

PART II

Development
DEPARTMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR GIRLS
IN GUJARAT FROM THE ADVENT OF THE BRITISH
TO THE PRESENT TIME
(1818 - 1970)

Secondly, when the British~~er~~ took over Gujarat, the whole of the Gujarati speaking territories did^{not} come under their direct administration. The Kathiawad region remained under Indian rulers; the Kutch, too, remained under an Indian ruler; the territories of the Baroda State under the Gaekwads were spread over the mainland of Gujarat and to a small extent in Kathiawad and there were other small States under Indian rulers situated in North, ^{East and} ~~Central~~ land South in the mainland of Gujarat.

Most of the population of Gujarat in the early nineteenth century had principally commercial interest. (2) Their interest in educating their children was, therefore, pragmatic. Educating children was entirely their private affair. The Hindu parents sent their children to schools conducted by the Brahmin on private basis or the priest of the locality, the Muslim parents to schools run by the Maulvi of local or nearby mosques and the Parsi parents to classes run by their Adhyarus in the fire temple. (3) These schools imparted religious education or general education or both. The school of general education taught reading, writing and arithmetic. "Occasionally, a better instructor would teach them a few questions in simple interest and this was common in Gujarat." ⁽⁴⁾ The major interest of the commercial minded predominant section of the Gujarati community did not go much beyond their practical needs and interest. For instance, The Collector of Ahmedabad (1823) reported :

"A few natives appear to me to have any desire to extend their knowledge beyond what is absolutely necessary to enable themselves to transact the common business of the day." (5)

Pathak quotes various sources to show that a fairly good net-work of schools, both of general knowledge and religious knowledge, attended by Hindu, Muslim and Parsi pupils ^{was} ~~were~~ in existence round about 1824. (6) But his findings, and those of others like Parulekar, do not suggest that girls were attending those indigenous schools. As pointed out by us in the preceding Chapter, conditions in the society were extremely unfavourable for any educational activities of the regular school type for girls. The Report of inquiries made into the indigenous system of education prevailing in the different districts of Gujarat round about 1824 or 1825 ~~either~~ contained one common observation : "The schools strictly speaking are confined to the education of boys" or they were silent on this matter which implied that girls did not attend schools. (7) But that does not rule out the possibility of some high class or enlightened Hindu, Muslim and Parsi families instructing their daughters at home.

We have already pointed out in the last Chapter, how the strong social prejudices, queer superstitions, morbid fears, distorted concept of virtues and of ideal womanly behaviour, the narrow concept of the social status and role of women, the prevalence of the custom of child-marriages,

insecurity arising from political situations, Government's neutral and indifferent attitude, prevailing in the Hindu society, blocked altogether women's access to education in the first half of the nineteenth century. (8) Educational facilities for girls were almost non-existent.

"The home was regarded as the sole sphere of a woman's life; and hence the only education considered worthwhile for her included cooking, home management and participation in those vocations or arts in which she would be required to help her husband. The practical instruction was given to her when she worked as an assistant to her mother or some other older woman in the family. But formal education of any type was a taboo and girls were never sent to the indigenous schools. References are available to show that the high class Muslim families taught their daughters at home; and a similar custom undoubtedly prevailed among the Hindus also. But the total number of girls thus instructed must have been a microscopic minority and it would not be wrong to say that the formal education of women was practically non-existent at this time." (9)

~~At the outset,~~ ^{Lastly} it should be noted that the expressions 'secondary schools' or 'secondary education' were practically unknown in the Bombay Presidency upto 1875-76. "The schools of this period which corresponded the modern secondary schools were broadly described as 'English schools' on account of the fact that they included the study of English as a very important subject of their curriculum. In this respect, they were distinguished from the vernacular schools which gave instruction through a modern Indian language and which taught no English." (10)

4.2 FIRST ATTEMPTS AT FORMAL EDUCATION OF GIRLS IN GUJARAT

The first girls' school was established in ^{the} Bombay city by the American Missionary Society in 1824. Thereafter, other Missionary Societies like Church Missionary Society and Scottish Missionary Society opened girls' schools in the Bombay city and in some districts of the Bombay Presidency. The Students' Literary and Scientific Society established in 1847, under the inspiration of Professor Patton, by some students of the Elphinstone Institute, which included Shri Dadabhay Naoroji, established six girls' schools for Gujarati girls in the Bombay city in which the student members of the Society did part-time teaching work every day without any remuneration. In 1854, the number of schools for Gujarati girls became nine and the enrolment of Gujarati girls increased to 600. But these were primary schools.

These initial efforts made by Christian Missionaries and enlightened and enthusiastic members of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society broke ^{the} ice regarding the formal and regular education of girls. The Bombay efforts for of girls' education had their echo in Gujarat, because, at that time Bombay was an intellectual, cultural and economic centre of Gujarat and whatever happened in Bombay had its impact on Gujarat. The ^{Indian} private enterprise in women's education followed the foot-steps of the missionaries in the Bombay City; some thing to that effect happened in big cities like Surat and Ahmedabad in Gujarat.

Before we describe the efforts *made* in Gujarat to spread secondary (English) education for girls we will briefly sketch the development of English education for boys, as the fact of establishment of English schools for boys had created a desire for similar development for girls.

English schools had begun to be established by the Bombay Native Education Society in Bombay and some other centres in Maharashtra from 1824. But the Society did not take similar measures in Gujarat. It was left to a private individual, one Mr. Dalpatram Bhagubhai, one of the early social reformers of the time, to venture to start an English School in Surat round about 1830. Later on, in 1840, the London Missionary Society had also started an English School in Surat. Gujarat got the first Government English School in 1842. At Broach, one Mr. Townshed had started a private English School. In Ahmedabad, a petition was made in round about 1833 to the Governor to start an English school, but owing to the adverse report of the Ahmedabad Collectorate, it did not materialise. The desire for receiving English type of education was increasing among the people. Subsequently, in 1846 an English School came to be established in the Ahmedabad City. The Broach City got the Government English School in 1849.

All these efforts made till 1850 to spread English type school education were confined to boys only. Girls had till then not come into the picture. But English Schools

for girls, as pointed out earlier, had begun to be established in the Bombay City and at some places in Maharashtra. This had made some enlightened citizens and government officers to begin to think in the direction of providing English schools for girls. But they did not succeed.

Elementary schools for girls had slowly begun to come into existence. The Church Missionary Society, which had opened girls' schools at Thana, Bassein and Nasik had started the first girls' school in Gujarat at Surat by 1818 that was initially attended by 2 Christian girls which rose to 11 in the next year; the curriculum was the same as that for boys. (12) After 1822, the management of the school passed on into the hands of the Bombay Native Education Society.

By 1840, the London Missionary Society had its vernacular schools for girls established at Surat. Rev. Jeffrey has observed in his 'History of Fifty Years of Work in Kathiawad' that "there were fairly flourishing vernacular schools at Rajkot, Ghogha and Surat with struggling girls' schools at each of these stations." At Ahmedabad too mixed vernacular schools had come into existence.

In forties, mixed vernacular schools had ^{begun to} come into existence in Gujarat. They were, broadly speaking, schools of the ^{elementary type} ~~secondary level~~ minus English. Teachers had begun to play an important role in inducing parents to send their

daughters to school. Of course, in mixed schools the seating accommodation for boys and girls appears to have separate and at times girls sat in a separate room.

In 1848, on 26th December, Mr. A.K. Forbes and Kavi Dalpatram organised the Gujarat Vernacular Society. (13) To the society goes the distinction of making the first attempt ^{Ahmedabad as an Indian enterprise} in Gujarat to spread primary education among girls. It first started a mixed primary school. In the beginning, there were 47 boys and only one girl in the school. In 1850, the society started the first separate girls' school in Ahmedabad and in Gujarat with the help of magnificent donation from Harkor Shethani, the wife of Sheth Hathisingh. The following account of this girls' school would be interesting and enlightening :

"In 1850, Shethani Herkunvarbai, the widow of Nagar Sheth Hathisingh, showed her willingness to undergo the expense of running a girls' school on an experimental basis. She was prepared to start a girls' school on a permanent basis if the experiment succeeded.

She opened the school in 1850 with the help of the Gujarat Vernacular Society and requested the Society to manage all its affairs. She donated Rs. 4,000/- for the school building and Rs. 12,000/- to run the institution properly. It must be noted that for this benevolent act, the Government conferred on her the title Nek Namdar Sakhavate Bahadur..... In 1852-53, the number of girls in this school was 40. In 1854, it became 42. Thus, the Gujarat Vernacular Society rightly deserves the honour of establishing the first girls' school of its kind not only in Ahmedabad but also throughout Gujarat." (14)

Another pioneering effort to establish a girls' school was also made by a private individual Sahukar Sheth Maganbhai Karamchand, another philanthropist of Ahmedabad. In a Trust Deed made for providing for two girls' schools and signed on 30th April 1850, Sheth Maganbhai Karamchand had made certain observations which threw good light on female education in the fifties of the last century.

- "2. It is to be regretted, that as it is not customary here to give education to the Female Sex, whatever knowledge acquired by the other sex does not afford embellishment to the community at large. If Females were, therefore, educated, there could be scarcely a limit assigned to the degree of improvement which the sentiments and feelings as well as the moral conduct of the nation might attain."
- "3. However, as the grown up Females could not be expected to devote their time to learning in consequence of the multiplicity of household affairs, in which they are so constantly engaged, the only alternative demanding the notice of reflecting and benevolent minds is that some steps should be taken in order to secure the education of Female children."
- "4. It is the concurrent opinion and belief of all wise and enlightened persons, that there is scarcely any merit greater than contributing to the cause of education. I, therefore, anxiously hope and pray that it may please God graciously to permit the accomplishment of my object in regard to Female Education which I have in contemplation." (15)

Sheth Maganbhai Karamchand made the Trust Deed for Rs. 20,000 for establishing two schools 'after the European fashion' in the Ahmedabad City. He also enjoined that for "the proper and efficient management of the institutions a Committee shall be appointed, consisting of such European

gentlemen and respectable natives of this place as many take interest in Female Education." Sheth Maganbhai also provided for the appointment of a master "of blameless character", for printing books useful to the girls studying in those schools, for payment of suitable allowances to some girls^{who} although possessed of a desire ~~to~~ and high talents for receiving education, cannot, owing to their poverty, sacrifice their trade to their mental improvement". He made it a condition that "no religious books shall be permitted to be read or distributed in the schools in order to avoid unpleasant feeling being provoked, Sheth Maganbhai was anxious that the two schools that would be established with the help of his donation should not antagonise "higher classes among the Hindoos" as they have an aversion to coming into contact with the lower caste people" and, therefore, he made it a condition in his Trust Deed that "low-caste girls..... should not be admitted into the schools."

The Trust Deed of Sheth Maganlal Karamchand is a historic document so far as the beginning of education for girls in Gujarat is concerned. It testifies to the prevailing custom of precluding girls from the benefits of education. It denotes a change in the attitude of the benevolent and enlightened citizens that females should be given European type of education. It gives some guide-lines regarding the establishment of girls' schools, viz., they should be opened in the most populous part of a town, a committee should be

appointed for the proper and efficient management of such schools, and there should be both European and Indian gentlemen on such Committee; account of the school should be kept both in English and Gujarati, and it be published annually together with the report of ^{the} progress of the school; the school can be housed either in a constructed building or in a rented building; the master of the school should be of blameless character; general annual examinations should be held in the school; and prizes be distributed consisting of money, clothes, books and the like; books useful for girls' schools be got printed; well motivated and talented girls should be given suitable allowance; parents of girls may, if they like, pay a small monthly tuition fee; all religious instruction in it should be banned; and girls of lower castes such as Dheds, Chamars and the like should not be admitted in the school. It is surprising how a Sahukar - a money lender - could, as back as in 1852, ~~could~~ think of so many details for organising a ^{primary} secondary school for girls. Karsondas also seems to have given a munificent donation for opening schools for Gujarati girls in Bombay.

Schools donated for by Sheth Maganbhai were opened on 5th December 1850. In 1851-52, the Board of Education of the Bombay Presidency reported as follows :

"A pleasing feature in the history of the past year in this Division is the proof of the gradual progress now being made in female education. Little more than a year ago, Maganlal Karamchand, a native merchant at Ahmedabad, appropriated

the sum of Rs. 20,000 for the purpose of founding two schools for native female children in that city. This most laudable conduct promptly received the warm acknowledgement of Your Lordship in Council, your high sense of Maganbhai Karamchand's Public Spirit and we trust that his excellent example will be followed by other natives."(16)

Between 1851 and 1854, the number of girls studying in those two schools increased from 48 in 1851 to 150 in July 1854. Thus, the girls' ^{elementary} English Schools did prove popular among the local people.

It would be interesting to note that the curriculum of these two girls' schools, With the exception of embroidery ~~the curriculum of the girls' schools~~ did not differ from that of the boys' school. It consisted of moral instruction, history, geography, moral songs, arithmetic, reading and writing and embroidery.(17)

Mr. Graham, who was the Headmaster of the Government English School at Surat at this time, had duties to inspect all schools in Surat, Broach and Ahmedabad. His remarks in the inspection reports of schools at some of these places throw light on the attitude of the people of some cities to the question of female education. Pathak has summarised these remarks in his Study on the Progress of Education in Gujarat during the first half of the nineteenth century.(18) Regarding the girls' school at Surat where Durgaram Mehtaji, the noted social reformer was a teacher and a moving spirit.

Mr. Graham observed, "A public examination was held by the Judge Mr. Frere, Rev. and Mrs. Montgomery, Mir Jaffarali-khan and Bakshi with a view to raising a fund necessary to establish the female school on a firm basis. But at this function their hope was frustrated in consequence of the total absence of the rich Hindu and Parsi gentry as well as the educated persons holding respectable posts in the Adalat and Collector's Office. Of course, all received invitations, but they disregarded the same and showed their apathy for the cause". Pathak adds, "it is possible that officers at Surat were not as zealous as at Ahmedabad and they did not play their part to persuade the rich people". Mr. Graham in 1852 remarked, "It is a pleasing reflection that the strong prejudice entertained by the people against female education are beginning to give way in the small towns and villages as well as cities, as for example, in Jambusar and Dhandhuka schools 10 girls are receiving elementary instruction."

Thus, in the forties and the fifties of the last century, the ^{strong} absolute prejudice against female education had begun to taper down; a small beginning was made in the primary education for girls; the Government had continued to avoid taking up direct responsibility for women's education; officers at different places in Gujarat were not equally enthusiastic about women's education; in fact, they were largely apathetic and only at ^a few places they displayed

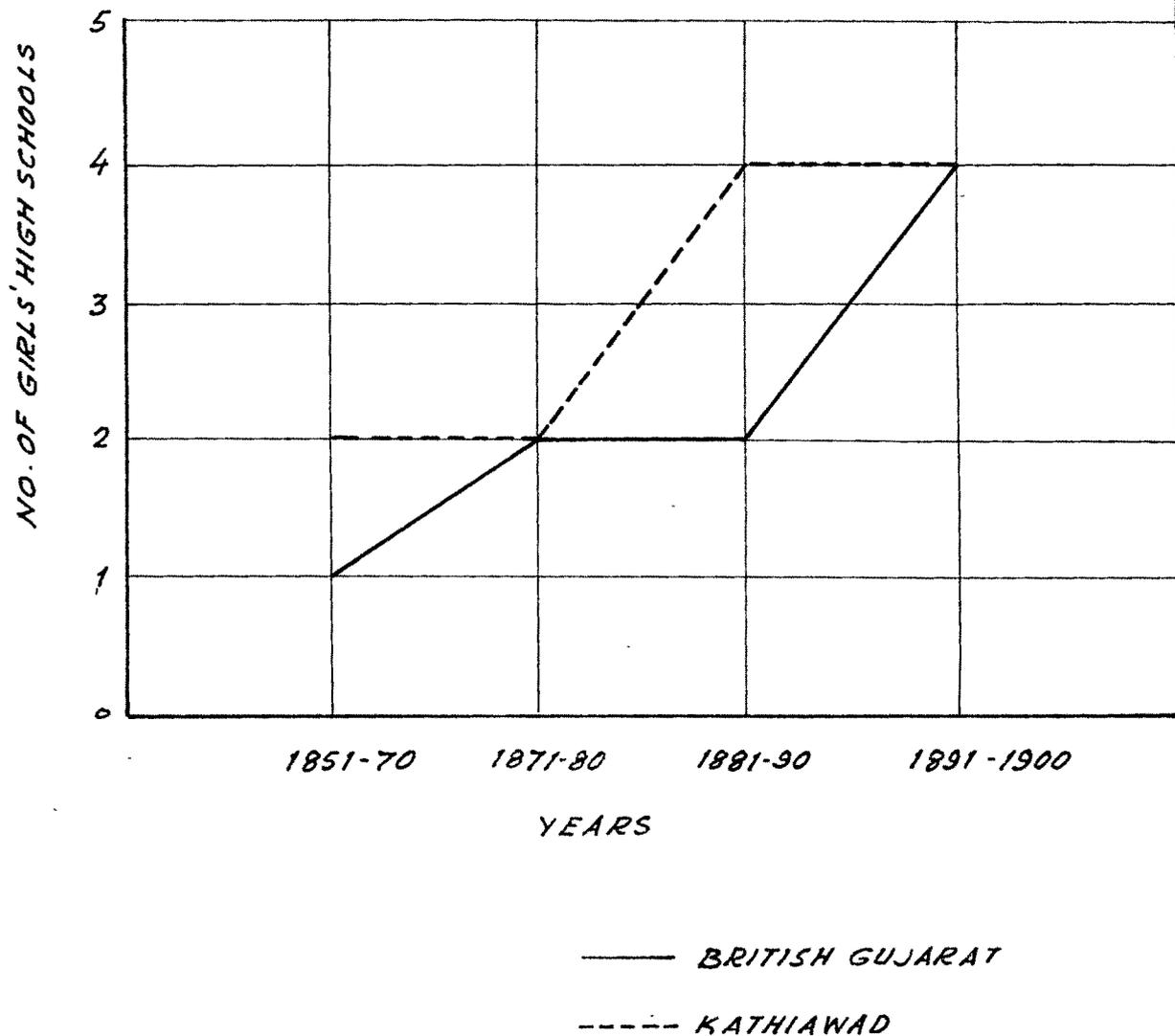
keen and active interest in the question; the cause of primary education for girls in Gujarat was served by private individuals - the rich philanthropists, the members of the public societies like the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Students' Literary and Scientific Society of the Elphinstone Institute of Bombay and such other bodies. The secondary education for girls in Gujarat was not even on the horizon in the first half of the nineteenth century. The stage for primary education for girls had just begun by this time. Gujarat needed another decade or so to make a small beginning in secondary education for girls.

4.3 DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR GIRLS IN GUJARAT IN THE LATER HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

It was shown in the preceding section that the foundation of girls' education in Gujarat was laid in the fifties and the lead in that respect came from private enterprise in the form of rich philanthropists and public organisations. The schools established for girls were of the primary type. The most significant fact in regard to the development of girls' education was that the fierce and vehement hostility to girls' education of the earlier period, had slowly begun to break down and that in cities and bigger towns some advanced sections of the Gujarati society at least had come forward to educate their girls. Government had, on its part, appreciated the efforts of rich philanthropists

CHART-

DEVELOPMENT OF GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOLS IN
BRITISH GUJARAT AND KATHIAWAD
FROM 1851 TO 1900



who donated some amount of money for establishing girls' schools by bestowing upon them marks of honour.

Slow Progress of Vernacular Schools for Girls and English Schools for Boys in British Gujarat (1857-1880)

In 1854, the Wood's Despatch was published. A policy decision for the spread of girls' education in the whole of British India was taken (19). The schools for girls were to be included among those to which grant-in-aid might be given. In 1857, Government had initiated a policy of giving small annual rewards to those primary teachers of boys' schools who would form girls' classes in their schools. This move was initiated, perhaps, to motivate teachers, who were closer to people and who had been on the whole, very much respected and trusted by their local community to persuade people to send their girls to school for education. It appears that though this scheme was pragmatic and quite realistic and appropriate for those times, ^{it} did not meet with much success in practice. "The progress of this scheme was slow and even in ⁹1864-65, the Government schools in the whole of the Bombay Presidency contained only 639 girls".(20)

The proceeds of the local fund cess began to be available to the Education Department from 1863. This resulted in the opening of more primary girls' schools. In 1870-71, there were 218 girls' schools in the whole of the Bombay Presidency.

This includes the increase in the number of government conducted vernacular schools for girls in Gujarat. By 1870-71*, the number of English schools in Gujarat including Kathiawad was 45 with a total of 5,514 pupils (21). The number of English secondary schools for boys in Gujarat in 1880 was 44 with a total of 3,527 boys enrolled therein. This shows a decrease in enrolment as some of the schools were closed down owing to financial stringency. All these English schools were meant for boys. It was very unlikely that girls attended them.

The Parsi School Association

In Bombay, the Parsi leaders of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society had left the Society in 1859 and had founded a separate organisation called 'The Parsi School Association'. With the financial help that this Association could collect from the rich gentry, it managed in Bombay city 3 girls' schools for Gujarati speaking girls. Among these schools, the Alexandra Native Girls' School was quite successful. It had 63 Gujarati girls in 1863.

Bulsar and Navsari being contiguous to Bombay and a good number of the inhabitants of the place being Parsis, the activities of the Bombay Parsi Association of Bombay

* In 1865, according to Kathiawad Gazetteer, Vol.VIII, p.346, the number of Anglo-Vernacular schools was 11. In other native States of Gujarat, there were no English schools upto 1870. The Baroda State opened the first English school in 1871. That was for boys.

had their impact on the Parsis residing in these towns. The Parsis of the Bulsar and Navsari towns opened schools for their daughters. In 1858, Bai M.F. Girls' School was opened in Navsari; in 1864, the R.J.J. Sarvajanic School was started in Bulsar; the C.T. New School, Gandevis in Chikhali Taluka was opened in 1881; and the D.K. Tata High School was opened at Navsari. Thus, upto 1881, there were four schools of which one was meant for girls (22).

Girls' Education in Kathiawad (1854-1882)

In Kathiawad which was economically and educationally a backward area on account of its being under native rulers, the Gujarati Society was apathetic towards girls' education. Credit should be given to the Political Agent, Mr. Lang, who established the Lang Girls' School in Rajkot, the expenditure thereon being borne by him. Later on, Bavaji Raj, the ruler of Rajkot undertook its maintenance and the name of the school was changed to Bavaji Raj Girls' School. English ladies Mrs. Macnaughton and Mrs. Macklilaly contributed to the development of girls' education in Kathiawad. In 1858, the Monghiba Girls' School was established in the State of Gondal. We have already observed that schools which taught English and other subjects through the medium of English were designated as English schools. In 1867, a girls' school was established in Dhoraji also. This school also might be regarded as an English school.

The rulers of different Indian States in Kathiawad vied with one another to spread girls' education in their respective territories. Bhavnagar and Junagadh were advanced States. But there was not a single girls' school in Bhavnagar upto 1861. In 1872, a primary school for girls and a high school for boys were established. There was no separate school for girls upto 1882 in Jamnagar; a middle school for boys was established. In 1880, a primary school for girls was opened in 1882. By 1881-82, secondary schools for boys had also come into existence in Morbi, Gondal, Dhangadhra, Limdi, Vankaner and Porbunder States. In 1881-82, there were in all 15 English secondary schools in Kathiawad with a total enrolment of 1,583. An English school for boys had come into existence at Rajkot in 1871, another at Bhavnagar in 1872, the third one at Junagadh in 1873, and an Anglo-vernacular school at Bhavnagar in 1878.

Girls' Education in Kutch

So far as Kutch was concerned, it was not possible to trace the growth of girls' education because lack of information and record thereon. The social reform movement that had taken place in Gujarat during this period had not affected Kutch, which remained a backward part of the Western India. "Old is gold", "Reform means evil ways", "Learning is missing the right way" (જૂનું એટલું સીધું, સુધારા એટલા ગુણારા, એવેલા વાકા) these and such other beliefs

were widely current in the society which gave secondary importance to education and the need for and the importance of female education on the whole was not felt.

Even this State had started primary schools for girls upto standard IV for girls of high class families and officers who hailed from outside Kutch. Parents were not inclined to send their daughters outside their villages, so such girls as would be keen on receiving education were not able to receive it. Owing to these circumstances, girls' education could not make much headway in Kutch during this period under review. However, 1 high school and 2 Anglo-Vernacular schools were in existence in Kutch in 1878-79. But they were meant for boys (23).

Girls' Education in the Baroda State (1854-1880)

In the Baroda State, between 1871 and 1879, 6 English schools were opened including a school at Sojitra and one in Dabhoi (24). Jyoti Christian's study had revealed, "as early as 1875-76, one high school working in the Baroda city, 2 Government Anglo-Vernacular Schools at Petlad and Amreli, besides one or two private schools in the Navsari Division"(25). The Maharaja of Baroda, Sir Sayajirao, was a champion of women's education. He did not believe, like Kaiser, that Kinder Kuche and Kirche (Children, Cooking and Church) were the only three fields of women's activity.

He, therefore, patronised girls' education. In 1875, the Baroda State made a humble beginning in the direction of girls' education by opening 2 girls' schools. By 1881, the number of girls' schools rose to 50 catering to the education of 5,134 girls. But these were primary schools(26). The English type of secondary education for girls came later, in 1905-06.

English Schools in Other Native States (1854-1880)

In the Banaskantha Agency, by 1870, 2 Anglo-Vernacular schools had been opened, one in Palanpur and the other in Radhanpur respectively. The number of secondary schools in this area continued to stand at 2 in 1880(27). Girls' English education had not begun there too.

The following Table shows the expansion of secondary education in Gujarat from 1854 to 1880. This is given to show that boys' secondary education had made a fair beginning in Gujarat by 1880, but girls' secondary education was largely neglected as a result of ^{the} a typical attitude and thinking of the society of the nineteenth century.

Table IV
Secondary Schools in Gujarat
(1880)

Sr. No.	District/ Native State	No. of Secondary Schools	Enrolment
1.	Surat	7	768
2.	Broach	2	268
3.	Ahmedabad	6	561
4.	Kheda	3	207
5.	Panchmahal	Nil	Nil
6.	Baroda	10	809
7.	Palanpur Agency	2	83
8.	Kathiawad	15	1582
9.	Kutch	3	140
10.	Other Native States	Nil	Nil
Total		48	4418

N.B.:— Compiled from Shri S.B. Rajgor's "Education in Gujarat" (1854-1954), p. 111 and D.G. Apte's Notes on "Secondary Education in the Baroda State, 1961)

There were no English schools, even for boys, in the Panchmahal District and in Sabarkantha and Revakantha Agencies and the Sachin State. By 1880, excepting a girls' school (English School) opened by the Parsi School Association at Navsari and another girls' high school at Surat, there was no English secondary school for girls in British Gujarat.

Two secondary schools for girls, one at Rajkot and the other at Bhavnagar, had come into existence in Kathiawad. Thus, by 1880, there were only four secondary schools for girls among the 48 secondary schools.

We would also like to note one important development in girls' education that took place at this time. Miss Mary Carpenter, the well-known social worker in the field of juvenile delinquency and that of prison reforms of England happened to visit India. She was treated as a State Guest by the Governor-General and Governors. She took very keen interest in the education of women in India. She was principally instrumental in persuading the Government of Bombay to establish training schools to prepare women teachers at the primary level. In Gujarat, the first training school for women teachers was established at Ahmedabad in 1871.

In the early years of its establishment, the training school at Ahmedabad was faced with two difficulties. Firstly, it was difficult to get enrolment of student-teachers, because education among girls was in the initial stage in Ahmedabad as in other cities of Gujarat. There were practically very few feeder schools for this training school. Secondly, it was impossible to get trainees with adequate educational attainments. Therefore in the Ahmedabad training school - the Mahalaxmi Training College - in Gujarat and the Poona Training School in Maharashtra (established in 1870)

had to take in girls with whatever schooling and attainments they were available. After 1878, the minimum qualification for admission to the training school prescribed was only primary Std. III passed. It could be raised to Std. V only (28) by 1901-02. This shows that vernacular education was not much spread for girls in Gujarat before 1880 and the training school for women had to function primarily as a school and then as a training institution. To this training school, an English class was attached later on.

By 1880, in the whole of Bombay Presidency including Kathiawad, Baroda State and the other native States in Gujarat, the total strength of girl-pupils in mixed schools and girls' schools accounted for only 1.5 per cent of the total female population of the school-going age. This state of affairs was not at all satisfactory. The factors that hampered girls' education were child marriages, the Pardah system and society's hostility to girls' education. The society at that time was not aware of the importance of girls' education.

When the girls in those days did not get the necessary facilities even for primary education how can one dream of secondary education for them! In that age, the general attitude of the society towards education was one of apathy and indifference. Secondary schools for girls could come only at such places where there was better social climate for education of adolescent girls or where those in power had interest in female welfare.

The Indian Education Commission (1882-83)

As mentioned earlier, by 1881 some separate schools for girls were founded in Gujarat, Kathiawad and Kutch. But a majority of these schools were confined to the primary stage. The British Government appointed in 1882 an Education Commission to formulate its educational policy keeping in view the development of education in India as based on the recommendations embodied in the Wood's Despatch. This Commission was known as the Indian Education Commission or the Hunter Commission after the name of its Chairman, Sir W.W. Hunter. This Commission introduced the nomenclature "secondary education" and "secondary schools", and schools now came to be termed as secondary schools. As a result of the recommendations of this Commission, secondary education made better progress in the next two decades, while girls' education also received some impetus. The relevant recommendations of the Commission relating to girls' education were as follows :

- (i) Finance :- An equitable proportion of the funds of public body should be ear-marked for secondary schools; additional grant should be given for girls' education.
- (ii) Fees and Scholarship :- It is generally accepted that fees should be charged from those who come forward for education but girls' education being in its initial stage, fees should not be levied

with a view to developing it. Moreover, to encourage girls to come forward scholarships should be awarded.

- (iii) Secondary Schools :- The Government should, as far as possible, encourage private enterprise to establish secondary schools.
- (iv) Women Teachers :- With a view to ensuring a steady supply of women teachers the policy of enlisting the help of pupil-teachers be put into practice, and efforts should be made to utilise the services of the wives of school-teachers to impart education to girls.
- (v) Zanana Teaching :- For the girls who might not come out of their homes (particularly the Muslim and Rajput girls) arrangements should be made for zanana teaching through agencies which might be prepared to undertake this work.

The recommendations of the Commission brought about remarkable progress in the field of education during the years 1882 to 1902. Many secondary schools were founded through private efforts throughout the Bombay Presidency and in the whole of India.

Progress of Secondary Education for Girls in Gujarat
(1882 - 1902)

In the Bombay Presidency, the secondary education for girls began to expand at a greater pace in the last two

decades of the nineteenth century than in the preceding three decades. In the Bombay Presidency, as a whole, the number of girls' secondary schools increased from 28 (girls pupils 1581) in 1881-82 to 67 (girls pupils 4984) in 1901-02. Of the 4984 girls attending the secondary schools in the Bombay Presidency in 1901-02, 2046 (41 per cent) were Europeans and Anglo-Indians, 958 (19.2 per cent) were Parsis, 1561 (31.3 per cent) were Indian Christians, 255 (5.1 per cent) were Hindus, 46 (less than 1 per cent) were Muslims and 118 (2.4 per cent) were others (29). Thus, even in the Bombay Presidency as a whole, out of every 100 girls attending secondary schools in 1901-02, only 5 were Hindus ^{about} and 1 Muslim, 19 Parsis, 32 Indian Christians and 21 Europeans and Anglo-Indians and 2 were others.

We now will survey the progress of secondary education for girls in Gujarat during this period. We have already noticed that 4 secondary schools for girls, 2 in British Gujarat and 2 in Kathiawad had come into existence by 1880. The Baroda State* and other native States in Gujarat had not made any beginning in secondary education for girls by that time. In the next two decades - in the eighties and nineties of the nineteenth century, 4 more secondary schools for girls were added in Gujarat. Against the expansion of secondary education for girls from 28 schools to 67 schools

* There was one secondary school in Baroda for children of British and European officers in which some girls were also studying at this time.

in the Bombay Presidency, this increase of 4 secondary schools for girls could be considered quite small and inadequate. By 1900, 2 girls' secondary schools at Ahmedabad, 1 in Navsari, 1 in Surat, 2 in Rajkot, 1 in Bhavnagar and 1 in Junagadh could be established. Excepting the school at Navsari, which was a private one, the Baroda State, which was much advanced educationally otherwise, had no girls' high school yet. Kutch was too backward and orthodox area to warrant any expectation of development of secondary education for girls.

The secondary schools did not include middle schools. Between 1880 and 1900, some middle schools for girls had come into existence. Garasia in his study on the development of secondary education in Ahmedabad City mentioned that in 1883-84, there existed 5 secondary schools, of which 2 were high schools, 2 middle schools and 1 Anglo-Vernacular school (30). Between 1884 and 1894, 3 new secondary schools were established in Ahmedabad, the total of secondary schools rising from 5 to 8. Of these 8 new schools, 6 were secondary schools and 2 were middle schools. Of these 8 secondary schools in Ahmedabad only one was exclusively for girls. Till 1884, there was no separate secondary school for girls. During the period from 1883-84 to 1893-94, 3 new schools were established in Ahmedabad; the total rising from 5 schools to 8 schools. Out of these 8 schools, 6 were secondary and 2 were middle schools. Only 1 secondary school

was exclusively for girls out of these 8 schools. This girls school was established in 1892-93. The number of girls in this school was 64, and the school used to function in the building of the "Mahalaxmi Training College for Women"(31). Over and above this high school, there was a middle school for girls having a strength of 27 girls. Thus, in Ahmedabad City, in 1901-02, the total number of girls studying in secondary schools was 91 (32).

According to the Gujarat Government list for 1966, there were 6 secondary schools in the Bulsar District upto 1882. Of these 4 were high schools. Only one of them was a girls' high school. In 1901-02, there was an addition of two high schools, but they were boys' secondary schools only.

From this scattered data, it can be inferred that there were only 2 high schools exclusively for girls, one of which was established by Government at Ahmedabad. Rajgor's study mentions 90 high schools with a total enrolment of 9,720 for the British Gujarat in 1900-01. Rajgor does not show how many of these 9,720 pupils were girls. But in all probability, their number must be very small. Even in the Bombay Presidency as a whole in 1901-02, out of the total 48,533 pupils, the number of girls was 4984 or about 10 per cent. In the British Gujarat, with only 2 girls' high schools and ^{none but} ~~not~~ favourable social climate for co-education in mixed schools, the percentage could not be even as much as 10 per cent. It must be much lower than that.

The figures for the Bombay Presidency show that in 1901, among the girls who attended secondary schools during this period, more than 40 per cent were European and Anglo-Indian girls, over 30 per cent were Indian Christians, about 20 per cent were Parsis and the rest were Hindus and others. In Gujarat, the biggest group must be Christians, the next best Parsis and the third best girls of advanced Hindu families. But as the records for the year 1901 were not available, ~~the~~ detailed information could not be presented.

Girls' Secondary Education in Kathiawad (1881-1901)

Secondary education for boys had progressed between 1881 and 1901 in Kathiawad also. In 1901, there were 56 secondary schools with a total enrolment of 6391 girls in Kathiawad (33). Mr. Lang, who was the Political Agent of Kathiawad during this period, took very keen interest in the education of girls. Some of the rulers of the Indian States in Kathiawad, too, had displayed exemplary interest in the education of girls. Therefore in 1881-82, there were 20 girls' schools under the control of the Kathiawad Agency and 30 girls' schools under the control of private agency. In all, 867 girls were under instruction in Kathiawad. But this development had taken place mostly at the primary stage. Two secondary schools for girls were in operation from the earlier period. But the number of girls attending them had not risen much.

After 1882, some further activities in the field of girls' education took place in Kathiawad. In the Jamnagar State a primary school for girls was opened in 1882. In the Junagadh State, a school called the Victoria Jubilee Madressa School for Muslim girls was opened in 1887. After 1880, 2 more secondary schools for girls had been established in Kathiawad. In 1896-97, there were in all 4 secondary schools for girls as against 89 primary schools for girls. By 1901-02, the number of secondary schools for girls remained the same, i.e. 4 and the number of primary schools for girls rose by 2 and became 91 (34).

Girls' Secondary Education in Kutch (1882-1901)

In 1901, there were 5 secondary schools in Kutch with a total^{of} 380 pupils. It is not known whether this number included girls. In all probability, it did not, because Kutch was socially and economically much more backward area than Gujarat or Kathiawad, and even in these two regions, co-education was not much practised. It can, therefore, be observed that by the end of the nineteenth century, there was practically no English type of secondary school or education for girls in Kutch.

Development of Secondary Education for Girls in the Baroda State (1881-1900)

These two decades were very important for educational development in the Baroda State. In 1881, His Highness

Sayajirao Gaekwad took the administration of the State in his hands at the age of 18. Under his vigilant and dynamic leadership the number of schools rose in the decade 1880-1890 from 180 to 444, of which 35 were girls' schools of the primary type. The enrolment in these schools increased from 7465 to 43,764 of which 3,145 were girls (35). He introduced compulsory primary education in Amreli Town and its nine villages as an experimental measure in 1893. The introduction of compulsory education Act brought about improvement in the social climate for educating girls. In 1904, 2,206 girls were enrolled in primary schools as against 3,934 boys (36).

The secondary education for girls was not on the horizon during this period. Anglo-Vernacular Schools and High Schools for boys had made some progress. In 1901-02, there were 3 high schools for boys, one each at Baroda, Patan and Amreli. There were 14 Government Anglo-Vernacular Schools teaching upto Std. VI or Std. V or Std. IV or Std. III. These schools were in operation at Petlad, Visnagar, Kadi, Mehsana, Siddhpur, Dwarka, Padra, Vadnagar, Unjha and Billimora. The State had made a rule to open an Anglo-Vernacular School only in those towns where population was 7,000 or more (37). There were 4 aided schools, Navsari Zarthosti Madressa, Dadabhai Kavasji Tata Anglo-Vernacular School, Gandevi High School and Fattesing English Institution (registered in 1897). In 1901, there were 21 secondary

schools with 2,926 pupils. They were all male institutions and the proportion of the male population of school-going age under secondary instruction in 1904-05 was 1.83 per cent (38).

It is not known how many of the total 2,926 secondary school pupils included girls by the end of the nineteenth century. The administration reports of the Baroda Government of this period do not specify this aspect of the enrolment. It is likely that this enrolment figure included very few to nil girls. We are led to this conclusion because the Administrative Reports observe to the effect that 'Co-education was not in the air' and 'where there are no schools for girls, they (girls) attend boys' schools upto a certain age' (39). The expression 'upto a certain age' implies that girls attended mixed schools at the primary stage or middle school stage and not at the secondary stage when they attain puberty.

By the end of the nineteenth century, there were about 50 girls' schools in the Baroda State having over 5,000 pupils. Only a few of them were middle schools. Besides these schools, there were in 1896, 8 Zanana Classes, 4 in Baroda and one each in Navsari, Patan, Petlad and Sojitra; the number of women attending these classes ^{was} were 341. These classes provided instruction in reading, writing, house-hold accounts, needle-work, embroidery, cooking, etc. The teaching was done for 3 hours a day and those classes were attached to ordinary girls' schools.

Thus, at the end of the nineteenth century, in the Baroda State, girls' education was mostly of the primary and middle school type. The English type of high schools for girls had to wait for some few years more.

Other Native States :

In other native States also, secondary education for girls of the English school type was almost non-existent at the end of the nineteenth century.

The Table below gives the growth of secondary schools for girls till the end of the nineteenth century.

Table V

Number of Secondary Schools for Girls (1854-1900)

	1851-70	1871-80	1881-90	1891-1900
British Gujarat	1	2	2	4
Kathiawad	2	2	4	4
Kutch	-	-	-	-
Baroda State	-	-	-	-
Other States	-	-	-	-
Total	3	4	6	8

To summarise, the growth of girls' secondary schools in Gujarat in the nineteenth century, ^{was very slow} ~~we repeat~~ the first girls' secondary schools in the British Gujarat was established in

Navsari in the decade 1851-1860. In Kathiawad the first girls' secondary school was established in Rajkot in the decade 1850-1860. Between 1851 and 1900, 4 more girls' secondary schools came into existence in the British Gujarat. These schools were located in 1900, (2) in Ahmedabad City, (1) in Bulsar and (1) in Surat. Between 1851 and 1900, 4 girls' secondary schools came to be established in Kathiawad. Of them, 2 were in Rajkot and 1 each in Bhavnagar and *in Junagadh*. Of the two schools at Rajkot, one was established during the decade 1861-1870 and the other in the next decade 1871-1880. The girls' secondary school was established in both Junagadh and in Bhavnagar during 1890-1900.

4.4 CONCLUSION

By the end of the nineteenth century, the hostile attitude of the society to girls' education mellowed down. In all the regions of Gujarat, girls had begun to enter schools. The advanced and educated sections of the Gujarati community had begun to come forward to expose their daughters publicly and had begun to send them to schools. Girls' schools had begun to be opened by Government and private enterprise. In Gujarat, private efforts for opening girls' schools were more prominent than those of Government. However, the progress achieved in girls' education was largely at the primary stage. The total number of girls studying

in all kinds of institutions is given in the Table given on the next page.

At the secondary stage, only a small beginning could be made for secondary education for girls. During this period, only a small number of high schools leading to the Matriculation Examination of the Bombay University could be established for girls. There were also Anglo-Vernacular schools of two types during this period. One type of Anglo-Vernacular Schools ^{was} ~~were~~ also the English Schools which did not teach the whole course upto the Matriculation. It is very unlikely that girls in Gujarat went in for this type of secondary schools because here the main objective was to turn out clerks and therefore their curriculum was arranged accordingly. At this time, the social and economic status of women in Gujarat was such that they could not even think about taking up jobs as clerks in government and private offices. Therefore, it would be safe to assume that very few girls, excepting those belonging to Anglo-Indian Society and the Indian Christian Community must have gone in for the Anglo-Vernacular type of education.

Table VI

Number of Girls Studying in Schools in Gujarat
in 1900

Sr. No.	Region	Number of Girls under instruction
1.	Kutch	827
2.	Palanpur	210
3.	Mahikantha	368
4.	Revakantha	597
5.	Cambay	265
6.	Dharampur	110
7.	Bansada	31
8.	Sachin	122
9.	Kathiawad	9049
10.	Kheda	339
11.	Panchmahal	291
12.	Surat	3137
13.	Broach	1191
14.	Ahmedabad	2396
Total		18,133

Source : Bombay Gazetteer, Vols. II to VIII.

At this period there was another type of Anglo-Vernacular Schools - a second grade type. They were broadly of two types. The first type included independent institutions which aimed at preparing students for entry into high schools. They were of the high school feeders type. The second type included schools the main objective of which was to teach the vernacular course but which also provided for the teaching of English to such students ^{as} who desired it. In Gujarat, by the end of the nineteenth century, only 8 girls' high schools could come into existence; the other girls' secondary schools were mostly of the Anglo-Vernacular school categories including both the types described above.

The progress of secondary education for girls was slower in rate and smaller in size in Gujarat than was the case in the Bombay Presidency as a whole. In the Presidency, the number of secondary schools rose from 28 in 1881-82 to 67 in 1901-02; the increase in girls' students in the corresponding period was from 1581 to 4984. The contribution of the Gujarat Province to this overall expansion of girls' secondary education in the Presidency was rather small.

There were several reasons for this. Firstly, the expansion of girls' primary education proceeded at a slow pace; expansion of primary education is a pre-condition for the expansion of secondary education. Secondly, there still prevailed among the people ^a deep-rooted belief that the real

place of women is in^{the} home; all that a woman needs by way of education is the knowledge of three R's, and some knowledge of house-hold accounts, needle-work, embroidery work, cooking, hygiene and music. This attitude acted as an impediment to ^{the} progress of girls' education. Thirdly, at that time secondary education meant English education which was justified for boys because such an education would equip them to work as clerks in government offices but it was of no use for girls who had not to seek jobs of clerks, etc.; the role of the girl was conceived by the Indian society on a plane different from that of boys, and, therefore, the secondary and higher education that might be good for boys was not necessarily good for girls. Fourthly, government - the British Government in the British Gujarat and the Indian Princes in the native States - did not open its own secondary schools for girls in sufficient number so as to both create and meet the demand of girls' English education; it did open a few girls' high schools or A.V. Schools here and there but left the major responsibility ^{to} ~~on~~ the private enterprise. Fifthly, as co-education was not favourably looked upon by the society for girls beyond 10 to 12 years, girls could not reap the benefit of the secondary schools for boys opened at their or nearby places. Sixthly, girls were mostly given away in marriage by their parents by the time they be^acame 10 to 12 years old; further education for married girls was ordinarily not in the air at this period, thus, early marriage-age obstructed

secondary education for girls. Seventhly, the prevailing opinion in the nineteenth century was to have separate schools, separate women teachers, separate syllabi, separate text-books and separate women inspecting officers, and as arrangements for these could not be made in^a sufficient number, girls' secondary education could not make much head-way. Eighthly, the field of activities for women remained greatly limited. Ninthly, no special privileges such as exemption from fees, grant of scholarships, etc. were available for girls. Tenthly, girls' secondary schools were more costly than boys' secondary schools because the enrolment remained small and therefore, the income from fees was small, though expenditure continued to be high; there was considerable wastage and stagnation as the attendance was fluctuating. Eleventhly, girls became mothers at young age and even where the climate in the family was favourable for the secondary and higher education of daughters-in-law, the young mothers found the rearing of the children and doing all house-hold work and ~~to~~ continuing their studies at the same time extremely difficult; the case of Lady Vidyagauri Nilkanth who was a secondary school student during the nin^eties of the last century could serve as an illustration of this handicap, and lastly secondary schools for girls were yet to be established in villages and towns in Gujarat.

The Report of the Baroda State Committee (1893-94) to suggest reform in the education system in the State records the following type of thinking prevailing in the contemporary Gujarati society which operated as an obstacle to the spread of secondary education among girls in the nineteenth century:

"A charge very often laid against female education is of the following or kindred type. A girl, having mastered the dialects of various countries, and reading the classical poetry of times past by, often identifies herself with Miranda on the one hand, or with Malti on the other. Her ideal of earthly happiness is super-natural, and when she finds herself tied up in the chains of wedlock with an unlettered husband, she is cast into sullen despair and her grief knows no bounds. Her ideal is not realised, and she is awakened to a sense of the stern reality of her prosaic life. Her anguish and her agonies are beyond all cure, for 'in the knot there is no untying'. We may not mention those instances, and there are many, in which the disappointed girl often falls into corrupt and evil practices." (40)

Such were some of the major causes for the extremely slow growth of secondary education for girls in Gujarat till the end of the nineteenth century. Whatever little growth could take place was only in the last 15 to 20 years of the century. This growth was limited to girls of Anglo-European, Indian Christian and Parsi communities; some few girls of the advanced Brahmin and Bania community in whose families the father was well educated and was holding progressive social views and the mother was cultured, if not much educated, could get the benefit of secondary education.

Many of these pioneering girls came from the Nagar Brahmin families. For instance, when the first English class was opened in the Mahalaxmi Training College at Ahmedabad after 1880, along with 5 or 7 Parsi girls, the first Gujarati Hindu girl to join the class was Smt. Satyavati, the daughter of Bhimrao Divetia and the wife of Sir Lallubhai Shamaldas, and the second Gujarati girl to join the class was Smt. Shrunagar, the daughter-in-law of R.S. Mahipatram Nilkanth (41). English schools for girls had come into existence in cities like Bombay, Bulsar, Navsari, Surat and Ahmedabad. Some ideal girls of these cities could get the benefit of secondary education. Even many of these schools were not complete schools and were ⁱⁿadequately staffed. For instance, Lady Vidyagauri makes the following observations about the English school at Ahmedabad where she and her sister studied and passed the Matriculation examination :

"I joined the Anglo-Vernacular Classes of the Mahalaxmi Training College in 1887. There was nothing like a separate high school. Only instruction in English was provided and every year, the class progressed to one upper division. It added classes upto Std. VI during my student days at the school. There were girl students studying in Std.V, but they did not learn any other subjects. The Lady Superintendent of the Mahalaxmi Training College had two European Assistants under her. They conducted English classes." (42)

Lady Vidyaben's younger sister, Smt. Shardaben Mehta in her 'Life Memoirs' had also made a few observations about this English Class which supplement Lady Vidyaben's remarks :

"My brother Gatubhai was in the Std. V and I too was in the same standard. But his studies were superior. The quality of instruction in boys' high schools was much better. Our school had not to face any competition, so its work dragged on some how or other..... Sanskrit was not taught in our school..... Only English was well taught in the school. For the other subjects - Mathematics, Science, Gujarati, etc., private teachers had to be engaged. With the help of private coaching and great personal efforts, three girls for the first time in the history of the school prepared themselves to appear at the Matriculation Examinations. These girls were Vidyaben, Yashodabai Thakur, and one other Parsi girl. Out of them two passed, Vidyaben and Yashodabai."(43)

One other factor favouring the entry of girls into secondary schools in Gujarat during the period under review was the keen interest, perseverance and initiative taken by some British officers or their wives, or some benevolent English men or English women. Lady Vidyaben Nilkanth has cited the names of Mrs. Mekefy, and Lady Lely. Miss Mary Carpenter was another such name of this period.

Societies like the Gujarat Vernacular Society,^{and} the Parsi School Association had also played their part in organising and conducting secondary schools for girls and their members had contributed in lessening the public opposition to girls' education beyond the primary stage. The private enterprise to a larger extent and the government's direct efforts to a smaller extent helped the cause of girls' secondary education.

It was true that women teachers to staff girls' secondary schools were mostly not available at this period, because there was higher education for women in Gujarat which had just begun then. But many good male teachers were there in the field to teach girls at home and in the school. From the accounts of the social customs, beliefs, practices, attitudes, etc. of the Gujarati Society of this period described by Lady Vidyaben Nilkanth, Smt. Shardaben Mehta and several others in their writings, it does not appear that the lack of women teachers for secondary schools constituted a serious obstacle to the progress of girls' secondary education during this period. The male teachers who taught to girls in secondary schools or at home were persons of scholarship, integrity and strength of character. Therefore, the cities where the girls' secondary schools came into existence turned to male teachers for running their girls' schools when female teachers were not available. Again, in this period most of the secondary schools had, as their heads, English men or women under whose vigilant, dynamic and disciplined stewardship, public could place confidence in the male staff of the girls' secondary schools without any misgiving.

As we remarked earlier, the prevailing opinion in the nineteenth century was to have separate schools, separate syllabi and even separate text-books for girls. But from the account given by Lady Vidyaben Nilkanth, Smt. Shardaben

Mehta and others of the studies which they had in their secondary school, it does not appear that girls' secondary schools of the nineteenth century had a syllabus different from the one followed in Boys' Secondary Schools in Gujarat. Smt. Shardaben Mehta refers in her 'Life Memoirs' to subjects like English, Mathematics, Science, Gujarati, History, Geography and Sanskrit which she had to learn in the girls' school (44). The syllabi of girls' and boys' secondary schools suffered from two major evils - the use of English as a medium of instruction and the strong hold of the Matriculation Examination of the Bombay University. The classical and literary tradition dominated the ideology of secondary schools of girls, as of boys. The Gujarati society preferred some additional training for girls in home craft, and in such other functions and duties ^{as} which women have to perform at home and in the family, but the lack of finances and the dominance of private enterprise did not permit the development of a practical type of diversified syllabus for girls' secondary schools at this period.

The Baroda State, however, tried to provide, in addition to the usual curriculum, special subjects like knitting, drawing, sewing, music, embroidery, cooking, garbi, hygiene, etc. in view of the different role that girls had to play in the Indian household (45). But these ^s subjects must have found place in girls' primary and Anglo-Vernacular schools.

The secondary schools for girls of the English High School type came in the Baroda State in the next decade. The Baroda Government also provided special teachers to teach these subjects. It also introduced native games adapted to girls in all girls' schools.

Such was the picture of the development of secondary education for girls in Gujarat in the nineteenth century. Its development began in a small way, in the last two to three decades of the century; the secondary schools were largely located in cities and big towns; most of the girls who went to secondary schools during this period were Anglo-European, Indian Christian and Parsi girls; a few Hindu girls particularly from the advanced communities like the Nagar Brahmin came forward for secondary education; very few Muslim girls could prevail upon the existing social customs and practices and could go to secondary schools; co-education was not in the air and the syllabus for girls was almost the same as that for boys ~~at~~ the Matriculation Examination of the Bombay University and English as a medium of instruction.

We will take up the discussion on the development of girls' secondary schools in the first half of the twentieth century till the end of the British Period ~~will be taken up~~ in the next Chapter.

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