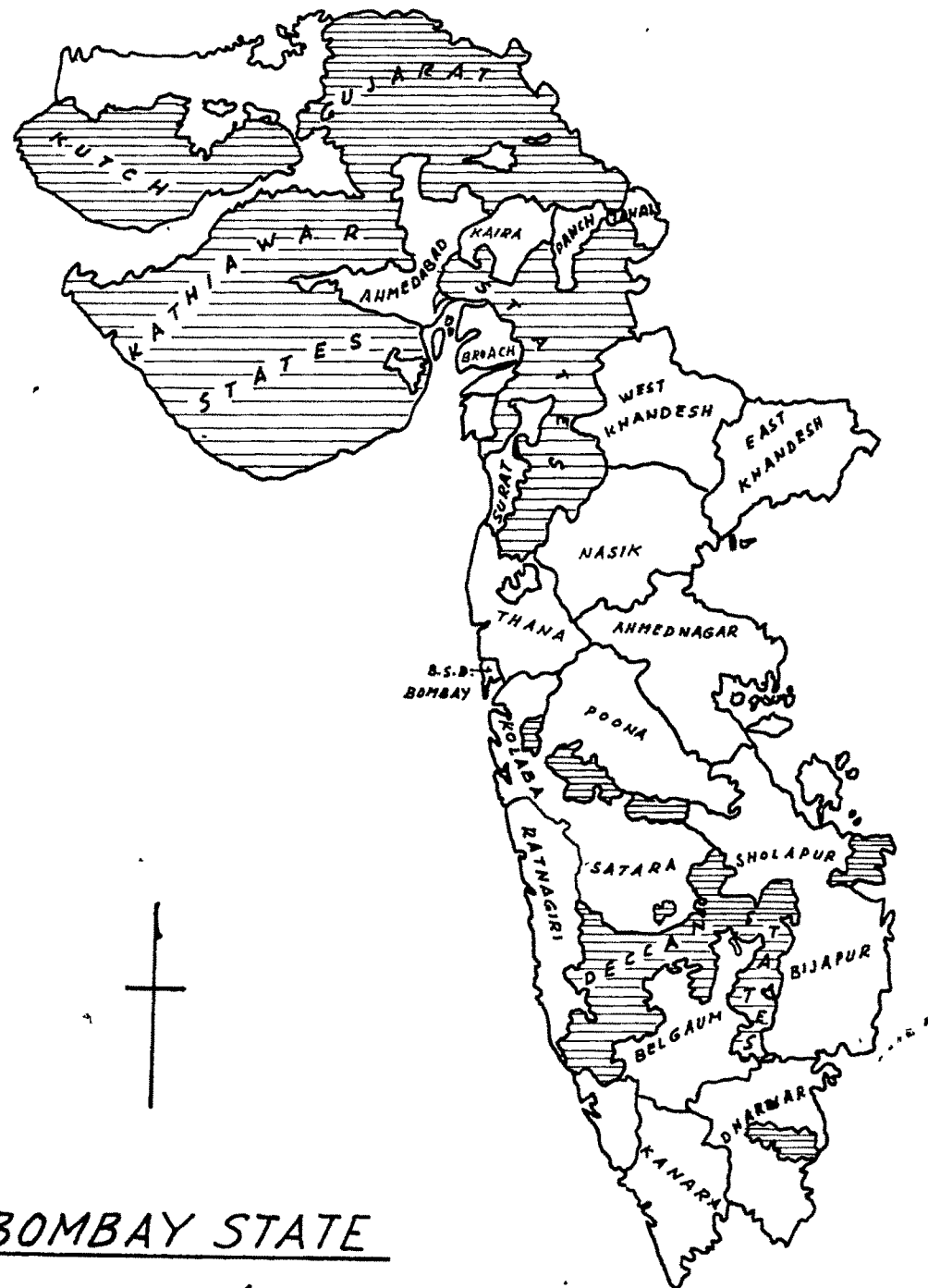
Most of the women teachers came from the Brahmin community. In 1937-38, out of the total of 206 female teachers in the State, 31.5 per cent were Brahmins, 5.3 per cent were Banias, 17 per cent were Patidars and others came from lower caste groups.

The curricula for girls' schools were based mainly on those in use at boys' schools, but suitable modifications were made to adapt them to local conditions and the needs of the girls and people. Special subjects like needle-work, embroidery, knitting, hygiene, domestic science, etc. were continued to be taught in all girls' schools also during the period under review.

We will conclude this Section by citing an excerpt from the Government Report on the Public Instruction in the State for the year 1937-38.

"The progress in the secondary education of girls has been slow but steady. Beyond maintaining one special high school for girls at Baroda, Government have not deemed it necessary to open separate schools for girls, but the total number of girls in secondary schools is increasing every year. That the number of girls receiving secondary education has not decreased inspite of the introduction of fees for girls in secondary

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BOMBAY STATE
TILL 1947
WITH 20 DISTRICTS

schools is a clear indication of the desire and the enthusiasm of the people for the higher education of women." (47)

5.9 DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR GIRLS IN THE BOMBAY PROVINCE BETWEEN 1936-37 AND 1946-47

Demographic Data

The area of the Bombay Presidency recorded under Census of India, 1941 was 132,700 square miles. The total population increased to 299.98 lakhs, of which 72.06 or 24.2 per cent was urban. The total number of towns were 332 and villages 36,247. There was more trend towards urbanisation which was more favourable for the spread of female education.

In 1941, the scheduled castes constituted 3.9 per cent, other Hindus 70.5 per cent, Muslims 9.2 per cent and tribes 7.7 per cent. Among the scheduled castes and tribes, even primary education for girls had hardly made any progress and therefore, to expect the spread of secondary education among them was not possible.

Child marriages still continued though in smaller number at this period. In 1941, according to the Census, in a sample female population of 28,544, 127 girls were found to have been married at an age below 5 years; in another sample of 21,411 females in the age-group 10-15, 6,637 girls were found married. That shows that early marriage continued to block

the opportunities of girls for secondary education.

In a sample study of 4,35,300 persons, 343,746 or 69.9 per cent were found illiterate. Among a sample population of 207,362, 187,130 or 90.2 per cent were found illiterate. In the age-group 10-15, out of a sample of 30,820 females, 26,285 or 85.3 per cent were returned illiterate. Thus, large scale illiteracy prevailed among the female population of the Province.

Major Developments : During the decade 1936-37 to 1946-47, among the major events that took place, the following had implication for development of women's education. First was the introduction of the provincial autonomy in all the British Provinces; the Indian ministers who now wielded power had to face minimum of difficulties that impeded educational advancement; the second was that the world economic depression that marked the earlier period was no longer there and more funds for educational developments began to be made available; the third was that the Indian Educational Service had been almost liquidated and the number of Englishmen holding important education offices had become small; the coming in of Indian officers helped the cause of mass education and female education; the fourth was that the Congress Ministries were formed in 7 out of the 11 provinces in British India; they helped the cause of female education; the fifth was the outbreak of the World War II in 1939, subsequent resignation of the Congress Ministries and the installation of Care-taker

governments in all the provinces between 1940-45; the sixth was the violent outbreak of Quit India Movement, arrest of national leaders, and consequent tremendous political awakening in the country; the seventh was the publication of the Report of the Sargent Committee and of the Post-War Development Plan in Education spread over next 40 years; and the eighth was the re-assuming of office by the Congress in 1945; and the last was the end of the British rule in India, and the dawn of independence for the country on 15th August 1947 and the partition of India and formation of ~~the~~ Pakistan.

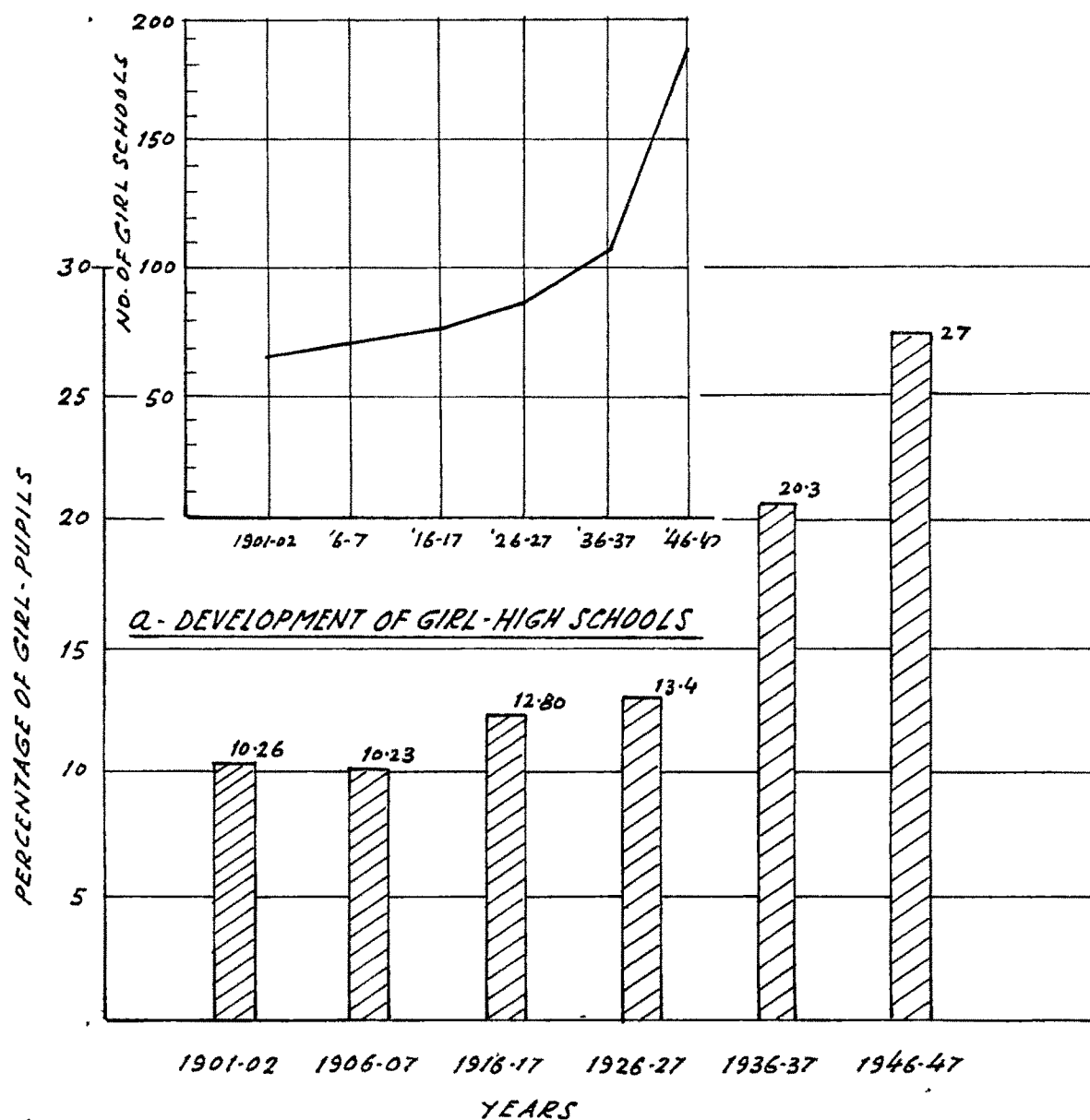
The period was more favourable for the expansion of women's education.

"The combined effect of the Provincial Autonomy in 1939, the attainment of Independence in 1947 and the assumption of office by a Popular Ministry which was committed to remove all inequalities based on sex, and the general awakening of the public conscience to the urgency of removing the past injustice done to women, was to create a more favourable background for the general progress of women than that during any earlier period of history. Consequently, a number of social and political reforms were immediately carried out and the extent of discrimination against women was substantially reduced." (48)

The recommendation of the Sargent Committee (1944) to the effect that girls' education should not be treated separately but as a part of the general education of boys and girls, tended to rob the girls' education at a focus which it very badly needed (49). We had already made a reference to the ill-effect of the Sargent Committee's stand in Chapter II (50).

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DEVELOPMENT OF GIRLS HIGH-SCHOOLS & ENROLMENT OF
GIRL-PUPILS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN BOMBAY PRESIDENCY
FROM 1901 TO 1947



a- DEVELOPMENT OF GIRL-HIGH SCHOOLS

b- ENROLMENT OF GIRL-PUPILS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

With ~~these~~ general background, we will present a brief discussion on the progress of secondary education for girls in the Presidency during the period under review.

(c) Expansion

Table XXXIX presents the expansion that took place in the Province in the secondary education for boys and girls during the decade 1936-37 to 1946-47.

Table XXXIX

Expansion of Secondary Education of Girls as compared to
that of Boys in the Presidency
(1936-37 to 1946-47)

Year	Boys' Secondary Education		Girls' Secondary Education			
	Schools	Enrolment	Schools	Enrolment in		Total
				Girls' Schools	Mixed Schools	
1936-37	535	79,874	104	19,446	6,374	25,820
1941-42	721	149,402	143	29,208	14,091	43,299
1946-47	997	222,391	184	33,421	24,208	62,629

During this decade, the secondary education for girls made an even more rapid progress than between 1916-17 and 1936-37. In 1936-37, girls' secondary schools constituted only 16.3 per cent of the total number of secondary schools in the Presidency; in 1946-47, the number of girls' schools increased to 997, registering an increase of 362 schools or 50.2 per cent during

the decade. On an average, the girls' secondary schools increased annually by 36. In 1946-47, the girls' schools constituted 15.6 per cent of the total secondary schools. Thus, the expansion of girls' secondary schools was even below that of secondary schools in general in the Presidency. The number of secondary schools for girls increased during this period as the number of all secondary schools increased. In other words, the imbalance operating in 1936-37 between the facilities for secondary education for boys and girls not only continued in 1946-47 but the gap slightly widened more.

In the matter of girls' enrolment, the number rose from 25,820 in 1936-37 to 62,629 in 1946-47. The increase was 36,809 or 142.5 per cent. The average annual increase in girls' enrolment was about 3,681. In 1936-37, girls' enrolment constituted about 25 per cent of the total enrolment of boys and girls in all secondary schools in the Presidency. Thus, the position in girls' enrolment was better than that in the provision of girls' schools versus boys' schools. In 1946-47, girls' enrolment was less than 22 per cent of the overall enrolment at the secondary stage. Thus, the imbalance between the enrolment of girls and boys also not only persisted but the gap was found to have widened still further.

(d) Co-education

Some other points in the development of secondary education for girls during the period under review are note-worthy. In

1936-37, 74.3 per cent of girls were studying in girls' separate secondary schools and 24.7 per cent of girls were studying in the mixed secondary schools. In 1941-42, the percentage of girls studying in separate secondary schools dropped down to 67.4 per cent and the percentage of girls studying in mixed secondary schools rose to 32.6. In 1946-47, the percentage of girls studying in separate girls' schools went down further and became 61.2 per cent while that of girls studying in mixed secondary schools rose up and became 38.8. Thus, the period under review marks a clear-cut trend towards co-education in mixed schools. It shows that girls took admission in mixed schools where a separate girls' school was not established. The parents had begun to realise the need for girls' education, shook off, to some extent, the earlier prejudice of their own parents to co-education, and sent their daughters even to mixed schools. So the education had begun to be popular to some extent.

We will examine the progress of girls' education by stages, i.e. at the high school stage and the middle school stage. Table XL summarises statistically this progress.

Table XL

Enrolment of Girls in High and Middle Schools
(1936-37 to 1946-47)

Year	Girls in High School		Girls in Middle School		Total Girls in Secondary Schools	
	Number	%age	Number	%age	Number	%age
1936-37	21,123	81.8	4,697	18.2	25,820	100.0
1941-42	35,477	81.9	6,822	18.1	43,299	100.0
1946-47	38,421	61.3	24,208	28.7	62,629	100.0

From the above table, it will be seen that the number of girls studying in high schools was higher than that of girls in studying in middle schools, because in 1936-37, 81.8 per cent of girls; in 1941-42, 81.9 per cent of girls were studying, and in 1946-47, 61.3 per cent of girls were studying in the high schools. However, the percentage of girls studying at high school dropped down to 61.3 in 1946-47 from 81.8 in 1936-37. This may be probably because more middle schools for girls came to be established between 1941-42 and 1946-47.

It would be interesting to know the percentage of increase in the number of girls studying at the middle stage and at the high school stage during the period under review.

Table XLI, on the next page, shows the increase in the number of girls studying in high schools and middle schools during the period 1936-37 to 1946-47.

Table XLI

Increase in the Number of Girls studying in High Schools and Middle Schools (1936-37 to 1946-47)

Number of Girls in	1936-37	1946-47	Increase in	
			Number	%age
High Schools	21,123	38,421	17,298	81.8
Middle Schools	4,697	24,208	19,511	415.3
Total Number of Girls in Schools	25,820	62,629	36,809	142.3

The above table shows that during the decade 1936-37 to 1946-47, the percentage of increase in the number of girls studying in middle schools was higher than that of girls studying in high schools. The total increase was 142.3 per cent. So it can be said that the society recognised the importance of and need for girls' education, but most of the people stopped the education of their daughters at the middle school stage. This was very probably due to the fact that most of the girls were married off in the age-group 10-15.

(e) Secondary Education of Girls by Religion

It will be interesting to find out from which of the religious groups the girls enrolled in the secondary schools during this period belonged to.

Table XLII

Enrolment of Girls in Secondary Schools according to Race or
Creed in the Presidency
(1936-37 to 1946-47)

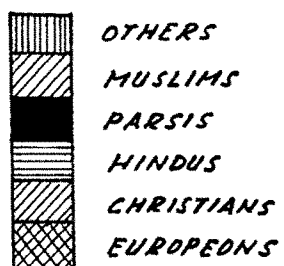
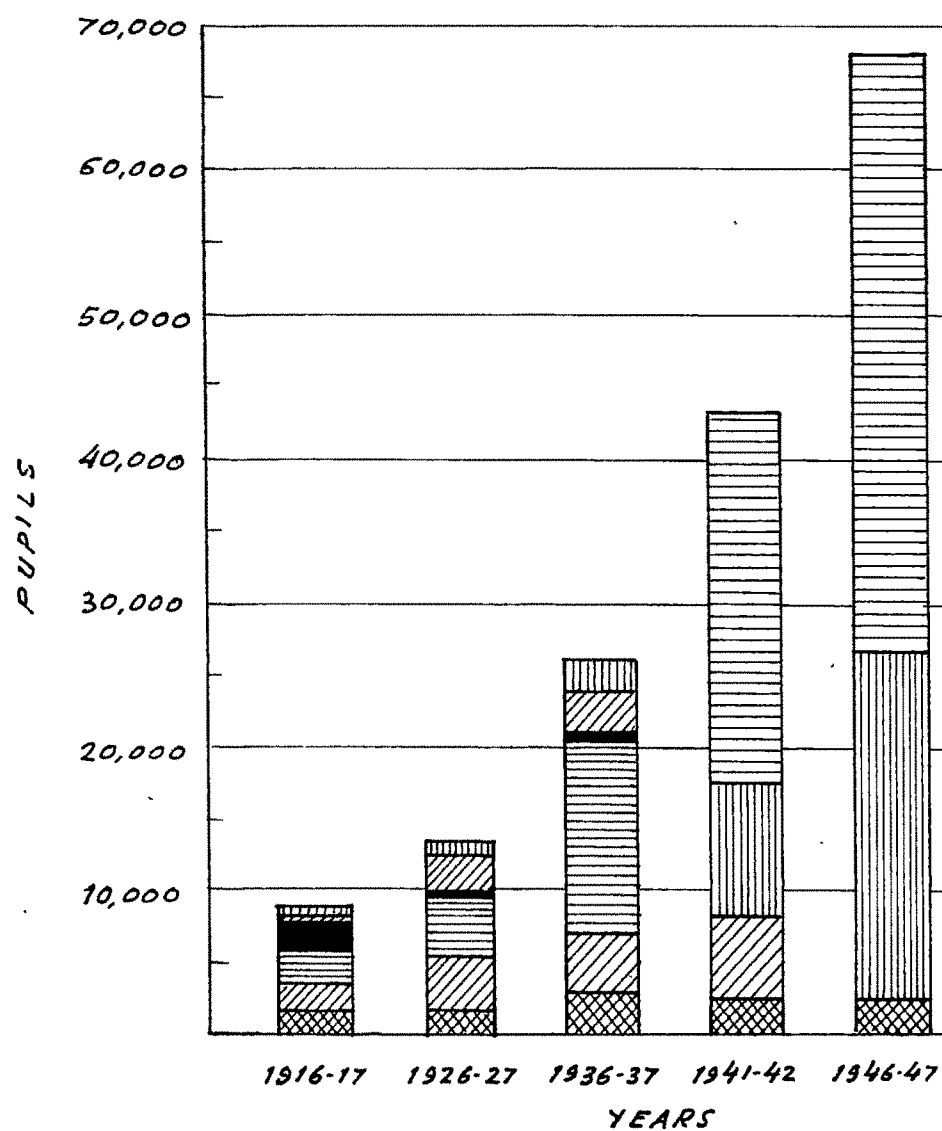
Year	Europeans & Anglo- Indians		Christians		Hindus		Others*	
	Number	%age	Number	%age	Number	%age	Number	%age
1936-37	2,721	10.5	4,709	50.6	13,076	18.3	5,314	20.6
1941-42	2,738	6.4	5,577	12.8	26,106	61.6	8,828	19.3
1946-47	1,919	3.3	N.A.	-	36,675	58.8	24,035	37.9

In 1941-42, 43,299 girls were studying in secondary schools. Out of these girls 6.4 per cent were European or Anglo-Indian girls; 12.8 per cent and 61.6 per cent were Christian and Hindu girls respectively. Out of 26,106 Hindu girls only 3,615 girls were intermediate (which included Maratha, Kolis, Artisans and Lingayats) and only 200 girls were backward class Hindu (which included scheduled caste, aboriginals, hill tribes and other backward class girls). So, it can be said that education had not filtered down to the girls of the lower strata of the Hindu society.

* In 1936-37, Muslim girls 712, Parsi girls 3,523
In 1941-42, Muslim girls 1,956, Parsi girls 4,435
In 1946-47, Muslim, Parsi and Christian etc. were included in others.

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ENROLMENT OF GIRLS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS
ACCORDING TO RACE OR CREED FROM 1936-37 TO 1946-47
(IN THE BOMBAY PROVINCE)



The above table reveals another fact that the percentage of European and Anglo-Indian girls was less as compared to the percentage of Hindu girls. The percentage of the Hindu girls was the highest in the secondary schools. The percentage of European girls was the lowest, because perhaps the European families had by this time become very few and they preferred to send their daughters to the schools which were situated in their own countries. It can be said that the girls of all communities and of all the strata of society began to receive education.

It will be further interesting to know the increase in the number of girls in secondary schools, of each community during this period.

Table XLIII

Increase in the Number of Girls of each community in Secondary Schools in the Presidency

(1936-37 to 1946-47)

Race or Creed	Number of Girls in the year		Increase in the Number	
	1936-37	1946-47	Number	%age
Anglo-Indians and Europeans	2,721	1,919	- 802	- 29.7
Hindus	13,076	36,675	23,599	180.4
Others	10,023	24,035	14,012	139.8
Total	25,820	62,629	36,809	142.5

Some of the facts revealed by the above table are : the percentage of European girls had decreased; the percentage of the Hindu girls had increased very much. It gives the satisfaction that the upper and middle class families in the Hindu society had largely overcome their earlier prejudice to women's education. This was the result of both social and political awakening and to some extent the mounting economic pressure on the middle class families which were forced to send their daughters outside home to supplement the scanty income of the male members.

In 1946-47, separate numbers of Christian, Muslim and Parsi girls were not available. So, it is not possible to get a clear picture of the girl pupils from these communities.

(f) Matriculation and V.F.

Examination Results

Wastage and Stagnation : We will now try to study as to how many girls appeared at the Matriculation Examination as well as at the V.F. School Examination during these ten years.

The table on the following page gives the number of girls who appeared at the Matriculation Examination and got through it during the period 1936-37 to 1946-47.

Table XLIV

Number of girls who appeared at Matriculation Examination and
got through
(1936-37 to 1946-47)

	Number in Year		Increase		No. in		Increase	
	1936-37	1941-42	No.	%age	1946-47	No.	%age	
Number appeared	1,810	2,707	897	49.5	4,547	1,840	65.7	
Number passed	597	1,609	1,012	-	2,440	831	-	
Percentage of Result	32.9	59.4	-	-	53.4	-	-	

In 1936-37, 1,810 girls appeared at the Matriculation Examination and 597 girls got through it. So the result was 32.9 per cent. Thus, the percentage of wastage was very high. As much as 67.1 per cent of the girls could not complete their secondary education.

In 1941-42, 2,707 girls appeared and 59.4 per cent of them got through the Matriculation Examination. The percentage of wastage was less as compared to that of wastage in 1936-37.

The above statistics further show that during the first five years (1936-37 to 1941-42), the percentage of girls appearing at the Matriculation Examination increased to 49.5, while in the second quinquennium the increase was 65.7 per cent.

It can be concluded that during this period, the number of girls appearing at the Matriculation Examination had increased, but the percentage of failure also run high - it was about 40 or 45 per cent. From this fact, it can be deduced that high school education for girls was as ineffective as it was in the case of boys.

The table given below shows the number of the girls who appeared for the V.F. School Examination (Anglo-Vernacular Final Examination) from 1936-37 to 1946-47.

Table XLV

Number of Girls who appeared for the V.F. School Examination
(1936-37 to 1946-47)

	Number in Year		Increase		No. in 1946-47	Increase	
	1936-37	1941-42	No.	%age		No.	%age
Number appeared	8,160	12,890	4,730	57.9	19,975	7,085	54.
Number passed	4,364	7,915	-	-	11,921	-	-
Percentage of Result	53.4	61.4	-	-	60.5	-	-

The above figures show that in 1936-37, 8,160 girls appeared at the V.F. School Examination and 53.4 per cent of girls got through it. In 1941-42, 12,890 girls appeared and 61.4 per cent of girls passed, and in 1946-47, 19,975 girls appeared and 60.5 per cent of them were successful.

During the first five years the number of girls appearing at the final examination had increased to 57.9 per cent while during the second quinquennium the increase was 54.9 per cent. The increase at this examination was higher. It can, therefore, be broadly observed that the general attitude of the society was that the education upto standard VII was adequate for girls, and education beyond that stage was not essential for them.

Conclusion

At the end of the British rule in India, there were only 24,035 girls enrolled in secondary schools in the Presidency. The girls' enrolment constituted only 21.9 per cent of the total enrolment in secondary schools. Secondary education for girls developed largely in urban areas. The country side had seen expansion of boys' secondary education, but in respect of girls' secondary education, middle school stage was, by and large, a terminal point of their education.

In 1947, out of every 100 students studying in the middle schools and high schools in the Bombay Province, there were only 22 girls as against 78 boys. Thus, there prevailed great disparity between the secondary education of boys and girls.

In 1946-47, out of every 10 girls studying in secondary schools, 6 were from the Hindu community. Thus, by the time the British rule ended, the Hindu community to a large extent and the Muslim community to some extent had shaken off its

earlier prejudice and antagonism to female secondary education. Child marriage continued to take place but their spread was limited to low castes. In advanced Hindu communities, girls were married off mostly between the ages 13 and 15. This increased females' access at least to middle school education.

There continued a large scale wastage in the high school education of girls. This was partly due to the absence of separate high schools for girls in smaller towns and villages, partly due to the practice of early marriage and partly due to the fact that economic potentiality of girls' secondary education was mostly unrealised at this period.

The curriculum for girls largely remained the same that was for boys. The facilities for teaching subjects like home science and fine arts were yet to be developed in girls' secondary schools.

The expansion of girls' secondary education was faster in the last decade than what was in the earlier two decades and it was faster in the earlier two decades than what was in 1917. What was needed for the rapid expansion of female secondary education was a firm commitment to that goal by Government and a high priority to be accorded to the scheme of expansion of women's education in the development plans of the Province. It was necessary to set up A.V. schools and high schools for girls in rural areas and provide financial help and concessions to girls going up beyond the primary I-IV Standards. It was still

difficult to get, Women teachers in sufficient number to staff girls' secondary school. Better and more attractive incentives were needed to attract women to take to the teaching career. The problem of procuring women teachers was all the more acute and challenging in rural areas.

We would conclude this Section by observing that the struggle for secondary education which began in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and continued till the end of the second decade of the twentieth century was intensified in the last three decades of the British rule. Its success had to be awaited in the post-independence period.

5.9 DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR GIRLS IN GUJARAT (1936-37 to 1946-47)

We will preface, as usual, our discussion on the development of secondary education for girls in the last decade of the British rule in India, With some basic demographic data and a review of the major events that took place in Gujarat during the decade.

(a) British Gujarat

Demographic Data : According to the Census of India, 1941, British Gujarat formed a little more than one-seventh part in area of the Bombay Presidency. It had 36 towns and 3,264

villages. The total population of British Gujarat was 50,25 lakhs, of which 28.62 lakhs or 56.9 per cent was rural. In the decade between 1931 and 1941 the population had increased by about 8.50 lakhs. The density of population ranged from 290 in the Broach and Panch Mahal Districts to 566 in the Kaira District. There were 24 Municipalities, 1 Military area and 2 suburbs. Per 10,000 of the population, Hindus were 6,991, Muslims 1,192, Christians 130, tribes 1,474, and other 213.

The following table shows the number of married females in different age-groups in 1941.

Table XLVI

Number of Married Females in Different Age-Groups
(below 15 years) in 1941

District	Married Females in Age-group		
	0-5	5-10	10-15
Ahmedabad	9 (111)	78 (1049)	230 (760)
Broach and Panch Mahal	1 (1293)	19 (1300)	132 (880)
Kaira	1 (1175)	22 (841)	353 (775)
Surat	0 (1158)	87 (1183)	526 (875)

N.B.:— Figures in bracket show total females in the age-group.

Source : A.H. Dracup, Census of India, 1941; Bombay, Vol.III,
pp. 127-29.

It will be seen that in 1941, the child marriages of females in the age-group 0-5 have nearly stopped. Some marriages of females did take place in the age-group 5-10, but about 50 per cent marriages of girls took place between the ages 10-15. Thus, the secondary education opportunity for girls in Gujarat slightly improved during the decade.

The following table gives female literacy in the age-groups 5-10 and 10-15.

Table XLVII

Female Literacy in British Gujarat Districtwise in the Age-group 5-10 and 10-15 in 1941

District	5-10 Age-group			10-15 Age-group		
	Total Females	Literate Females	Literate in English	Total Females	Literate Females	Literate in English
Ahmedabad	1,049	56	1	760	101	3
Ahmedabad city	577	95	5	544	140	27
Broach and Panch Mahals	1,300	92	2	880	142	5
Kaira	1,079	93	2	841	167	5
Surat	1,188	152	4	875	243	14

Source : A.H. Dracup : Census of India, 1941; Bombay, Vol.III, pp. 142-3.

It will be seen that among the districts, the Surat District had the highest rank in female literacy, the Kaira District came next to it and Ahmedabad District was at the bottom. The Ahmedabad City had better female literacy than the Ahmedabad District. The number of female literates is small in all the districts. The Surat District had a somewhat better progress.

The demographic data shows some improved conditions for the development of female secondary education in British Gujarat, but social handicaps still persisted in a considerable measure.

Main Events in Gujarat : British Gujarat was one of the very active centres of political disturbances during the Quit India Movement of 1942. In this Movement, young women fought the British Government keeping shoulder to shoulder with young men. There was remarkable political and social awakening among the women of Gujarat. This awakening was spread in cities and bigger villages also.

Secondary schools had begun to be established even in semi-urban and larger rural areas. Secondary education had begun to spread even in intermediate and low castes and communities. The Muslim community was slowly getting motivated for secondary education. At various places Education Societies had begun to be set up to undertake middle school and high school education. Gujarati had established itself as a medium of instruction in most of the secondary schools in Gujarat.

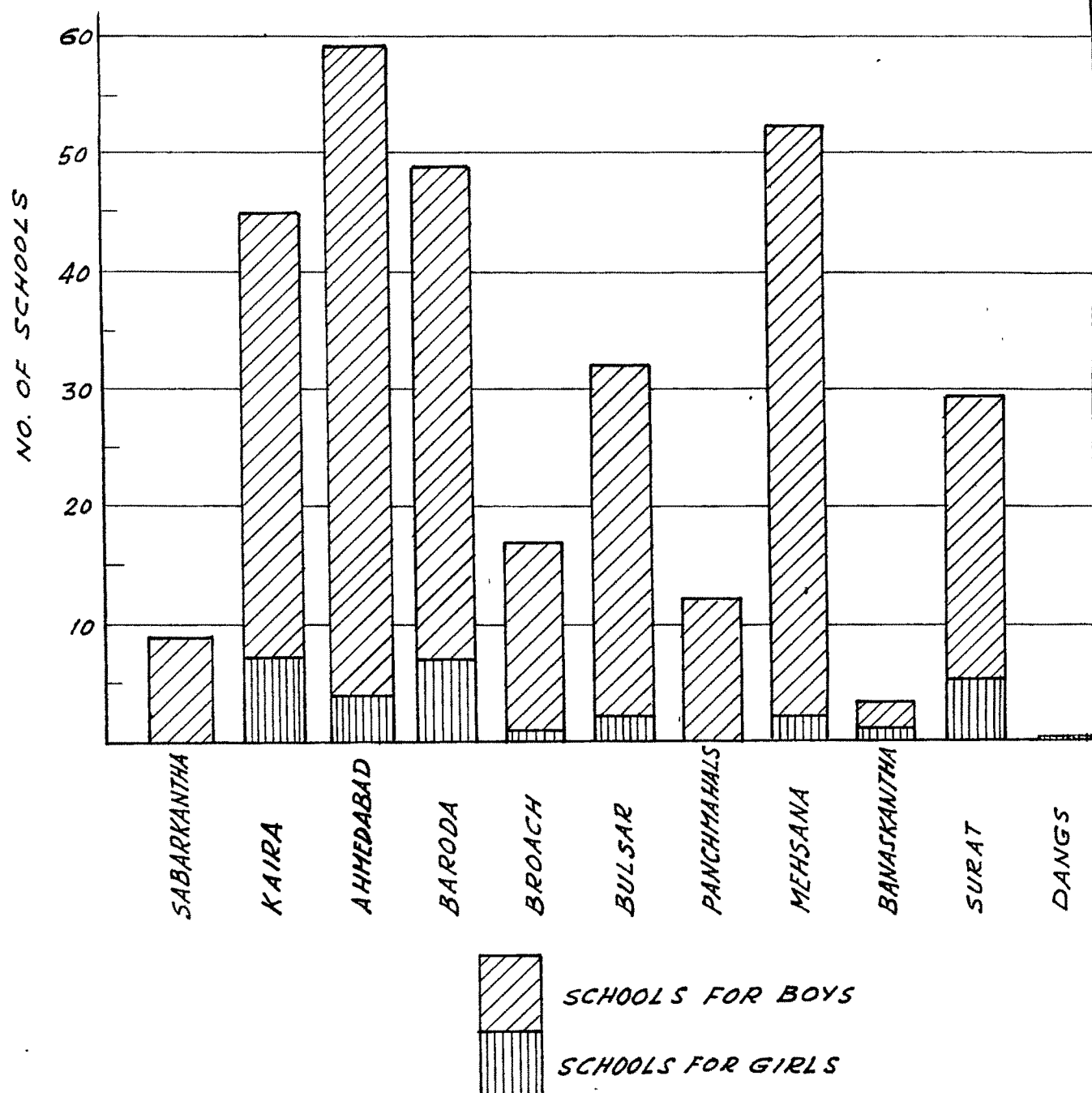
Gujarati was introduced as a compulsory subject in the Matriculation Examination, and the Matriculation Examination and the study of English still dominated secondary education. The educational awakening was seen in the increase of 15.6 per cent of educational institutions in 1937 over the total institutions in the previous quinquennium. The total percentage of girls in educational institutions to the female population in British Gujarat had become about 4.0 per cent in 1937 which grew still further during the decade under review. The percentage of Backward Class Hindus under instruction was still very low.

The conditions created by the World War II and the general economic pressure resulted as an after effect of the War affected educational progress in all sectors and at all stages. But for these handicaps, the progress would have been much higher and faster.

With this preliminary background observations, we will now take up discussion on the progress achieved in secondary education for girls during the decade under review.

Expansion : While reviewing the progress of secondary education in British Gujarat in 1936-37, we had noted that there were 6 high schools, 2 middle schools, 2 English classes attached to schools, and 1 school for Anglo-Europeans - in all 12 secondary schools for girls were in operation. These 12 girls' secondary schools formed about 7 per cent of the total secondary schools in British Gujarat. The number of girls under instruction in 1936-37 in secondary schools was 1,424 as

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NUMBER OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS
IN DIFFERENT DISTRICTS OF GUJARAT (1947)



against 25,738 boys. Thus, the decade ending in 1936-37 was marked by a very much disturbing picture of imbalance between the secondary education of boys and girls in British Gujarat.

Table XLVIII gives the picture of progress achieved in girls' secondary education during the decade 1936-37 to 1946-47.

The number of high schools for girls increased from 6 in 1936-37 to 11 in 1946-47; the increase in middle schools for girls was from 2 to 5; in the place of 2 attached English Classes there were 20 such classes for girls in 1946-47. Thus, in the place of 12 secondary schools for girls in 1936-37, there were 36 such institutions. The number of girls' secondary schools became three-fold in 1946-47.

There was^a corresponding increase in the number of girls under instruction in these schools. The girls' enrolment in the secondary school stage rose from 1,424 in 1936-37 to 6,257. An increase of 4,833 or about 340 per cent was registered. The average annual growth in girls' enrolment in secondary schools during the decade was around 483. Though indeed small this was, but it could be termed remarkable in comparison to the annual rate of growth in girls' enrolment in secondary schools during previous periods of reviews. In 1946-47, girls' enrolment in secondary schools constituted 11.3 per cent of the total enrolment in all secondary schools as against 88.7 per cent of the boys' enrolment. Thus, the boys were a little less than eight times the percentage of girls.

Table XLVIII

Secondary Education for Girls in British Gujarat (1946-47)

(a) Expansion

Number of High Schools and Middle Schools
for Boys and Girls in Gujarat

Type of Schools	Number of Schools		
	For Boys	For Girls	Total
High Schools	92	11	103
Middle Schools	43	5	53
English classes attached to primary	150	20	170
Total	290	36	326

(b) Enrolment

Number of Pupils reading in High and Middle
Schools in British Gujarat

Type of Schools	Number of Pupils		
	Boys	Girls	Total
High Schools	23,838	1,971	25,809
Middle Schools	35,215	4,286	39,501
Total	59,053	6,257	65,310

contd.....

Table XLVIII contd...

(c) Comparison with the Bombay Province

Number of High and Middle Schools in British
Gujarat and the Bombay Presidency

Type of Schools	For Boys in		For Girls in		Total No. of Schools
	Bom- bay	Guja- rat	Bom- bay	Guja- rat	
High Schools	293	92	93	11	494
Middle Schools	150	48	30	5	233
English classes attached	167	150	7	20	344
Total	615	290	130	36	1,071

(d) Enrolment Compared in British Gujarat and Bombay Province

Number of Pupils reading in High and Middle
Schools in Bombay and in British Gujarat

Type of Schools	No. of Boys in		No. of Girls in		Total No. of Pupils in Schools
	Bombay	Gujarat	Bombay	Gujarat	
High	74,767	23,838	12,981	1,971	1,12,557
Middle	97,120	35,215	16,937	4,286	1,53,558
Total	1,71,887	59,053	29,918	6,257	2,66,115

Another fact which needs to be noticed is that the imbalance between the educational opportunity for secondary education of boys and girls had slightly been lowered. This was a happy and welcome trend. This trend became more prominent and effective during the post-independence era.

The last two sub-tables show that in the Bombay Province girls' secondary schools constituted 38.9 per cent of total secondary schools; in the British Gujarat their percentage to the total number of secondary schools was about 12 per cent. Thus, the proportion of girls' secondary schools to the total secondary schools was lower in British Gujarat than in the Bombay Province. In respect of enrolment, girls' enrolment ~~in~~ formed 14.8 per cent of the total enrolment in secondary schools in the Bombay Province, whereas it formed 9.2 per cent in British Gujarat. Thus, even in girls' enrolment as a percentage of total secondary school enrolment British Gujarat was below the level attained in the Bombay Province.

Table XLIX shows the district-wise position of secondary schools for girls in Gujarat in 1947, excluding the Kathiawad and Cutch regions.

Table XLIX
Number of Secondary Schools in the Different
Districts of Gujarat (1947)

Districts	Girls' Schools		Mixed Schools		Total Schools	
	No.	%age	No.	%age	No.	%age
Ahmedabad	7	13.5	45	86.5	52	100.0
Kaira	4	6.4	59	93.6	63	100.0
Baroda	7	12.8	48	87.2	55	100.0
Broach	1	5.6	17	94.4	18	100.0
Bulsar	2	5.9	32	94.1	34	100.0
Panch Mahals	-	Nil	12	100.0	12	100.0
Mehsana	2	3.8	52	96.2	54	100.0
Banaskantha	1	25.0	3	75.0	4	100.0
Sabarkantha	-	Nil	8	100.0	8	100.0
Surat	5	17.7	29	82.3	34	100.0
Dangs	-	Nil	-	Nil	-	Nil
Total	29	8.7	305	91.3	334	100.0

There were 184 secondary schools for girls in the whole Province in 1946-47. Out of 184 secondary schools for girls only 29 high schools for girls were in Gujarat. The total of girls' high schools in Gujarat as given in the table XLVIII(c) and table XLIX differ because the total 29 was the corrected number including girls' high schools situated in the Baroda, Mehsana, Banaskantha, Sabarkantha and Dang Districts and excluding the number of English teaching classes attached to some primary girls' schools. In 1947, 15.7 per cent of total girls' secondary schools of the newly constituted Bombay State after Independence were situated in Gujarat. The total number of secondary schools including the middle schools and A.V. schools was 1,181 in the whole State. Of these total secondary schools, 334 schools (29 high schools and 305 mixed schools) or 28.2 per cent of the secondary schools in the State were situated in Gujarat. In other words, out of every 10 girls' high schools and mixed secondary schools, 3 were operating in Gujarat.

Table further reveals that Broach, Banaskantha, Sabarkantha, Panchmahals and Dang Districts were educationally backward. Upto 1947, in Broach there was only 1 girls' school; namely, the Motlabai Girls' High School, while the Panchmahals and Sabarkantha Districts had not a single school. Dangs was without a secondary school. The Banaskantha District had only one girls' school situated at Palanpur.

As far as girls' schools were concerned, the district of Ahmedabad topped the list. The Baroda District had 12.8 per cent

of girls' schools, while the Kaira, Bulsar and the Mehsana Districts showed some progress. In the whole of Gujarat region, there were 18.7 per cent of girls' schools while the mixed schools were 91.3 per cent. So it can be said that the urban areas of Gujarat enjoyed the facility of separate girls' schools while this benefit did not extend to rural areas where people mostly lived.

Table shows the percentage of separate girls' schools and mixed schools in the different Districts of Gujarat on the eve of attainment of Independence in August 1947.

Table L

Percentage of Girls and Mixed Schools in the different Districts of Gujarat upto 1947

District	Percentage of	
	Girls' Schools	Mixed Schools
Surat	1.4	8.6
Ahmedabad	2.0	13.4
Kaira	1.1	13.6
Baroda	2.0	14.3
Broach	0.2	5.0
Bulsar	0.5	9.3
Panch Mahals	-	3.3
Mehsana	0.5	16.5
Sabarkantha	-	2.3
Banaskantha	0.2	0.8

From the above figures it can be said that only 88.2 per cent of the total girls' enrolment came from the Kaira, Surat, Bulsar, Mehsana and Baroda Districts, While Broach, Panchmahals, Sabarkantha and Banaskantha contributed only 11.8 per cent. As far as separate girls' schools were concerned, most of the districts of Gujarat were backward.

In 1947, the Districts of Kaira, Mehsana, Baroda and Ahmedabad showed some progress in respect of mixed schools, but Panchmahals, Sabarkantha and Banaskantha and Dang districts were very backward in girls' secondary education.

In the city of Ahmedabad a secondary school for girls, namely, "Girls' Own High School" was founded in 1941. In the city of Nadiad and in Bhadran, the New English School for Girls and Bhadran Kanya Vidyalaya were started in 1943 and 1940 respectively. In the city of Baroda, four girls' schools, namely, the New Era Girls' High School in 1938, Shree Sayaji Girls' High School in 1941, the Convent of Jesus and Mary Girls' High School in 1941, and the M.E.S. Girls' High School (mostly for Muslim girls) in 1946 were established. In Bulsar, the D.D. High School for Girls was opened in 1939. In Palanpur Shree Tale-mohammad Khan Silver Jubilee Kanya Vidyalaya was opened in 1946. In Mehsana Shreemati K.K. Girls' H.S. (Government Girls' High School) was started in 1939 and Saifee Girls' High School was founded at Siddhpur in 1946. The struggle for girls' secondary education has succeeded by 1947, but in rural areas it had only begun. Girls' secondary education had not filtered down to the rural areas of Gujarat.

Curriculum : During this period under review, the curriculum of girls' secondary schools continued to be academic and literary type as in the earlier period. The Matriculation Examination of the Bombay University continued to dominate the purposes and goals of secondary schooling of girls. The Quinquennial Report on the Public Instruction in Bombay for 1942-47 commented on this problem as follows :

"One of the main complaints against secondary education was that it was far too much dominated by University requirements. It was not considered as a stage in itself meant for adolescent boys and girls of varying abilities and aptitudes. Almost all High Schools simply considered secondary education as a preliminary to university education and vied with one another in producing better matriculation results with little thoughts to the methods of teaching or to the needs and capacities of pupils." (51)

The Congress Ministry that had assumed office again in 1945 after the conclusion of the World War II had declared it as its policy that manual work, that is creative manual activities of diverse kinds should be a part of the curriculum of every school. The Congress Government thought it desirable to give a vocational bias in secondary schools.

It is because of the encouragement of the Congress Government, some secondary schools for girls provided, in the quinquennium 1942-47, instruction in Domestic Science and Needle-work.

"The Domestic Science course includes instruction in cooking, laundry work, house-wifery and Home Nursing. Some schools have good equipment and special accommodation for practical work, but rationing difficulties have handicapped the work very much. Needle-work includes sewing of all garments, knitting and embroidery." (52)

Thus, the problem of differentiating secondary school curricula for girls eased down, to some extent, because of the introduction of the teaching of home science in some schools. The number of such schools, no doubt, was very small, but it marked a new welcome trend and a change in educational climate.

Co-education : We had already noted a distinct trend in favour of mixed schools for girls in the earlier period. That trend became stabilised during the period under review. There were several reasons responsible for this change in the social attitude to co-education. One was that hunger for higher education had begun to manifest clearly during this period, and girls' separate schools were existing only in cities and bigger towns. In a large number of mofussil towns girls' separate schools did not exist, therefore, it was impossible for boys' schools to refuse admission to girls. The second reason was the fact that even in large towns, where there existed good girls' schools, many parents desired to continue to send their daughters to boys' schools. The third was the broadening of the social outlook of people under the powerful impact of political and social reform movements. Co-education was, therefore, not so much a taboo with those who were educated and who had participated in public life. The truth was the perception of parents about boys' schools as more efficient than the average girls' high school. And the parents were not altogether wrong in their belief. "Since owing to lack of funds, the average girls' school was not able to employ as efficient a staff as the average boys' school."

But, the pertinent point is that the co-education provided in mixed schools at this period was no 'Co-education' in the real sense of the word.

"There are boys' schools which indeed admit girls; and these girls take very little part in the life of the school. In the classroom they sit apart and are in a very small minority; nor do they take much part in extra-curricular activities." (54)

Women Teachers : The dearth of well-qualified and trained women teachers for girls' and mixed secondary schools continued to be one of the most serious obstacles to the progress of secondary education for girls. Girls' secondary schools suffered from public apathy in respect of financial and moral support in comparison to boys' secondary schools. Of course, this apathy had begun to show symptoms of change. But the fact remained that it was more difficult to start a girls' high school than a boys' high school, and even after one such girls' school was started, it was found, all the more for the simple reason, that it was difficult to maintain the efficiency of the school as funds were not readily forthcoming for the support of the school.

The poverty on the part of management affected adversely the question of recruiting women teachers and particularly good women teachers. As the management had not enough funds, it had to satisfy itself by employing poorly paid and, therefore, inefficient teachers. It was impossible for the mofussil girls' high schools to compete with schools in Surat, Ahmedabad and other large towns in the matter of offering higher salaries to women teachers. On the top of this difficulty, the then output

of women graduates and trained graduates was small - most of it was absorbed by bigger cities and towns. Only the residue was available for employment in the mofussil. Social conditions at this time ~~was~~ ^{were} that women teachers demanded higher salaries than ~~that of~~ male teachers. Two further factors aggravated the shortage of women teachers for girls' secondary schools. One was that a very large number of women graduates working as teachers got married and gave up teaching profession later on. The other factor was the unwillingness of women to go and work in out of the places. Women teachers were, therefore, confined to bigger cities and hardly cared to go to the mofussil girls' schools.

Finances : Government expenditure on secondary education in general and girls' secondary education in particular continued to be on a small scale during the period under review. Owing to the conditions created by the World War II, there was, particularly during the quinquennium 1942-47, an abnormal rise in prices and, therefore, enough funds were not available for the spread of female education and many other vital sectors of education. Despite War conditions and a steady rise in the cost of living, appreciable expansion took place during the period under review. For instance, in the Bombay Province during 1942-47, the percentage of increase in the enrolment of girls at the secondary stage was as high as 60 per cent. Government had, therefore, to spend more funds on education than in the earlier years. In the Province, the expenditure on secondary education increased from Rs. 85.25 lakhs in 1941-42 to

Rs. 176.89 lakhs in 1946-47. However, the cost to Government increased only from Rs. 13.73 lakhs or 16.1 per cent in 1941-42 to Rs. 32.93 lakhs or 18.6 per cent in 1946-47.

During this period private enterprise continued to bear the main responsibility of secondary education in general and for girls' in particular. We have already referred to the financial difficulties of the private management in maintaining girls' secondary schools at a possible minimum efficiency level. They had to depend upon Government grants, income from fees and receipts from gifts, endowments and subscriptions. The greatest financial load on the private management was the expenditure on teachers' salaries. Women teachers had to be paid higher salaries than ~~that~~ of men teachers in Gujarat, because well qualified and trained women teachers were not easily available and Government insisted that wherever girls were admitted to secondary schools, women teachers in suitable number should be employed. The staff and the principals of girls' high schools should be as far as possible women. The Chate-Parulekar Committee (1947) makes the following comment on the question that teachers' salaries be entirely met by Government :

"There are some who would like to throw the whole burden of the increased expenditure on teachers' salaries on Government and relieve the guardians and private management of their share. They argue that Government get their revenue from the people, i.e. the guardians; let Government spend for additional expenditure on teachers' salaries. They further argue that secondary education is an essential a service to the nation as Primary Education and, therefore, it must also be the prime responsibility of Government which represents the people. The fact, however, is that under present conditions, Secondary Education is, as stated above,

a limited voluntary service. If first things have to receive first attention, no one can find fault with a Government which has declared its intention of spreading the light of Primary Education amongst the masses in the shortest possible time. To make primary education universal, free and compulsory, Government have already pledged themselves to spend vast sums annually within a few years from now. It is not fair, therefore, to expect Government at this stage to assume larger responsibilities of expenditure on secondary education as well." (55)

Such thinking was the sole determinant of Government fiscal policy about secondary education in general and secondary education for girls in particular. The lessons of advanced countries of the world are also that until and unless universal, free and compulsory primary education was fully established in the country, expenditure on secondary education was shared by Government only to a limited extent. (56)

Till the end of the period under review, there prevailed, in the Bombay Province, a practice of giving grants to private secondary schools for girls at a higher rate. The reason was obvious. The number of girls in secondary schools was small and the free-receipts accrued to private management was insufficient. To attract girls to schools, fees, in many cases, had to be charged at lower rates. On the other hand, women teachers, as we have already pointed out, had to be given special scales or start to induce them to accept service. More grants to private secondary schools for girls were, therefore, not only justified but were absolutely essential. Girls' secondary education would have received a serious handicap if this policy of liberal grants to private girls' secondary schools were not followed by Bombay Government.

The Ghate-Parulekar Committee referred to above had considered the question of the grant-in-aid to private girls' secondary schools in the Province. The Committee came to the conclusion that it was no longer necessary to give higher grants to girls' secondary schools in bigger cities like Bombay City and Suburbs, Ahmedabad, Surat, etc. Girls' secondary education in big cities had made considerable progress and there was no apparent necessity now to charge fees at lower rates to induce girls to attend schools. It further opined that under normal conditions, women teachers would also be available for employment in these cities and, therefore, they need not be given a higher scale of pay.(57) The Committee recommended that if there were, however, some difficulty, women teachers might be given advance increments upto four. It was in mofussil places that the problem of obtaining enough number of and well-qualified women teachers really was acute. The Committee, therefore, made separate recommendations for such girls' secondary schools situated in small towns and the rural areas.

"Women graduates are reluctant to go there and parents also are not very keen to send girls to secondary schools. We found the number of girls in the higher standards of the girls schools in these areas very small and we were thinking whether a special capitation grant on the numbers in the higher standards, especially in the top two classes, would not be a more suitable arrangement than a higher percentage grant. We also thought of a negative basis for such special help. Supposing the normal number in the higher standards is expected in the case of well-attended schools to be say 36, if a girls' school has say only 20 girls in the 5th, 16 in the 6th and 20 in the 7th standard, their normal fee income is reduced to the extent of the fee receipts of the 60 girls who are not forthcoming. We thought we may recommend some sort of capitation grant to make up this loss."(58)

On reconsideration, however, we felt that from the administrative point of view the arrangement might not be suitable. It may be difficult to fix the normal number in the higher standards. Then if we go on helping schools because of smaller number on rolls, the managements may have no incentive to carry on propaganda and increase their strength.(59)

The Committee, therefore, recommended that in municipal towns and rural areas, girls' secondary schools be given a higher percentage grant, as was the prevailing practice, in addition to the proportionate additional grant on deficit, where necessary, for a limited period.

We will now discuss the statistical aspect of the expenditure on girls' secondary education in Gujarat in 1946-47.

The table below gives the break-up of expenditure incurred on girls' secondary schools in British Gujarat in 1946-47.

Table LI
Expenditure on Girls' Secondary Education in British Gujarat
according to Sources (1946-47)

District	Source of Expenditure				Total
	Provincial Revenues	Municipal Fund	Fees	Subscription & other sources	
Ahmedabad	19,582	17,471	91,422	2,140	1,30,615
Broach	5,642	-	11,870	-	17,512
Surat	31,781	-	86,836	45,193	1,63,860
Total	57,005	17,471	190,178	47,333	3,11,987
Percentage	18.3	5.7	60.9	15.1	100.0

It will be seen that expenditure on girls' high schools was confined to only three districts of British Gujarat, viz. Ahmedabad, Broach and Surat. Actually, these high schools were situated in the cities of Ahmedabad, Broach and Surat properly. In 1946-47, there were no girls' high schools in the Kaira and the Panch Mahal Districts. The total expenditure on girls' high schools was Rs. 3,11,967 lakhs. At this time, there was only one government girls' high school and that was at Ahmedabad and only one municipal girls' high school and that was also at Ahmedabad. The remaining 9 girls' high schools were private aided.

It will be seen that in the total expenditure on girls' high schools in British Gujarat, the share from Government funds was only 18.3 per cent; even subscriptions, etc. contributed a share of 15.1 per cent; but the bulk of the expenditure - 60.9 per cent - came from the receipts of fees. This shows how heavily high education for girls leaned on income from tuition fees. The income from government funds was highest in the Surat District, even though the Government girls' high school was not situated therein. But the largest amount of fees receipts was from the Ahmedabad District, because Ahmedabad had an enrolment of 949 girls at the high school stage. Surat had 792 and Broach had only 129.

The annual cost of educating each pupil in the girls' high schools in British Gujarat in 1946-47 was Rs. 77 of which the cost to Government was only Rs. 14. The average annual cost per student was Rs. 37 in Surat, Rs. 70 in Broach and Rs. 68 in Ahmedabad.

We will now discuss the financial side of the girls' middle schools in British Gujarat.

Table LII

Expenditure on Girls' Middle Schools in British Gujarat (1946-47)

District	Source of Expenditure			Total
	Provincial Revenues	Fees	Subscriptions & other sources	
Ahmedabad	1,140	4,565	5,791	11,496
Kaira	1,505	9,109	2,604	13,218
Panch Mahals	1,193	2,955	179	4,327
Surat	110	604	881	1,595
Total	3,948	17,233	9,455	30,636
Percentage	12.8	56.2	31.0	100.0

This shows that only Broach District did not have middle schools for girls in British Gujarat. As against an expenditure of Rs. 3,11,967 on Girls' high schools in British Gujarat in 1946-47, the expenditure on girls' middle schools was only Rs. 30,636 or 9.8 per cent of the expenditure on girls' high schools. Government's share on the expenditure of girls' high schools in British Gujarat was 18.3 per cent; its share on the expenditure of girls' middle schools was lower than that, i.e. 12.8 per cent. In the case of girls' high schools, the income

from fees met 60.9 per cent of the total expenditure on girls' high schools; in the case of girls' middle schools, fees contributed to the 56.2 per cent expenditure on them. Subscriptions and other sources of income shared expenditure on girls' high school to the extent of 15.1 per cent; in the case of girls' middle schools it shared larger, i.e. 31.0 per cent or more than double its share for girls' high schools.

The greatest expenditure on girls' middle schools was incurred in the Kaira District, the second best was in the Ahmedabad District and the lowest was in the Surat District. There was no girls' middle school in the Broach District and therefore no money was spent in that District on middle schools.

The average annual cost of educating a girl student in middle schools in Gujarat in 1946-47 came to be Rs. 66, i.e. Rs. 11 less than that in a girls' high schools. Of this annual per pupil cost on girls' middle schools, Government expenditure per girl pupil was Rs. 7. Thus, Government spent, on an average on a girls' middle school at half the rate it spent on girls' high schools in British Gujarat.

Among the districts, the highest per girl pupil cost was Rs. 160 in the Surat District; the next best highest per pupil cost was Rs. 107 in the Ahmedabad District; and the lowest was Rs. 38 in the Panch Mahal District.

Besides 11 girls' high schools and 5 girls' middle schools, there were 20 English classes attached to primary schools. The

total cost on these classes in 1946-47 was Rs. 35,883, in which Government contributed 11.2 per cent, municipal funds 2.3 per cent, fees' share was 46.5 per cent and the remaining 40 per cent came from subscription and other sources. Thus, it will be seen that English classes for girls could largely be conducted with the help of subscriptions from the public and the income from fees. The average annual per girl pupil cost was Rs. 20, of which Rs. 2 was a charge on Government funds.

Such was the picture of development of girls' secondary education in the five British Gujarat Districts in 1946-47.

(b) Kathiawad and Other Native States

Demographic Data : According to Census of India, 1941, Kathiawad or the Western India States Agency covered an area of 37,891 square miles, which was almost three times the area of British Gujarat. The Gujarat States Agency covered an area of 7,493 square miles which was about one and a half times of the British Gujarat Area.

In population, the Western India States Agency had a population of 49.04 lakhs against 50.26 population of British Gujarat, and 14.59 lakh population of Gujarat States Agency. Thus, Kathiawad and other Native States had less population density and more sparsely populated areas than British Gujarat. That explains why secondary schools for girls were far and few between these Native States. The Western India States Agency had 73

towns and 7,816 villages and the Gujarat States Agency had 13 towns and 4,020 villages.

The early female marriages and most of the female marriages taking place around the ages 13 to 15 was a feature of the civic condition of Kathiawad States and other Native States. Female literacy was good in cities and towns and remained unsatisfactory in villages.

Development of Secondary Education : In 1921, there were 121 secondary schools with a total enrolment of 16,428. Though the number of schools dropped down to 103 in 1947, the students' strength rose to 34,246, (60) which constituted 25.7 per cent of the total secondary school students by the end of the British rule.

In the matter of secondary schools for girls, the following girls' secondary schools were established in Kathiawad and Cutch between 1937 and 1947 :

1. Shrimati M.P. Sheth Girls' High School, Morbi
(established in 1940)
2. Municipal Kanya Vidyalaya, Amreli (established in 1945)
3. Dayanand Kanya Vidyalaya, Jamnagar (established in 1947)
4. Arya Kanya Gurukul, Porbunder (established in 1937)

The table LIII given below shows the percentage of separate and mixed girls' secondary schools in Kathiawas in position by 1947.

Table LIII

Percentage of Secondary Schools for Girls
and Mixed Schools upto 1947 (in Saurashtra
and Kutch

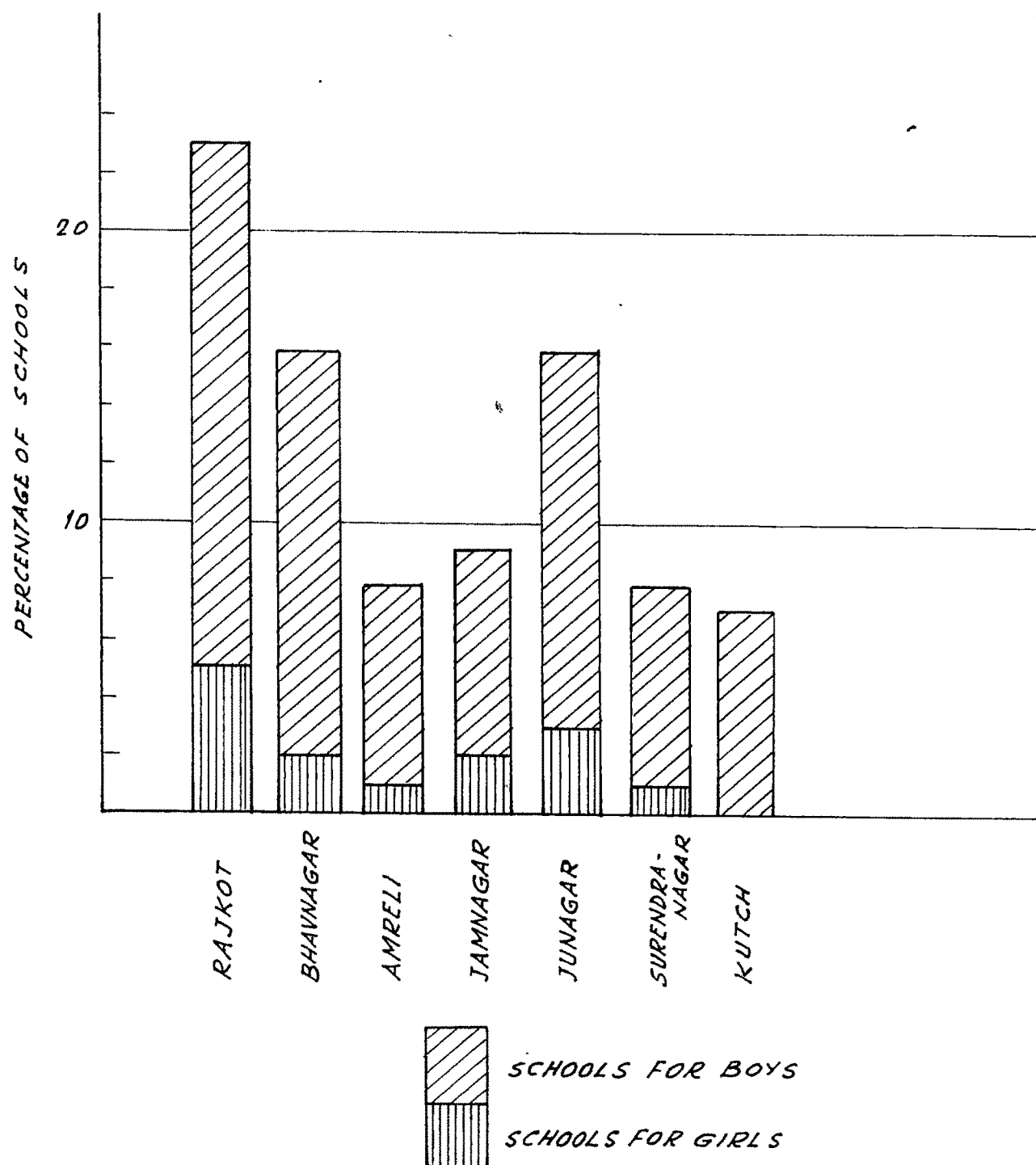
	Percentage of Schools	
	Girls	Mixed
Rajkot	5.4	22.7
Bhavnagar	1.8	16.2
Amreli	0.9	8.1
Jamnagar	1.8	9.0
Junagadh	2.7	16.2
Surendranagar	0.7	8.1
Kutch	Nil	7.2

From the above table it can be said that girls' schools were very few. As against the total 36 secondary schools for girls in British Gujarat, there were 16 secondary schools for girls in Kathiawad in 1947 and none in Kutch. Rajkot had 5.4 per cent of girls' schools. It means that in Kathiawad and Kutch, Rajkot topped the list. Amreli had very few girls' schools. As far as secondary education was concerned, Amreli, Jamnagar, Surendranagar and Kutch were educationally backward.

In 1947, the number of girls receiving education was about 4,500, the two-third of which was at the middle school stage. The alarming imbalance that prevailed in British Gujarat between

CHART-

PERCENTAGE OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS
IN DIFFERENT DIST. OF SAURASHTRA & KUTCH (1947)



the facilities for secondary education for boys and girls was found in Kathiawad and other Native States. Stagnation and wastage were even in worse form here. The shortage of women teachers posed a more serious problem in Kathiawad than in British Gujarat. The percentage of women's institutions (all types) to those of men was 10.7 per cent only. Economically it was very expensive to start separate secondary schools for girls. Therefore, during the decade 1937-47, only four new secondary girls' schools could be established in Kathiawad. The following excerpt from a study on education in Saurashtra (1949) sums up the situation in respect of secondary education that existed in Kathiawad during the period 1800-1947 :

"The education of women in Saurashtra was neglected till the end of the nineteenth century. A slow beginning was made in early years of the twentieth century. The parents even now are conservative. They do not send their girls, generally, to secondary schools or colleges. Even at the primary stage, they are opposed to co-education. The number of women teachers is very small. For all these reasons, the education in Saurashtra is very backward as compared to Bombay.

The old States of Saurashtra did nothing to promote the education of girls. No fees were charged to girls attending girls' schools. Several States gave liberal scholarships to girls who went in for higher education. The Saurashtra Government also is doing its best to spread education among the girls. But as the people are conservative, the progress is slow." (61)

(c) The Baroda State

The Demographic Data: According to the Census of India : Baroda State, 1941, the State was spread over 8176 square miles. British Gujarat was $1\frac{1}{2}$ times bigger than the Baroda State, Gujarat States were slightly smaller than it and Western India States more than four times as big as it.

The state had in 1941 a population of 28.55 lakhs, as against a population of 40.94 lakhs for British Gujarat, 14.57 lakhs for Gujarat Native States, 49.02 lakhs for Western India States and 133.08 lakhs for the whole of Gujarat. The population density in the State was 349 as against 402 in British Gujarat, 191 in Gujarat Native States and 133 in Western India States.

The State consisted of 64 towns and 2896 villages. A little more than one quarter of the States' total population lived in urban areas. Only about 18 per cent of the population lived at places having a population of 600 or more.

Hindus dominated population figures. The Muslims formed nearly 8 per cent of the population. The Jains and the Parsi communities showed a decline in population. Christians formed the minority community.

The Table below shows female literacy by religious groups:

Table LIV

Female Literacy in the Baroda State
by Religions (1941)

Religious Group	Total Females	Literate Females	%age
Hindu:			
- Scheduled Castes	116,299	8579	7.4
- Other Hindus	1,126,677	133957	11.9
Jain	23,120	8638	37.3
Muslim	10,312	1255	12.1
Indian Christians	4,317	1027	23.8
Tribes	181,561	4454	2.4
Others (including Parsis)	4,049	2964	73.2

Between 1931 and 1941, the number of literates had increased by 50.2 per cent. The striking feature in the spread of literacy was that while men literates increased by 25.8 per cent, the number of women literates had gone up by 114.2 per cent. From the literacy angle, the Jains, Indian Christians and Parsi females were well positioned to go in for secondary education.

Child marriages continued to be practised in the State, of course its extent was considerably reduced. The 1941 Census showed 2527 persons (in the proportion of 1 male and 3 females) married below 5 years of age. However, in the age-group 5-10 and 10-15, the percentage of unmarried males rose from 73.0 to 96.2 and 46.2 to 71.2 per cents respectively, and among females from 47.7 to 86.2 and 12.7 to 29.6 . Thus, the age of marriage seemed to have gone up. However, 13.8 per cent of females were married between the ages of 5 and 10 and 70.4 between the ages of 10 and 15. That means, the age of female marriage did not rise high enough in the State to encourage and facilitate girls to take secondary education.

Development of Secondary Education: Facilities for secondary education in the Baroda State continued to expand at a rapid rate during the period under review. In 1936-37, there were in all 109 secondary schools, with a total enrolment of 20,806 pupils. The total number of high schools were 30 and mixed A.V. and Middle schools and Classes 79. Of the total 30 high schools, 16 were government high schools. Of the total A.V. Mixed Schools, 28 were Government. The average number of pupils per high school was 438.1 and per A.V. School was 96.7. (62)

In the course of the next 10 years, the number of secondary schools rose to 220, registering an increase of 111. The average annual increase in the number of secondary schools in the Baroda State was 11.1. During this period the number of pupils rose to 43,989, registering more than two-fold expansion in secondary education in 1947.

In 1937-38, there was only 1 girls' high school in the State. However, the number of mixed A.V. Middle Schools and Classes ^{was} ~~were~~ 94 in number. In 1942-43, there were 1 girls' high school, 4 girls' A.V. Schools and 88 mixed A.V. Middle Schools and Classes. The total number of girls' secondary schools in 1946-47 was 10 as against 210 for boys (a number of which were mixed schools). In 1937-38, the total number of girls' pupils in secondary schools was 1813, which constituted 8.4 per cent of the total enrolment at the secondary stage. In 1942-43, girls constituted 10.8 percent of the total enrolment at the secondary stage in the State. Table 55 gives the developmental position in 1946-47. In 1946-47, girls constituted 9.7 per cent. Broadly speaking, there was 1 girl against every 9 boys studying at the secondary stage in the Baroda State.

In 1946-47, the expenditure on secondary education constituted 13.2 per cent of the total education budget. However, the percentage of funds on girls' secondary education was much smaller than that on boys' secondary education.

Table LV

No. of High Schools and A.V. Middle Schools
and No. of Pupils in the Baroda State (1946-47)

No. of High Schools and A.V. Middle Schools		No. of Pupils in Schools			
For Boys	For Girls	No. of Boy Pupils	No. of Girl Pupils	Total No. of Pupils	
210	10	in High 9,987	2,448	12,435	
		in A.V. Middle 29,769	1,785	31,554	
Total:		39,756	4,233	43,989	

Table LVI

Development of Secondary Education of Girls and
Boys in the Baroda State (1871-72 to 1946-47)

	No. of Boys Sec. Schools	No. of Girls' Sec. Schools	Total Secon- dary Schools	No. of Boy Students	No. of Girl Students	Total Secondary School Students
1871-72	1	-	1	N.A.	Nil	1
1876-77	4	-	4	384	-	384
1886-87	14	-	14	803	-	803
1896-97	20	-	20	2895	-	2895
1906-07	25	-	25	3760	-	3760
1916-17	50	1	60	10005	192	10197
1926-27	60	1	61	11748	1022	12770
1937-38	126	2+4 A.V.	128	21598	1813	20024
1942-43	154	2	2	26789	2912	26769
1946-47	210	10	220	39756	4233	43989

The Baroda State, too, suffered from the shortage of women teachers. The problem was somewhat aggravated because "teachers were generally selected from amongst candidates with honors and special training qualifications, and allotted to schools in accordance with their needs..... All untrained teachers in service were required to get themselves trained. The Government had further ordered that only trained candidates should be selected for service in future." (63) The State had a Secondary Teachers' College at Baroda the intake capacity of which increased during the period from 30 to 75. It turned out 5 to 10 trained female graduate teachers every year. The College recruited trainees from all over Gujarat, including Kathiawad.

Such was the development of secondary education for girls in 1947. The Table 56 gives a statistical over-view of the development of secondary education in the State from 1871-72 to 1946-47.

5.10 THE DEBIT AND CREDIT SIDE IN GIRLS' SECONDARY EDUCATION IN GUJARAT AT THE END OF THE BRITISH RULE

Thus ended the British period of the development of secondary education for girls in the Bombay Province. In the nineteenth Century secondary education for girls made a feeble beginning and that too in the last two decades.

This was due to several reasons. The first and foremost among these was the lack of emphasis on female secondary education in official programmes. Till the beginning of the period dyarchy, i.e. 1921, secondary education for girls figured very remotely in government programmes. Secondly, the powerful social antagonism to the education of girls specially among the Hindu and the Muslim communities was responsible for the extremely slow progress. Thirdly, the large-scale practice of child marriages considerably curtailed girls' opportunity for primary and secondary education. Fourthly, the absence of compulsion in primary education resulted into a small and halting progress of primary education. Fifthly, too heavy a load was placed on the private enterprise to spread female secondary education; their resources were limited and female secondary education cost more than the secondary education for boys. Sixthly, the recruitment of women teachers posed a serious problem in mofussil areas and as they were not readily available, they had to be paid sometimes much higher salaries than the male teachers normally were offered. There were no separate training facilities for women teachers. There was only one Secondary Teachers' College, and that was at Baroda. Every year 5 to 10 women could get admission in a class of 75 in the S.T.T. College, Baroda till 1947. Seventhly, though girls' secondary

education expanded considerably during the one and a half century rule of the British, the achievement was too small and inadequate. Eighthly, a great disparity between the secondary education of boys and girls prevailed; though girls were not discriminated on the basis of caste, colour or creed or of the social and economic status, there did operate, in an alarming measure, inequality of educational opportunities and social objectives of secondary education were not largely realised. Ninthly, though co-education had become popular and the initial antagonism and hostility to it had disappeared, the girls sat apart, studied apart, participated in extra-curricular activities separately and there was no really mixing of them with boys. Tenthly, their curriculum was dominated as much by the University Matriculation Examination as that of boys. Some differentiation and diversification in their curriculum was provided, but those facilities were availed of by a very small number of girls. Lastly, there was great wastage and stagnation in the secondary education of girls. A good size of the girls left their education when they reached Std. VIII or Std. IX, as they were married off by that time. The percentage of ^{failure of} girls at the Matriculation Examination and the V.F. School Examination was between 50 to 60 per cent. This was probably because the quality of instruction in girls' middle schools and high schools was lower than that in boys' schools, the girls had to do domestic work at home

and they did not get enough time to do their homework and prepare lessons and they were not as much motivated for study as the boys were. For girls, secondary education was really secondary - secondary to their goal of getting a college educated husband, or of acquiring social status and prestige for the family.

On the credit side, a few things could be mentioned. The initial antagonism to secondary education of girls had disappeared, not only that high school educated girls had better prospects in the marriage-market; schools for girls had come up in cities and bigger towns; with Gujarati becoming the medium of instruction, more girls - even in rural areas had come forth to receive secondary education; more girls were appearing at the Matriculation and V. F. Examinations than before; this opened up their entry into a liberal Arts or Science college or in a primary training school. English classes of mixed nature were opened up in some high schools for V.F. passed boys and girls to study English of Std. I, II and III in one year, so that they could get a straight way entry into Std. IV of a high school; the Congress Government had evinced greater interest in the spread of female education than the earlier governments; women inspectors had been firmly established in the educational structure; the struggle for female secondary education had been not only intensified, but in larger cities like

Ahmedabad, Surat and Broach it had succeeded to some extent.

Such was the picture of strengths and weaknesses that emerged at the end of the British Period in Gujarat.

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