Magister Thesis in British Civilization

Nineteenth Century Colonial Educational Policy in British India

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Thank you all
Dedication

To my Beloved Mother,
And
To the Spirit of my Dearest
Brother Sofiane
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Abstract

This dissertation examines the nature of Britain’s colonial educational policy in India as a part of its so many strategic administrative techniques of governing her colonies. Therefore, by examining this historically important case, I clarify the process by which the British managed to be on a firm footing and could leave their cultural legacy in the Indian sub-continent till our present time.

In India, educational activities started very early-as we shall see- but in this study emphasis is given to their evolution under state responsibility and official scheme throughout the nineteenth century. This time period studied here also includes the landmarks of educational development in India- the Charter Act of 1813 and Wood’s Dispatch of 1854-thanks to which English education grew and prospered resulting in the Bengali Renaissance. Bengal, in fact, is of paramount responsibility to the sense of this research work and, in effect, is constantly recurrent. It was the province that witnessed and experienced all kinds of agrarian, technical, educational, and intellectual change before any other considerable part of India because it had a clear half century of British rule before it spread over wider areas. Education in this dissertation is often used to refer to the introduction of the English language and its mastery. Consequently, the institution of the English language and the study of English literature and history will be the alternatives of the idea of education which is larger than that. Readers, thus, should not expect to find any science and technology programs or arithmetic activities described in this research. Data have been collected from official documents, archives, books, interviews and newspaper articles and reports so as to depict the very nature and kind both of the education Indians received and their response to it.

This dissertation, certainly, challenges the argument that colonialism is advantageous and profitable in that it opens a window on the world for its backward subjects for no reason but to make them progress forwards. Indeed, very few technical and medical institutions were set up on the European model to serve-first and foremost- the colonial needs. However, this remains meager when compared with the various drawbacks education brought in general. By propelling change towards the consolidation of its imperialist aims, British architects of
modern Indian education turned their plans away from the proper nature and use of education. The ultimate outcome was the production of a contradictory system to the designers themselves.
Read the text and do the activities:

The Arabs made important contributions to Mathematics. The outstanding work in Arabic in this field, perhaps, was the Arithmetic of the Persian Al-Kawarizmi (9th century). In this treatise the author introduced a striking innovation—the number system that we use today and that we call “Arabic Numerals”. The Arabs called them gobar numbers. In this system, which Al-Kawarizmi derived from the Hindus, the value of a digit depends upon its position in a series of digits. Thus, 2 by itself stands for 2; in the series 21, it stands for 20. Al-Kawarizmi also wrote a treatise “On Algebra”, based to a certain extent on Hindu sources. The name algebra is of Arabic origin; it comes from “al-jebr”, meaning “the union of broken parts”

1- Are there any passive sentences?
2- Does Arithmetics have any Hindu origins?
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5- Correct the verbs in ( )

- If you (read).............about astronomy, you (find).............that the Arabs were greatly interested in it. In 829, the Caliph Ma’mun (build).............a splendid observatory in Baghdad. Albattani who (die) ..............in 929 was one of the
greatest Arab astronomers. Many of his works (translate) ..................into Arabic. If you (do)..........research in alchemy, you (see).................that it (be)...............of Arabic origin, too.

6- Write 4 pieces of advice for the following problems:
   - Smoking
   - Bad results in Mathematics
   - A quarrel with your mother
   - Stress in exams
General Introduction

The study of the colonial Empire of Great Britain should receive a peculiar interest. First, because it was the most extensive and successful system of colonization the world has seen; second, because her colonial record was a wonderful tale of peace and war, of change, of enlargement and unparalleled growth; and third, because impelling curiosity has frequently incited many of us to divine the secret of its success.

A countless number of historians have referred the possibility, strength and perpetuity of the empire to mechanical, scientific, administrative and historical factors. Because we are precluded by the limits of this study and due to our natural limitations, not all of these agencies can be reviewed. However, a spotlight has to be directed at its colonial administration in particular.

The colonial British Empire numbered among its inhabitants representatives of every zone, race and institutions of every character, and it controlled all the great highways of the seas. What methods were adopted and what political intelligence enabled them to hold in their hands the destiny of such a large portion of mankind? If involved in an attempt to answer this question, one would remark that the English never committed the folly of using the same system since they were sure that communities of different types of life required different sets of laws. Colonies where the English race constituted the bulk of the population ought from the start to receive local self-government, an elective legislature and a ministry responsible to that. They were classified as Responsible Governments. On the other hand, it followed that where the majority of the population were of another race, they could not be trusted with self-government. They were classified as Crown Colonies and were often governed despotically.

Though of a nature of a crown colony, India was put under a separate management and entitled to a separate consideration. In effect, the British did more to transform it than did any previous ruling power such as the Turkish Muslims or the Great Mughals. This is indeed paradoxical if we consider that, first, the first British who went to India were a handful of traders among several; second, India was then a world of different religions, cultures, races, tribes, and tongues; and last but not least, its administration was the most gigantic task ever
attempted by a nation in the history of the world. Because it was « an empire in itself divided into eight great provinces, and these were sub-divided into two hundred and forty five districts. The district was the unit of administration and corresponded to the English Shire »

The British became the forerunners of change in India because they were « the heralds of the big-machine industrial civilization ». But this cannot be much convincing since the British influence in India showed itself in a countless number of fields. At an early stage, the British knew that there is nowhere more vital than the community of schools, which are peculiarly the market place of ideas, to reinstitute their western knowledge and culture. Therefore, it was the educational policy which thrived quickly by following a progressive direction throughout the nineteenth century. A.R. Desai compared the introduction of modern education in India to « an event of great significance. It was definitely a progressive act of the British rule ». Different groups contributed to the spread of western culture in India: Orientalists, prominent Englishmen, educationists, missionaries, and journalists. But historians agreed on classifying them into three main agencies: the Christian missionaries, the British government, and the Progressive Indians.

Although it was neither an accident nor an aberration, the concept of education which is very much in use and almost everybody has something to say about it was always obscure under the umbrella of British colonialism in India. It has often been likened to a great drama the setting of which

« is provided, not only by the social, political, and institutional history of India, but also by the social, political and educational developments in contemporary England. Several Indian institutions were planned on similar institutions in England; often the controversies in Indian education arose from contemporary controversies in English education; and oftener still, a change in the educational policy of England had its echoes in Indian education sooner or later »

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2 Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*. Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, Teen Murti House, New Delhi, 1946, p. 312
In the light of this quotation, there is no escape from showing an ambivalent attitude towards education in India. It is possible that such an attachment of Indian education to the English methodology may lead us to think about England’s good intentions, but the fact that it was at the initiative of a colonial imperialist power would also make us regard the first consideration with suspicion. Our contention here, then, is to scrutinize whether the education Indians had received did any good to them and this lies behind the core of this research. But the dissertation, on the whole, is an attempt to examine these queries: has the education Indians have received played its role and reflected what education really stands for? If so, whose interests did it serve? And how was it shaped to suit the convenience of a certain side? What were its consequences on all the scenes of the Indian life? Were there any flaws along its history of evolution? If it weren’t meant to help the fulfillment of some particular ambitions, what impression has it left on the minds of the Indian populace? As far as this impression is concerned, what did it result into?

In the course of speaking about education in British India, no way is better than putting it in a historical perspective; history showed us that education has long been an ideal expression determined by the needs of the rulers. Marx and Angels observed that « The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch, the ruling ideas: i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force... » The rulers’ need was a controversial subject in India, however. Views differed on whether education was linked to the wave of proselytization, the creation of consent among the ruled, or the consolidation of the rulers’ power of exploitation.

To begin with, the missionaries had a pioneering role in bringing Western education to India as early as the seventeenth century. They brought the Gospel in their ships, declaring that their purpose was to conquer and convert. Until the very end of the colonial period, Christian education was very much part of the missionary enterprise. Charles Grant – the father of modern education in India – felt that Indians needed to be first educated and finally converted to Christianity. Yet, many Englishmen would speak of their religious neutrality whereas history shows us that the missionaries dominated the Indian educational scene for the most part of the nineteenth century. The East India Company, on the one hand, sympathized with them most of the time while, on the other hand, it conciliated natives by showing a bias towards their Oriental culture for a short period of time.

5 Karl Marx, The German Ideology, Moscow, 1976, p. 67
After 1813, the Company’s educational policy strongly favored English as the medium of instruction. Gradually, the means to upward mobility was guaranteed only by its mastery. The hysterical desire for the knowledge of English that swept over India can be in nowhere better depicted than in this quote by Gandhi:

« Our boys think and rightly in the present circumstances, that without English they can’t get government service. Girls are taught English as a passport to marriage. I know instances of women wanting to learn English so that they may be able to talk to Englishmen in English. I know husbands who are sorry that their wives cannot talk to their friends in English. I know families in which English is being made the mother tongue »

Much ink has been spilt on English education as being a strategy of cultural domination aimed at the counteraction of any rebellious native action. This view has been regarded by many prominent historians and Englishmen, namely Gauri Viswanathan and Mountstuart Elphinstone who saw the selected literary curriculum as an instrument of management making Indians gladly accept the British rule. Nevertheless, this theory ignores the fact that rebellious actions have been controlled by military power long before any educational interference. Indians have voluntarily competed to learn English and those who advocated English education as a window on the world were but a small group. The masses remained illiterate after all.

Now that English education succeeded only within a certain class of people, it would be worth to claim that it was a disguised « divide and conquer » strategy. Indeed, it produced an elite layer artfully tutored to become obedient British subjects « influenced by western thought and ways and rather cut off from the mass of the population »

They looked up with admiration towards everything English in nature and « hoped to advance with her [England] and in co-operation with her »

Yet, resistance against British rule rose as much from that same layer as from other sectors and this would explain why the English education is often described as one of the contradictions of British rule in India. It has also unanimously been regarded by a majority of

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7 Jawaharlal Nehru, *op.cit*, p. 319
8 Ibid. p. 320
historians and educationists as a turning point that marked a new era in the history of education in India.

In the light of a historical analytic approach, we shall examine in this research work the very reasons behind and the consequences of the decision to launch English education and western knowledge - if any – into the nineteenth century British India.

This dissertation, therefore, is divided into four chapters. As long as the development of the educational policy has to be situated within its historical background, the first chapter depicts the setting. It also describes the old Indian educational system that was extinguished by the beginning of the nineteenth century despite the fact that it thrived centuries before the British arrival. Before 1813 attempts to educate Indians had already been tried, mostly by Christian missionaries and Company officials when the Company became a political power up to 1765. This would be sketched out in the second chapter. The third chapter attempts to analyze the stages and circumstances within which modern education in India saw the light of the day. Finally, a thorough discussion of its impact on the different scenes of the Indian life would be carried out in the fourth chapter.
Chapter One

Historical Perspective

Introduction

The second British Empire was founded on ambitions for increased trade with the Far East. Hence, it was to have been a number of commercial units of which profit and only profit was the purpose. The sea route towards the region was first opened by the Portuguese sailor Vasco De Gama in 1498. Soon Portuguese merchants discovered that the spice trade, which was unavailable in Europe, was very lucrative there. They tried to keep it a secret, but they could not because the Dutch managed to divulge it and gain monopoly over the spice trade. The English expected profitable action and decided, consequently, to take part in the race.

I- British India

II- 1 - The Arrival of the British

In India, the actual development of the British Empire was entirely the task of British East India Company which saw the light of the day when, on the last day of December 1600, Queen Elizabeth I granted a Charter to a governor and a company of merchants of London to trade into the East Indies. The birth of this trading organization was destined to undergo some difficulties that could not be avoided. Collisions with the Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish who were already there were quite frequent; nevertheless, the Company’s trade proved to have been very lucrative. Robert A. Huttenback stated:

“The company started with only 217 subscribers and a total capital of £ 68.373; yet, it was to prosper and within a few short years had established several trading stations in India... in 1784, the company ship Benington cargo of lead, copper, steel, woollen clothes, and naval stores, which were traded for cotton piece goods, cotton
yarn, indigo, redwood, silk and saltpetre; since the outgoing cargo cost the company £27,300 and the incoming cargo was sold for £119,304, the company realized a net profit of over £ 90,000”

Disreputable manners of getting money made many of the British return to their Homeland with huge fortunes. Unfortunately, this attracted mostly the impecunious and unscrupulous – not the idealist – who came to be known as “the nabobs” and were among the factors which contributed to the changing British attitude towards company rule in India later on. But before they could arise any kind of objection, they had met almost no attention from the side of the British government which inquired about the company affairs only when it was the time of chart renewal via the company’s Court of Directors in London.

If the Company prospered within a very short period of time without the intervention of any home authorities, under the aegis of whom, then, it could establish several trading stations. Certainly, British East India Company merchants depended for support on the Mughal Empire, which was a firm government ready to foster trade. But trade between India and Europe was nothing new since the West was increasingly involved with the new route which Vasco De Gama found when he sailed around Africa and landed at Calicut in 1498. That route attracted several European powers without Mediterranean ports and the British were only few among them. What then made them so privileged?

Interestingly enough, the British showed superiority and managed to have a powerful fleet. Although the Portuguese had preceded them in control of the Indian Ocean by Akbar’s time because they were good sailors, ocean travellers and they mastered the navigation techniques, the British were able to gain much fame at the end. The Mughal emperors, with a vast subcontinent to conquer and unify, paid no attention to sea power and decided to select the British as their new protectors. This British position is further confirmed by Catherine Atwater Galbraith:

“Evidence of Portuguese, Dutch, and French occupation still exists in parts of India. But British influence is everywhere, since it was the British who pushed back their

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rivals and extended their authority over local Indian rulers until in 1818, practically the entire Indian subcontinent became officially part of the British Empire”\(^1\)

Unfortunately, Mughal emperors were unaware of the implications of displacing their fellow Arab middlemen and putting Europeans instead to control one of the richest and most strategic world regions. This agreement, according to many historians, covered the Company’s relations with the Mughals throughout the seventeenth century. In other words, the Company’s line of activities took a steady upward direction towards development. Percival Spear stated that from 1612,

“\textit{Its (the Company’s) first headquarters was at Surat which was moved to Bombay in 1974 (a wedding gift of Charles II’s Portuguese Queen Catherine transferred to the company). In 1640 a factory was established at Madras on a plot of land leased from one of the last Vijayangar rulers ... In Bengal, attractive for saltpetre and silks, a factory was set up at Hugli, to be replaced in 1690 by Calcutta, ... relations in general were harmonious ...}”\(^2\)

In the course of retelling trade affairs, we can in no way forget to focus on the kinds of commodities Europeans concentrated on. Spices were in short supply in Europe and in small quantities in India, thus, highly profitable. They could be found in the extreme south whereas in the west the main articles were cotton piece-goods, cotton yarn, and indigo from Gujarat, pepper from Malabar Coast; piece-goods and yarn and sugar from Madras and the Southern East coast, silks and saltpetre from Bengal. In return, they sold metals such as tin, lead, and quicksilver. Tapestries and ivories were also among the purchases.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the English and the French had ousted the other European Trading Companies and a struggle between the two for control of the Indian trade began. The French whose company was founded by Colbert in 1664, prospered only with Dupleix who played a leading role in conflicts with the British under Robert Clive. The Danes remained there but for missionary activities rather than for commercial purposes; this marked the first cultural influence in Mughal India which

\(^1\) Catherine Atwater Galbraith, \textit{India, Now and Through Time}, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1980, p. 105

paid no attention and saw Europeans in no context dangerous. Whether the task of mission was exclusively Danish or that the British where completely devoted to trade is a case necessary to be looked in. This would be discussed in the next chapter.

This period of history in India is also occupied by the collapse of the Mughal Empire and a general state of disorder. Though it was under the Mughals that the power of India was arising to its zenith, attempts to find the very reasons which led the Mughal Empire to decline always refer to the Mughals themselves, and particularly to Akbar’s great grandson Aurangzeb’s orthodoxy.

The man was regarded more as a Muslim than an Indian and, according to G.N.S. Raghavan, was said to have “Ascended the throne in 1658 after imprisoning his father Shah Jahan, and had his eldest brother Dara Shikoh condemned as a heretic and executed”. He was known for his re-imposition of the Jezia or poll-tax on the Hindus though they were the great majority of his subjects. Aurangzeb, who ruled from 1658 to 1707, could conquer the south and was successful to add it to the northern half which his predecessors had already ruled. He did plenty of good things to his people but history books are often more committed to tell about “His fervent support of Islam” and how his policy of Islam as the state religion outraged Hindus, provoked groups like the Sikhs to revolt and arose a series of wars with both of the Empire’s props – the Rajputs and the Maratha – led by Shivaji.

The fact that Aurangzeb and his successors are usually the main and vital reason put down to explain Mughal India’s state of decline and confusion cannot be taken for granted. We can admit that emperors’ personalities are central to the revival and prosperity of their rule, but that is not sufficient to focus on.

Percival Spear stated that the period of decline was that of succession wars which were at every turn due to the game played by “kingmakers”. In terms of division, he added that it may be compared to the Roman Empire though he admitted that there were never co-emperors in India. The West, then, had known long before Mughal Muslims the struggle for succession and the dramatic story that put Charles II on his throne

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3. Percival Spear, op.cit., p. 70
shows their skill. In the Indian sub-continent, Europeans, and the British in particular, had relations with the indigenous people that had lasted for about a century before the Empire began to decline, but there has been no reference to them whatsoever. The decline story remained a Muslim affair and, thus, the explanation given so far may be doubted to be satisfactory. If the British had not contributed in any way to the Empire’s collapse, how shall we explain stories such as that of Robert Clive’s treachery, which would be discussed in due course?

I- 2- From Trade to Colonization

Aurangzeb who was depicted by some European and Hindu historians as rude, racist, and radical is often portrayed as generous, just, full of forgiveness, and tolerant by others. Besides, he loved science, used to reward scholars whom he invited from all over the world, encouraged education, built many schools and mosques and was keen on charitable works. To assess his character, it was said he

“Had assiduously cultivated learning, self-knowledge, self-reverence, and self-control, and he exercised a curb over his tongue and temper. He was extremely industrious, methodical, and disciplined in habits and thoughts, and his private life was virtuous”

In terms of his relation with the British, he was friendly as he allowed them to start factories, and in 1652, they were privileged to trade in Bengal unfettered by any kind of regulations except few customs.

In the beginning, the British merchants and their officials found it unwise – if not risky – to interfere in the country’s political affairs. That is to say the British East India Company remained a purely commercial organization and had its trade prosperous in the three presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Bengal. But by 1707, when Aurangzeb died, events took another direction. Both the internal disorder and the French “Companie des Indes”, which was increasing its influence, formed a real danger to British East India Company. The British would have been monopolists if they wanted, but their progressive way of preparation for later stages proved efficient and enabled

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them to achieve what even the French with their skill in negotiation and more attractive manners could never realize.

For instance, during the 1740’s, the French under the leadership of Dupleix recognized that “immense profits might be derived from actively interfering in the political life of the independent princely states of south and central India”\(^1\). Of course, the way to that was the field of dynastic conflicts by supporting a candidate with their troops and weapons. A vivid example of that is their interference in disputes over succession in both Deccan and the Carnatic in South India and for which they were rewarded with huge amounts of money. This is further confirmed by Lloyd George who stated that Dupleix

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\text{“made his candidate, Salabat Jang, Nizam of Hyderabad, and he also helped Chandra Sahib to become Nawab of the Carnatic ... None of this necessarily involved fighting between French and British, but it came at a time when the British company was revising its policy of relying on the Mughal emperor and on the successes of Englishmen outside India to protect its position”}\(^2\)
\]

Indeed, the English realized how advantageous the policy of their rivals was. First, they reacted by an interest to raise an army sufficient for dynasty politics and, in the process, they enrolled an uncountable number of Indian soldiers. Nevertheless, opposition to the French in the field of battle proved how little and young the army was.

When a 25 year old clerk, Robert Clive, was sent, the Company could achieve massive victories. He is often described as the Winchester man who was “\textit{born leader and an intuitive military genius}”\(^3\), but this is not all. He was experienced, too, in treachery and his actions in Bengal do stand as a real proof. During the later part of the seventeenth century the French had been very active and firmly established at Pondicherry and Chandernagore, whereas the British had equivalent rival ports at Calcutta and Madras. Few decades were sufficient for the British so that they realize that Bengal was a source of wealth. The huge sums of money and large territories they thought of whetted their appetite.

\(^1\) Robert A. Huttenback, op.cit, p. 4  
\(^3\) Robert A. Huttenback, op.cit, p. 4
Chapter One: Historical Perspective

So, they wanted to spread their control over Bengal, but this ambition underwent some hardships. First and foremost, the Province was still ruled by Mughal Viceroy or Nawabs, and had both the British at Calcutta and the French at Chandernagore. Next, it had been ruled by the prudent Alivardhi Khan who regarded Europeans with caution, for he had watched the manoeuvres in the Carnatic: how Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, could easily seize the place in 1749, and how the British defeated him at Arcot in 1751 and took back the Carnatic after a series of onslaughts.

When Alivardhi Khan died in 1756, he was succeeded by his grandson Siraj-ud-Daula who shared his grand-father’s distress and, thus, started bitter disputes with the British merchants. In 1756, he marched on Calcutta and attacked the British who were forced to surrender on June 20 after a four-day siege. The British defeat was ignominious because of the ill-prepared resistance and “the flight of the British governor and several Councillors added ignominy to defeat”\(^1\). The survivors who were about 123 British prisoners “died in the course of a hot Indian summer night after being incarcerated with 23 others in a stifling cell about 18 by 15 feet square”\(^2\), writes Huttenback. We are often reminded of such an event as being called “the Black Hole of Calcutta”.

Clive who returned to India in 1755 as a Lieutenant Governor of Fort St. David led an armament which was prepared to oust the French from the Deccan. He recaptured Calcutta and relieved its survivors. Siraj-ud-Daula, on the other hand, failed to follow up his advantage and was compelled to restore the Company’s privileges and pay for its losses. The next event should have been Clive’s return to Madras with his men. But he had Chandernagor to be wrested from the French after he had been allowed by Siraj-ud-Daula, and he was able to seize it. Clive who was a diplomat more than a militant learnt so much from the political situation in Bengal.

Thus, he started to think about plots to dethrone Siraj-ud-Daula and put a puppet who would serve the British. Choice fell on the elderly general Mir Jaafar and Clive had to play the role of the kingmaker skilfully so as to install him successfully. The process was so disreputable that it showed the eighteenth century British East India Company officials devious, shameful, deceitful and treacherous.

\(^1\) The New Encyclopedia Britannica, op.cit, p. 85
\(^2\) Robert A. Huttenback, op.cit., p. 5
Chapter One: Historical Perspective

“Clive required an intermediary, and the noted intriguer Aminchand (Omichand), who assumed this role, appreciated fully, the delicacy, of the situation”①, writes Huttenback, “Aminchand ... demanded a large consideration from the company as a reward for his services and discretion”②. Surely, this traitor was one among several and was very familiar with such disloyal negotiations for he “insisted that a clause be inserted to the treaty with Mir Jaafar specifically committing the company to reward him, Aminchand, from the Bengal treasury once Siraj-ud-Daula was overthrown”③.

Aminchand fell a prey to Clive’s treachery nonetheless. The latter prepared two versions for the treaty showed him the forged version where his demands were respected and hid the genuine one. Because he was tricked, Aminchand was “said to have lost his sanity”④. This was only the theoretical side of the conflict with Siraj-ud-Daula. The actual side took place at Plassey on June 23rd, 1757 when Clive “joined the conspiracy against Siraj-ud-Daula, led his little army of 3000 men against the Bengal army of 60.000”⑤. The battle of Plassey was rather considered more of a cannonade than a battle. It also was a guerrilla led by Clive who, despite the inequality of powers, defeated the army of Siraj-ud-Daula.

Illogical indeed is the victory of the British, but some historians claimed that it was deserved because of Clive’s “qualities of high order, since he moved with deftness and resolution through a maze of uncertainty and intrigue. But they were diplomatic than military, for the actual fighting was slight”⑥. Others informed that Siraj’s army was destroyed because he was headstrong, “unreliable and vacillating... his subjects had only deserted him and waited to see who would win”⑦. The case of his army’s mysterious disintegration can be compared to that of Seddam’s military forces in the year of 2003, though the American armies sent to invade Iraq were numerous with sophisticated weapons and could indeed have caused that surrender. Thus, let’s not

① Robert A. Huttenback, op.cit, p. 5
② Ibid.
③ Ibid.
④ Robert A. Huttenback, op.cit, p. 6
⑤ T. O. Lloyd, op.cit, p. 76
⑥ Percival Spear, op.cit, p. 83
⑦ T. O. Lloyd, op.cit., p. 76
argue the toss for we have to admit that there must have been more vital reasons among which are the British misleading techniques advocating sedition and disunity.

The battle of Plassey gave the East India Company control over Bengal as Siraj-ud-Daula was executed, Murshidabad was occupied and Mir Jafar was made the new Nawab Governor or more adequately, the new “protégé” of the English. Robert Clive received £234,000 in cash and a land grant worth about £30,000 a year, his Company got its privileges confirmed and his fellow countrymen were compensated for their losses in Calcutta. The Company rewarded Clive by appointing him governor and commander in chief in Bengal. Some puppets might have ruled their country well if they were not put on the throne by the Company’s will, but they learnt much about how to enrich oneself and be generous to foreigners than about to think in terms of national benefits as their enemies had done. By 1761, we could hardly hear of any French threat to the interests of the British since they were in no position to do so. Bengal which was “The first great continental area of British rule in the peninsula” became the key to control over the whole sub-continent later on.

Unfortunately, when the British were “spreading out over Bengal and Bihar, few, if any, people in India looked upon the British as a dominant power, destined to rule over the whole of India”. Why had the British been unnoticed by Indians, then? It was their superiority in technique and organization which made them masters in India. Their gradual extension of territory and military establishment, supported by heavy payments from their “protégés”, is only one strategy. When the natives discovered that they were not playing the game for their own advantage, it was so late because the British had already been firmly established and they could in no way remove them.

The British armed forces were first meant to protect the Company’s trade because the British merchants had stepped into India originally for trade purposes. Little by little, they increased and began to grow in number besides their superiority in discipline. Furthermore, they were looked upon as mercenaries to be hired for they were professional before they could change the position of Britain in India in the second half of the eighteenth century, their countrymen’s business was only trade and “were wholly

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② Jawaharlal Nehru, The Discovery of India, Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, Teen Murti House, New Delhi, 1946, p. 275
free from the sense that manifest destiny had called them to rule the native people”

stated J.H. Plumb who told us that they were a tiny population interested in being agreeable to the Indians by adopting their habits and showing respect to their customs and traditions. Their continued presence, however, “was subtly to change the British way of life and the British attitude to the natives”

The British victory at Plassey made of Bengal “a sponsored India state”, administered by the Nawab, but controlled by the Company’s military power. The next success which was so decisive that it gave Bengal to the British took place at Buxar in 1764. There, Mir Qâsim, another puppet who replaced the deposed Mir Jaafar, was defeated together with the emperor Shâh Âlam II and his minister Shuja-ud-daula. In 1765, Clive could obtain from Shâh Âlam the Dewanee in Bengal and Bihar. The same year marked the beginning of the British Empire in India and transformed its presence into a territorial dominion often described as the Company Bahadur.

The administration of the Company Bahadur was Mughal, not British and managed by an Indian Personnel under the Deputy Nawab Muhammad Rida Khan. It continued so through Hastings’ time and until the early nineteenth century although during the Governorship of Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793) remarkable substitutions were made. Persian was still the language of business and administration, and both Muslim and Hindu legal systems were followed in the law courts. The following years showed that the Company first designed for commerce should be designed for law and order.

I- 3- Impact of the British Rule

Indeed, there are many opinions that if we consider, we may think of no British influence in India. To start with, the British who first dropped anchor in the Indian shores were induced by profitable trade and for trade they devoted their time and effort; they were only one group of foreigners among several others. Secondly, India is a great ancient civilization with a rich heritage. It occupies the greater part of South Asia and it has always been one of the most ethnically diverse and populous world areas. Thus, it might be quite inconceivable that a small number of businessmen could have produced

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4 Ibid. p. 173
5 The New Encyclopedia Britannica, op.cit, p. 85
any lasting effect on the life and outlook of 350 million of Indians at the end of that rule. Thirdly, there is a story of an Indian politician who in the course of his electioneering campaign, in a rural area, spoke enthusiastically of how his party could oust the colonizer and achieve independence. Surprisingly, a peasant asked him when the British had come to India. This, undoubtedly, reminds us of the fact that British rule is but one among those many invasions and incursions which disturbed India along its long history and did not concern every Indian.

However, just as today we talk of that lasting impression made by the Muslims’ conquest of the Indian sub-continent, British rule “has left a tremendous legacy in almost all walks of life and in the realm of ideas and beliefs as well”\(^1\). Broadly speaking, many things such as temples, mosques, architecture, and rhythm of music, food and clothes are strange to Europeans whereas there are things with which they are very familiar. For instance,

> “Afternoon tea is a custom, as in England and so, among the well-to-do, are soup-fish-meat-pudding meals as an alternative to Indian cooking. Indian army officers have the manners of men trained in Sand-Hurst (the British West Point)...the courts, the civil service, and parliamentary government are the legacy of the British...”\(^2\)

These generalities, unfortunately, cannot explain this paradox of British influence. For this reason, we need to analyse East India Company’s rule in particular and the British Raj in general in all fields of life.

### I- 3- 1- Political Effects

From 1757 the British had begun controlling India and exploiting its riches. Though they poured upon their home country mounts of gold and huge amounts of money, they were looked at with growing contempt. It was a matter of political morality for while the native Indians competed to the throne and expected to be rich, assisted by them, the British were very wary of “the nouveaux riches” who returned to Britain and purchased seats in Parliament. An instance of that came in the words of Lord Chatham who

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\(^2\) Catherine Atwater Galbraith, op.cit., p. 104
expressed his fear of being affected by Asiatic principles of government when he addressed the Lords in January 1770. The other indication of the Crown’s dissatisfaction culminated in the impeachment, first of Robert Clive and later of Warren Hastings, besides the numerous inquiries into Indian affairs.

Meanwhile the British were doing their best to resist any possible political disturbance; they worked hard to transform India than did any other ruler. First, they entered the field of politics as allies and were often preferred for both their military superiority in land and powerful navy at seas. Gradually, they became the masters, and finally, they came to have a sense of imperialism. India, by this stage of British rule, became a conquered country and consequently was to be governed by the British imperialists instead of the defunct Mughal regime. The personnel of the government saw no novelty and thus remained as it had been under the Mughals.

The only department which was affected by the Western manners was the military. As earlier as the time of Mir Qâsim (1760-1763), Indian troops were trained in the European model. British doctrines pleased some Indians while they seemed reprobate to some others mainly the old ruling classes, but a transfer of allegiance to king George II was the duty of all Indians because in the feudal way, that

“was much less of a strain than the submergence of a national spirit, and there was a great difference between the national spirit of Englishmen and the allegiance to the king of France or to the Great Mughal felt by the inhabitants of new France and of Bengal”, writes T.O. Lloyd, “If the inhabitants of Bengal had felt that they were citizens of the nation of Bengal it would hardly have been possible for them to change to feeling they were English men”.

Therefore, in the course of speaking about politics, it is inevitable at least to hint at India’s national movement which shall be fully discussed in the last chapter of this research. Indians, who were used to the idea of political unity and over Lordship, came to see for the first time of their history the glimmerings of political consciousness. Certainly this was not welcomed by the British though it was foreseen many decades before 1885; British governors like

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1. T.O. Lloyd, op.cit, p. 84
“Sir Thomas Munro who served the company for 47 years 1780 to 1827, and
Mountstuart Elphinston who was, among other things, governor of Bombay from
1817-27 anticipated the end of British rule and urged measures for the training of
Indians in the arts of self-government, so that power could be easily transferred to
trained Indian hands.”

Indeed, there had been pronouncements on this in the period which saw “the
emergence of a liberal imperialism political ideology among British statesmen and
British Indian administrators”. Unfortunately, those talks did not materialize until
after 1918 when they started to be revived by the Indian National Movement. Another
lasting result of British rule is that when they departed from India, they left it in two-
India and Pakistan. Nevertheless, the blame for the partition cannot be laid only on the
British though they were the first to sow the seeds of separatism.

1- 3- 2- Socio-economic Effects

In the economic sphere, there is much to say about the consequences of British Rule.
During the first stage of the latter, all economic surpluses were collected via the
traditional machinery of revenue collection, and, thus, no difference between Britain
and traditional feudalist empires was marked. However, things changed by the time
Britain underwent the Industrial Revolution and British rule then, entered its second
phase. Becoming known as the workshop of the world, Britain needed for its industries
raw materials and food stuffs for its working men. In other words, not only did India
miss the Industrial Revolution, but its economy undermined for it had been reduced to a
colonial status. Illustrative of that is the Bengal famine of 1770 which swept away about
a third of the population of Bengal. Later on, and in order for India to serve the growing
industrial capitalism of its conquistadors, it was obliged to go beyond trade. Therefore,
its riches should be sucked out by producing as much as possible and according to the
needs and interests of the imperial power who needed outlets for its manufactured goods,
too.

1 M. S. Rajan, op.cit, p. 90
2 Bipan Chandra, Amales Tripathi, and Baron De, Freedom Struggle, National Book Trust, India, 1972,
p.9
India’s agriculture witnessed the most striking results of this new approach to colonial development. Two land revenue and tenurial systems were introduced – “the Zamindari” and “the Ryotwari systems”. Prior to this interference, the Indian village was often described by Marxists as a self-sufficient and self-governing one. Furthermore, “Private rent property in land and a stable allodial aristocracy based up on it never emerged”, Eric Stokes states. Whereas after Lord Cornwallis had been charged by Pitt with the reorganisation of Bengal under the Act of 1784, a system of hereditary Zamindars was found in 1793 and became known as Cornwallis Permanent Settlement.

Old revenue collectors and Zamindars became private landlords. This was of course to pave the way to establishing a class of capitalist land owners in India similar to the rural land owning class in Britain. Sure, then, is what came in Eric Stokes’s words that it was “a frank attempt to apply the English Whig philosophy of government”. Indeed, Cornwallis, himself, was “a land lord with rural tastes, and an instinctive Whig”. The former Bengal system meant that the Zamindar possessed some right of private property in lands which he sold for arrears of payment. Cultivators became his tenants at will; the rents derived from them were to be given to the government. As a result, a land lord class loyal to the British but divorced from peasants was created.

Under the Ryotwari system, however, there was no intermediary as the government itself collected the revenues which were often very high. Many peasants had to borrow money from the money lenders to pay those exorbitant rents and unreasonable interests. When they wanted to reap the profit of their crops, they found themselves compelled to sell at low prices. The indebted peasant could in no way escape from transferring his land to the money lender and this is how landlordism originated. Attempts to improve agricultural practices and modernise those archaic methods were never heard of.

In terms of trade and industry, we must remember that almost all India’s indigenous industries were ruined. Since 1800, India drifted to colonial status; a supplier of raw materials and a market for British manufactured goods. Nearly at all levels, exports exceeded imports but to the benefit of foreigners, never to India’s advantage. Some

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② Ibid.
③ The New Encyclopedia Britannica, op.cit, p. 91
developments of economic infrastructure took place in the form of new roads, railways, ports, and telegraphic communication to facilitate raw material transportation, the movement of troops and weapons, and the export-import process. Only four industries were developed: Cotton and jute textiles, coal mining and tea plantation. They were, however, strictly controlled so as not to diffuse any industrial knowledge. All in all, the period of British rule drained India of its fortunes until it became a backward country exposed to famines and poverty.

For the British capitalists, economic change was not sufficient to achieve their goals. So, the British Indian government set out after 1873 to transform Indian administration and society as well. The former needed to be wider and to reach every nook and cranny, every village and port, every Indian if Britain’s profits were to reach their peak. Within a few years, the judicial system was overhauled and new laws such as the Indian Penal Code and the Civil Procedure Code were issued. As for the judiciary, so for the Indian Civil service, it was reformed by Macaulay in 1853, according to David Thomson, “By substituting for the older system of recruitment by patronage and influence a system of recruitment by competitive examination in tests of high academic standard” ①

The latter, however, underwent considerable changes. As noted formerly, Bengal’s Permanent Settlement reorganized Indian society into a class of landlords and a class of victimized peasants who became tenants at will. A great deal of lands was sold for the money lenders who were mainly Calcutta’s entrepreneurs. It was this very class which formed a literary society keen on the Western culture and way of life, and which was known as the Bhadralock. Ruling families and official aristocracy suffered so much since they lost both their power and office. In the South, impoverished chiefs formed the class of robber barons. In Bombay, some development occurred together with the rise of the enterprising Parsi Community. Commercial classes were advocated there.

Social change was basically promoted by some East India Company officials who acted in the name of humanitarianism, besides Christian missionaries. They attacked the caste system, the low status of women, and other evils.

I- 3-3- Cultural Effects

Society and even human nature cannot be revolutionized unless men’s minds were moulded to new ideas, beliefs, and habits. This being so, education was the key element to form the needed Indian character; hence, the power that directs his conduct. But long before education was introduced to Indians, they had been interested in that successful handful of British merchants as well as in the causes of their growth. At that very time, Indian culture and civilization were revealed to Europe in the materiality of their texts, languages, and civilizations. That was made possible thanks to the efforts of prominent Orientalists who started to “gather in, to rope off, to domesticate the Orient and thereby turn it into province of European learning”\(^1\)

But who were those English Orientalists and what was the purpose of investigating the Sciences and Arts of the Orient? “They were legal scholars... medical men with strong missionary leanings,”\(^2\) Edward Said answers. That their work may have helped in shaping the European renaissance is brought out in this quote cited by him: “... with the hope of facilitating ameliorations there and of advancing knowledge and improving the arts at home”\(^3\). On the whole, in the realm of culture, India both affected and had been affected.

The agents of Western influence were government officials who brought new ideologies and the missionaries whose chief purpose was the conversion of both Hindus and Muslims towards whom they showed hostility. Attitudes to that trend of Westernization differed. There were those who rejected everything Western, those who worked for the foreigners but kept tradition, others who started studying Western thought with the intention of securing a career but still remained good Muslims and Hindus, and lastly there were some whose desire to study the Western ideas was meant to overhaul their society and home culture.

Modern ideas reached people through political parties, the press, pamphlets, and the spread of modern education. The latter was the preparatory step promoted by missionaries for the sake of proselytization. It was rather an English education for

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\(^2\) Ibid. p. 79
\(^3\) Ibid. p. 79
English language was popular and it guaranteed employment for its supporters. English schools were under the patronage of Orthodox Hindus whose efforts culminated in the establishment of the Hindu college (Presidency College) in Calcutta in 1816. This centre along with Alexander duff’s Scottish Church College were at the origin of many threats to the Hindu religion. A prominent figure among those reformers was Ram Mohan Roy who accepted many features of Western spirit. He denounced suttee, idolatry, and infanticide. Furthermore, he introduced the Christian ethic into Hindu society and founded the reforming Hindu body Brahmo Samaj.

In short, ideas such as democracy, rationalism, and humanism became known and pushed the Indians to criticize both their society scheme, and the colonizer’s aims. Even the lower castes fought against their depressed condition. Hence, disparities based on caste, sex and religion were abolished not as a result of British rule but as a form of solidarity against its imperialism. The anti-imperialist movement was born of the English education which was designed to consolidate the British rule in India. Thorough examination of the educational system shall be carried out in the next chapters, but it is of utmost importance to see first the Indian traditional educational system in the following prelude.

II – Pre-British Rule Indian Education

We really intend in this initial chapter to clarify points in regard to our setting by an attempt to trace the historical background as already noted in the forgoing pages. Its genuine object, however, is to trace the history of India’s modern system of education which, for a less costly foundation, superseded an old-established traditional indigenous system. Long debates were opened to evaluate the educational policy natives had received through centuries past. Western scholars, who were searching some pretexts to rest on for the sake of justifying their acts more of a hindrance than a reform, said that the Indian Indigenous system was inefficient and valueless.

Therefore, it was advisable to allow it to die and set up a new system of schools, colleges, and universities. Others, among whom were Englishmen themselves, talked of its far-reaching effects and significant outcomes. Because of these contradictory views, we should study the pre-British rule Indian education which prevailed until the beginning of the nineteenth century and might well have continued and developed into a
national system of education if the British had not decided to end it. To find out whether the British were justified in so doing, it is essential to analyse its character, extent, advantages, and drawbacks.

Nevertheless, whoever undertakes to write about the indigenous education is often met with problems of information. References are very meagre and the only available sources cover just the British territories. Needless to say that in the earlier half of the nineteenth century, Britain had covered but a small part of India in comparison to the very large remaining area, viz., before 1818, British India, as Percival Spear points out, “consisted mainly of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, a tract to the north of the Ganges running up to Delhi, and the coastal Carnatic, in the south”\(^1\). In such conditions, we shall mainly use the observations and investigations made by government officials and non-officials even though they did not include the whole area under British control. Few relevant literary works of the period would be useful, too.

Regarding inquiries into indigenous education, one has to admit that they are so considerable that no researcher of educational history can ignore. Furthermore, we hardly read about India’s indigenous education without having whole passages quoted from the reports of British officials designed to conduct those enquiries.

**II- 1- Character and Extent of Education in Pre-British Rule India**

Central to the understanding of any point as regard Indian culture in general and its indigenous educational system in particular is that society consisted of both Muslims and Hindus. Hindu society was caste-stratified. That is to say the rural people of India were classified according to a hierarchic caste structure which assigned a specific social function to each caste. In effect, there was not one single system of education for the different strata and religious groups. Speaking in terms of people’s positions in the production process, we would say the Indian society was divided into two main classes of conflicting interest: The leisured class of landlords or zamindars, on the one hand, and the working class on the other.

Education, to suit each and every, differed both in kind and content. Among Hindus, it was the Brahmin Class which was destined to be the cultured one. Even under the

\(^1\) Percival Spear, op.cit, p. 117
Mughals and until the beginning of the 19th century they were thriving, particularly in Bengal. Since they were the rent-receiving agents, classical learning prospered under their patronage through the medium of Sanskrit—the sacred language of the Hindus. Brahmins and only Brahmins were privileged to study all higher knowledge whether religious or secular. They studied in special centres such as “Tols”, “Vidyalayas” and “Chatuspathis” which were by no means under any type of official maintenance. They rather survived thanks to the contributions of wealth Hindus. Poromesh Acharya tells us, in respect to this point, that:

“Raja Krishna Chandra of Nabadwip and Rani Bhavani of Rajshahi made numbers of land endowments for the maintenance of Tols, the seats of higher learning. And it was due to their patronage that the two districts, Nadia, and Rajshahi, at that time developed into centres of Sanskrit learning in Bengal”

If this quotation has to show something, it should show the level of consciousness of the benefits of education and its social significance among the people of rural India. Contribution of opulent Hindus was not the only factor which led to the promotion and spread of education for parental motivation played a crucial role, too. And those practices were not restricted to Hindus since Muslims supported the learned similarly. Their seats of higher learning were both Persian and Arabic schools, often known as Madrassah, flourished as a result of their charities.

However, unlike Hindus, education among Muslims was not the monopoly of a specific section of people. Thus, any Muslim could take advantage of and enjoyed it. This positive feature was, according to A.R. Desai, “due to the democratic character of Islam”. Nevertheless, some historians argued over this reality. O’Malley, for instance, stated that, “While the Hindu schools were designed for one favoured class of the community… Muslim schools... were open without let to all who confessed that there was but one God .... And Muhammad was his prophet.”

Indeed, there was a kind of religions conception but this was nothing new for all traditional religions. Europe in particular, imparted religious instruction based on the

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② A. R. Desai, Social Background of Indian Nationalism, Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1948, p. 127
③ O’Malley (Ed.), Modern India and the West, 1941, p. 138 Quoted in, A. R. Desai, op.cit, p. 127
Christian faith. Furthermore, several Hindus attended Persian schools and a number of statistics in some of the Bengal districts found that they composed a majority in some cases. Interestingly enough, a Hindu teacher of Persian was not an exceptional case at all. Therefore, that concept of democracy among Muslims can by no means be doubtful.

Besides the schools of Learning, there was another type of institutions known as the indigenous “elementary schools”. Though they were the main agency for the spread of education to the masses, they were not held in veneration as it was the case with Schools of Learning. The latter’s

“chief object was to produce Moulavis and pandits and people were led to support them mainly by religious motives”. In Sanskrit schools, Hindus were taught “Hindu law, logic and literature, viz., smriti, Nyaya, Kabya, and Alankar,” states Poromesh Acharya who quotes J. Long, “while the Persian and Arabic schools offered mainly courses of Muslim law and Islamic religious science, i.e., the Quran, the Tafsir, the Hadith, and the Fiqh Persian schools also included in their courses some literacy and historical works like ‘Pandnameh’, ‘Amednameh’, ‘Gulistan’, ‘Joseph and Juleikha’, ‘Secandernamah’, and ‘Abul Fazal’, etc”.

In contrast to this, the indigenous elementary education in addition to being organized by trading and agricultural classes and meant for the great body of people, gave more useful instruction including the three Rs, in other words, reading, writing and the rudiments of Arithmetics. In these institutions, some girls and children from lower classes, though modest in number, could be found. Due to the fact that they did not serve the needs of religious and learned classes, they received no endowments from rulers, chieftains, or religious men. While the former classes had Tols and Madrassahs, the trading and agricultural classes had Pathsalas and Maktabs. In these institutions, the first rudiments of education were given by teachers called Gurus. These agents, according to Martin, quoted by Poromesh Acharya, were “both Hindu and Mohammedans”, and they “may be of any caste or religion”.

Regarding the curriculum and method of teaching followed in a Pathsala, it has been noticed by many of the men who wrote about India’s indigenous vernacular schools that the Indian schooling had been extensive: better in content and superior in method than in England itself. More details about the courses came in the words of W. Ward who observed:

“After the simple letters, he [the scholar] writes the compounds, then the names of men, villages, animals, etc, and then the figures, while employed in writing on leaves, all the scholars stand up twice a day, with a monitor at their head, and repeat the numerical tables, ascending from a unit to gundas, from gundas to voorees, from voorees to punus, and from punus to kahunus, ... they next commit to memory an additional table, and count from one to a hundred, and after this, on green plantain leaves, they write easy sums in addition and subtractions of money; multiplication and then reduction of money, measures, etc. The Hindoo measures are all reducible to the weight, beginning with ruttees and ending with munus. The elder boys, as the last course at these schools, learn to write common letters, agreements, etc.”

Reading fables and legendary tales and the learning of some kinds of poems by heart form another part of native education as well.

About the initial courses, we cannot be inattentive for it was not uncommon to anyone that the Hindu children start their school life with the ceremony of “Hatekhari” at the age of 5 or 6. Similarly, Muslim children were taught the ceremony of “Bismillah” at the age of 4 years, 4 months and 4 days. Though the system of indigenous education was decentralized, it was not characterless. For instance, in the elementary schools, Hindu children remained for 4 to 5 years in almost all areas. In the schools of Learning, however, they remained for a long duration about 12 years. Instruction was free and the pupils who required lodging were provided with both food and lodging free of any cost, too.

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Of the schools’ equipment, we would say that they were extremely simple whether in terms of architecture or material. They had no special buildings of their own. Syed Nurullah and J.P. Naik inform us that the schools of Learning

“were built either by the teachers themselves, or at the expense of patrons or friends, or by subscriptions from the people. In most cases, however, the schools were held in the local temple or mosque and not infrequently in the house of some local magnate or patron or of the teacher himself” ①

So was the case as regard to the indigenous Elementary Schools which were held in the house of the teacher or the patron of the school as well. But it was not infrequent that they were held under a tree. Poromesh Acharya points out: “Pathsalas generally were held either in the Barwarighur, the chandimandap, or under a Banyan or Bakul tree, if it happened to be in a central spot, while Maktabs were generally attached to the village mosques”. The previous quotes, undoubtedly, show the cohesion of the Indian community and the dynamism of a traditional school system based upon no state central scheme.

Evidence for the truth of this conclusion will be provided if we discuss the topic of traditional teachers, on which there would be much to say if we were allowed to. The schools of Learning were staffed by learned teachers who received very low remuneration. Some of them “were authors of repute” ③ and most of them were never encouraged to teach for pecuniary inducements. It is exciting, nonetheless, to see how they were remunerated. From the data gathered out of the enquiry into indigenous education. In the province of Bombay, we were informed that “the total remuneration of the teacher was between Rs 3 and Rs 5 p.m. on an average and consisted of payments in cash and kind”. ④ It is indeed a so low remuneration, but there was some compensation. In the following quote cited by Syed Nurullah and J.P. Naik, Shri R.V. Parulekar observes:

“The school master of the time, however, could claim certain privileges from the community which compensated, not to a small extent, for the smallness of his

① Syed Nurullah & J. P. Naik, op.cit, p. 19
② Poromesh Acharya, op.cit, p. 1983
③ Syed Nurullah & J. P. Naik, op.cit, p. 19
④ Ibid, p. 7
earning. He was entirely the man of the people whose children he taught. He was always remembered in the hearts and at the hearths of the people, the well-to-do and the rich gave him more than others, both in cash and kind... On marriage ceremonies of his pupils- and these weren’t uncommon in those days of early marriage- he received substantial presents and gave his blessings..."

Other resources tell us that the teachers of both Hindu and Muslim Schools of Learning received payments in the form of grants of land made by rulers, and clothes or other articles paid by wealthy citizens.

These compensations seem interesting to a certain extent and may mislead some readers into thinking that the teachers did not sacrifice and were not active agents in the indigenous educational process. On the contrary, besides the fact that they taught gratis in many cases, they provided food and lodging to their pupils in many others. The teachers of Elementary Schools, on the other hand, were men of ordinary attainments and their remuneration was smaller than that of the teachers of the Schools of Learning. Some of them followed trade and other professions but kept on teaching. This fact would add to the truth of our former conclusion about the traditional teachers’ inherent devotion to educate the children of their people.

In the preceding discussion, we made every effort to draw an image of the character of the pre-British era Indian educational system. It would be nonsense, however, if we do not take a bird’s eye view of the extent of such a system as well. Therefore, let’s now turn to the statistics of the enquiries done by the British officials who were asked to report on the state of the indigenous education. Nearly all the information available today is based on those British collectors’ efforts and reports, and it largely belongs to the 1820s and 1830s period. Three famous inquiries should be mentioned: The first was ordered by Sir Thomas Munro in Madras in 1822. The data collected were obtained from all districts except Kanara. The second one was ordered by Mountstuart Elphinstone in Bombay in 1822. Its data were first gathered by collectors, then by the Judicial Department in 1829. Thirdly, and most importantly, a special survey took place

in Bengal by William Adams who was “a missionary who had devoted himself to the cause of Indian education”\(^1\)

To be sure, the enquiries did not cover all the Thanas of all districts of the provinces where they were conducted. They, too, did not include all the schools and all the pupils under instruction. In many cases, the pupils taught at home by their relations or private teachers were excluded. Likewise, the information was obtained in each of Madras and Bombay and was consequently neither accurate nor thorough. The examination made by William Adams, on the other hand, was almost fair and might well have been seen as fair enough if only he had observed the state of education in other provinces than Bengal for the latter had been in a state of anarchy and decay due to its long story of exploitation by the British colonizer. Nevertheless, decisive points emerged from his reports. In his first report regarding indigenous Elementary Education, he wrote, “The number of such schools in Bengal is supposed to be very great ... there are 100,000 such schools in Bengal and Bihar and assuming the population of these two provinces to be 40,000,000, there would be a village school for every 400 person”\(^2\).

A bitter controversy arose among some specialists of educational history because of this passage. Some saw it as an exaggeration while others found it exact in all sense of the word. What strengthened the debate was in what sense the word school should be taken. But Adam’s honesty was never doubted by any researcher. Moreover, in his third report and most important of all, he admitted that his statistics were underestimated in spite of all the efforts he did and that was due to physical difficulties in reaching all districts and the fear among natives who concealed themselves from inquisitions.

Besides Adams testimony to the indigenous system’s extensiveness, there are many other evidences. W. Ward observed, “Almost all the larger villages in Bengal contain common schools”\(^3\). The well-known historian of Indian science, Dharampal, described the extensive indigenous system of education thriving in India before the British start to establish themselves as the rulers of the country in his famous book, “The Beautiful Tree”. He believed that at about the same time Indians had a school for every village,

\(^{1}\) Syed Nurullah & J. P. Naik, op.cit, p. 2
\(^{2}\) W. Adam’s Reports – Calcutta Edition, p. 6 Quoted in Syed Nurullah & J.P.Naik, op.cit, p. 11
England had very few schools for the children of ordinary people till about 1800. School attendance, methods of teaching, and content of the studies were all superior in India than in England though the observations were made in a period of transition and change. If there is any aspect where India was inferior it should be the education of girls and Harijans.

In regard to the condition of Indian education during the British period, we will have much to see in the coming chapters for it is the core of this research study. However, it is not inadequate to cite here this quote by Poromesh Acharya from the report of the first Education Commission of India: “The 50,000 lower primary schools, figuring as departmental institutions in 1881-1882, were originally indigenous village schools, incorporated into the department system through aid and inspection, by Educational Department”\(^1\). Certainly, this process of the indigenous schools’ conversion shows that the pre-British rule system was indeed extensive. The fact also that not many fresh schools were set up may well indicate that the question of mass education was no concern of the British rulers.

All in all, after the British system was established, that aspect of spontaneity, that sense of solidarity and responsibility of the natives to organize the village school, that definite and significant place assigned to teachers, that enthusiasm to join schools among the scholars of different strata and religions all started to fade as soon as the new scheme of a new central authority foreign to the masses started to root them out in various ways. Had there been sufficient reasons for this supersession, we will still be in need to analyse the merits and demerits of the pre-British rule system in the hope of finding on what grounds the British would have justified their contempt for it.

**II-2- Traditions, Problems and Potentialities**

Some features of the Indian indigenous system of education are of great interest and are central to its prosperity; others, however, do stand as a hindrance to the educational process. Generally speaking, there were no printed books, slates or pencils like ours. There were no classes because the pupils’ number varied from 1 or 2 to 10 or 15 and was, thus, small. Pupils were free to join school at any time as there was no regular

\(^1\) Report of the Education Commission of India, 1884, p. 15 Quoted in Poromesh Acharya, op.cit, p.1984
period for the start of the school year or for the holidays. But “The hours of instruction and the days of working were finely adjusted to local requirements”\(^1\).

Instruction was free of cost and the scholars, if it were necessary to pay symbolic fees sometimes, were by no means obliged to do so. The courses offered by the Schools of Learning had no relevance to the actual life of the working masses. To these may be added, though it is unfair to apply modern concepts of education on this system, the limited curriculum, the absence of any system of annual or terminal examination but some kind of evaluation existed nonetheless. The schools were mostly one-teacher institutions, and the school masters were said to have as much to learn as the boys themselves - at the elementary level.

Though it did not happen to record any expulsion from the schools, the pupils were not let free as they were severely punished. It was stated in the report of the collector of Bellary, as quoted by Syed Nurullah and J.P. Naik that, “the idle scholar is flogged and often suspended by both hands and a pulley to the roof, or obliged to kneel down and rise incessantly, which is a most painful and fatiguing, but perhaps a healthy mode of punishment”\(^2\)

How the different strata of people participated in the indigenous system is another significant aspect which requires examination. The religious practices and the system of Hindu higher learning were the monopoly of the Brahmins of the priest class. Teaching in the Pathsala system was chiefly in the hands of the kayastha of writer class. This dominance of the Kayastha and the participation of the Muslims and lowest caste Hindus gave the Pathsala system a more secular and democratic character. The type of education catered by the indigenous vernacular school suited trading, commerce and cultivating communities. Therefore, their accounts were included in the syllabus of these schools. Kayastha and Sadgop castes were the leaders of those classes and became, thus, monopolists of the indigenous vernacular education. The teachers of Pathsalas who were both from upper and lower castes, encouraged the lowest castes people to join the school as they were dependent on those small fees of their students. As a result, the lowest strata participated in the system which was still controlled by the upper-caste

\(^1\) Syed Nurullah & J. P. Naik, op.cit, p. 21
\(^2\) Selections from the Record of the Government of Madras, No. II, Appendix D. Quoted in Syed Nurullah & J. P. Naik, op.cit, p. 4
people. In regard to the reasons behind such a division of roles we need to mention what Adam, as quoted by Poromesh Acharya, stated in his report on the state of education in Rajshahi that “a superstitious feeling is alleged to exist in the majority of Hindu families, principally cherished by the women and not discouraged by the men, that a girl taught to write and read will soon after marriage become a widow”.

So, social prejudices are among the factors hindering the participation of the weaker section of rural Indians. The problem of social customs, in addition to religious taboos, can be found wonderfully depicted in the works of Rev.Lal Behari Day. In his book “Bengal Peasant Life” he tells us that two Pathsalas were in his Kanchanpus village of Burdwan, one run by a poor Kayastha teacher “Ramrup” and the other by a Brahmin Pandit. Poor classes sent their boys to Ramrup’s Pathala whereas the upper class and caste people would send their offspring to the Brahmin schoolmaster. When it happened that Badan, a toiling poor man, wanted to send his son Govinda to have his hatekhadi (education) so as not to be at the mercy of every deceitful and tyrannical zamindar, Badan’s mother objected for the simple reason that it would be a capital thing to do so. She, furthermore, cited the example of Badan’s elder brother, saying: “Your elder brother was sent to Pathala by your father, contrary to my wishes. And what was the consequence? The God took him away from us after he had been to school only one year. Reading and writing don’t suit poor people like us…”

This attitude, according to some critics, has its origin in the history of mode of production;

“The Leisured or upper classes can survive only by expropriating the surplus provided by the toiling classes. This expropriation is contingent upon the docility, or at least the passivity of the labouring class which again can be achieved by the use of force and / or by some other method, say religion,” asserts Acharya.

This is exactly what the Brahmin monopolists practised when they used their doctrine of fate in their alliance with the rent-receiving class of zamindars in order to maintain the existing social structure; they were awarded land endowments. Another

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1 William Adam’s Rajshahi Report, quoted in, Poromesh Acharya, op.cit, p. 1985
3 Poromesh Acharya, op.cit, p. 1986
vital factor that formed a hindrance was the hostile attitude of the higher strata towards the education of masses in fear of losing their obedience and submission. Nevertheless, the humble classes could benefit from the educational system after all.

Before we conclude this study, we would like to point up the most redeeming feature of the Indian indigenous system. This was at the origin of a major revolution in England itself because it caused, “a breakthrough from tutorial-cum-preparatory teaching to the class-teaching, which is still, of course common”\(^1\), believes Eric Midwinter. It was in fact, the system in which teachers taught senior pupils and the senior pupils were appointed to teach the junior ones. Dr. Andrew Bell hit upon this cheap and efficient method when he was the Presidency Chaplain at Madras. He introduced it in England and became known as the Monitorial or Madras system.

**Conclusion**

In short, the pre-British rule Indian educational system that did not die a natural death, but it was deliberately ended, as we shall see later on, must have had a number of advantages which did not suit the British rulers’ aims. Had this net of schools survived, it might have developed into a national system of education, since most educationally progressive nations such as England, Russia and Japan, built up their modern systems on the traditional one. Several British officers, administrators and educationists were convinced that a national system of education could be built up, no doubt, on the existing native schools and proposed plans for that, but all appeals for improvement fell on deaf ears. The consequence was that the country which was equal or superior to educationally advanced countries at the beginning of the nineteenth century, became one of the world’s backward countries in that noble art.

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\(^1\) Eric Midwinter, *Nineteenth Century Education*, Longman Group Ltd, 1970, p. 28
Acknowledgements

Research work can by no means be brought to light without the help of others. For this reason, I’m very grateful to all who contributed to its materialization. It is a work devoted for a sacred duty- education-; thus, special thanks are due to all educators on the efforts of whom I have built my knowledge and abilities.

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Thank you all
Dedication

To my Beloved Mother,

And

To the Spirit of my Dearest

Brother Sofiane
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Abstract

This dissertation examines the nature of Britain’s colonial educational policy in India as a part of its so many strategic administrative techniques of governing her colonies. Therefore, by examining this historically important case, I clarify the process by which the British managed to be on a firm footing and could leave their cultural legacy in the Indian sub-continent till our present time.

In India, educational activities started very early-as we shall see- but in this study emphasis is given to their evolution under state responsibility and official scheme throughout the nineteenth century. This time period studied here also includes the landmarks of educational development in India- the Charter Act of 1813 and Wood’s Dispatch of 1854-thanks to which English education grew and prospered resulting in the Bengali Renaissance. Bengal, in fact, is of paramount responsibility to the sense of this research work and, in effect, is constantly recurrent. It was the province that witnessed and experienced all kinds of agrarian, technical, educational, and intellectual change before any other considerable part of India because it had a clear half century of British rule before it spread over wider areas. Education in this dissertation is often used to refer to the introduction of the English language and its mastery. Consequently, the institution of the English language and the study of English literature and history will be the alternatives of the idea of education which is larger than that. Readers, thus, should not expect to find any science and technology programs or arithmetic activities described in this research. Data have been collected from official documents, archives, books, interviews and newspaper articles and reports so as to depict the very nature and kind both of the education Indians received and their response to it.

This dissertation, certainly, challenges the argument that colonialism is advantageous and profitable in that it opens a window on the world for its backward subjects for no reason but to make them progress forwards. Indeed, very few technical and medical institutions were set up on the European model to serve-first and foremost- the colonial needs. However, this remains meager when compared with the various drawbacks education brought in general. By propelling change towards the consolidation of its imperialist aims, British architects of
modern Indian education turned their plans away from the proper nature and use of education. The ultimate outcome was the production of a contradictory system to the designers themselves.
Read the text and do the activities:

The Arabs made important contributions to Mathematics. The outstanding work in Arabic in this field, perhaps, was the Arithmetic of the Persian Al-Kawarizmi (9th century). In this treatise the author introduced a striking innovation—the number system that we use today and that we call “Arabic Numerals”. The Arabs called them gobar numbers. In this system, which Al-Kawarizmi derived from the Hindus, the value of a digit depends upon its position in a series of digits. Thus, 2 by itself stands for 2; in the series 21, it stands for 20. Al-Kawarizmi also wrote a treatise “On Algebra”, based to a certain extent on Hindu sources. The name algebra is of Arabic origin; it comes from “al-jebr”, meaning “the union of broken parts”.

1- Are there any passive sentences?
2- Does Arithmetics have any Hindu origins?
3- Complete the table

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4- Complete the table

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5- Correct the verbs in ( )

- If you (read)............about astronomy, you (find)............that the Arabs were greatly interested in it. In 829, the Caliph Ma’mun (build)............ a splendid observatory in Baghdad. Albattani who (die) .............in 929 was one of the
greatest Arab astronomers. Many of his works (translate) ....................into Arabic. If you (do).................research in alchemy, you (see).................that it (be).................of Arabic origin, too.

6- Write 4 pieces of advice for the following problems:
   - Smoking
   - Bad results in Mathematics
   - A quarrel with your mother
   - Stress in exams
Chapter III

The Rise of the Modern Colonial Educational System

Introduction

Once the Charter had mandated the Company's responsibility for the education of the people of India, a new second important period in the history of education in India, during the British rule, started and was to last for about forty years i.e. till the Despatch of 1854. To understand the educational process between 1813 and 1854, it is necessary to spotlight the main events and features of the period when pursuing the path of the British Indian Educational thought and experiments which grew in parallel.

I- The Colonial Educational Policy Between 1813 and 1853

I- 1- The Setting

The Indian scene throughout the first decades of the nineteenth century was one of “conquest and consolidation of British power” (1). As a consequence, both the Court of Directors and the English Parliament were interested only in political issues. Their main emphasis was the maintenance of law and order. Thus, education received little attention and meagre portion of expenditure. Besides this context, Indian Education also grew slowly due to the absence of educationists and even of an Educational Department. Instead, it was the Governor General or the members of the Education Boards, Councils and Committees which assumed responsibility. The responsible men

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1 Syed Nurullah & J.P. Naik, A Students' History of Education in India, Macmillan and Company Limited, 1962, p. 48
Chapter III: Rise of the Modern Colonial Educational System

“were mostly military or civil officers who had no professional training and, very often, not even an aptitude for education.”

If education which is a sensitive field by nature has lacked professionally trained educationists, it can be understood at least that there was no intention at all from the part of the rulers to really provide the natives with useful knowledge. Unfortunately, there is still a feature which confirms this conclusion. Though the new system of education in this period was designed for Indians, they played only a minor role with the exception of very few men such as Raja Ran Mohan Roy, Ishvara Chandra Vidyasagar or Jagnanath Shankarset who participated in the policy drafting sessions. But even the voice of those educators did not matter in face of the exclusivity of the Company officials in educational discussions. Needless to say, the missionaries had a considerable influence in decisions, too.

Among the other features of the period is the bitterness of educational controversies which was due to the formerly mentioned defects in addition to the ambiguity of the Charter Act at which we have already hinted. The latter stated the objects of the educational policy as being "the revival and improvement of literature", "the encouragement of the learned natives of India", and "the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of sciences among the inhabitants of British territories in India", but it did not provide any plans for the methods to be adopted, the objects of education, the medium of instruction to be used and the agencies to be responsible for the organization and dissemination of education among Indians. Therefore, intense debates broke out over the implementation of the mandate and could not be resolved before twenty two years i.e. with Lord Bentinck's Resolution of 1835.

Apparent ly, and with respect to the objects of educational policy, the controversies were not bitter and arose mainly as regard to consider education as the duty of England towards its subjects, or the spread of Western literature and science among India, or a means to train Indians so as to hold subordinate positions in the Company's service. But in order not to be misled, one has to go back to 1813 and peep into history what the real pressure which pushed the Company to assume a direct responsibility for the welfare of

1 Syed Nurullah & J.P. Naik, op.cit, p. 48
2 In some history books, his name is written Ishvara Chandra; in some others, it is written Iswar Chandra. But the latter is widely known.
the natives was and from where it came. First and foremost, it came from the English Parliament, but significantly "the goal of civilizing the natives was far from being the central motivation in these first official efforts at educational activity" (1) as the Parliament got firstly involved with the Indian education rather because of the wealthy nabobs who exploited India's resources and lived extravagantly with those huge fortunes. England was unable to check their demoralized life-styles because prior to the last quarter of the eighteenth century there was no cause for interference in the Company affairs. The steady growth of the Company's political power raised the Parliament's worries. But following that period, news of the unethical and immoral behaviour of the Company servants reached the Parliament which seized the opportunity to intervene. Although couched in moral terms and in the name of the improvement of the natives, the parliamentary discussions which began then were basically political not moral. Colonial education's origin is, indeed, ironical since it was organized by those whose intention was to "form a strong and solid security for the natives against the wrongs and oppressions of British subjects resident in Bengal" (2)

It has already been discussed how this protectiveness led to the policy of accommodation which formed British India's Orientalist phase of educational development. Certainly, revitalizing India's culture and learning served as a defensive movement. But that also was adopted out of expediency, caution, and, essentially, for the sake of building an efficient Indian administration whose agents had to be British civil servants assimilated into the native way of life. On the whole, the subject of the objects of educational policy is much larger than it can be discussed in few lines and the limits of this study would not allow us to say more.

Regarding the agencies organizing education, opinions differed on whether they should be the missionaries, who, being voluntary institutions, could drive parliamentary grants, or they should be the indigenous institutions or that the agency should be a new type of schools directed by the Company and managed by trained teachers.

Concerning the methods, there were two schools of thought. One school advocated the idea that education filters down to the masses from the upper classes. This was known as the Downward Filtration Theory. The second school rejected the idea and suggested to educate the masses instead. The most controversial subject, however, was what medium of instruction should be chosen.

Here three schools emerged: the school of Warren Hastings and Minto's supporters who suggested the promotion of Oriental languages and literatures and wanted the instruction in Western science and knowledge to be via native languages, the second school consisted of men like Munro and Elphinstone who said that there could not be any way better than to impart knowledge of the sciences but through the modern Indian languages, whereas the third school included a completely different group of persons such as Grant and his followers who argued that English was the best medium of instruction for the Western sciences. The missionaries and the younger civilians in the Company services joined this school, too. Among the different schools of thought of all subjects of discussion, the Indian voice had been absent or wielding no influence whatsoever.

Broadly speaking, British India from 1813 onwards was divided into provinces and presidencies. Over the question of education, each was making its own attempt, but all passed by the initial stage of experiments. Hence, the method was that of trial and error. In respect of this issue, Nurullah and Naik comment:

“*We, therefore, find different educational experiments going on simultaneously in India – Thomason trying to build up a system of mass education in North-Western Province on the foundation of the indigenous schools, while the Bombay Board of Education condemned the indigenous schools and tried to build up a network of official schools instead; Bengal was neglecting the Indian languages and adopting English as a medium of instruction when Bombay was making an attempt to give even the highest education through the mother tongue of the students; and so on*”\(^1\)

On the whole, the period under review witnessed a great number of events which it would suffice here to narrate the most important of them. The first ten years following 1813 saw no execution of the clause of the Charter Act in which it was stated that the

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\(^1\) Syed Nurullah & J.P. Naik, op.cit, p. 52
lakh of rupees was to be set aside only “out of any surplus which many remain of the rents, revenues, and profits ... after defraying the expenses of the military, civil, and commercial establishments, and paying the interest of the debt” (1) because the governments of the different Presidencies were reporting deficits every year.

Though some history books referred this delay to the Court of Directors’ disapproval of what the Charter had required, Percival Spear noticed that “the successive entanglements of the Gurkha, Pindari and Maratha wars unbalanced his budget and made in unnecessary to take any practical steps at all” (2). But peace and surpluses returned before 1823. However, both the strenuous agitation of the missionaries and the influence of the Liberal thought which controlled the English life led to the organization of a state system of education in each of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay by 1823. By 1833, the grand increased from one lakh to ten lakhs of rupees per annum.

The Bengal Presidency is of particular interest to us for it was the first province where the educational reorganization took place. Moreover, a General Committee of Public Instruction for the Bengal Presidency was appointed by the Governor – General-in-Council in 1823 and was charged to work under the terms of the Act of 1813. The ranks of the Committee included ten members. H.T. Prinsep, the great Oriental scholar, H.H. Wilson, and other persons fond of Sanskrit and Arabic literature. This is why during its ten years’, it reorganized the Calcutta Madrassah and the Banaras Sanskrit College, established another college at Calcutta in 1824, two more Oriental colleges at Agra and Delhi, and worked on the printing and publication of Sanskrit and Arabic books besides the translation of English valuable works. English classes opened in existing colleges, and steps towards the introduction of Western science and medicine were taken. The Hindu college (3) and school were taken under its control. So, the Committee worked according to the Act’s spirit and tried to meet the demands of that time but by 1830, a rift had appeared among its members so as to settle the dispute, it was urgent to decide whether they were revitalizing the old or laying the foundation of a new system. Then new figures appeared on the Indian educational scene and could mark a point of departure on its history.

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3 Hindu College (now Presidency College) was often described as Oxford of the East.


I- 2- Lord Bentinck, Macaulay and Education

Before the Committee proceeded to attach English classes to old institutions (Agra College by 1833) and establish district English schools (At Delhi and Banaras), it advocated Eastern learning vigorously. This was partly due to the fact that it consisted of Oriental scholars of distraction and partly for fear of offending Indian people. Gradually, however, a younger element was introduced into its ranks. The latter regarded the old learning as mere superstition and as a deficient absurd system the support of which is the throwing of good money after bad. This spirit of discontent grew to be known as the countermovement of Anglicism as opposed to Orientalism. This attitude gained ascendancy in the 1830s, but the opposition roused before and culminated in attacks both from a few enlightened Indians led by Raja Ram Mohan Roy and the Court of Directors themselves.

In a letter of 1823 to Lord Amherst, the Governor General, for instance, Ram Mohan Roy voiced his distress at the government's decision to found and support a new Sanskrit school in Calcutta which, he believed would only “impart such knowledge as is already current in India” (1). He urged that government should, instead,

‘promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy with other useful sciences which may be accomplished with the sums proposed, by employing a few gentlemen of talent and learning, educated in Europe and providing a college furnished with necessary books, instruments and other apparatus” (2)

The Court of Directors, on the other hand, in a despatch dated 18th February 1824, attacked the Committee's work on the grounds that

“The great end should not have been to teach Hindoo learning, but useful learning. No doubt in teaching useful learning to the Hindoos or Mahomedans, Hindoo media or Mahomedan media, so far as they were found the most effectual, would have been proper to be employed and Hindoo and Mahomedan prejudices

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2 Ibid.
would have needed to be consulted while everything which was useful in Hindoo or Mohamedan literature it would have been proper to retain, nor would there have been any insuperable difficulty in introducing under these reservations a system of instruction from which great advantage might have been derived...”

In spite of this discontent, the Committee persisted in its policy for about a decade. This time, however, a public demand was rapidly growing in favour of English. If the Committee could argue earlier that it was right in conciliating the people of India and that such a move would have disastrous results; the worst being the alienation of Indians from British rule, it stood unable to fight in face of the popularity of English. Thus, the conflict between the proponents of Orientalism and the Anglicists became serious and led to a split in the Committee. As is often the case, there was a question which “put the match to the train of the major controversy of 1834”; it was that of “making English a compulsory subject in the Arabic college of Calcutta”

Indeed, it was a controversial matter especially if we recall that both sides (the Orientalist Party and the English Party) were equal in number on the Committee. In such circumstances, it became impossible to carry on the work of education. Disputes between the parties, useless discussions, numerous meetings and reversed decisions at other meetings contributed to the decay and delay of any educational development. Certainly, had it been an education for the sake of any moral improvement, it would not have seemed as a challenging game where each of the groups was trying to show he is the stronger. It was because of these twists and amateurish handling of educational problems that no prosperity in the educational field was recorded.

As things usually happen, it was found that both parties battled against each other. On the one hand, the Orientalists were led by H.T. prinsep (the then Secretary to Government of Bengal in the Educational Department) and their friends were mostly the older servants of the Company, on the other hand, the Anglicists, being mostly the younger servants, with no leader. Nevertheless, they “looked forward to the support of Macaulay who was then the President of the General Committee of Public Instruction

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1 Selections from Educational Records, Vol. I, pp. 91-92, quoted in Syed Nurullah and J.P. Naik, op.cit, p.54
2 Percival Spear, op.cit, p. 81
Chapter III: Rise of the Modern Colonial Educational System

and the Law Member of the Executive Council of the Governor General” (1). Details of the controversy would, no doubt, bore us to tears if we consider that their course took years. Among these, however, it is of utmost importance to our understanding of the fate of Indian educational policy to recall at least the views of both sides i.e., the view of Orientalists and the Minute of Macaulay. But before we proceed to do so, we can in no way escape two questions which would normally strike our mind. First, how did it happen that English gained much fame and became both greatly desired and insistently demanded? Second, the shift from Orientalism to Anglicism could not have occurred overnight.

So, what were the forces which enabled this to materialize? The first question will be put under discussion later on, but as regards the second, it is necessary to distinguish the various political and commercial agents entering the Indian scene and sowing the seeds for much of what contributed to the rise of an Indian modern educational system. Certainly, there are areas where both questions overlap. It was Hastings’ successor as Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793), who had started the process of Anglicization. Unlike Hastings, he thought that “it must be universally admitted that without a large and well- regulated body of Europeans, our hold of these valuable dominions must be very insecure” (2). This belief was not without a reason as he was suspicious of Indian Company servants’ positions. Lord Cornwallis, when found at the helm of a government threatened by financial and organizational problems, laid the blame on the policy of accommodation to the native culture.

Oriental policy was, in his view, responsible for all evils affecting the East India Company, especially the abuse of its power. Therefore, he claimed that a good government needed strong political principles and laws not few men who might corrupt it. Through this political philosophy, he paved the way to the introduction of English principles of government by which Indian administration had to function. Simultaneously, he worked hard to show that the Oriental system was deficient in a political tradition. The exclusion of Indians from all posts of importance had bad effects on the Anglo-Indian relations because it intensified the master – subject sentiment. In

1 Syed Nurullah and J.P. Naik, op.cit, p. 56
2 C.E. Trevelyan, On the Education of the People of India (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1938, p. 75
relation to education, this was aimed at fighting the corruption and lax of morals of the Company servants.

In this way, Anglicism evolved as a defensive movement exactly as it had been the case with Orientalism. Here again, the education to be designed according was not born to fulfill the very role it has been made for. Furthermore, education, by nature, must fit into the social and intellectual environment of man; otherwise, it would not inspire him to rise any way beyond. But the British, whatever reformist zeal may have motivated the different schools of thought, profit was their driving force. The famous historian Asok Sen stated that the Permanent Settlement of 1793, which is the most far-reaching in effect of Lord Cornwallis's several innovations in his attempt to “make everything as English as possible in a country which resembles England in nothing” (1), was meant to “convert Bengal and her new middle class into loyal supporters of the English rule” (2). Their loyalty, of course, is due to the touch of property. Bengal, by the time the Permanent Settlement took root, replaced its old aristocracy by “a new propertied class dependent upon and loyal to the British” (3). Thus, both the British and the Indians were eager for profit.

Although Cornwallis planned a serious system for administrative rule on English principles, Anglicism did not see the light of the day till the 1830s because of the cultural policy of his successors who were conservative in their outlook. These worked under the governorship of Lord Wellesley (1798-1805) and the Marquess of Hastings (1812-23). Prominent among them are John Malcolm, Thomas Munro, Charles Metcalf, and Mountstuart Elphinstone. They rejected the Cornwallis system of centralized administration and preferred to operate through a network of hierarchical relationships between British officers at one level and between the British and the Indians on another. Being skilled and politically astute administrators, they became conscious of the need to maintain an alliance with the traditional ruling class.

2 Asok Sen, the Bengal Economy and Ram Mohun Roy, pp. 114-15, Quoted in Modhumita Roy, op.cit, p.93
3 Modhumita Roy, op.cit, p. 93
This would secure two goals: the conciliation of the indigenous elite and the avoidance of possible disastrous impact of direct rule. Soon, it was clear that no political tradition could be imposed without causing an objection. So, it was wise to permit the native tradition to give soil for its growth. In this way, political philosophy and cultural policy should join hands to reach their common purpose. In other words, Indians had to understand many senses such as that of public responsibility and honour so as to accept and appreciate the Western-style of government.

This tendency spanned the first two decades of the nineteenth century. The Indian society had already been reordered via Cornwallis's Policy and the latter reversed its isolationism from the Indian society. Reform depended, at this point, not only on the British side but also on the Indians. Hence, the "Indian Character" became the central subject leading to the facilitation of the business of state. Nowhere was the objective better achieved than through educational policy which began to receive much attention at that time.

As Orientalism began to fade away, Anglicism started gradually to replace it. Two other factors strengthened this new policy: the opening of India to free trade in 1813 and the arrival of a group of missionaries called the Clapham Evangelicals whose concern for reform developed "that contempt for things and persons Indian ... and which produced the views of a Miller or a Macaulay" (1)

I- 2- 1- Macaulay's Minute

At each time Indian education is put under review, Macaulay’s Minute jumps into the minds. It was and it is still considered a landmark of English educational policy in India. This owed in part to Macaulay's brother-in-law, Charles Trevelyan, who made large portions of it public, and in part to Macaulay's reputation and fame.

In the foregoing pages, we pointed out to a controversy over the proper interpretation of the forty third section of the Charter Act of 1813. In fact, this was the circumstance which gave birth to Macaulay's Minute. It has also been said that the

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division of opinion in the Committee's ranks produced two extremely opposed views-Orientalism and Anglicism. Both sides were equal in number while the President of the Committee was the newly arrived Macaulay- the chief spokesman of the Liberals. No decision could have been reached without an appeal to the Governor-General-in-Council.

This took place in January 1835 when both parties submitted their dispute. The Orientalists argued that the Committee was bound by the Act of 1813 to support both Oriental and Western learning. With respect to the case of promoting knowledge of the sciences, they stated that Indians had a prejudice against European knowledge and Science except if this was imparted through a classical language. Moreover, they maintained that the existing institution of Oriental learning had to be preserved and that any hope that Indians would master English had to be abandoned. In contrast to Orientalists, Anglicists presented their argument through the Minute under review, which “was called for by the Governor-General from Macaulay, not only as an educational expert, but quite as much as the new Law Member of the government” (1)

The Minute was dated second February, 1835, but the agitation for the use of the English language and the acquisition of useful knowledge were the expressions of the Directors since 1830 so that by 1834 all that was needed was just a zealous reformer to implement the new ideas. Two thoroughly English and men of liberal spirit- Macaulay and Bentinck – were able to fill the posts. Macaulay's father, being a member of the Clapham Sect, exercised the Evangelical influence and James Mill was the chief spokesman of the English Utilitarians. He remarked that the great needs would not have been to teach Hindu learning but useful learning as the former was “obscure and worthless knowledge” (2)

The main body of the Minute was devoted to attack Oriental learning so as to cover up the fact that he was advocating no legal case at all. To a certain extent, Macaulay succeeded to distract the attention from the legal issue to be paid to the merits and demerits of classical languages and English. But no educationist would fail to notice his

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1 Percival Spear, *Bentinck and Education*, op.cit, p. 84
2 Clause H of the Resolution of 17 July 1823, setting up the G.C. P.I. and bounding it within the limits of the Act of 1813, quoted in Percival Spear, *Bentinck and Education*, op.cit, p. 84
deliberate imprecise interpretation of the clause. He argued that the word "literature" meant "English" not “Eastern literature”:

“It is argued, or rather taken for granted, that by literature, the parliament can have meant only Arabic and Sanskrit literature, that they never would have given the honourable appellation of a learned native to a native who was familiar with the poetry of Milton, the metaphysics of Locke, the physics of Newton; but that they meant to designate by that name only such persons as might have studied in the sacred books of the Hindoos all the uses of Cusa-grass, and all the mysteries of absorption into the Deity” (1)

Not only did Macaulay plead on behalf of English literature and help the passing of the English Education Act in 1835 which officially required Indians to submit to its study, but he also held the view that the institutions of Oriental learning should be closed as they were useless. Although he admitted that he knew neither Arabic nor Sanskrit, he wrote that he had “never found one among them [Orientalists] who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia” (2). He condemned the spoken languages of the people for the reason that they “contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are moreover so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them” (3). Choice, thus, was left between Sanskrit, Arabic and English, but in order to choose English as the medium of instruction, he vigorously praised its utility and importance and stated that it

“stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West. It abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us, - with models of every species of eloquence, - with historical compositions which, considered merely as narratives, have seldom been surpassed, and which, considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction, have never been equalled, - with just and lively representations of human life and human nature, with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, moral government, jurisprudence, trade - ... whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth

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2 Ibid.
3 Ibid. p. 346
which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations...” (1)

Macaulay's great reputation in literature and politics, his genius for persuasion and his gift for simplification all added force to the Minute from the moment of its composition and, therefore, gave support to his belief that the people loved and wanted English education. So, in terms of tactics, the Minute was a real success for it profoundly influenced Indian development and served the socio-economic needs of the British Indian administration of the nineteenth century. In terms of contribution, however, there is no fixed view about the role of Macaulay or his minute. Some praised him while others blamed him. Some regarded him as a noticeable modernist and an education progress enthusiast. Many others laid blame on him for the later political unrest (the 1857 Great Mutiny, for instance) as well as for the neglect of Indian languages due to the use of English as the medium of instruction, and described him as an arch-racist because of his scornful disdain for the Indian culture and religion.

Yet, it would be unwise to admit that one of these opinions is fair. Macaulay can be said to be the architect of Colonial Britain's educational policy in India because his Minute “provided an ideological banner for the new policy itself” (2). He cannot be thought to have created any progress through his agitation to spread English education since the desire for it, as we shall see, existed long before. It can be traced to the design of the colonial power to perpetuate their interests in India and people's desire for it had already grown in the classes of the early missionary schools. He had nothing to do even with the debates between Anglicists and Orientalists because that was already in existence when he arrived in July 1834. Macaulay simply came upon the scene and, with the power of his rhetoric and as President of the General Committee of Public Instruction, scored the crucial victory over Orientalists and decided the course of future developments of education in Bengal and in India.

Yet, his condemnation of Oriental literature and religion cannot be ignored and here it must be noted that Macaulay was implementing the same scheme that Charles Grant envisaged in his "Observations". There is no surprise for, on the one hand, Macaulay's father was Charles Grant's friend and on the other hand, Macaulay's efforts in regard to

1 Macaulay's Minute, quoted in Syed Nurullah & J.P Naik, op.cit, p. 60
2 Percival Spear, Bentinck and Education, op.cit, p. 85
English education can be understood from his family background. He was by birth (October 1800), a member of the new rising trading and banking middle class whose fortune was founded largely on commerce. Nevertheless, T.B. Macaulay was not the unique figure who propounded the idea of introducing English education in India. Charles Grant and C.E. Trevelyan made efforts as well and were among the pioneers who prepared for “the new stage of industrial capitalist exploitation of India ... dated from 1813” (1)

Another doubtful issue about Macaulay's contributions is the political unrest. Syed Nurullah & J.P. Naik saw that this could have happened even in the absence of English education. “But even if it was the result of such education, this is a matter of which England might well be proud” (2). Perhaps the only inevitable criticism on Macaulay is that in regard to the method he elaborated and chose to be the basis on which the modern educational system was to stand. Soon after this method was adopted, “the course of development was determined more by the selfish interests of the Indian dominant classes as opposed to the dominated peasantry,” comments Poromesh Acharya, “English education grew in relation of the destruction of indigenous education of the indigent people” (3). So, Macaulay was not only the architect of the British education in India – where we tried to be fair. He was the father of the "Downward Filtration Theory” which brought much harm to the Indian masses and caused a handicap to the natural evolution of the Indian educational system. It also was the means that embodied the strategy of "Divide and Conquer". Macaulay himself articulated the goals of British colonial imperialism when he wrote in his Minute: “we must do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, words and intellect” (4)

The Downwards filtration theory was initially designed to educate only the upper classes (as it was the case with the aristocratic classes in England). The purpose was to prepare an Indian governing class, but in reality it was an attempt rather to secure their loyalty.

1 R. Palme Dutt, India Today, Mamisha, 1970, pp. 116-17
2 Syed Nurullah & J.P. Naik, op. cit, p. 63
4 Macaulay's Minute.
Surprisingly, demands came from other sections of the society immediately after they recognized the new system's advantages. As a result, the theory needed another form that suggested the education of the upper classes since they possess “leisure and natural influence over the minds of their countrymen” (1). Hence, their education would filter in time to lower classes. This form, however, did not suit the Indian society, with its variety of castes and religions. Thus, a third design was of a great need for the Downward Filtration Theory to be valid. Now, the Company decided to give education through English to only few persons who had to be from the upper classes, and leave it to them to transmit their knowledge to the masses through the modern Indian languages.

To conclude, Indian education was based on a class conception as it was confirmed to a special category of people. The main thing was to show the extent of mastery of English - the passport to employment. The promoters of this theory may have hidden behind the smallness of the amount sanctioned for education expenditure and the multitude of Indian languages, but they could not hide their failure. The English educated Indian either got employment under government or felt no sympathy to his people and in both cases he was not ready to teach them. Prasad Mookerjee quotes Lord Curzon who, criticizing the system, said: “four villages out of five are without a school, three boys out of four grow without education and only one girl in forty attends any kind of school” (2). Where are the predictions, then of Macaulay who, in 1836, stated; “It is my firm belief that if our plans are followed up, there will not be a single idolater among the respectable classes of Bengal thirty years hence” (3)? Would idolation be fought with a small percentage of educated men in proportion to a great illiterate population? Fortunately, it was among those few educated Indians that private Indian enterprise in education developed and some work of spreading education took place, but only when they exceeded the capacity of government services.

**I-2-2- Lord Bentinck's Resolution**

We saw that Macaulay was hostile to the British Orientalists and treated them and their views on education harshly in his Minute which Gandhi called "notorious". He was among those who taught Indians “to regard with esteem whatever was western and with

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contempt whatever eastern’”\(^1\). He was said to be the driving mental force behind Lord Bentinck's educational policy. However, if Macaulay succeeded to draw a scheme for the new policy contemptuous of ancient traditions and in favour of Western knowledge, it was Bentinck who adopted and allowed that policy itself. In fact, the long and protracted debate over the educational policy was eventually decided by his well–known Resolution of 7\(^{th}\) March, 1835, in which he accepted Macaulay's proposals.

Bentinck, an advanced Whig and truly a Benthamite committed to social reforms, did not even wait for the reports, which were conducted by the Company officials to enquire about vernacular education in Bengal and Bihar, as we mentioned in the initial chapter, to implement his educational reform. Indeed, he was a friend of Macaulay as they spent some months together in Nilgiri Hills. They were both men of liberal ideas, but in contrast to Macaulay who was a genius in literature, Bentinck was a soldier and a man of action who rarely read anything. But he “took liberal principles as if it were on trust or by instinct, and in India liberal principles meant to him humanitarianism and the preference of English methods to Indian if the two were called in question”\(^2\)

Persian, the official language of India at that time, was according to him a dead language which had to be replaced by English. But this was not the sole motive behind Bentinck's desire to impart Western Knowledge through English to the natives of India. Much more important was the task of economizing the administration. A clue to that was to find a solution to the highly – paid English officials. Cheap labour of course could come from the natives, but they also needed some knowledge of English. In terms of personal influences, Macaulay indeed is the name generally associated with Bentinck concerning nineteenth century British educational policy, but the latter worked with many others who might well have influenced him, such as Charles Metcalfe and Charles Trevelyan. Far from the official efforts of the Company was Dr Alexander Duff, the Scotch missionary, who was said to have attracted Bentinck's attention to many educational matters.

More interesting to the purpose of this study than Bentinck's Personality is his Resolution – the main passages of which run as follow:

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\(^2\) Percival Spear, *Bentinck and Education*, op.cit, p. 82
“His lordship in council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that all funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone...

His Lordship-in-Council directs that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the committee, be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language...” (1)

The Resolution, of course, came to settle the dispute especially in what concerns the use of the money allocated to education and to fortify Macaulay's suggested scheme as well. But the new educational policy as a whole declared that Western knowledge had to be taught through the medium of the English language which for many reasons was to become the official language, too. Emphasis was to be put on higher and English education rather than the elementary since there was a belief in the benefit of the principle of filtration from above to the masses. The content of higher education compounded of Western literature and science.

Bentinck's new policy, obviously, came at a point where it could no longer be truthfully acknowledged that India had a rich civilization. It marked a radical departure from the view prevalent up to 1800 and contrasted with it in many respects. Islam and Hinduism were considered as “false religions” (2). The adoption of English and, in effect, the official language of British India implied that both the classical languages and the vernacular were to be neglected. Eastern learning in general was regarded as lacking in truth and depraved of morality.

The origin of the new policy is as important as the policy itself. Whenever we read about this issue, we are informed that English education was introduced by the British rulers to train native clerks but this is only partially true. The motives behind this policy are certainly mixed. We admit that very few reformers were moved by humanitarian principles but we cannot deny that motives of convenience and economy pre-dominated the overall design. The socio-economic background was already prepared from the time

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1 Selections from Educational Records, Vol. I, pp. 130-1, quoted in, Syed Nurullah & J. P. Naik, op.cit, p.64
2 C.E. Trevelyan, Note on Neutrality in Religion.
of Lord Cornwallis and as the Indian economy altered radically, it sparked off considerable changes in the social and cultural spheres. The old traditions along with the conservative attitudes towards them now came under heavy attacks. The new group of British administration who held the new attitudes (often known as the Haileybury men) were guided only by British principles and institutions in governing India. Their actions were directed towards meeting the needs of the empire which were replaced by greater political control rather than mercantile interest. Education was but a means to achieve that control not a purpose as it should naturally be.

Before we conclude this section, we should point to the fact that the controversy did not come to an end with Bentinck's Resolution. It took nearly five years to be finally closed by Lord Auckland – the Governor General of India who succeeded Lord William Bentinck. In a Minute dated 24\textsuperscript{th} November, 1839, he dealt with several topics such as the problem of the medium of instruction in Secondary Schools, Adam's recommendations concerning the improvement of indigenous education, and chiefly the conflict between the Orientalists and Anglicists. Lord Auckland, to remedy the case, assigned additional funds so as to satisfy both parties. Though he passed some orders in favour of classicists, he was entirely in support of the Anglicist view.

In 1842, the Committee of Public Instruction was replaced by a Council of Education and two years later the government announced, through the Harding Proclamation, preference for English educated Indians in the Civil Service. By 1837, English had already replaced Persian as the official and court language. No doubt, these steps “effectively sealed any growth of education other than English education”\textsuperscript{(1)}

\textbf{I- 2- 3- Alexander Duff and Modern Indian Education}

The formerly reviewed attempts to educate Indians were officials and official wheels usually move slowly. According to J. P. Naik & Syed Nurullah, their (the officials’) “net achievements were insignificant as compared with the vastness of the population and the backwardness of its education. Even as late as 1855, the total number of educational institutions managed, aided or inspected by the Company was as small as 1.474 with only 67,569 pupils, and the total expenditure on education was not even 1%
of the total revenue.” (1) The field of education between 1813 and 1853 did not depend only on official attempts as the non-official enterprise was crucial as well. The latter was conducted by the missionaries, by the officials of the Company in their individual capacity or non-official Englishmen living in India, and by Indians themselves. The indigenous institutions belonged to this type, too “just as religion was constitutive of nineteenth century British society, politics and social thought, so did the evangelical revival in the latter eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries play a crucial part in the empire” (2), and at large in India where they “had by 1851 founded two thousand and seven schools and seminaries of Christianity and general knowledge, which had as many as 79,259 pupils, as against 24,954 instructs by the government” (3)

We have already seen that the Charter Act of 1813 opened India to new Missionary Societies besides those already there. Among them are the General Baptist Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Mission, and the Scotch Missionary Society. Notable among the Churchmen who came to India in the wake of this amendment of the Charter was Alexander Duff (1906-1878) – the first missionary sent abroad by the Church of Scotland. So many missionaries, of course, contributed to the rise of the modern educational system and even before, such as William Carey who had arrived in 1793 and a countless number of others. Duff, however, worked in Calcutta in the formative years of modern education and left a permanent impression on the entire system.

In 1829, Duff sailed for Calcutta with the plan of starting a college, but soon he realized that it would be impossible due to the absence of many Secondary Schools. In fact, the earlier missionaries focused on the foundation of elementary Bengali schools where only proficiency in the three Rs was recommended. Therefore, he directed his attention to founding a school of the type already established. But, there, Bengali language was taught and Duff considered it “as rude, as unreduced to method or rule, as the most barbarous of the common vernacular dialects of Europe during the middle ages” (4). There is no wonder here for nearly all missionaries had a very low opinion of

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1 Syed Nurullah & J. P. Naik, op.cit., p. 94
3 Shestradri and Wilson (1853: 69) quoted in, Véronique Benei, op.cit, p. 1650
the native languages in the first decades of the nineteenth century. So, Duff chose the English language to be the medium of instruction for the institution he opened at Calcutta in 1830. Lessons about the Christian religion were given to the pupils who objected in the beginning, but thanks to the help of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the Brahmin reformer, they attended them.

Although the school emphasized instruction in the Bible, it was an immediate success because of the desire for knowledge of English among the middle and upper classes of Calcutta’s Hindus. Gradually, it attained the status of a college. With the erection of a large new building for the college, Duff divided the institution into separate departments for school and college. Duff’s success also owes much to the fact that his college was located in Calcutta – the seat of the Indian government and its building were not far from the government building. News of his success made influential members of government pay attention to his views. An instance of Duff’s influence is that he freed the minds of Hindu learners from many prejudices. An enquiry appointed to visit his college found that his English education made a great advance in the progress of medicine in that scholars did not object to the dissection of the human body.

Not only did Alexander Duff contribute to the formation of a modern system of education through his institutions, but through his contacts with decision makers in the government as well. Duff started his work before the renewal Charter of 1833 which aroused those famous debates we have already seen. Sir Charles Trevelyan, on the side of Anglicists, was extremely influenced by Duff who was a friend of his. Trevelyan, in his book "On the education of the people of India", thought in the same way as Duff: “if we turn from Sanskrit and Arabic learning and the state of society which has been formed by it, to western learning, and the improved and still rapidly improving condition of the western nations what a different spectacle presents itself”\(^{(1)}\)

Personalities such as Macaulay and Lord Bentinck and those of the Court of Directors of the East India Company in London all gave support to the type of education Duff was providing. Lord Auckland, who tried to strike a balance between Eastern and Western learning and to support both, was attacked by Alexander Duff in three open

\(^{(1)}\) Sir Charles Trevelyan, *On the Education of the People of India*, London, 1838, p. 85
letters. This factor, among others, contributed to the government change in attitude and its return to the earlier disregard for everything Indian. The government of Harding, too, gave preference to English speaking Indians i.e., Indians who had been educated in institutions recognized by the Council of Education – including those established by missionaries. This was exactly what Duff propounded ten years earlier. Always in terms of Duff's effect, we should mention that his type of Western education was the stimulus to the 1830s and 1840s growth of English schools at the expense of all other native institutions. Duff had even a hand in the most important Despatch of Sir Charles Wood of 19th July 1854, and which we shall see in a later section.

Last but not least, Alexander Duff fought tooth and nail to establish a Western type of education in hope not that the people of India would be provided with the best type of education and useful knowledge but so that they abandon Hinduism and become Christians. The result was not as he hoped for few rejected their faith while so many accepted the Western scientific knowledge. Nevertheless, Duff succeeded in that Hinduism was undermined by the Christian teaching linked to his English education. If Charles Grant was considered the father of modern Indian education and Macaulay its architect, Alexander Duff, as a man of exceptional scholastic ability, personified that zeal, enthusiasm and will with which every reformer acted.

II - English Studies and Modern Education

Although English became the official language of British India's commerce and administration only in the mid- nineteenth century, the influence of English had been felt in India long before. We have already seen some of the couple and range of constitutive social, political and economic relations that consolidated the formation of English studies in colonial India, but we still need to describe the grid of political and economic coordinates along which the institution of English may be mapped. But before that, we should not confuse between English education and English literary studies.

The earliest efforts to introduce English education had been the work of missionaries and private societies. This has already been discussed in the previous Chapter when we briefly summed up the history of mission in the East. The missionaries, from the very
outset, had argued insistently that the “happy means of diffusing the Gospel” (1) could be only via the English language. Charles Grant observed more advantages of such a course when he stated that “New views of duty as rational creatures would open upon them, and that mental bondage in which they have long been holden would gradually dissolve” (2)

His next insightful remark was:

“In every progressive step to this work, we shall also serve the original design with which we visited India, that design still so important to this country: the extension of our commerce... and wherever we may venture to say, our principles and language are introduced, our commerce will follow” (3)

Furthermore, he foresaw that if the government would establish “places of gratuitous instruction in reading and writing English: multitudes, especially the young, would flock to them. The Hindoos would, in time become teachers of English themselves, and employment of our language in public business, for which every political reason remains in full force, would, in the course of another generation, make it very general throughout the country” (4)

The Court of Directors and the officials of the East India Company had recognized the political and economic potentials of English as well. The former noted that it would “enlighten the minds of the natives and impress them with sentiments of esteem and respect for this British nation” (5), and the latter prized its utility for building a massive imperial structure. Indeed, it was through the introduction of English as the common medium of commercial, administrative, legal and intellectual domains that the British East India Company could unify and centralize the administration of its territories.

1 Charles Grant, Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic subjects of G.B. Particularly with respect to morals, and on the means of Improving It (London: Privately Printed, 1797), p. 220
2 H. Sharp, Selection from Educational Records, Part I, 1920, p. 84
3 Alexander Duff, the Early or Exclusively Oriental Period of Government Education in Bengal, Nineteenth Century Studies, pp. 12-13
4 H. Sharp, op.cit, p. 83
5 Despatch of the Court of Directors, dated the 16th February 1787, in H. Sharp, Selections from Educational Records, Vol. 1, 3
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As a result of the missionaries’ hard work to popularize English education, the growing political importance of English as the language of the rulers and especially because its study secured “the royal road to a black – coated profession with a decent income and an important status in society” (1), public opinion was growing in favour of English. Therefore, when the question of the language of instruction was resolved in 1835, English had already been central in the lives of the upwardly mobile classes in India. It is true that Macaulay's Minute and Bentinck's Resolution were both decisive in the formal institution of English, but Bentinck's policy derived from Macaulay's hope and the latter was believed to have “sowed his seeds in prepared soil” (2). Another factor which contributed to the growing popularity of English is that, among Indians themselves, there were great leaders who vociferously urged their countrymen to study it.

Before we proceed to deal thoroughly with the factors which pushed Indians to flock to the cities in order to acquire a knowledge of the English language, we should bear in mind that the history of English education is informed by both Englishmen and Indians, or in other words “by the social and economic aspiration of the emerging middle class and the urban elites, as well as the contingencies of a rapidly expanding empire” (3). At first, it was often said that the imposition of English was simply a strategy to contain the peasant insurgency and divert the Indians from any possible revolutionary course. But this does not stand for the whole story as there is a complex history behind. Gauri Viswanathan, in her excellent book "Masks of Conquest", ascribes the history of English studies in India to the aims of domination and consent.

She approved of Antonio Gramsci who “illuminates the relations of culture and power through the useful insight that cultural domination works by consent and often precedes conquest by force” (4). So, Viswanathan suggested that Voluntary cultural assimilation was the favourable British form of political control and English literary studies in India were the means to that end. Gramsci wrote:

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1 Syed Nurullah & J. P. Naik, op.cit, p. 55  
3 Modhumita Roy, op.cit, p. 84  
4 Gauri Viswanathan, Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India, New York, Colombia University Press, 1989, p. 1
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“The supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as domination and as intellectual and moral leadership… It seems clear… that there can and indeed must be hegemonic activity even before the rise to power, and that one should not count only on the material force which power gives in order to exercise an effective leadership”\(^{(1)}\)

Viswanathan also sees that ideology is a form of masking that begins when force gives way to ideas. However, this view opposes many other realities because, though we can conceive of it to some extent, we cannot deny that it ignores these points: English education was introduced only after the Company had already been on a firm footing via military conquest; the importance of English was felt long before any English literary syllabus as it was rooted in the lives of certain Indian sections who were simply seeking employment and English had been institutionalized only after long parliamentary debates and divisions among the learned classes of both England and India. Besides these points, we also need to mention that English studies were intended to discipline Indians and make them “submit from a conviction that we [the English] are more wise, more just, more humane, and more anxious to improve their condition than any other rulers they could possibly have”\(^{(2)}\), but this shaping of character covered only a small proportion in comparison to a large population marked by massive illiteracy. Thus, any evaluation would be restricted to that section which consented.

Being one of the various strategies that Great Britain used to govern its colonies and control their inhabitants, it is worth mentioning the steps in which the English literary curriculum could shape the character of Indians as the British desired. As early as the first two decades of the nineteenth century, political and cultural actions started to converge. Culture, defined as the refined understanding and appreciation of art, literature and so on, cannot exclude religion of its scope. But the government, at least publicly, seemed keeping with the policy of religious neutrality.

The contradictory behaviour of allowing missionaries to enter India and the stringent checks on their activities or the involvement in Indian education, but being

\(^{(1)}\) Gauri Viswanathan, \textit{Currying Favor: the Politics of British Educational and Cultural Policy in India 1813-1854}, op.cit, p. 85

restrained from including any religious instruction in the syllabus, could eventually be resolved by the introduction of English literature. This came mainly as a result of the missionaries’ agitation, but soon the military officers joined them on the grounds that the natives, because education in English was secular, increased in immorality and disaffection towards the British government. Consequently, the earlier neutrality had to be replaced by an alternate mechanism of control.

Just as education developed in England, things run the same way in India. Religious instruction was imparted to the lower sections to fit them for the different tasks of life and to secure them in their appropriate social order. But the religious texts used to control depraved English power classes might well have caused a huge wave of violence if they were put directly in the syllabus. On the other hand, the religious zeal and fears of lawlessness urged the British to discover an efficient solution which is literature. Indeed, as such, it would seem a secular liberal education although it is imbued with Christian Principles.

The British Indian curriculum was really based on a literary material in its first stage, but was devoted to language studies. From the 1820s on, the missionaries fought to teach a great deal of Christianity through the English literature which was virtually animated by religion. When they made claims to teach the Bible, the government response was that English literature had already made that. Viswanathan makes this clear when she says: “English Education as so replete with Christian references that much more of scriptural teaching was usually imparted than generally admitted” (1) Indeed, curricular selections included Shakespeare, Addison’s Spectator Papers, Bacon and Locke, Milton, Abercrombie and Adam Smith’s Moral Sentiments – all of whom could cause a voluntary reading of the Bible.

The British educational objective was also better achieved through the written examination. The topics on which students were asked to write were chosen in such a way as to mould their minds according to the British wishes. Instances of these were pieces on: “the drawbacks of the Caste system”, “the benevolence of Christianity”, “the demerits of Hinduism” and “the falsehood of Hindu Shastras”. While this was the case in the missionary institutions, the government ones relied on topics that would puzzle

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1 Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India*, op.cit, p. 16
students with the exceptional advantages of British rule such as: “the new land laws”, “means of communication through steam”, “trade”, “knowledge through the English language” and so on.

To understand the output of the nineteenth century British educated Indians, the following quote which is the conclusion of a student's essay on the effects of the English knowledge on Hinduism is worth mentioning:

“But alas! Alas! Our countrymen are still asleep – still sleeping the sleep of death. Rise up ye sons of India, arise, see the glory of the sun of Righteousness! Beauty is around you; life blooms before you; why, why will ye sleep the sleep of death? And shall we who have drunk in that beauty – shall we not awake our poor countrymen? Come what will, ours will be the part, the happy part of arousing the slumber of slumbering India”\(^{(1)}\)

We can have an idea of whether the natives tried to distance themselves from any religious stance or not from the department of education in Bombay where new school manuals were made for use in the vernacular schools of the Presidency from 1845 onwards. It was found that “not only did these manuals contain religious lessons, but the older ones remained jointly used, at least until the late 1860s”\(^{(2)}\). Somewhere else in Madras a minute was issued in 1846 to introduce the Bible as a class book. Even though the Minute was not enacted, it shows to what extent the government became indifferent to religious matters. If this was the way in which the officials reacted, the students had no reaction whatsoever.

We have seen how the policy of voluntary cultural assimilation took root in the Indian life. But still a word should be added to explain why the Indians volunteered. Nearly all those who sought English education were motivated by the fact that it ensured a living wage. Modhumita Roy noted, from an editorial in the Samachar Darpan dated 13\(^{th}\) December 1834, that “an acquaintance with Bengalese will rather prevent them [Indians] acquiring wealth … these well acquainted with English may obtain

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\(^{(2)}\) Véronique Benei, op.cit, p. 1650
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situations as writers with long salaries and prospects of higher appointments” (1). Some others viewed English education as a panacea for many of the ills of their society for it would open a window on the world.

III - The "Magna Carta" of English Education

When the demand for English education rose sharply, leading to unplanned growth of institutions especially after the Harding proclamation, the need arose for a systematic and an effective administrative system. Within a few years, it was time of the East India Company's 1853 Charter renewal. A parliamentary enquiry was held to decide its terms. As far as education is concerned, this enquiry resulted in the famous despatch of Sir Charles Wood (2) to the Board of Directors in 1854. It was described by many as the Magna Carta of English education in India as it set forth a comprehensive scheme of education for the country.

The despatch was also thought to be “based on memoranda supplied by Marshman and Duff” (4). Being so, it certainly reflected their views. It was particularly arranging for the government to give grants - in – aid of satisfactory schools, whether government schools or not. Although the despatch envisaged a balance between English and Vernacular education and encouraged primary education, it made possible a great expansion of the educational work of missions and of other voluntary organizations as well. Following the political, economic, administrative and cultural needs of the British, this despatch reaffirming the policy laid down in 1835, recommended the concentration of higher education to the upper classes. Or as it was stated, “it envisaged English in the higher department for the few; the Vernacular for the many” (5). But in practice, English education grew and Vernacular education remained neglected as before.

With regard to the controversy between Anglicists and Classicists, the despatch did not condemn the Oriental party's views. On the contrary, it appreciated the advantages

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1 Quoted in N.L. Basak, *History of Vernacular Education in Bengal, 1800 – 1854* (Calcutta, 1974) p. 259
2 He was President of the Board of Control of the East India Company.
3 Marchman was the son of one of the pioneer missionaries at Serampore, just outside Calcutta
5 Ibid.
of the Indian classical language studies. Yet, the despatch took the same line as Duff, Trevelyan and Macaulay in many respects – as for instance in saying that: “the system of science and philosophy which forms the learning of the East abounds with grave errors, and eastern literature is at best very deficient as regards all modern discovery and improvement”\(^{(1)}\). The following declarations would also show to what extent the despatch agrees with Macaulay:

“We must emphatically declare that the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe, in short, of European knowledge...”.

“We have also received most satisfactory evidence of the high attainment in English literature and European science which have been acquired of late years by some of the natives on India. But this success has been confined to but a small number of persons, and we are desirous of extending far more widely the means of acquiring general European knowledge, of a less higher order, but of such a character as may be practically useful to the people of India in their different spheres of life...”\(^{(2)}\)

The Wood's Despatch, which was a long document of a hundred paragraphs, also proposed the administrative machinery for the educational system which included, among other things, the setting up of a Public Instruction Department in each of the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay under an important officer called the Director of Public Instruction, and the specific methods of examination especially the introduction of entrance examination. It emphasized the need for establishing universities in the three main cities, Madras, Bombay and Calcutta in 1857, taking London University as a model. English was not only a major subject but also the medium of instruction at the university and at entrance level. This had its influence on secondary and primary education as well.

About university, Wood declared that: “the time has arrived for the establishment of universities in India which may encourage a regular and liberal course of education by conferring academic degrees as evidence of attainments in the different branches of art
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and science". The despatch indicated that there should be a gradual withdrawal of the Company's liability towards secondary school education. To sum up, the Wood's Despatch, just as Macaulay's Minute, was but an expression of the contemporary needs of the colonial powers in India. According to the preceding description, it put a certain order to the educational process but never questioned any pedagogic needs since its very objective was not genuinely educative.

IV- Colonial Science Education in India

So far we have followed at least the landmarks of the evolution of English education in India during company rule and each time we were convinced that when the educational policy had to respect the so-called religious neutrality, it was less a committed secularism than a political expediency; and when it became inspired by much liberalism, it needed a religious guide as the latter would guarantee political expediency. Therefore, it can be admitted that the educational system tended to follow whichever way the political winds blew and these rarely blew in a direction other than religion.

Nevertheless, some Western historians link their educational interference to things beneficial such as the development of modern science and technology. They even went to defend colonialism on the grounds that it leads to intellectual progress of the subjected people. It is our contention here to scrutinize whether this was true on the Indian scene. In the period between 1791 and 1813, the idea of education Indians was considered a folly as that which led to the loss of America. Thus, introducing useful learning in science did not even come up in any debate over that little knowledge reflecting Oriental bias. With the Charter Act of 1813, however, education was recognized as a state subject as the government spoke of the promotion of science, but in practice no encouragement was recorded whatsoever.

Apprehensions were the reason behind. So, the British stressed the revival of Indian classical sciences and objected to “any abrupt and injudicious attempts at innovation” (2). But the natives reacted in an unexpected manner. They founded the Vidyalaya for

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1 Home Public Letters from the Court of Directors, 19 July 1854, N°.9
2 Letter from the General Committee of Public Instruction to the Governor General, 18 August 1824, Home Public Proceedings, 5 June 1829, N°. 84
both European and Asiatic languages and science in Banaras and the Hindu Sanskrit College in 1821 at Calcutta. The continued display of new and improved technology by the British, though mainly aimed at increasing their exploitation, “evoked a considerable amount of interest among the Indians” (1). The educated natives regarded the Oriental policy to be “calculated to keep this country [India] in darkness if such had been the policy of the British Legislative” (2). They kept on their demand for the introduction of modern science, but the British, unintelligibly, persisted on Oriental literature and science.

In spite of this disapproval from the part of the British, there were occasions where the consolidation and extension of the British Empire demanded the training of the local youth in more useful branches of science especially in surveys and the medical branch. Michael Topping, for instance, opened the first survey school at Guindy (Madras) in 1794. Later, each of the Madrassa and the Sanskrit College of Calcutta gained medical classes where anatomy was taught. Studies in mathematics and natural philosophy were included as well. In the Vidyalaya, more studies than either of the Calcutta Colleges were introduced and lectures were delivered even in chemistry. The elements of geometry, geography and astronomy were taught at the Delhi and Agra Colleges. In Bombay, survey schools were started, from which competent survey officials sprang up. These were to increase in number unless Lord Auckland, a Governor General, objected to the idea. Translations of the elementary works of European medical science were allowed.

In spite of this, no great success was recorded in medicine at least in the beginning because the science lectures were only oral with no practical work. And when a Medical School was opened in Calcutta in 1822, it was not for the sake of improving any native knowledge but with a view to the military and civil service under European doctors” (3). Another Medical School was founded in Bombay by Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1825-26. The Marathi language was selected as the medium of instruction. However, both schools “served as workshops for sending Indians to European hospitals, where they

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2 Extracts from Raja Ram Mohun Roy’s Address to Lord Amherst, 11 December 1823, in C.E. Trevelyan, *On the Education of the people of India*, (1938) (Calcutta, Longman), pp. 65-71
3 HPP, 7 March 1835, No. 20
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served in subordinate capacities”\(^{(1)}\). Thus, had these attempts been planned to raise the standards of the natives' health care, those should have been appointed to superior posts with higher salaries so that they serve their countrymen.

The arrival of Lord Bentinck led to the abolition of these schools and the establishment of a Medical College instead – through the medium of English. In fact, it was over this point that a controversy arose between the Orientalists and the Anglicists. The former favoured “a union of native and European learning and of encouraging European science and literature through the medium of Oriental languages”\(^{(2)}\). The latter, however, saw the vernacular languages as “erroneous systems”\(^{(3)}\). The Anglicists succeeded but until March 1835, the promotion of Oriental literature and science was the British educational policy.

A new era, nonetheless, began with the appointment of Lord Macaulay as President of the Committee of Public Instruction in 1834. Helped by Lord Bentinck's sympathy, he could form a solid basis for English education in India. Around his time, some institutions were set up for the scientific and technical education. Few years after 1840, attempts to introduce engineering failed. But in 1847, the great Utilitarian James Thomason founded an engineering institution. Engineers were so wanted that without them the large works of irrigation, navigation, roads and railways building would have been impossible. Therefore, colleges and institutions for engineering were opened in each of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. Indian engineers “were employed merely as labourers and mechanics such as turners, filters, lathe men and smiths”, writes Satpal Sangwan, “Although there was a scheme in the beginning to employ them as engine drivers, until the end of Company rule it was quite rarely that an Indian could be assigned such a challenging task”\(^{(4)}\). The increasing colonial interest in Indian resources and the advent of steam vessels and railways made it necessary to impart some knowledge of geology.

In addition to the slowness and smallness of the Macaulian set-up of English education, it was defective on many other points. It totally rejected the Oriental

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\(^{(2)}\) A. Mathew (1926), The Education of India, p.11 (London, Faber and Gwyer), quoted in, Satpal Sangwan, Science Education in India Under Colonial Constraints, 1792-1857, op.cit, p. 84

\(^{(3)}\) C.E. Trevelyan's Minute of 13 June 1833, PGCPI (1833), Vol. III, p. 1

\(^{(4)}\) Satpal Sangwan, Science Education in India under Colonial Constraints, 1792-1857, op.cit, p. 86
literature and science though some indigenous scientific works deserved to be taken into consideration. The imposition of English language was, for the majority, impractical because through the vernacular they could easily learn modern science. The English language was popular only in Bengal. The emphasis on English education rather than science education was contrary to all those plans for intellectual progress. Science education became subordinate to the grand object of teaching India the language, the literature and morals. Though there was “no resistance to its adoption on account of caste or creed”\(^1\), it was directed to the few not the many.

Political consideration also decided over the knowledge of science in India and in this respect, Trevelyan opined:

“Educated in the same way, interested in the same objects, engaged in the same pursuits with ourselves, they become more English than Hindus. And knowing that the elevation of their country on these principles can only be worked out under our protection, they will naturally cling to us”\(^2\)

In conclusion, that little scientific and technical knowledge imparted by the British colonists in India of the nineteenth century was not intended to produce scientists and inventors, but to get a cheap labour-power. On the contrary, they were afraid of the development of native capacity. So, they employed Indians as assistants and sub-assistants and used them to extract the maximum profits from their motherland.

**Conclusion**

If we are allowed to tell more about the results of the new educational set-up, we would say that the scientific and practical professions were neglected, unlike the administrative, judicial, and legal professions which were overcrowded. Moreover, the quality of education deteriorated since students were able to pass and reach higher classes for the sake of higher allowances no matter whether they stood in college or they had any proficiency. The growth of higher education and the induction of Indians into the lower order of the civil services urged the British to find a solution to reduce expenditure on education. The immediate work was the appointment of a commission in

\(^1\) Satpal Sangwan, *Indian Response to European Science and Technology 1557-1857*, op.cit, p. 229

\(^2\) C.E. Trevelyan, op.cit, pp. 187-205
1882 “to enquire into the manner in which effect had been given to the principles of the Despatch of 1854 and to suggest fresh measures, as it may think desirable, in order to the further carrying out of the policy therein laid down” \(^{(1)}\). It was known as the Hunter Commission for it recommended the State withdrawal from direct support of institutions, and suggested a general plan for college fees and state withdrawal from managing secondary education. English education, in effect, continued with less costs. Surprisingly, during the 1880s and 1890s, it grew more and more so that “in 1882 there were 63 English Arts Colleges, in 1902; there were 140. The number of unaided English secondary schools increased from 2133 to 5097. There was an increase in the unaided colleges and schools privately managed by Indians. There were only 11 such colleges in 1882 with 716 students and in 1902 this increased to 53 colleges with 5803 students. The number of such schools doubled and the number of students increased threefold” \(^{(2)}\)

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\(^{(1)}\) C.E. Trevelyan, op.cit, pp. 189 -90  
\(^{(2)}\) Satpal Sangwan, *Indian Response to European Science and Technology (1557-1857)*, op.cit, p. 229
Chapter IV

Impact of Colonial Educational Policy on the Indian Walks of Life

Introduction

In the foregoing chapters, we noticed on several occasions that the British educational policy was perverted, limited and did not stand for any intellectual improvement. It resulted in a number of unexpected effects. Some of these were adverse to the British interests, although the educational system was designed over a long time to serve as a persuasive means that would guarantee their hegemony already established by physical force. In fact, power was daily imposed in the dynamics of everyday life – in schools, colleges and all kinds of institutions. Later on, however, while the minority enjoyed the fruit of the system, the majority regretted that “at present, education is but a name. It seems now the eager desire of the government to multiply the number of schools without improving knowledge. Scholars of the former times were decidedly superior to those of the present time”\(^{(1)}\)

I- New class; new social privileges

The growth of English education was taking place at a time when the aspirations of the Indian bourgeoisie were finding expression. According to Percival Spear, the infiltration theory failed because “the sieve through which Western ideas were to percolate had no vernacular holes in it, with the result that the new ”English knowing” class was divided by a wall of literary pride and supposedly useful knowledge from the rest of the people”\(^{(2)}\). And this is how the strategy of “divide and rule” was used most effectively. The policy of divide and rule is nothing new if we consider that the British colonial authorities, in all their colonies “divided and redivided populations

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into discrete groups, on the basis of linguistics, religion, ethnicity and skin colour”. (1) In India, however, besides reinforcing pre-existing communities, new communities were created. Little by little, social distance was converted into physical distance and obviously this spatial separation would undermine the population's unity. It became clear that the British imperialists learned from their loss of America and understood that their colonies, if united, they stand; if divided they can fall prey to their greedy projects.

The growth of English education also reflected the fact that it was regarded as a necessity for employment. Colonial conditions caused the disintegration of traditional crafts while they made of English education the unique avenue for a meaningful employment. As a result, English instruction was eagerly sought after by Bhadraloks as the road to higher education and for securing an interesting white collar job. Due to the fact that they considered it the only vocational education available, it was observed in the Calcutta University Commission of 1917-19 that “the classes whose sons have filled the colleges to overflowing are the middle or professional classes commonly known as the Bhadralok; and it is their needs and their traditions which have more than any other cause, dictated the character of university development in Bengal” (2). The Bengal Bhadraloks, then, formed the clientele of higher education and grew as a new large English – speaking secretarial and professional class. The latter included the legal, the medical, and the secretarial classes.

Before we advance in discussing how the Bengali Bhadraloks determined the position of English in school education, it would be wise to take a look at how those new classes- which did not exist before the shift in educational policy – saw the light of the day. The dadani merchants were the first groups to learn English and act as intermediaries between the Company and the native producers of calicoes and muslins. Later, the Company needed “reliable dohhassis and munchis to help them conduct business” (3). Surprisingly, it was estimated that the number of interpreters in Bengal alone was about a thousand in 1673. Banyans, too, were needed to carry on business

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with the mercantile and banking houses set up by the British. After Plassey's victory, new agents, or gomasthas, began to assist the Company in “collecting revenues, keeping accounts, negotiating with Mughal courtiers, and, in some cases, managing household affairs” (1). And with the Permanent Settlement of 1793 and the creation of private ownership of property, a new class of pleaders came into existence, i.e. new job opportunities were offered by the new law courts and agency houses. These new professions set in motion unprecedented mobility in India's history. Access to them depended on knowledge of English and was, by and large, granted to the traditionally educated caste Hindus (upper castes and subcastes) to the newly formed British oriented institutions so as to earn a living.

Economic coercion stood behind the native enthusiasm to learn English. Political – administrative and economic necessity, too, urged the British from the onset to lend countenance to the English language dissemination. In either case English was a preferred means of communication; not of enlightenment. In the start, the missionaries were the main agency responsible for the spread of modern education. English was getting more and more popular so that in the first decades of the nineteenth century, in addition to the charitable institutions set up by the missionaries, private institutions of English instruction such as Mr. and Mrs Marshman's boarding schools were opened in 1800. These “were looked upon simply as sources of revenue” (2). Despite of the fact that rates were exorbitant, demand was growing for seats there in hope of getting a job either in the offices of the East India Company or among the emerging indigenous bourgeoisie engaged in business affairs with the British.

With respect to this native wish to learn English, it is inevitable to cite here the story of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar – the nineteenth century educator and social reformer, who learned the English numerals at the age of eight. Like many of his contemporaries, in November 1828 he flocked to Calcutta to be enrolled in a school where he would receive a good education. He was accompanied by his father, a traditional Brahmin pundit who left Birsingha, his ancestral home, to work as a clerk in Calcutta. It was often told that Vidyasagar, on his way to Calcutta, saw several milestones engraved in

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1 B.B. Misra, The Indian Middle Classes: Their Growth in Modern Times (London : University, 1961) Quoted in, Modhumita Roy, op.cit, p. 90
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English. Each time he passed a milestone, he memorized the numeral so that when he reached Calcutta, he had learned them all.

The story was often selected in a way to praise perseverance but, as Asok Sen Comments, the milestones were put “to suit the convenience and sanctions of a new empire under foreign rule” (1). They were part of the nineteenth century new plan of political socialization. Sen sees that English education in general was meant to consolidate the British power, but certain Indians seized upon this chance to emerge as a new middle class and an urban elite layer. Unfortunately, they were absorbing values and notions about themselves and their land of birth that would be conducive to the British goal of looting India's wealth while making them feel as patronizingly towards the illiterate masses.

Indeed, the introduction of modern education throughout the nineteenth century had a parallel development to the socio-political and economic needs of Britain. Desai illustrates this as he confirms:

"it wasn't a mere accident that it was by the end of the first half of the nineteenth century, especially during the Governor-General ship of Lord Dalhousie, that important beginnings of the inauguration of modern education in India were made. It was by that time that Britain brought under its rule substantial portions of the Indian Territory. It was also then that the industrial products of Britain began to flow into India and the trade between Britain and India reached, though to Britain's advantage, huge proportions" (2)

With the exigencies of expanding trade and the increasingly established industries in India, other new forms of employment emerged. Therefore, new educational institutions were established to rear and train new clerks for commercial offices, lawyers, doctors, technicians and teachers.

When Bentinck and Macaulay decided to promote English education at any cost, most of the Bengali leaders gave their assent simply because they were the product of the British to whom they owed their existence since 1793 and their success and richness

1 Asok Sen, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and His Illusive Milestones, (Calcutta: Riddhi-India, 1977), p. 5
2 A.R. Desai, Social Background of Indian Nationalism, Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1959, p. 128
afterwards. The Permanent Settlement weakened the Muslim nobility and the old zamindars and bankers. The new land laws brought by Lord Cornwallis as well as the administrative reforms and the new commercial transactions afforded opportunities to members of the traditional society who belonged to upper-caste Hindus such as Baidyas and the kayasthas. These castes mostly included “small traders, brokers and junior administrative pykars, dallals, gomasthas, munshis, banyans, and dewans” (1)

Illustrative of the economic changes is the case of brokers such as the Setts and Basaks, who were originally weavers, but when they started trading in cotton piece goods they became money lenders in Calcutta. This group could invest in buying the traditional landowners’ zamindaris that were confiscated by the government for non-payment of the revenues. The new zamindars were not supposed to work the land but rather to act as a disguise for English merchants eager to invest in indigo plantation. In this way and under such a social change, the natives were absentee land lords and because they owned both the land and the capital, were considered the *abhijat bhadralok* (i.e., aristocrats) the large amounts of property they amassed set them loyal supporters of the English rule.

It was within this class that the Indian English educated elite appeared. Not only were they the product of the early period of Colonial education, but they were enthusiastic about English education as well. They established the Hindu College in 1817 in Calcutta, the English school of Banaras in 1818, and the Elphinstone Institution of Bombay to impart knowledge in English. The well-known social reformer Ram Mohan Roy opened an English instruction class in his own home under the charge of Mr. Moncroft. Therefore, that was a third powerful agency in spreading English education in India, besides the Christian missionaries and the British government came into view. The Committee of Public Instruction had indicated in 1830 that “independent schools conducted by young men, reared in Vidyalaya, are springing up every direction” (2). Interestingly enough, English education was designed to create a certain class who would staff the British immense machinery of political rule. It proved efficient because in the beginning of the nineteenth century, a new class of some self-styled aristocrats owing their wealth – as we have already explained – to money lending

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1 Modhumita Roy, op. cit, p. 94
2 The General Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal Report on Progressive Indians Educational Enterprise, p. 47
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and absentee land–lordism, and so many professional middle class Indians (or petit-bourgeois strata) started to emerge. The same class persuaded the colonial rulers to pursue the otherwise discarded policy of Downward Filtration Theory of Macaulay and English as the mode of educational communication as envisaged by Charles Grant.

Conspicuously speaking, there is no doubt that English education was only introduced by the colonial power but it was hailed by the Indian Elites, particularly Bengali bhadraloks, as the best educational system ever initiated in India. After the despatch of 1854, the British rulers began to question the validity of Macaulay's Filtration Theory and “considered it prudent to spend the limited funds at their disposal for the education of the lower classes who were unable to bear the cost of education of their children, instead of subsidising English education for the bhadralok”\(^{(1)}\). But the Bengali Bhadralok resisted any shift in that policy and they were able to stall any move to change the educational development paved by their guru Macaulay. The second half of the nineteenth century in general is remarkable for the Bengali Bhadraloks' vocal resistance namely by great men such as Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and Bhudev Mukhopadhaya. Poromesh Acharya quotes what Vidyasagar stated in respect to the question of the lower classes education:

\[\text{“An impression appears to have gained ground both here and in England, that enough has been done for the education of the higher classes and that attention should now be directed towards the education of the masses...An enquiry into the matter will however show a very different state of things. As the best, if not the only practicable means of promoting education in Bengal, the government should, in my humble opinion, confine to the education of the higher classes on a comprehensive scale...”}^{(2)}\]

As regards to the British administrative views on this issue, it was the Governor General Mayo who wanted to stop aiding higher English education and divert the funds available for the spread of three "Rs" schools in villages. But “the vocal bhadralock of Bengal raised a hue and cry against such a government policy and organized protest

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\(^{(2)}\) [Ghosh, 1973 : 443], Quoted in, Poromesh Acharya, op.cit, p. 671
meetings all over the country” (1). Similar views were held by Lieutenant Governor George Campbell who initiated a reform in the province of Bengal. It was "E" type pathsalas as the three "Rs" schools of Mayo. But soon, Mayo was killed in 1872 while he was on official tour and a storm of protest cut short George Campbell's policy. Curzon succeeded Mayo and was as serious as him regarding the spread of vernacular primary education. He disapproved of the former way of teaching English to Indian children who had not yet discovered their mother tongue. He also envisaged a vocational course of secondary education but his schemes failed simply because the Bhadraloks – who participated at the secondary level – did not appreciate it. “They are not interested in jobs or professions requiring manual labour. One has to understand this simple truth,” (2) said Poromesh Acharya.

By the time Bhadraloks attached much value to the English system, economic coercion weakened in comparison to the necessity of knowledge of English as a privilege and it is to this story that we must turn now. Earlier, intense interest in English derived from the fact that it was the language of the rulers and of course there is an inextricable connection of language to power and that it secured a living for those with no prospect of a job. Within a short period of time, it became evident all over India and particularly in Bengal that “if anyone became well-educated in English, everyone respected him greatly” (3). This prestige linked to being educated in the English language can be only partly attributed to its utility for upward mobility, its being the language of business, political negotiation, and jurisprudence (i.e. being made the official language of British India in 1837) and to the preference it gave to whoever mastered it.

This, however, does not explain why the English language “has thus become not only of material advantage, but it is fashionable in Indian Metropolis; a native gentleman does not like to confess his ignorance of it; it would be seen as if he would lose caste in the eyes of an Englishman of high rank by addressing him in Bengali” (4). The change from material advantage to fashion foretell us about how the elite layer –

2 Poromesh Acharya, Bengali Bhadralok and Educational Development in Nineteenth Century Bengal, op.cit, p. 670
3 Letter from the Secretary of the Bengal Government to the Committee of Public Instruction, dated 26th June, 1829, Quoted in Syed Mahmood, , p.77
4 C. Boutros, An Inquiry into the System of Education, p. 9. Quoted in Modhumita Roy, op.cit, p. 95
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product of colonial education – became not only physically but culturally colonized as well. And if this was the destiny of the elites, what about the illiterate masses? They, certainly, had to prepare themselves for a new epoch under new colonial “Sahibs”, but this time “The white Sahibs were changed for darker ones.”(1)

II – The Indian National Movement

As class antagonisms develop, sharpen and express themselves in the struggles of the competing classes, these find expression in the realm of ideas and consciousness. This is, certainly, what led to the founding of the Indian National Congress in 1885 and the rise of mass discontent against the colonial administration. These latter were at the initiative of a liberal-minded English-educated group of natives. Thus, it should be admitted that even though the educational system was defective in many ways and was riveted only on the education of the handful of men belonging to the upper classes, the movement for political freedom originated with a group of Indians educated through the nineteenth century Indo-British system and liberalized by doctrines of Western democracy and liberty. Otherwise, how would we explain the fact that India had become politically conscious by the time English education had grown everywhere in India? If we do not rely on the possibility of coincidence, we shall need to consider the facts more deeply.

By the time English literature was attempted to discipline the Indians and make them recognize sound Protestant Bible Principles in a way they cannot feel they are proselytized, some native Indians gave up searching the truth from the power of the maulvis and the pundits. The Oriental conception of evidences gave way to a body of texts characterized as objective, scientific, rational and most important – the product not of a specific social or political class. The Indians started to read a new body of knowledge and to conceive truths in a way “requiring the exercise of reason rather than unquestioning faith”(2). Thus, the English educated Indian would walk in the path of a universal conception of truth and deviate from his usual firm belief in all what the priestly caste used to impose on him. As quoted by Gauri Viswanathan, the president of

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the Board of Education at Bombay declared as regards to their so-called non-interference policy under the mask of English literary texts, in April 1853, that India had

“the subtle Brahmin, the ardent Mohamedan, the meek, though zealous, Christian missionary, each and all relying on this promise of non-interference, and pressing the evidence of his respective faith on the attention of the people of India, and when this people look up to the government and say”, “you tolerate all religions; all can’t be true; show us what is truth” The Government can only answer, “our own belief is known to you, we are ready to give a reason for the faith that is in us, and we will place you in a situation by which you may judge whether those reasons are convincing or not. We will teach you history by the light of its two eyes, chronology and geography; you will therein discover the history and system of every religion. We will expand your intellectual powers to distinguish truth from falsehood by the aid of literature and logic; we will...”(1)

One implication of this statement is the fact that the Englishman was able to draw a stable image upon which he depended more extremely than on his military force to exercise authority on the native mind.

The consciousness and awakening that accompanied English education was finding an expression that was not, as was thought, conducive to continued British rule. Nevertheless, this feeling was not so powerful to demand a complete independence. It was “confined to describing the rule as un-British and demanding the Westminster model for India” (2). In the seventies, a number of nationalist Indians under the lead of Tilak and Agarkar established the Deccan Education Society in the Bombay Presidency. This foundation was basically the result of a native recognition of the outstanding vital role that modern education plays in the advance of the Indian Society. Besides the fact that the Society served to gather “a band of self-sacrificing educated Indians” who “would consecrate their lives to education and other forms of national work” (3), it was a sign of the times that India had really become politically conscious a first shocked

3 A.R. Desai, op.cit, p. 136
reaction showing itself in a demand for national education. It was not difficult for patriotic personalities such as Tilak and Gokhale, two of the most active leaders of Indian nationalism, to recognize that national education based on the culture of the people and imparted through the medium of the languages they spoke would be the best and most natural way to spread knowledge and that a planned system of technological education would ultimately lead to the development of national industries. Thus, they struggled for a free and compulsory education of the masses. One of the instances of that native role is Gopal Krishna Gokhale’s trial to induce legislation so as to permit the introduction of compulsory primary education in 1911. That measure, if accepted by the government, would have proved fruitful, but it was rejected and here again the British real intention can in no way be hidden.

The British opposition to the growing nationalism in India did not begin in the first decades of the twentieth century. It rather goes back to the time of Lord Dufferin when it was discovered that English higher education was responsible for the rise of Indian nationalism. The British concern on this issue showed itself in many ways the most important of which is limiting government grants to universities and colleges. In the time of Lord Curzon, the link between English education and use of Indian nationalism was confirmed by many incidents. In 1897, for instance, the Indians hatred of England grew as a response to the British soldiers’ harassment of Indians and this can be illustrated with what happened in Poona: the public anger caused the murder of the collector and plaque officer of Poona, Mr. Rand and his assistant. Two Indians were executed for the crime while Bal Gangadhar Tilak who was the chief leader of the attack was sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment. These events at the turn of the century pushed the British government to initiate steps for educational reforms. Curzon managed to lead the process effectively and without reference to their political considerations.

As it has been argued earlier, it was the Indian Bourgeoisie’s aspirations to be free from colonial bondage which made the British educational system work contrary to its objectives. Therefore, it would be completely wrong to admit that it is the educational system that generated the rise of Indian nationalism. Firstly, the spread of English education was in no small measure due to the Indian initiative and support. Secondly, it generated a consciousness that could be used against that very rule. And if we recognize
the progressive role played by modern education in India, we would conclude that Indian nationalism was not the offspring of modern education but rather

“the outcome of the new social material conditions created in India the new social forces which emerged within the Indian society, as a result of the British conquest” wrote, A.R. Desai, “It was the outcome of the objective conflict of interests, the interests of Britain to keep India politically and economically subjected to her and the interests of the Indian people for a free political, economic, and cultural evolution of the Indian society unhindered by the British rule” (1)

But there is still a question to shade light on: would there have been nationalism if Indians had been educated in a system other than modern British education? With respect of this point, Desai quotes Dutt who stated that,

“The Indian National Movement arose from the conditions of imperialism and this system of exploitation … the rise of the Indian bourgeoisie and its growing competition against the domination of the British bourgeoisie were inevitable, whatever the system of education, and if the Indian bourgeoisie had been educated only in the Sanskrit Vedas, in monastic seclusion from every other current of thought, they would have assuredly found in the Sanskrit Vedas the inspiring principles and slogans of their struggle” (2)

What cannot be denied, however, is that with the help of modern education the Indian National Movement gained its democratic principle. Because the nationalists imbibed liberal ideas and English political principles in the English schools, they could not advocate their early monarchic forms of rule and unjust social systems. They asked for a free India where decisions should be made by vote, and all institutions should work on democratic principles. Ideas of independence grew up in the minds of those people in dependent positions: the industrialists longed for the protection of their native handicrafts, the educated classes wanted an Indianized system of education, the agriculturists fought the exorbitant taxes and the workers demanded better conditions. It

1 A.R. Desai, op.cit, p. 145
2 R. P. Dutt, India Today, 1940, p. 271, quoted in, A. R. Desai, op.cit, p. 145
was, thus, this clash between interests of Britain and India that empowered the Indian National Movement. But the movement found the only leaders available – the lawyers – and so was characterized by argumentativeness not practicality.

The nationalist movement was the creation of the English educated Indians. They formed political association, like the Indian National Congress which manifested common features in their demands to the British. These demands were made “for higher government service (specifically entry to the Indian Civil Service), rights of leader to a place in the legislative councils, etc” \(^1\), said Prakash Karat who added, in this quote by Dutt, that “there was hardly any concern for the plight of the peasantry and issues like adult franchise” \(^2\). Accordingly, the social groups which initiated the nationalist movement had narrow elitist preoccupations and there is no surprise here if we recall the class background and social attitudes of the early advocates of English – at which we hinted in many occasions.

The Indian National Congress itself was, interestingly at the initiative of a liberal – minded Englishman, Allan Octavian Hume, who proposed the formation of such a forum to educated Indians. Hume was a retired official anxious about the British Indian relationship that worsened during the late half of the nineteenth century. Among others, he urged the founding of a channel of communication between the two and disapproved of the prevailing attitude of racial superiority on the part of the British towards the subjected people. In short, this last brief discussion indicates that nineteenth century modern education was in no way distant from some of the origins of the Indian nationalism. Otherwise, how would we explain Curzon’s educational reforms that took place at the turn of the century?

**III- Assessment of the Colonial Educational Policy**

At the end of a long journey, one has to pause and glance backwards in retrospect over what achievements and failures had been made during the centuries of British rule and interference in Indian cultural affairs.

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\(^1\) Prakash Karat, *The Role of the English Educated in India Politics*, Social Scientist, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Nov., 1972), Social Scientist, p. 27

\(^2\) Romesh Chander Dutt, Quoted in, Prakash Karat, op.cit, p. 27
III- 1- Its Merits

When permitted to evaluate the role of English education in the nineteenth century Indian colony, it would surely be worth mentioning that it gave access to the modern English Literature. The latter was the product of the first modern nation in history. Consequently, it opened a window on the modern democratic, scientific, and rationalist culture. And in this way, it paved the way for a struggle against the absolutism of the medieval states that was based on the doctrines of the kings’ divine rights, the religious obscurantist ideologies, and the hierarchic medieval social structures based on heredity principles.

The educated Indian who imbibed works of the British giants of thought in every sphere of social endeavour such as Bacon who was at the origin of the method of induction, Darwin and his theory of evolution that gave a fatal death blow to those Hindu religious explanations, Spencer, Locke, John Stuart Mill, Adam Smith, Carlyle and Ruskin …etc – felt inspired to rebel against the outlook of his social political and economic life. He, “who studied about western liberalism and political freedom, began to wonder about the role of their British masters in India”1 and to think about a free existence under new social institutions and methods as elections, free press and association, and representative government.

Ram Mohan Roy was one of those leading figures who had contributed significantly to the reform of Hindu Society. As early as 1828, he founded the Brahmo Samaj (Society of God), an organization which propagated a syncretist faith. He advocated the institution of English and his objection to the founding of the Sanskrit College was often cited as evidence of the fact that Indians had themselves completely abandoned traditional learning. But Ram Mohan advocated not so much English education as the teaching of Western scientific knowledge and his criticism was not directed against Sanskrit learning as he was himself a scholar of classical languages. He was rather attacking Orthodox Hindu pundits, the conservatism, obscurantism, and superstition which resulted from their practices and beliefs. He crossed the seas and violated the superstition that had grown among Hindus that it was a sinful thing to do so. In effect,

successive generations of men and women followed his example. He propagated the ideas which

"Turned the attention of Hindus from the beliefs and rituals of the Puranas, with their polytheism and idol worship, back to the higher monotheism and monism of the Upanishads", writes Raghavan, "He attacked the immorality practised in the name of Tantrism (a perversion of Hinduism as well as Buddhism), the superstitious fear and propitiation of planets, ghosts and evil spirits, caste taboos ("the distinction of castes, introducing innumerable divisions and sub-divisions among the Hindus, has entirely deprived them of patriotic feeling"), the tying of widows to the funeral pyre of the husband and burning them, the denial of education to women, female infanticide and polygamy, much to the displeasure of the orthodox and even at the risk of his life"(1)

The earlier discussed concerns propelled a number of other English educated Indians such as Vidyasagar, whose educational reforms were based on the combination of Sanskrit and English so that the vernacular dialects would be enhanced, the poet Rabindranath Tagore, Keshub Chandra Sen and others. Social reform movement among Hindus also was not confined to Bengal. Similar movements developed in other parts of the country. The Arya Samaj was established in 1875 by Dayanand Sarawati (1824-1883) who lived in Punjab. In Maharashtra, Gopal Hari Deshmukh (1823-1892) led significant reforms aimed at the condemnation of the caste system, and the laziness of the Brahmans. He advocated women’s education and taught that morality is higher than the performance of ritual. Among Muslims, the most famous leader of social reform was Syed Ahmed Khan who attacked “the Purdah system, symbolizing the seclusion of women and the tendency to attribute supernatural powers and miracles to the prophet and to saints” (2)

The Study of the English language also brought within the reach of an educated Indian the most vital achievements of non – English – speaking people. It made available for India, through English translations the

1 G.N.S. Raghavan, Introducing India, Indian Council for Cultural Relations, 1978, p. 60
2 Ibid. p. 64
“Philosophical systems of Democritus, Heraclitus, Plato, Aristotle, Spinoza, Descartes, Leibnitz, Immanuel Kant, Auguste Comte, Nietzsche, Hegel, Max Stirner, Benedetto Croce, Oswald Spengler, Karl Marx... the social theories of Plato, Machiavelli, Diderot, Holbach, Helvetius, Voltaire and other ideological lights of eighteenth century France and of Auguste Comte, Saint-simon, socialist Marx and Engels, anarchist Bakunin, syndicalist Proudhon and others...”

Furthermore, knowledge of the English language helped the Indian to assimilate the works of non-English mathematicians, physicists and literary artists. It was, thus, with this imbibing of world culture that the educated Indian managed to get rid of his isolationist conception of his social development and acquired a sense of unity instead. He was able to exchange views, on a national scale, on different subjects of social, political, and scientific interest. This measure of inter-changeability in education and other spheres of life between one language area and another, in turn became an influence towards a unified India. English in education made available for service in the English-using commercial houses and government offices large numbers of qualified Indian personnel. The share in governments made possible to Indians helped to prepare India for eventual self-government.

III- 2- Its Demerits

The British launched an educational system in India only when they held a political power there. Therefore, it cannot be denied that almost all educational developments had a political bias. At least during the nineteenth century, as we have already seen, it rarely happened that an educational law or reform took place for the sake of an intellectual improvement. For this reason, a number of defects as regards to education in India during the British period became obvious.

The most evident failure of British education in India is that it could not evolve a national system of education. This was due to a number of reasons the most important of which shall be discussed here. A national system of education is the logical role which any nation should play. But the British Imperialists did not allow India to be self–respecting. They regarded it as a land of commerce, profits and conversion. It was the Gospel, not science and technology works, which was spread all over India. When the

1 A.R. Desai, op.cit, pp. 148-9
English language was adopted as the medium of instruction, it was for the economic profits it would bring. The British hoped to produce faithful consumers of British goods and cheaper native personnel for their vast administration that encompassed areas of linguistic variety. Both the British and the Indians played the profit game well. Macaulay himself declared that the British purpose was first and foremost to produce good consumers of English commodities. He was frank to state in the following quote:

“The mere extent of empire is not necessarily an advantage. To many governments it had been cumbersome; to some it had been fatal ... It would be, on the most selfish view of the case, far better for us that the people of India were well – governed and independent of us than ill – governed and subject to us; that they were ruled by their own kings, but wearing broadcloth, and working with our cutlery, than they were performing their Salaams to English collectors and English magistrates, but were too ignorant to value or too poor to buy English manufactures”\(^{(1)}\)

So, when the British insisted on their blind refusal to visualize India as an independent nation, there was logically no national system of education to wait for.

Another reason for the failure of British educational policy was its non – recognition or rather rejection of any official attempt to bring about a synthesis of the East and the West. In addition to this, from the earliest days of its existence, British education was inadequate in terms of aims. We have already seen how it was first looked upon as a way to conciliate Indian classes deprived of their political power under the British conquest. Then, it was aimed at reviving Oriental literatures. Later on, it was intended to diffuse the improved arts and sciences of the West. Objectives of training Indians for employment in government departments, and for self – government, forming an Indian character suitable to English interests, also were there. It is evident that all of these do not reflect a true intention worthy of a national system of education or at least of a beneficial education.

In the talk about the weaknesses of the British educational policy, attention must be paid to the fact that certain wrong methods were adopted. First, English models were imposed upon Indians though India was a poor rural agricultural country while England

was a rich industrialized urban area. Through the imitation of the English pedagogy, indigenous traditions were entirely neglected and this is what explains how the indigenous system of education vanished by about 1900. The Macaulian Downward Filtration Theory was another wrong method in that it was also an obstacle in so far as mass education was concerned. Unfortunately, this continued till the post – independence period. In this respect, Krishna Kumar stated that “the education system in independent India remained an agency contributing primarily to the maintenance of law and order”. It was also unwise to impose a foreign language and believe it would be the national language that could supersede all modern Indian languages. This is well – depicted in this quote from a conversation between Gandhiji and another Indian friend:

“IIndian friend: Is the present system of education then wrong?

Gandhiji: The question doesn't arise at all. However I have no difficulty in answering it. I do say that it is wrong. The medium of instruction being English, the burden on the students’ brains had doubled. I feel very deeply about this question. Men like Prof. Jadunath Sarkar support the view that those who have received their education through this foreign medium have lost their intellectual vigour. It has destroyed our power of imagination – the power to create and to invent. The whole of our time is taken up in learning the pronunciation and the idiom of a foreign tongue. It's a useless toil forced on us from without, with the result that we have become blind imitators of European civilization – mere blotting papers. Instead of learning and adopting their good points we have merely copied them. As a result, a wide gulf has been created between us and the common people…” (2)

Even if the British may have planned a good educational system, it would not have proved efficient for the simple reason that this is always and invariably proportional to the social, economic and political advancement of a nation. With the imperialist selfish British rule, this was, no doubt, impossible. With the well – played British game of "divide and rule", hindrances were further enhanced. In other words, a true education needs to bring all religious communities, castes, and classes in a common system but

1 Krishna Kumar: Political Agenda of Education: A Study of Colonialist and Nationalist Ideas, Sage, New Delhi, 1991, p. 19
such a unity was not desirable for the British political expediency. Fairly speaking, the British educational administration had never thought about mobilizing the necessary personnel to plan and organize a national system of education. Moreover, education was never in the forefront of the British administration except when it led to a political unrest. Not only were the British Indian Educational Department poor as regards to great first rate educationists, but with respect to a plan or a programme for administration as well. Unfortunately, this plan did not evolve till about the second half of the twentieth century.

Conclusion

The weaknesses of colonial education were not confined only to the British side because reactions to this education, from the part of Indians, were unhealthy. A.R. Desai comments on this: “While correctly discarding old norms and criteria which only imposed fetters on the free creative initiative of the individual, the educated Indian failed to substitute, in their place, rational norms and criteria to guide individual conduct” (1). He was said to have misunderstood freedom as freedom to drink or to indulge in unhealthy sex life. Western culture did not impose unhealthy personal habits on the Indian, but it is his irrationality that pushed him to assimilate blindly whatever was English. Western culture, therefore, was misrepresented and religious reaction denounced it and strove to preserve the past with its archaic form.

English education overemphasized the study of English history and literature. Educated Indians, in effect, started to emulate the British in their dress, speech, social customs and lifestyles as faithfully as possible. They also developed contempt for their countrymen whom they called barbarous while they were seen as Anglicized or denationalized. As a result, the social gulf between the educated Indians and the masses developed and the “divide and rule” strategy took its firm hold.

1 A.R. Desai, op.cit., p. 131
Glossary

- Abhijat bhadralok: aristocrats
- Alankar:
- Arya Samaj:
- Akbar:
- Bahadur: Valiant and Honourable
- Baidyas: an upper caste among the Hindus
- Banyans: Brokers
- Barwarighur:
- Basaks: a Hindu caste of weavers
- Bengal:
- Bhagats:
- Bhikkus:
- Bismillah:
- Brahmins:
- Brahmo Samaj: Divine Society or Society of God, a Hindu educational organization
- Chandimandap:
- Chatuspathis: traditional Higher Learning institutions for the Hindus
- Dallals:
- Dewane: revenue collecting power
- Dewans:
- Dobassis: interpreters
- Fiqh:
- Gaunkars:
- Gomasthas: agents in a business or accounts service
- Gundas:
- Guru: teacher
- Hadith: sacred speeches and tales of the Muslim’s Prophet Mohamed Peace Be upon Him.
- Harijans:
- Hatekhari:
- Hindu Shastras:
- Jamia-Millia:
- Jezia: Poll-tax
- Kabya:
- Kayasthas: writer and upper caste Hindus
- Kahunus:
- Lakh:
- Madrassah: centres of Higher Learning for the Muslims in India
- Maktabs: elementary schools for Muslims
- Maratha:
- Mughal Empire:
Moulavis: learned Muslims
Munchis: secretaries or scribes
Munus:
Nabobs: English nouveaux riches who went to India penniless, and came back wealthy to their mother land.
Nawabs: viceroys
Nizam:
Nyaya:
Pundits: Learned Hindus
Parsi Community:
Pathsalas: elementary Hindu schools
Persian:
Protégé:
Portuguese Fransiscans:
Punus:
Punas:
Purdah:
Pyanars:
Raj: ( period of ) British rule in India ie before 1947
Raja: (also Rajah) (formerly) (title of an) Indian king or prince
Rajputs
Rupees: unit of currency in India
Ruttees:
Ryowari system:
Sadgops: writer caste Hindus
Samachar Darpan:
Setts: weaver caste Hindus
Shamans:
Sikhs: Indian followers of Sikhism. They live mainly in the Punjab. Male Sikhs traditionally never cut their beard or hair, which they ear in a turban, and they also wear a comb, short dagger and steel bracelet
Smriti:
Suttee:
Syncretist:
Tafsir:
Tantrism
Tols: Hindu Higher Learning Schools
Visva-Bharati
Voorees:
Zamindars: landlords
Zamindari:
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**Other Material**


General Conclusion

Unfortunately, real education which is not an aim in itself but rather an instrument contributing to the building of sound character did not stand for this role in India under the umbrella of British rule. In the beginning and through the missionary channel, it had been associated with the desire to evangelize India – as we saw in the second chapter of this research. Once the Company had shouldered responsibility for it, it became an assembly line producing clerks, on the one hand, and an instrument moulding the Indian character in a way conducive to the British interests, on the other. Not only was the colonial side responsible for the deviation of education from its natural way, but the native side can be blamed as well. For most people, the main aim was to qualify themselves for certain types of government jobs, while they gave up their traditional modes of earning a living simply because they thought that in that way they would be given a better standing in the eyes of others of their community. It is indeed a moral colonization – if not a cultural slavery – to see young Indians competing not to better the standards of their traditional skills but to get meaningless clerical posts.

In addition to the final chapter’s assessment of colonial education, it is not useless to recapitulate briefly what we have examined so far. First and foremost, there is a tendency to appreciate colonialism on the ground that it cultivates its subject nations. This is not wrong, but it should be noted that it brought more evils than benefits. Colonial education was planned with no concordance between the schools and the students’ real home life. It made of them mere imitators of Western methods and this is chiefly due to the fact that knowledge have long been imparted through an alien language. At the same time, native languages were impoverished because of neglect and contempt. On the whole, the new Western institutional model dismantled the old indigenous system of education and set back vernacular literacy by the end of the nineteenth century. As a result, the Indian public opinion of the twentieth century began to show sceptical attitudes to the Western models of education. A desire to create aroused amongst them and took the shape of new systems of education such as the
Visva – Bharati, or the Jamia – Millia (working outside the official system); the Banaras and Aligarh Universities (working within it).

Colonial education was extremely elitist, paternalistic and has only accentuated the injustice and domination in the Indian state. Colonial education also made no attempts to educate children, girls, Harijans and lower classes in general. It was a slow process and could hardly compensate for the loss of the indigenous schools. Not only was it unable to make up for the demise of the old one, but it was itself deliberately inadequate and inefficient. This would be justified by a look on the formerly discussed very few attempts at the technical level. If we are to look for another justification, we would point at least at some countries of the West and the East that were at the same educational level as India in the beginning of the nineteenth century whereas they witnessed a rapid advance a century later. This gulf can be attributed to two main reasons: no colonial hands interfered in their modern educational systems, and these were built upon the foundations of the indigenous systems.

Indeed, throughout the nineteenth century modern education grew and an educated middle class saw the light of the day, but an overwhelming portion of the Indian population remained illiterate. Mass – illiteracy was apparently due to the people’s poverty which was basically the product of the Colonial character of the Indian economy. Yet, the very reason lies in the fact that it was class – oriented. So, it is ironical to see a system supposed to suppress an old one on the ground that it made no equality of opportunities for all Indians, being fuelled by the class and caste bias of vested interests. An education specifically designed to create a certain class who would assist in the administrative functioning of the colonial state can only be described as perverted. It also was responsible for post – independence distortions of education in the sense that access for weaker sections was being resisted by an examination system that favoured those who already had privileges.

Different agents contributed to the foundation of a modern educational system in India, but it was the missionary agent that has never been absent from its scene. It was its agitation which was usually behind any reform at any stage of educational development. Furthermore, the religious motives of Christian missionaries usually went hand in hand with the economic inducements of Company officials. It happened, however, that only a very small number of Indians was converted while a considerable fraction developed the gulf between them and the masses, felt themselves identified with the ruling nation, and became meek and docile in their attitudes towards the British. The very role of colonial education, therefore, was neither to
convert nor to spread any Western knowledge. It aimed rather at consolidating the British occupation and exploitation of India. Nevertheless, British education had to face one of its paradoxes – the first nationalist young Indians and the product of the system itself.

After English was adopted as the official language of India, it became central to any project of upward mobility. Colonial education was often referred to as English education. It emphasized the mastery of English Language, glorified English history and depreciated India’s culture. As a consequence, English still remains prized by parents, educators and employees in contemporary India. It remains the language of higher education, too. Ruling classes still continue to speak English over sixty years after independence. Whether it is out of pleasure, prestige, utility or it is the effect of cultural colonization is a fact to be seriously thought about.

In a word, modern educational system in India, a legacy of British rule, was instituted over hundreds of years. Its history was full of controversies, twists, changes and experiments. It evolved in different stages and by different agencies. But it was always and invariably the expression of the direct needs of the ruling colonial power. Therefore, it originated neither because of an individual nor of an intellectual opinion. It rather arose out of the contemporary needs of the ruling classes.
Glossary

- Abhijat bhadralok: aristocrats
- Abou’l Fazl: the philosopher of the cult
- Alankar: ornament, accessory or adornments
- Arya Samaj: samaj means organization and aryas means people who are noble. So, it is an organisation representing the noble and benevolent persons
- Akbar: the greatest of the Mughal emperors of India. He ruled from 1556 to 1605.
- Bahadur: Valiant and Honourable
- Baidyas: an upper caste among the Hindus
- Banyans: Brokers
- Basaks: a Hindu caste of weavers
- Bengal: the richest province in the West of the Indian sub-continent, and what contains Bangladesh now.
- Bhagats: devotees
- Bhats: priests
- Bismillah: the sacred expression with which Muslims start their worship, Quran reading and many of their duties
- Brahmins: Hindus of higher and clerical castes. Hindu learned minority. They had a monopoly over educational activities
- Brahmo Samaj: Divine Society or Society of God, a Hindu educational organization
- Chandimandap: a roofed place usually with four sides open
- Chatuspathis: traditional Higher Learning institutions for the Hindus
Dallals: administrators
Dewanee: revenue collecting power
Dewans: revenue collectors
Dobhassis: interpreters
Fiqh: Arabic expression for the study of the meanings of religious instructions
Gaunkars: members of gaunkari who owned the land of villages collectively, managed its affairs collectively, and obviously shared its profits.
Gomasthas: agents in a business or accounts service
Gundas: members of a gang.
Guru: teacher
Hadith: sacred speeches and tales of the Muslim’s Prophet Mohamed Peace Be upon Him.
Harijans: or Sons of God. Untouchables and people of the very lower castes among the Hindus
Hatekhari: education or learning as the Hindus call it
Jamia-Millia: in Urdu, it means national University.
Jezia: Poll-tax
Kabya: kwe-bya means to be divided or to become various.
Kayasthas: writer and upper caste Hindus
Lakh: a lakh is £10.000
Madrassah: centres of Higher Learning for the Muslims in India
Maktabas: elementary schools for Muslims
Maratha: Indian confederacy to the east of Bengal and south of Delhi
Mughals: also Mongols, Turkish or Muslim Dynasty that reigned over the Indian Sub-continent from the 16th to the 19th century. Among its great characters are Babur, Akbar and others
- Moulavis: learned Muslims
- Munchis: secretaries or scribes
- Munus: Minus
- Nabobs: corruption of the Hindi word “nawab”. In Britain, it was used to describe English “nouveaux riches” who went to India penniless, and came back wealthy to their homeland.
- Nawabs: viceroy or native provincial governors.
- Nizam: grade and title of honour
- Pundits: Learned Hindus
- Parsi Community: also Parsee and it is the member of a religious sect in India whose ancestors originally came from Persia.
- Pathsalas: elementary Hindu schools
- Persian: also Farsi, language of Persia which is a former name of Iran when it was an empire in South West Asia in the 6th century BC.
- Protégé: person whose welfare and career are looked after by an influential person, esp over a long period
- Franciscans: n, adj (friar or nun) of the Christian religious order founded by St. Francis of Assisi
- Puranas: pura means “in the past” and puranas are the scriptures, stories or tales of ancient times
- Purdah: (A system in Muslim and Hindu societies of) keeping women from public view by means of a veil, curtain, etc
- Pykars: of the factory or the company, its employees.
- Raj: (period of) British rule in India ie before 1947
- Raja: (also Rajah) (formerly) (title of an) Indian king or prince
- Rajputs: literally the Rajput is the son of a king. They lived esp in Rajasthan
- Rupees: unit of currency in India
Ryotwari system: ryot is cultivation. The Ryotwari system was introduced in Madras in which direct settlement was made between government and the cultivator.

Sadgops: writer caste Hindus

Sepoy: soldier

Setts: weaver caste Hindus

Shamans: priests believed to have magic powers (eg for curing illness, seeing into the future, etc)

Sikhs: Indian followers of Sikhism. They live mainly in the Punjab. Male Sikhs traditionally never cut their beard or hair, which they ear in a turban, and they also wear a comb, short dagger and steel bracelet

Smriti: that which is remembered, for instance, memoirs and souvenirs.

Suttee: also Sati, the Hindu custom of the widow’s immolation on the husband’s funeral pyre

Syncretist: adj of the n syncretism which is compromising the message of Christianity by merging it.

Tafsir: understanding the chapters and verses of Quran (the sacred book of Muslims)

Tantrism: an occult or esoteric tradition comprised of arcane disciplines. Its teachings are secret or hidden. As applied Buddhism, Tantrism focused on the use of the physical world.

Tols: Hindu Higher Learning Schools

Vedas: ancient scriptures of Hinduism, composed in Sanskrit, of which the most famous is the Rig Veda.

Vidyalaya: Anglo-Indian College

Zamindars: landlords or landholders

Zamindari: the land possessed by a zamindar.
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Summary:

This research examines the British colonial educational policy during the nineteenth century—the technique which, among others, helped the colonizers to be on a firm footing and leave their cultural legacy there till our present time.

In India, educational activities started very early. Though it had an extensive, efficient and adequate system of indigenous education, the British showed contempt to it, decided to end and supersede it. Mission education began from the onset of the British presence. The father of modern education in India, Charles Grant, was a zealous reformer and a missionary. Through the missionary channel, education was a desire to evangelize India. When the Company shouldered responsibility for the education of its subjects, it was within the context of building an efficient Indian administration whose agents should be British servants assimilated in the Indian way of life. The policy, thus, was Orientalist in fear of disorder and to win the confidence of native upper classes. Emphasis in this study, however, is given to the nineteenth century that includes the landmarks of educational development— the Charter Act of 1813 and Charles Woods Dispatch of 1854— thanks to which English education grew and prospered resulting in the so-called Bengali Renaissance. The purpose was to create an Indian Westernized class English in taste, ideas and words. Education, in this step, had to mould the Indian character in a way conducive to the British interests, i.e. to make them meek and docile.

Education, which is an aim in itself, had been perverted, obscure and dramatized because at each stage it was a means to an end and had a political bias. There was no intention for any intellectual improvement whatsoever. It always and invariably answered the needs of the Empire. Few people were converted, an elite layer was produced as it was class-oriented and built on Macaulay’s Downward Filtration Theory, and the masses remained illiterate. Most important, the system was contradictory to the designers themselves.

KEY WORDS:

Missionaries, Orientalist policy, opposing ideologies, Charles Grant’s Observations, Lord Macaulay’s Minute and Bentinck’s Resolution, Westernization, English Education, English Literary studies, the Bengali Bhadraloks, the Indian National Movement.
Résumé:
Cette recherche examine la politique coloniale britannique d'enseignement au cours du XIXe siècle. La technique qui, entre autres, a aidé les colonisateurs à être sur un pied ferme et laisser leur héritage culturel là-bas jusqu'à notre époque actuelle.
En Inde, des activités éducatives ont commencé très tôt. Bien qu'il avait un vaste système, efficace et adéquat de l'éducation autochtone, les Britanniques ont montré du mépris pour elle, décidé de mettre fin et de la dépasser. L'éducation de la mission a commencé dès le début de la présence britannique. Le père de l'éducation moderne en Inde, Charles Grant, était un réformateur zélé et un missionnaire. A travers le canal de missionnaire, l'éducation était un désir d'évangéliser l'Inde. Lorsque la compagnie a épuisé la responsabilité de l'éducation de ses sujets, il a été dans le cadre de la construction d'une administration indienne efficace dont les agents doivent être des serviteurs britanniques assimilés dans le mode de vie indien. La politique, donc, était orientaliste dans la peur du désordre et de gagner la confiance des classes natives supérieures. L'accent dans cette étude, cependant, est donné à la dix-neuvième siècle qui comprend des monuments de l'éducation au développement de la Loi sur la Charte de 1813 et l'envoi de Charles Woods de 1854 grâce à lesquelles l'enseignement en anglais a grandi et prospéré résultant de la soi-disant Renaissance bengalie. Le but était de créer une classe indienne occidentalisée dans le goût, les idées et les mots. L'éducation, dans cette étape, était dans le but de mouler le caractère indien d'une manière favorable aux intérêts britanniques, c'est à dire pour les rendre doux et docile.
L'éducation, qui est un but en soi, avait été pervertie, obscure et dramatisée parce qu'à chaque étape elle a été un moyen pour une fin, et avait un impact politique. Il n'y avait aucune intention de toute amélioration intellectuelle que ce soit. Elle a toujours et invariablement répondu aux besoins de l'Empire. Peu de gens ont été convertis, une couche d'élite a été produite comme elle a été axée sur la classe et construite sur la théorie de Filtration vers le bas de Macaulay, et les masses sont restées illettrées. Plus important encore, le système était en contradiction avec les designers eux-mêmes.

MOTS-CLÉS:
Missionnaires, la politique orientaliste, idéologies opposées, les observations de Charles Grant, minute de lord Macaulay et la résolution de Bentinck, l'occidentalisation, l'enseignement en anglais, anglais des études littéraires, les Bhadrlokhs bengalis, le mouvement national indien.
ملخص:

هذا البحث يدرس السياسة التعليمية البريطانية الاستعمارية خلال القرن التاسع عشر، والأسلوب الذي، من بين أمور أخرى، ساعد المستعمرين أن يكونوا على أسس وطيدة ويتكون إرثهم الثقافي هناك حتى وقتنا الحاضر.

في الهند، بدأت الأنشطة التعليمية في وقت مبكر جدا. على الرغم من أنه كان لهم نظام تعليمي محلي واسع وفعال وملازم للسكان الأصليين، أظهرت السلطات البريطانية ازدراء له، قررت إنهاء وتغييره. بدأت بعثة تعليمية من بداية وجود البريطاني. كان رائد التعليم الحديث في الهند تشارلز غرانت، وهو إصلاحي متحمس ومبشر. من خلال القناة التشريانية، كان التعليم عبارة عن رغبة في تنصير الهند. وحين تحملت الشركة مسؤوليتها فيتعليم رعاياها، كان ذلك في سياق بناء إدارة فعالة وكلاًها ينبغي أن يكونوا موظفين بريطانيين يستطيعون طريقة الحياة الهندية. وبالتالي كانت السياسة استشرافية، خوفا من الاضطراب وكسبا لثقة الطبقات العليا الأصلية. ولكن التركيز في هذه الدراسة يسلط على القرن التاسع عشر الذي يضم معاييم التنمية التعليمية مثل: قانون ميثاق 1813 وإيغاد تشارلز وود 1854 اللذان بفضلهما نما التعليم الإنجليزي وازدهر منتجا ما يسمى بالنهضة البنغالية. كان الغرض من ذلك هو خلق طبقة إنجليزية هندية غربىة في الأفكار والذوق والكلمات. هدف التعليم في هذه المرحلة، كان قوة الطابع الهندي بطريقة مواتية للمصالح البريطانية، أي لجعل الهندي وديع وسهل الانضباط.

التعليم الذي هو هدف في حد ذاته تم تحريفه، وصار غامضا ودراميا لأنه في كل مرحلة كان وسيلة لتحقيق غاية، وكان تحت احتياج سياسي. لم يكن هناك أي نية لأي تحسن فكري على الإطلاق. دائما وأبدا كان يخدم احتياجات الإمبراطورية. تم تصوير عدد قليل من الناس، وأنجنت طبقة النخبة مادامت سياسة التعليم بنية على أساس طبقي وعلى نظرية الترشيح النزولية لماكولاي وظللت الجماهير في حالة الجهل والأمية. الأهم من ذلك كان النظام يتعارض مع المصممين أنفسهم.

الكلمات المفتاحية:

المسرين، السياسة الاستشرافية، الأيديولوجيات المتعارضة، ملاحظات تشارلز غرانت، كلمة اللورد ماكولاي، وقرار بينيتل التغريب، التربية والتعليم الإنجليزي، والدراسات الأدبية الإنجليزية، البرجوازية البنغالية، والحركة الوطنية الهندية.