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## Patriots and Practical Men: British Educational Policy and the Responses of Colonial Subjects in India, 1880-1890

David Thomas Boven  
*Loyola University Chicago*

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

PATRIOTS AND PRACTICAL MEN: BRITISH EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND THE  
RESPONSES OF COLONIAL SUBJECTS IN INDIA, 1880-1890

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO  
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL  
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PROGRAM IN CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY STUDIES

BY

DAVID THOMAS BOVEN

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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And, as the Jesuits would say, this work has all been done *Ad maiorem Dei gloriam*. Likewise, it was done *Deo juvante*.

For Beth, Molly, Greta, and Everett

I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia.

— Thomas Babington Macauley

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	iii
CHAPTER ONE: RELIGIOUS EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF COLONIAL SUBJECTS IN BRITISH INDIA .....	1
Historical Background .....	5
Research Methodology .....	12
Dissertation Outline .....	16
CHAPTER TWO: REVIEWING EXISTING SCHOLARSHIP ON RELIGIOUS, COLONIAL EDUCATION IN NORTHERN INDIA .....	17
Western Colonial Education .....	18
Historiography of Colonial Education .....	22
Hinduism and Education .....	25
Islam and Education .....	30
Other Religious Groups .....	35
Religion and Education .....	37
News Media as Historical Sources .....	38
CHAPTER THREE: EDUCATIONAL POLICIES DISCUSSED AND IMPLEMENTED BY THE BRITISH COLONIAL AUTHORITIES IN INDIA.....	45
Formulating Educational Policy in 1835 .....	53
Indian Educational Policy from 1835 to 1854 .....	60
The Educational Despatch of 1854 .....	63
The Educational Commission of 1882.....	69
Intercommunal Relations in Colonial India .....	74
CHAPTER FOUR: REACTIONS TO BRITISH EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN COLONIAL INDIAN RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES.....	78
History of the Popular Press in India.....	79
Support for Colonial Educational Policy.....	87
Opposition to Colonial Educational Policy .....	93
Educational Policy and Its Relation to Linguistic and Religious Communities .....	107
Summary of Reactions to Educational Policies.....	118
CHAPTER FIVE: EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND COLONIAL SUBJECTS.....	123
A Policy of Divide and Conquer.....	124
Colonial Successes and Failures.....	138
CHAPTER SIX: FORMS OF KNOWLEDGE AND BRITISH EDUCATIONAL POLICY .....	146
Investigating Forms of Knowledge in Colonial India.....	147
Media and Forms of Knowledge in Northern India.....	150
REFERENCE LIST .....	158
Periodicals.....	158

Entries in <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> .....	158
Entries in <i>A Source Book of Modern Indian Education</i> .....	159
Other Secondary Sources .....	159
VITA.....	170



CHAPTER ONE  
RELIGIOUS EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF COLONIAL SUBJECTS IN  
BRITISH INDIA

As a process, the colonization of the Indian subcontinent by European powers—most notably and enduringly the British—took hundreds of years. Throughout this period, education played an integral part in helping the British to complete their colonial project. This dissertation focuses broadly on the interplay between educational policy implemented by the British colonial authorities in India and the religious and ethnic communities impacted by these policies. It considers educational policies promulgated from the earliest days of rule by the British East India Company until the Hunter Commission of 1882. Following this survey, the dissertation considers Indian reactions to these systems and colonial structures of education from the period 1880 to 1890. Those colonizing India had planned to use education as a means of stabilizing and strengthening their own rule on the subcontinent. As the British colonizers steadily overran the subcontinent, however, the colonial education system that developed over the course of the Raj consistently undermined this plan. This dissertation asks the question, “How did Hindu and Muslim religious and linguistic communities across Northern India view the construction of religious difference in British educational administration in the colonial system in the period from 1880 to 1890?” This broad focus on Hindu and Muslim communities narrows more specifically to the intellectual and political circles associated with the readership of

two newspapers of the period—*The Tribune* publishing in Lahore and the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* publishing in Aligarh.

With the integral role religion has played in the history of India, an important consideration in writing the history of colonial India is an understanding of the supernatural.<sup>1</sup> The supernatural—that is, religion and religious beliefs—played a large part in the development of Indian identity and education.<sup>2</sup> The British attempted to standardize and fix the collective identities of their Indian subjects in terms of education, caste, and religion as they created a limited public sphere in which they allowed Indians to participate.<sup>3</sup> This played out in ways that the English colonial masters could never have imagined. From the earliest days of the colonial administration and its symbiosis with Indian religious ideas, through the general disengagement of the empire at the beginning of the twentieth century the educational practices of Hindus, Muslims, and myriad other religious groups have both shaped colonial educational policy and been shaped by it.<sup>4</sup>

During this time, British India gradually grew from a trading empire managed by the East India Company to a political empire that controlled a great deal of territory on the

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<sup>1</sup> See R. Manjula, “Indian Renaissance,” *Thematics* 6, no. 1 (2015); Max Weber, *The Religion of India: The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism* eds. Hans H. Gerth and Don Martindale (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1958); and Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

<sup>2</sup> Madhu Kishwar, “Codified Hindu Law: Myth and Reality,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 29, no.33 (Aug.13, 1994), 2145-2161.

<sup>3</sup> Dipesh Chakrabarty, “Modernity and Ethnicity in India: A History for the Present,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 30, no. 52 (Dec. 30, 1995), 3375.

<sup>4</sup> A discussion of this broad description of the historiography of British educational policy in India can be found in Clive Whitehead, “The Historiography of British Imperial Education Policy, Part 1: India,” *History of Education* 34, no. 3 (2005), 315-329.

Indian subcontinent. The dissertation specifically examines the sweep of educational policy shifts made by the colonial administration at the national level during the period from about 1800 to 1882. This period is notable for the many oscillations between Anglicist and Orientalist policies in education.<sup>5</sup> In addition to this major debate, there were discussions of the benefits of classical and practical curricula, specifically religious schooling, and the schooling of girls. Before the Rebellion of 1857, the Company continued to rule over the territory and its educational policies were rarely comprehensive. Many of its policies were put in place to address specific problems that Company officials had perceived. After the British Crown took control of the Indian territories in 1858, there was some effort to create educational policies that were more progressive, but these were not always successful. One constant theme of the British policies seems to have been an attempt to divide their Indian subjects by religion, ethnicity, and language in order to rule them more efficiently. The British used a variety of strategies in an attempt to foment these divisions including disparities in the finance of education, sowing seeds of distrust through education, and attempting to limiting interactions in educational settings.<sup>6</sup>

Whether or not this attempt was successful is debatable, but it was this largely piece-meal educational policy landscape that existed in the late nineteenth century and in

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<sup>5</sup> Tim Allender, *Ruling Through Education: The Politics of Schooling in the Colonial Punjab* (Elgin, IL: New Dawn Press, 2006)

<sup>6</sup> Eric A. Posner, Kathryn E. Spier, and Adrian Vermeule, "Divide and Conquer," *Journal of Legal Analysis* 2, no. 2 (2010), 419.

which commentators were sharing their thoughts and reactions.<sup>7</sup> The dissertation goes on to explore these reactions and the ways that the Muslim and Hindu populations in Northern India viewed these education policies. Evidence of these reactions to policy are pulled from the popular press of the time through an analysis of archived newspaper from major cities of Punjab and the North-Western Provinces—specifically in Lahore and Aligarh. The reactions to the colonial educational policy were varied and nuanced across North India. Many people were concerned that the policies were either ineffective or specifically designed to promote the interests of one Indian community over another, but there was a good deal of support among the Indian people for the decisions made by colonial administrators. In spite of the injuries caused by the colonial experiment, a number of commentators presented existing educational policy as an imperfect system in which the people of India could and should work.<sup>8</sup> However, a survey of the newspapers of the period reveals that the majority of the published editorials and articles discussing education presented these policies in a negative light. The negative commentary focused on a number of aspects of Indian education, including the way that the government implemented policies in the realm of higher education, the administration of the nascent Punjab University and the conduct of the Orientalist pedagogue, Gottlieb Leitner.

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<sup>7</sup> Tim Allender, *Ruling Through Education: The Politics of Schooling in the Colonial Punjab* (Elgin, IL: New Dawn Press, 2006)

<sup>8</sup> M. R. Paranjpe, ed., *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education: 1797 to 1902* (London, GBR: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1938), 202-235.

Any of the concerns that *were* raised, though, were rarely couched in terms of an “us against them” struggle between communal religious factions. There were certainly instances in which Hindus and Muslims worried that the other group was receiving extra benefits from the government or reaping the benefits of education more effectively, but much of this centered on the language of instruction rather than on religion. Thus, the proponents of the main institutions of higher learning in these cities also voiced their opinions in the pages of the local press and—perhaps surprisingly, given the history of colonial policy in India and the philosophies of the institutions themselves—supporters and detractors do not seem to have been divided along the lines that the British hoped lines. The most prominent voices in the Indian press at the time were more likely to have supported a broad coalition of unity against the imperial masters. They advocated working together across linguistic, ethnic, and religious lines to make India a great nation. They acknowledged that great Muslim and Hindu civilizations had existed on the subcontinent before the arrival of the British and they were convinced that with a united front, they could develop another great civilization. Interestingly, many of these commentators seemed to realize that one of the most important tools for uniting the people of India against British domination was the increase in communication made possible by the spread of the English language. This was something that allowed the even greater integration of India as a nation-state throughout the twentieth century.

### **Historical Background**

The historical background for this study includes an examination of the dominant debate within the colonial government about how the education of British India should commence. From the early 1800s, some officials believed that the administration of the

East India Company should patronize educational institutions that provided instruction in the native languages of the subcontinent as they had since the last two decades of the eighteenth century.<sup>9</sup> These “Orientalist” officials proceeded to promote the traditional knowledge of the subcontinent, though not always purely for reasons of cultural appreciation. As Peter Robb notes, in many cases the British supported native education as a way to sponsor Indians in their own culture so that they could advance knowledge of India and employ that knowledge to govern more effectively.<sup>10</sup>

For varieties of reasons, many in the colonial administration believed that the British government in India had a duty to promote Western knowledge through an English medium of instruction.<sup>11</sup> Many of these “Anglicists” believed that a British education would serve as a means of evangelizing to the native population. Others appreciated the utilitarian benefit of an upper-class Indian population that could speak and read English to serve their colonial masters more effectively in the developing government bureaucracy. In 1835, Thomas Babington Macaulay, the first Law Member of the Governor General's Council, promulgated his *Minute upon Indian Education*, and the council made a decision to give official sanction to a Western education model. Sanjay Seth proposes that this ultimately has led to the prominence of educated Indians around the world today, but this dissertation

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<sup>9</sup> Lynn Zastoupil and Martin Moir, eds., *The Great Indian Education Debate: Documents Relating to the Orientalist-Anglicist Controversy, 1781-1843* (Surrey, UK: Curzon Press, 1999).

<sup>10</sup> Peter Robb, *A History of India* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 137.

<sup>11</sup> Zastoupil and Moir, *The Great Indian Education Debate*.

will provide more analysis of the interplay between the religious and cultural traditions of Indians and the educational approaches and goals of the colonizers.<sup>12</sup>

Seth also describes how the spread of Western educational ideas was an inconsistent process because of the pluralistic nature of Indian culture and its educational traditions.<sup>13</sup> Western education that emphasized European sciences and languages attempted to bring about a change in this culture, but it was also changed by the culture in many different ways. The period of 50 years following the promulgation of Macaulay's reforms in 1835 was a remarkable episode of growth in Indian education—especially in terms of Western institutions. Prior to this point, the British founded a number of colleges in India. Hindu College and Fort William College in Calcutta taught in English and in Native languages respectively. The British founded universities in the three most important centers of British colonial administration in 1857.<sup>14</sup> The Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras were modeled after and intended to function like the universities of England—specifically the University of London, but also those of Oxford and Cambridge. Over the next thirty years, other institutions would join these in the higher educational landscape of the subcontinent. These included the Darul Uloom Deoband in 1866, the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College in 1875, Punjab University in 1882, and the University of Allahabad in

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<sup>12</sup> Sanjay Seth, *Subject Lessons: The Western Education of Colonial India* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 31.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>14</sup> Suresh Chandra Ghosh, *The History of Education in Modern India: 1757-1998* (Hyderabad, IND: Orient Longman, 2000).

1887. In order to prepare students for these Western-style universities, British philanthropists and reformers also founded elite secondary schools across the country. The campuses of La Martinière College in Calcutta and Lucknow provided an education in the English language with emphasis on European standards of math and science.<sup>15</sup> When Richard Bourke, 6th Earl of Mayo, founded Mayo College in Rajasthan, he wanted it to be an Indian version of England's Eton College. In addition to these universities and elite schools, there were mission schools founded that served Western children as well as both Anglo-Indians and Eurasians—British children born in India and the bi-cultural children of Europeans and South Asians.<sup>16</sup> The fact that many of these educational institutions, of all types, survive today is a testament to the fact that they did not simply import British ideals, but became “Indianized” to some extent.<sup>17</sup>

Robert Yelle notes that Orientalists and Anglicists held many of the same assumptions regarding the use of Indian languages.<sup>18</sup> Thus, though the English Education Act officially Anglicized the system of education in 1835, there were still many efforts to continue the work of the previous generations. By the end of the decade, funding had even been partially restored for Oriental education. In addition to the Western schools described

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<sup>15</sup> Chandan Mitra, *Constant Glory: La Martinière Saga 1836-1986* (Calcutta, IN: Oxford University Press, 1987), 31.

<sup>16</sup> Herbert A. Stark, *Hostages to India, or, The Life Story of the Anglo-Indian Race* (Calcutta, India: Gosto Behary Dass, 1926).

<sup>17</sup> Robert A. Yelle, *The Language of Disenchantment: Protestant Literalism and Colonial Discourse in British India* (London, GBR: Oxford University Press, 2013), 71-77.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.



above, this period was a time of concurrent growth in the traditional, “nativist” realm of education. Even from the time of the first Governor-General of India, Warren Hastings, there had been a move to support Indian knowledge by promoting Oriental education with the addition of some instruction in English and European methods. Until the 1880s—the period under consideration in this dissertation—there were attempts to retain a distinctly Indian system of education. In many instances, these Indian systems mirrored divisions along religious lines. For example, at this time, the *Arya Samaj* began founding its Dayanand Anglo-Vedic schools. This group believed in the infallible authority of the Vedas—the oldest Hindu scriptures—and instructed pupils at the schools in Sanskrit and Hindi. At the same time, many in the Muslim community resisted the colonial system of schooling by establishing and supporting *maktabs*—analogous to elementary schools—and *madrasas*—for more advanced education.<sup>19</sup>

This dissertation will explore the interplay between the British colonial structure for education as laid out in its educational policy documents and the dominant religious and linguistic communities in Northern India. The shifts in education policy in British India—under both Company and Crown rule—were connected to shifts in inter-religious relations. The educational structures under consideration primarily include the formal school established and run by the British authorities for Indian students. They also include

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<sup>19</sup> Nita Kumar, *Lessons from Schools: The History of Education in Benaras* (New Delhi, IND: Sage Publications, 2000), 133.

non-formal yet organized efforts to instill Western ideals on Indians and informal yet meaningful educational experiences of Indians in their daily interactions with the British.<sup>20</sup>

The constant play of the Hindu majority in India against the sizable Muslim minority does provide an interesting backdrop for a discussion of colonial education policy. By the 1880s, the Hindu and Muslim communities had been advocating for generation for a return to indigenous educational systems. This dissertation examines the ways in which these competing systems, educating the people of India in Indian languages divided the people of India along religious grounds. Of course, a pattern of separation persisted until colonial India split into the nations of Pakistan and India in 1947. If the British tried to use Hindu and Muslim educational institutions such as *gurukuls* and *madrasas* in an attempt to control—or at least more effectively govern—the Indian populace, the success of this strategy is certainly debatable. It is a simplification to say that the British sought to divide and conquer their colonial subjects, but it is a useful point at which to begin the analysis of educational policy during this period.

Given the eventual role that religious differences would play in the partition of India in 1947, this topic warrants further discussion. During this period from 1880 to 1890, many of the men who would become the founding fathers of independent India and Pakistan were beginning their formal educations.<sup>21</sup> Historians of education are increasingly

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<sup>20</sup> Eileen H. Tamura, "Value Messages Collide with Reality: Joseph Kurihara and the Power of Informal Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 50, no. 1 (2010), 2.

<sup>21</sup> For example, Mohandas Gandhi first enrolled in the local Gujarati school in his district in January 1879 and Lala Lajpat Rai began his secondary studies in Lahore in 1881. See Ramachandra

exploring the way that people's educations—both formal and informal—“shape” them, and looking at those who led this Independence movement at the turn of the twentieth century is telling in considering the effect that religious schools had on the colonial system.<sup>22</sup> Some of these leaders had been educated in these very religious schools. It was not simply the Western-established Christian schools that were sowing the seeds of liberal government in these minds. It was Muslim, Hindu, and Sikh schools founded by Indians for Indians. Many of these men and women went on to further their education in England or elsewhere in the West, but it was their education in India that shaped them first. Indeed, as these men began to exercise political and social control within British India, the colonial administration in the interwar period began to reconsider some of its policies of division.<sup>23</sup>

The fact that these leaders presided over the partition of British India into the nations of India and Pakistan means that understanding the educational policies of this time are important for understanding the geopolitical relationships in South Asia today. For example, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founding father of independent Pakistan was educated

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Guha, *Gandhi Before India* (New York, NY; Alfred A. Knopf, 2014), 24-25 and Urmila Sharma & S. K. Sharma, *Indian Political Thought* (New Delhi, IND: Atlantic Publishers, 1996), 125, 127-129.

<sup>22</sup> Tamura, “Value Messages Collide with Reality”, 2.

<sup>23</sup> See G. R. Thursby, *Hindu-Muslim Relations in British India: A Study of Controversy, Conflict, and Communal Movements in Northern India, 1923-1928* (Amsterdam, NLD: Brill Academic Publishers, 1975), 43-44. In response to the 1929 murder of a Hindu publisher by a Muslim for offending religious sentiments, the colonial government enacted Section 295(A) of the Indian Penal Code. This authorized punishment for anyone who “with deliberate and malicious intention of outraging the religious feelings of any class of Indian subject, by words, either spoken or written, or by signs or by visible representations or otherwise, insults or attempts to insult the religion or the religious beliefs of that class.” A form of this law remains in the current Penal Code as Section 153(A), which the Indian government uses to prosecute hate speech.

at government-funded schools in Bombay before attending the Christian Missionary Society High School in Karachi.<sup>24</sup> He also spent time studying at the Sindh-Madrassa-tul-Islam in Karachi, which was founded to teach students modern Western knowledge in Sindhi with traditional values—similar to the schools founded in Lahore and Aligarh at the time.<sup>25</sup> The location of Lahore at the crux of the partition debate 60 years was not a coincidence. The educational policies imposed on and developed for the people of Northern India were important determining factors in the history of South Asia.

### **Research Methodology**

To answer completely the question of how Hindu and Muslim educational institutions were made part of the construction of colonial subjects in India during this period, it has been important to understand the policies that were put in place and the ways that they were viewed by Indians on the ground concerning their religious education. The primary research methodology used in this dissertation was a historical analysis of two main types of documentary sources.<sup>26</sup> The first class of documents were educational policy papers from the British government and colonial administrators in India. These span the period from the turn of the nineteenth century until 1882. Because of the age of these

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<sup>24</sup> Akbar S. Ahmed, *Jinnah, Pakistan, and Islamic Identity: The Search for Saladin* (London, GBR: Routledge, 1997), 26.

<sup>25</sup> Jaswant Singh, *Jinnah: India—Partition—Independence* (Oxford, GBR: Oxford University Press, 2009), 54.

<sup>26</sup> For more information on historical policy analysis, see H. D. Lasswell, *A Pre-view of Policy Sciences* (New York, NY: American Elsevier, 1971), W. Parsons, *Public Policy: An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Policy Analysis* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 1995), and G. Brewer and P. deLeon, *The Foundations of Policy Analysis* (Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1983).

policy documents, they have all been published since their promulgation and are readily available. Because of the period under consideration, these include both policies enacted by the East India Company and those enacted by the British Crown after 1858. These include reports from officials in the colonial administration, policy statements written by civil servants, and resolutions made by governors general. They provide a picture of educational policy in India as a whole leading up to the 1880s.

The second group of documents are contemporary periodicals that demonstrate Indian response to these educational policies as implemented from 1880 to 1890. Examining these documents required research in historical archives in New Delhi during the summer of 2015. The work was primarily done at Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (NMML) at the *Teen Murti Bhavan*. The microfilm records included several newspapers published in the North-Western Provinces and Punjab during this period. Though there was some reporting done on issues of educational policy during this period, much of the content is of an editorial nature.

In the North-Western Provinces, the focus of analysis for this dissertation is the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*. This newspaper was published twice weekly in both English and in Urdu.<sup>27</sup> Philosopher and social activist Syed Ahmad Khan established it in 1866. As a Muslim pragmatist, he was concerned that the Muslim community in the North-Western Provinces was not sufficiently concerned with matters of education or with making India a

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<sup>27</sup> The publication frequency of the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* changed throughout its publication and it began as a weekly.

great nation. This led him to establish the bilingual journal that bore the motto “Liberty of the Press is a prominent duty of the Government and a natural right of the subjects” on its masthead.<sup>28</sup> The goal of the newspaper was to ensure that the British colonial administrators were apprised of “the thoughts and points of view of the inhabitants of India.”<sup>29</sup> It also tried to keep these inhabitants informed of the policies that the British had put in place.

In Punjab, one of the major colonial news sources was *The Tribune*, published Lahore. In the 1860s, the city had been home to two newspapers whose editorial stances were very much opposed. The *Lahore Chronicle* and *Indian Public Opinion* had been founded to appeal to those British leaders who had controlled the colonial administration since before the Rebellion. Under the guidance of Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner—who would go on to become a leading light in the Orientalist educational tradition of Lahore—these newspapers were merged, along with several others, to form the *Civil and Military Gazette* in 1872.<sup>30</sup> *The Tribune* was established in Lahore in 1881 partly to rebut the opinions presented in the *Civil and Military Gazette* and the ideas of Leitner. Shortly after beginning

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<sup>28</sup> H. K. Sherwani, “The Political Thought of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan,” *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 5, no. 4 (1944), 311-312.

<sup>29</sup> Belkacem Belmekki, “Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan’s Framework for the Educational Uplift of the Indian Muslims During the British Raj,” *Anthropos* 104, no 1 (2009), 167-168.

<sup>30</sup> Asima Ranjan Parhi, *Indian English Through Newspapers* (New Delhi, IND: Concept Publishing Company, 2008), 26.

its run, *The Tribune* began publishing on the topic of education.<sup>31</sup> It is the major focus of analysis for this dissertation in Punjab.

The analysis of these periodical sources and the educational policy documents shows both how the colonizers attempted to educate their subjects in India as well as the ways that these attempts actually looked in the colony. It provides a new lens through which to view these colonial actions. It also allows for some understanding of the way that Hindu and Muslim educational institutions—and the policies that created them—were used in an attempt to construct colonial subjects in India. The other important consideration is how successful these efforts were.

In studying India—either in the colonial period or in the period since independence—a major limiting factor is the diversity of the country. The modern Republic of India has two official national languages and 22 constitutionally regional languages. In its religions, it is also incredibly diverse. India today has the world's largest Hindu, Sikh, Jain, Zoroastrian, and Bahá'í populations as well as the third largest Muslim population. A dissertation project such as this has naturally taken a narrow view of India in both geographic location and periodization. Though I have a working knowledge of Hindi, I am unable to read Urdu or any other Indian languages. For this reason, I have limited the periodical sources consulted in the Indian archives to English language ones.

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<sup>31</sup> "This Week," *The Tribune*, February 2, 1882, Lahore.

## Dissertation Outline

This dissertation comprises five chapters in addition to this brief introduction. It begins with a thorough review of the relevant historical, educational, and philosophical literature. In addition to laying out some of the historical background of the project, this also makes clear the significance of the topic as it relates to a historical study of education and colonialism. It also shows the scholarship that exists regarding education in colonial India and how its administrators used it in an attempt to create governable subjects in the subcontinent while demonstrating that there is a gap in the existing scholarship as it relates to religious education in this realm. This is followed by a chapter presenting the specific educational policies discussed and implemented by the British colonial authorities in India during the first part of the nineteenth century and through 1882. The dissertation then proceeds to a chapter that describes the colonial reactions—among both the Hindu and Muslim communities—to the educational policies that were implemented. This is followed by a chapter that attempts to make sense of how the British used religious education in this way to construct colonial subjects within the Hindu and Muslim communities. Synthesizing the information from the previous two chapters, it also attempts to demonstrate the success that the British experienced in this process. The conclusion of the dissertation includes thoughts on what this means for modern, independent India. The creation of these colonial subjects prior to 1947 had certainly had an impact on the country since it was partitioned into India and Pakistan at independence.



CHAPTER TWO  
REVIEWING EXISTING SCHOLARSHIP ON RELIGIOUS, COLONIAL EDUCATION IN  
NORTHERN INDIA

As Vickie Langohr notes, those colonizing India had planned to use education as a means of stabilizing and strengthening their own rule on the subcontinent.<sup>1</sup> She goes on, of course, to detail how the colonial education system that developed over the course of the British Raj undermined this plan. Dipesh Chakrabarty writes that the supernatural is an important consideration in writing the history of the Santal rebellion of Bengal in 1855.<sup>2</sup> In the same way, the supernatural—that is, religion and the religious beliefs of the large Hindu and Muslim populations of Northern India—played a large part in this development of Indian education.<sup>3</sup> This played out in ways that the English colonial masters could never have imagined. From the earliest days of the colonial administration and its symbiosis with Indian religious ideas, through the general disengagement of the empire at the beginning of the twentieth century the educational practices of Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, and

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<sup>1</sup> Vickie Langohr, “Educational ‘Subcontracting’ and the Spread of Religious Nationalism: Hindu and Muslim Nationalist Schools in Colonial India,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 21, no. 1 (2001), 42.

<sup>2</sup> Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 103.

<sup>3</sup> Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 5.

myriad other smaller groups both shaped colonial educational policy and were shaped by it.<sup>4</sup> In writing about the educational policy of colonial India, the construction of religious difference between Hindu and Muslim religious and linguistic has been under-examined by previous scholars. This dissertation fills the gap left by scholars who have explored religious education and educational policy without looking at the connections to public discourse.

### **Western Colonial Education**

The notion of colonial empires as strong central metropolitan nations asserting their power over peripheral, provincial regions has a long history. However, his dichotomy does not give a full picture of the relationships present in colonial settings—especially given the ethnic and religious variation found within the colonies. Discussions of these colonial relationships are quite complex for, as Albert Memmi notes, “the colony was not peopled exclusively by colonists and colonizers.”<sup>5</sup> Though the notion has long existed, the idea that there was a clear delineation between central powers and peripheral colonies has its roots in the mid-twentieth century—just as much of the colonized developing world was gaining independence from European powers. In this post-war period, theorists argued that the “wealth, technological development, and well-established educational and research institutions” of the former colonizers made them natural centers on which international

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<sup>4</sup> Clive Whitehead, “The Historiography of British Imperial Education Policy, Part 1: India,” *History of Education* 34, no. 3 (2005), 315-329.

<sup>5</sup> Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1967), 7.

relationships would focus.<sup>6</sup> In the same way, the dependent nature of developing nations placed them firmly on the periphery of these same relationships.<sup>7</sup> According to advocates of such a view, the centers of modern progress were in many ways responsible for providing the periphery with a view of their future—a vision of what to aim for.<sup>8</sup> This theory of modernization was popular in the West for as a sort of antithesis of the Communist development model espoused by the Soviet Union during the Cold War.<sup>9</sup> Education was a major component of the discussion of historical colonial policy in what many saw as an ideological conflict between Cold War combatants.

By the 1960s and 1970s, the basic concept of center and periphery relationships between nations developed into dependency theory. This was a neo-Marxist refutation of the modernism theories promoted by the West.<sup>10</sup> In the educational realm, this view holds that the developing, periphery nations had not been moving inexorably towards the modern ideals of the powerful, central nations. Rather, stronger states used the relationship of center and periphery to keep development from happening. These critics saw the relationship between the two not as a temporary position out of which the developing nations would rise, but a lasting symptom of unequal educational,

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<sup>6</sup> Philip G. Altbach and Gail P. Kelly, *Education and Colonialism* (New York, NY: Longman, 1978), 31.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>8</sup> Richard Peet and Elaine Hartwick, *Theories of Development: Contentions, Arguments, Alternatives* (New York, NY: The Guildford Group, 2007), 104.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 132.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 166.

technological, and cultural power arrangements.<sup>11</sup> Again, this theory developed as a part of the ideological conflict between the West and the Soviet Union and education in developing, colonial settings played an important part in the discourse. This philosophical legacy has implications for this dissertation project. Debates in the development of educational policy in India during the nineteenth century, largely turned on the issue of language of instruction and some were concerned that policies was contributing to the uneven power relationship that dependency theorists later noticed.

By the end of the twentieth century, the ideas of Immanuel Wallerstein began to gain more prominence among scholars thinking about center-periphery power structures in education.<sup>12</sup> According to Wallerstein, contemporary relationships of power had their roots in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. At that time, European nations began to exploit minor differences in technology and culture to their advantages. These differences quickly grew into strategic advantages for the European nations, which resulted in the world-system seen today.<sup>13</sup> In this theorization, as in those previously mentioned, the focus is squarely on the relationship of power that the center nations have had over the periphery. This project, however, looks not only at the power of the British over their colonial subjects, but at the reactions and responses of the Indians impacted by the educational policies.

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 168-170.

<sup>12</sup> Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, NY: Academic Press, 1974).

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 15.

This follows from a theorization developed at the end of the twentieth century, when historians and other scholars—especially those from and studying South Asia—began to question the usefulness of centering discussion on the colonizing powers. Dipesh Chakrabarty noted that “it is impossible to think of anywhere in the world without invoking certain categories and concepts, the genealogies of which go deep into the intellectual and even theological traditions of Europe.”<sup>14</sup> Chakrabarty considers the ways that European categories are both indispensable and insufficient in considering modernity in South Asia. They are indispensable because modern India, with its democracy and capitalism, owes much to the influence of European ideas. At the same time, these categories are insufficient because of the imperialism inherent in them and the tension between European categories and South Asian approaches to history and education.<sup>15</sup> Chakrabarty notes that in the academy, non-Western histories cannot afford to be ignorant of Europe and still gain recognition and support. At the same time, European histories do not usually have to be aware of non-European histories and can cast their interpretive mechanisms as “universal.”<sup>16</sup> Chakrabarty sees an effort to provincialize Europe as the solution to this problem of universalization.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 4.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.

<sup>17</sup> Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).

### Historiography of Colonial Education

This general history of these center and periphery concepts relates broadly to all aspects of international development. In the history of education, these concepts have been used, as well.<sup>18</sup> Educating the people of a nation and becoming a national producer of scholarship and learning have come to be seen as important characteristics of a world power. In the early 1970s, one observer noted that the development of an indigenous academic publishing center in a former European colony in Africa could be seen as “an act of liberation, and therefore, a necessity because it breaks the control ... which the white races have had over ... the mind of the Africa.”<sup>19</sup> Many now see knowledge as a commodity that is as important as agricultural production. The means of producing knowledge—schools, universities, and cultural institutions—have thus been an important part of the policy decisions made in these “peripheral” nations.<sup>20</sup>

Edward Said is best known for his work analyzing the relationships between East and West. Though not a historian of education, his work can be instructive in considering this fraught center-periphery dichotomy. One of his main contentions was that scholarship which focuses on the East—the peripheral nations in this context—is still tied to the central, colonizing societies and culture that produce it, making such scholarship suspect in

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<sup>18</sup> Altbach and Kelly, *Education and Colonialism*, 302-303.

<sup>19</sup> Dan Dodson and Barbara Dodson, “Publishing Progress in Nigeria,” *Scholarly Publishing* 4 (1972), 62.

<sup>20</sup> Altbach and Kelly, *Education and Colonialism*, 303.

a variety of ways.<sup>21</sup> In later work, he made it clear that simply promoting the unique characteristics and cultural traditions of peripheral countries among students would not solve the problems created by centuries of colonial exploitation.<sup>22</sup> Students must have these complex relationships and differences among nations situated “in a geography of other identities, peoples, [and] cultures,” to show how “they have always overlapped one another.”<sup>23</sup> Thus, for Said, a simple dichotomy between center and periphery was not sufficient to explain the myriad relationships that students in colonial and postcolonial schools have encountered.<sup>24</sup>

Looking at the educational history of the British Empire more broadly is instructive in understanding the policy landscape of nineteenth century India. In colonial Zimbabwe, George Stark helped to establish strictly separate systems of education for the “native” population and the European settlers in the colony.<sup>25</sup> In the late colonial period, the educational opportunities for African students were severely limited to vocational training. The white children of British settlers completed academic courses reserved them—much to the dismay of African leaders.<sup>26</sup> The three inseparable qualities that George Stark sought

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<sup>21</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (New York, NY: Punguin Books, 2001), 339-341.

<sup>22</sup> Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 330.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 330-331.

<sup>24</sup> Indra Sengupta and Daud Ali, eds., *Knowledge Production, Pedagogy, and Institutions in Colonial India* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

<sup>25</sup> Dickson A. Mungazi, *Colonial Education for Africans: George Stark's Policy in Zimbabwe* (New York, NY: Praeger, 1991), 34-35.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 48-49.

to develop in African education were a simple and practical curriculum, applicability to tribal life, and a focus on basic literacy.<sup>27</sup> By 1935, the government of South Rhodesia had implemented free and compulsory academically oriented schooling for white children.<sup>28</sup> Thus, in this African setting, the center had precedence over the periphery. Farther North in French-colonized Egypt, there were similarly distinct modes of schooling. Though not used universally at the time, many Egyptians learned using the Lancaster Method of monitorial teaching as late as the 1880s.<sup>29</sup> Such methods of instruction had long since fallen out of favor in Europe and North America and remained in use because they could teach large numbers of poor Egyptians simultaneously.<sup>30</sup> With analysis that focuses specifically on India, Clive Whitehead attempted to present a more complete picture of educational practitioners in the colonial administration. His work highlights the unique approaches of individual members of the Indian Educational Service.<sup>31</sup>

In looking more closely at the notion of center and periphery in colonies, it is clear that the spatial distribution and geographical location of knowledge are important factors for historians to consider in colonial education.<sup>32</sup> As shown above, in many ways, this

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 35.

<sup>29</sup> Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Cambridge, GBR: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 101.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 117-118.

<sup>31</sup> Clive Whitehead, *Colonial Educators: The British Indian and Colonial Education Service, 1858-1983* (London, GBR: I. B. Tauris, 2003).

<sup>32</sup> Gary McCulloch and Roy Lowe, "Centre and Periphery – Networks, Space, and Geography in the History of Education," *History of Education* 32, no. 5 (2003), 457.



notion helps to capture the imperial dimension of educational practice. Looking at the ways that educational policies and practices were transmitted in both directions between the metropole to the colony, helps give contemporary scholars some idea of why postcolonial education systems exist as they do. Of course, such an over-arching theorization of colonial relationships is bound to have some shortcomings as well. In some ways, it obscures some of the significant consequences of the colonial project as they relate to education.<sup>33</sup> With its focus on the implementation of policy within the colonial setting, it also fails to capture some of the important communication that went from the periphery to the center. The return of colonial children to their European homeland and the education of native elites in the metropole are both areas of the colonial relationship that are not fully explored in this view. As earlier scholarship has done in other areas of history, this dissertation attempts to “provincialize Europe not by getting beyond its master narrative ... but by going behind or through this narrative and showing its applications” to the education of India’s Hindu and Muslim communities.<sup>34</sup>

### **Hinduism and Education**

In exploring the history of religion and education in colonial India, it is reasonable to start with the experience of Hindu groups on the subcontinent. Indeed, scholars have claimed that Indian nationalists in the late colonial period who attempted to develop a secular society met with resistance because such secularism was at odds with the Indian

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<sup>33</sup> Jane Martin, “Shena D. Simon and English Education Policy: Inside/Out?” *History of Education* 32, no. 5 (2003), 479.

<sup>34</sup> Robert A. Yelle, *The Language of Disenchantment: Protestant Literalism and Colonial Discourse in British India* (London, GBR: Oxford University Press, 2013), x.

people.<sup>35</sup> Some consider Hinduism—and the training of Indians in Hindu philosophy and practice—to be an integral part of the Indian experience.<sup>36</sup> Even before the period under consideration in this dissertation, education was an important consideration for the Hindu population of India. Central to this understanding of Hinduism and education was the development of the *gurukul*.

The traditional gurukul had long existed in the Indian subcontinent. The institution has its origins in the Vedic period beginning around 1750 BCE. By the time that the British had gained control of the subcontinent, the gurukul as a formal educational institution had begun to die out.<sup>37</sup> After this shift away from the ancient gurukul, various Hindu groups in and around Calcutta began agitating for the creation of an institution that would cater to their upper-caste sensibilities. The result was Hindu College, founded in Calcutta in 1816.<sup>38</sup> In this case, the college provided instruction not just in Bengali and Sanskrit, but in English, as well. Some began to fear that the colonial experiment was completely ruining the strong Aryan tradition of education represented by the gurukul.

During the period leading up to the Hunter Commission of 1882, the Hindus of Northern India actually seemed to be more eager to embrace Western education than their

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<sup>35</sup> Partha Chatterjee, “Religious Minorities and the Secular State: Reflections on an Indian Impasse,” *Public Culture* 8, no. 1 (1995), 11-39.

<sup>36</sup> Donald Eugene Smith, *India as a Secular State* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963), 493-501 and Ved Prakash Luthera, *The Concept of the Secular State and India* (Calcutta, IND: Oxford University Press, 1964), 21-23.

<sup>37</sup> Francesca Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere, 1920-1940* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1997), 113.

<sup>38</sup> Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1989), 43.

Muslim counterparts were.<sup>39</sup> By the 1920s, however, the Hindu reform movement *Arya Samaj* and the Indian National Congress in the United Provinces began to promote revived gurukuls as a way to bring Indian youth into the growing independence movement.<sup>40</sup> This was a concerted effort to break from the Western models of education that these Hindu Nationalists felt the colonial authorities imposed on them from the time of Macaulay's *Minute on Indian Education*.<sup>41</sup>

One later attempt to establish an educational system that fully embraced Hindu religious life was the *Arya Mahila* (Aryan Woman) school in colonial Benaras. Founded in 1926, by a devotee of the Arya Samaj and its leaders, the institution was housed on a large campus which eventually comprised "sections for nursery, primary, secondary, intermediate, and B.A." education.<sup>42</sup> Vidya Devi, the founder of the institution was very much a Hindu traditionalist who opposed the inheritance of property by women and supported the burning of widows on funeral pyres.<sup>43</sup> Hinduism also greatly influenced her educational vision for *Arya Mahila*. Though schooled in the 1880s and 1890s, she did not completely trust Western scientific and social institutions and demanded that Hindu ritual

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 43-44.

<sup>40</sup> William Gould, *Hindu Nationalism and the Language of Politics in Late Colonial India* (London, GBR: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 147.

<sup>41</sup> Harald Fischer-Tiné, "From Brahmacharya to 'Conscious Race Culture': Victorian Discourses of 'Science' and Hindu Traditions in Early Indian Nationalism," In *Beyond Representation: Colonial and Postcolonial Constructions of Indian Identity*, edited by Crispin Bates, 241-270 (London, GBR: Oxford University Press, 2006), 243.

<sup>42</sup> Nita Kumar, *Lessons from Schools: The History of Education in Benaras* (New Delhi, IND: Sage Publications, 2000), 106.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 107.

infuse every aspect of her school. These ritual included fire sacrifice, worship, and chanting at even minor school functions on campus.<sup>44</sup> Her school flourished for a time, but Vidya Devi was never completely content with her ability to close the institution off from Western control.<sup>45</sup> Even her experiment in holistic cradle-to-grave Hindu education found it difficult to eschew the established government curriculum completely. Vidya Devi only offered the desired subjects of Sanskrit and Vedic literature in addition to the government-approved Algebra and Geometry courses, which she despised.<sup>46</sup>

Central to this entire “Hindu education” experiment in the late colonial period is the question of “what was to be seen as the center of a ‘Hindu national culture.’”<sup>47</sup> In the Arya Samaj’s gurukuls and other Vedic institutions of learning, there was a strong emphasis on “Sanskritic Hinduism, Vedic culture ... [and the] Mahabarata and Ramayana stories.”<sup>48</sup> This philosophical stand gave social preference to high-caste Hindus and geographic preference to Aryan North India. The colonial education experiment could thus be seen as a uniting force on the subcontinent not just in terms of linguistic unification, but also in terms of social and geographic unification by opposing the traditional system. Implementing a colonial educational system across the subcontinent gave less power to the Sanskritic,

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 108.

<sup>45</sup> Nita Kumar, “Religion and Ritual in Indian Schools: Benaras from the 1880s to the 1940s,” in *The Transmission of Knowledge in South Asia: Essays on Education, Religion, History, and Politics*, ed. Nigel Crook (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1996), 135-154.

<sup>46</sup> Kumar, *Lessons from Schools*, 109-110.

<sup>47</sup> Gail Omvedt, *Cultural Revolt in a Colonial Society: The NonBrahman Movement in Western India, 1873-1930* (Bombay, IND: Scientific Socialist Education Trust, 1976), 115.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 115-116.

Vedic tradition that supported—as Vidya Devi did—the more unsavory aspects of Hindu culture.

The work of Christian missionaries throughout the region also influenced the education of Hindu communities in Northern India. Throughout the late nineteenth century, missionaries teachers who had recently graduate from female seminaries in the Northeastern United States came to India to teach students and operate schools.<sup>49</sup> The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent many of these. The Christian “missionaries were engaged not only in the central missionary enterprise of religious conversion, but also in ... understanding the political context of education and national identity formation” for the Hindu populations in which they were serving.<sup>50</sup> Similarly, the London-based Society for Promoting Female Education in the East established a school in the first range of the Himalayas in 1854 to train more missionary teachers to interact with these Hindu communities.<sup>51</sup> This institution continued to train missionary teachers, but also expanded to elementary and secondary education. This include catering to the Hindu children of notable families in the Indian independence movement into the early twentieth century.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Roberta Wollons, “Travelling for God and Adventure: Women Missionaries in the Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century,” *Asian Journal of Social Science* 31, no. 1 (2003), 55-71.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>51</sup> Virgil Miedema and Stephanie Spaid Miedema, *Mussoorie and Landour: Footprints of the Past* (New Delhi, IND: Rupa, 2014), 94-95.

<sup>52</sup> Chandralekha Metha, *Freedom’s Child: Growing Up During Satyagraha* (New Delhi, IND: Penguin Books, 2008), 84.

Christian missionary activity in Northern India had begun in earnest in the late eighteenth century.<sup>53</sup> Some scholars have suggested that in India particularly, the schools established by Christian missionaries were important catalysts for reigniting a focus on learning and intellectual aspirations among the population.<sup>54</sup> Many of these still exist today in some form—largely as citadels of elite education for wealthy Indian and Pakistani students.<sup>55</sup> As Allender contends, the overall time period in which the British supported these institutions using the grant-in-aid methods mentioned later was relatively short. In Punjab specifically, it only lasted from 1860 to 1877. Though this sort of educational financing had ceased by before the period under consideration in this dissertation, the impact would last for years to come.<sup>56</sup> Indeed, it can still be felt today.

### **Islam and Education**

Though a comparatively recent addition to the Indian educational landscape, Islam also both shaped and *was* shaped by the colonial administration of education on the subcontinent. Gauri Viswanathan notes that in the mid-nineteenth century, there was a growing division between the place of Hindus and Muslims in colonial education for a

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<sup>53</sup> A. A. Powell, "Maulānā Raḥmat Allāh Kairānawī and Muslim-Christian Controversy in India in the Mid-19th Century," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1 (1976), 42.

<sup>54</sup> Clayton G. Mackenzie, "Demythologising the Missionaries: A Reassessment of the Functions and Relationships of Christian Missionary Education under Colonialism," *Comparative Education* 29, no. 1 (1993), 45-66.

<sup>55</sup> Tim Allender, "Anglican Evangelism in North India and the Mujabi Missionary Classroom: The Failure to Educate 'The Masses,' 1860-77," *History of Education* 32, no. 3 (2003), 273.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 274.

number of reasons.<sup>57</sup> She explains that Hindus were much more likely to avail themselves of Western educational opportunities than Muslims were. This opposition to Western education was felt in the ranks of the colonial administration where, by 1871 there were only 92 Muslims holding government appointments in Lower Bengal versus 681 Hindus.<sup>58</sup> In some ways, this was a legacy of the more thoroughly developed educational traditions in and the political realities of the Mughal Empire prior to the ascendancy of the British in the nineteenth century.

When the East India Company began its conquest of Northern India at the Battle of Plassey in 1757, the dominant power in the region was the Muslim Mughal emperor, Ahmad Shah Bahadur. Though Hindus still comprised a majority of the Indian population, the paramount ruler was the emperor. As British influence grew, the Company's leaders decided "that their ideas and institutions were simply too 'foreign' for Indians, [and they] chose to invoke the signs and symbols" of the Mughals.<sup>59</sup> On the surface, at least, this meant that any effort at promoting education in the language of the Indian people focused on classical Persian and Arabic for the Muslim community rather than classical Sanskrit or Vernacular Bengali and Hindi for the Hindu population.<sup>60</sup> The higher classes of Muslim families were much less likely to participate in educational pursuits for the practical

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<sup>57</sup> Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest*, 152.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>59</sup> Manu Bhagavan, *Sovereign Spheres: Princes, Education, and Empire in Colonial India* (London, GBR: Oxford University Press, 2003), 17.

<sup>60</sup> Mohammad A. Quayum, ed., *The Essential Rokeya: Selected Works of Rokeya Sakhawat Hossain (1880-1932)* (Leiden, NLD: Brill, 2013), xv.

purposes of learning English or a modern Indian language. The concern of the Mughal elites was Koranic education or leisure pursuits such as the writing of poetry.<sup>61</sup> Interestingly, where many contemporary and later scholars characterized the more ancient religions of Hinduism and Buddhism as “mystical” and, in some way, “antithetical to rationality,” members of these groups were much more likely to capitalize on a practical colonial education.<sup>62</sup> The Muslims—seen by many Europeans as the only group with a “real” religion—were content to stay separate.<sup>63</sup>

The most important educational institutions through which the Muslim community resisted the colonial system of schooling were the *maktabs* and the *madrasas*.<sup>64</sup> These institutions were most prevalent in the Bengal presidency and the United Provinces.<sup>65</sup> In fact, Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of Bengal, sanctioned the creation of a madrasa in Calcutta as early as the 1790s to instruct young Muslims “students in Mahamadan law and other sciences.”<sup>66</sup> The *maktabs* would—in addition to teaching reading and writing in Arabic—give basic education in Urdu or Bengali depending on their

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<sup>61</sup> Kumar, *Lessons from Schools*, 130.

<sup>62</sup> Richard King, *Orientalism and Religion: Postcolonial Theory, India, and “Mystic East”* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1999), 28.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

<sup>64</sup> Kumar, *Lessons from Schools*, 133.

<sup>65</sup> Muhammad Qasim Zaman, “Religious Education and the Rhetoric of Reforms: The Madrasa in British India and Pakistan,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41, no. 2 (1999), 300.

<sup>66</sup> Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 47.



location.<sup>67</sup> The focus of education—both formal schooling and informal family practice—for Muslim youth was the teaching of the Koran.<sup>68</sup> Koranic recitations were of the utmost importance for young men to understand the precepts of Islam properly. For young women, however, education was long out of reach.

Though the Hindu majority did not provide many educational opportunities for the girls in their community, the Muslim custom of *purdah*, or seclusion, kept girls from even socializing outside of their family units.<sup>69</sup> Traditionally, women were only free to leave their fathers' households if it was to attend their wedding ceremonies. After that, they were only able to leave their husbands' households as their bodies made their ways to the funeral pyre.<sup>70</sup> It was into such a traditional Bengali family that Rokeya Sakhwat Hossain was born in 1880. She was not allowed any formal educational opportunities—her family even barred her from formal instruction in Bengali.<sup>71</sup> After a marriage arranged by her English-educated brother to a liberal-minded widower, Rokeya was able to polish the English and Bengali that she had learned clandestinely. With the death of her husband, she used her inheritance to found schools for girls in Bengal so that others would not have such

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<sup>67</sup> Sonia Nishat Amin, *The World of Muslim Women in Colonial Bengal, 1876-1939* (Leiden, NLD: E. J. Brill, 1996), 50.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

<sup>69</sup> Nita Kumar, *The Politics of Gender, Community, and Modernity: Essays on Education in India* (London, GBR: Oxford University Press, 2007), 154-155. The custom of *purdah* was also common among many Hindu families of higher caste.

<sup>70</sup> Gail Minault, "Other Voices, Other Rooms: The View from the Zenana," In *"Speaking Truth to Power": Religion, Caste, and the Subaltern Question in India*, edited by Manu Bhagavan and Anne Feldhaus, 121-136 (London, GBR: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 121.

<sup>71</sup> Quayum, *The Essential Rokeya*, XIX.

a difficult learning experience.<sup>72</sup> These schools would help open the world outside of purdah to more Muslim girls across Northern India.<sup>73</sup> They were only the first in a series of similar schools to open—not at the behest of the colonial authorities, but because of the efforts of dedicated Indian women and men who were concerned about the place of Muslim women in society.<sup>74</sup>

Two of the most lasting educational institutions that sprang from this period in the teaching of India's Muslim community were the *Darul Uloom Deoband* and the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College in Aligarh. Following the defeat of the Indian Rebellion of 1857, some in the Muslim community of Northern India banded together in the town of Deoband to preserve Indian Islamic culture and to educate their children in Islamic studies.<sup>75</sup> This *madrassa* was established with the understanding that it would remain free from political control and maintain its religious instruction.<sup>76</sup> In Aligarh, however, the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College was also privately established along the lines of a Muslim *madrassa*, but was expected to provide an additional focus on the English language and western science.<sup>77</sup> The enduring place of both institutions in modern India says much

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., XXIII.

<sup>73</sup> Rokeya Sakhawat Hossain, *Sultana's Dream and Padmarag: Two Feminist Utopias* (New Delhi, IND: Penguin Books, 2005), XXV.

<sup>74</sup> Gail Minault, *Secluded Scholars: Women's Education and Muslim Social Reform in Colonial India* (London, GBR: Oxford University Press, 1998), 64, 251-255.

<sup>75</sup> Barbara D. Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), 87.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 88.

<sup>77</sup> David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India* (Delhi, IND: Oxford University Press, 1996), 124-128.

about the importance of education within the Muslim communities of Northern India in the second half of the nineteenth century.

### **Other Religious Groups**

Though not the primary concern of this dissertation, it is important to consider the roles that other religious groups played in the interactions between Hindus, Muslims, and the British colonial administration. Though the vast majority of people on the Indian subcontinent during the period in question were Hindu or Muslim, there were sizable minority populations of other religious groups. Educational institutions for these groups varied considerably over time and by region. In the same way as the Hindu and Muslim institutions, these schools were both shaped by colonial policy and helped to shape it. There were Christian,<sup>78</sup> Sikh,<sup>79</sup> Buddhist,<sup>80</sup> Jain, Zoroastrian Parsi, Bahá'í, and even Jewish populations in India.<sup>81</sup> All of these had educational aspirations for the communities and all of them play some part in a discussion of educational policy in the nineteenth century.

The consideration of so many religious, linguistic, and ethnic groups in the educational of India leads to questions of a systematic effort to “divide and rule” the

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<sup>78</sup> Edith M. Jones, *Woodstock School: Volume 1, 1854-1954* (Dehra Dun, IND: Vikalp Printers, 1999), 5-6 and Harald Fischer-Tiné, “Reclaiming Savages in 'Darkest England' and 'Darkest India': The Salvation Army as Transnational Agent of the Civilizing Mission,” In *Civilizing Missions in Colonial and Postcolonial South Asia*, edited by Carey A. Watt and Michael Mann, 125-165 (London, UK: Anthem, 2011), 138.

<sup>79</sup> Tim Allender, *Ruling Through Education: The Politics of Schooling in the Colonial Punjab* (Elgin, IL: New Dawn Press, 2006), 22.

<sup>80</sup> Helena Norberg-Hodge, *Ancient Futures: Learning from Ladakh* (New Delhi, IND: Oxford University Press, 1991), 111.

<sup>81</sup> Jael Silliman, *Jewish Portraits, Indian Frames: Women's Narratives from a Diaspora of Hope* (London, GBR: Brandeis University Press, 2001).

subcontinent. Indeed, early in his first term as British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill remarked that feuding between the Hindu and Muslim communities was “the Bulwark of British Rule in India.”<sup>82</sup> Eric A. Posner, Kathryn E. Spier, and Adrian Vermeule, note that the phrase “divide and rule” has a long history in the social sciences. They contend that it “is a placeholder for a complex of ideas related by a family resemblance, but differing in their details, mechanisms, and implications.”<sup>83</sup>

In conceptualizing policies focused on dividing and ruling, Posner, Spier, and Vermeule proposed that the construct must necessarily consist first of “a unitary actor bargaining with or competing against a set of multiple actors.” Second, they propose that the unitary actor must “follow an intentional strategy of exploiting problems of coordination or collective action among the multiple actors.”<sup>84</sup> The colonial administration in the subcontinent represented a unitary actor attempting to extract economic wealth from India. In a region as diverse as the Indian subcontinent, there were any number of divisions among the people.<sup>85</sup>

Posner, Spier, and Vermeule go on to assert that there is no “divide and conquer” strategy if the unitary actor simply waits passively for existing tensions and conflicts to

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<sup>82</sup> M. S. Venkataramani and B. K. Srivastava, *Quit India: The American Response to the 1942 Struggle* (New Delhi, IND: Vikas, 1979), 20.

<sup>83</sup> Posner, Spier, and Vermeule, “Divide and Conquer,” 417-418.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 419.

<sup>85</sup> Vasha Chitnis and Danaya Wright, “The Legacy of Colonialism: Law and Women’s Rights in India,” *Washington and Lee Law Review* 64, no. 4 (2007), 1316.

separate the multiple actors.<sup>86</sup> Thus in the case of educational policy in colonial India, it is important to demonstrate that the British actively attempted to divide their colonial subjects in order to benefit. This is a difficult task and Posner, Spier, and Vermeule note that many cases “writers frequently attribute a divide and conquer strategy to the beneficiary just because there is a beneficiary.”<sup>87</sup> In their analysis, they provide a number of mechanisms and strategies for dividing multiple actors. It is helpful in this instance to look at these strategies in relation to educational policy in colonial India to see if the British simply benefit from pre-existing disunity, or actively supported the division of the Indian people along religious and linguistic lines. This dissertation shows that, as implied by Winston Churchill, the British employed this strategy in India.

### **Religion and Education**

From the earliest days of the colonial project in South Asia, education played a key role in subduing and civilizing the region.<sup>88</sup> The colonial administrators attempted to use education as a way to create subjects in their Empire—with varying degrees of success. A look at those who led the Independence movement at the turn of the twentieth century is telling in considering the effect that educational policies had on the colonial system. Many of these leaders had been educated in these government schools of the period. It was not simply the strictly Western-based schools preaching a Christian ethic that sowed the seeds of liberal government in these minds. It was schools divided along linguistic and religious

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<sup>86</sup> Posner, Spier, and Vermeule, “Divide and Conquer,” 419.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 420.

<sup>88</sup> Fischer-Tiné, “Reclaiming Savages in 'Darkest England' and 'Darkest India.'”

lines founded by Indians for Indians.<sup>89</sup> Many of these men and women went on to further their education in England or elsewhere in the West, but it was their education in India that shaped them first.

A thorough review of this literature makes it clear that there is a gap in the scholarship that has been undertaken on the subject of educational policy in colonial India. Previous authors have done excellent work examining education in colonial contexts and even specifically in an Indian setting. Other scholars have looked closely at the way that religion has affected educational policy in India and other British colonies during this period in the nineteenth century. This dissertation makes an important contribution by specifically exploring the link between educational policy that deals specifically with these religious and linguistic questions and the formation of colonial subjects in South Asia. This is especially relevant to the broader history of India as religious differences would play the major role in the post-independence geo-political landscape that developed.

### **News Media as Historical Sources**

Much of the source material for this dissertation comes from the news media of Northern India during the 1880s. Scholars have not always accepted the use of such sources in the study of history as practice. At the outset of the twentieth century, scholars were wary of using newspapers as a way to ascertain the truth of events in the past. Over the course of the century, though, many scholars have come to see the importance of these sources as a way to present stories of social and cultural action. In the case of this

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<sup>89</sup> Syeda Saiyidain Hameed, *Maulana Azad, Islam and the Indian National Movement* (London, GBR: Oxford University Press, 2014), 90-91.

dissertation, it is clear that there are biases in the analyzed newspaper articles. These biases of the newspaper writers and editorial staffs help provide a more complete picture of the way that the population of India viewed educational policies at the time and make these sources useful.

Though there is a long tradition of the use of newspapers as historical sources, historians have sometimes been uneasy about it. Noted American historian James Ford Rhodes noted in 1909 that many historians adopt “an apologetic tone” when justifying their use of newspapers in their work.<sup>90</sup> In his view, though, newspapers were particularly well suited for historical scholarship. As primary sources, he noted that

They are contemporary, and, being written without knowledge of the end, cannot bolster any cause without making a plain showing of their intent. Their object is the relation of daily events; and if their relation is colored by honest or dishonest partisanship, this is easily discernible by the critic from the internal evidence and from an easily acquired knowledge of a few external facts. As the journals themselves say, their aim is to print the news; and much of the news is present politics.<sup>91</sup>

After describing, “the newspaper itself, its news and editorial columns, and its advertisements,” as “a graphic picture of society,”<sup>92</sup> Rhodes concluded his thoughts by noting that the “duty of the historian is, not to decide if the newspapers are as good as they

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<sup>90</sup> James F. Rhodes, “Newspapers as Historical Sources,” *The Atlantic Monthly* 52, no. 5 (1909), 650.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 650. Rhodes used newspapers and published memoirs as the main sources for his two most well-known political histories: *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* and *History of the Civil War, 1861-1865*.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 650.

ought to be, but to ... recognize their importance as an ample and contemporary record of the past.”<sup>93</sup>

The apologetic tone adopted by scholars concerning using newspapers as historical sources does not seem to have changed quickly. In 1926, the assumption was that historical research and newspapers were “terms mutually exclusive, repellent, and antagonistic.”<sup>94</sup> Salmon believed that “the newspaper does not and cannot give history in the accepted use of the term, but does give an enormous mass of the raw material from which history is written.”<sup>95</sup> She was clear that newspapers were entirely relevant subjects of historical enquiry as long as historians do not take their pronouncements at face value. Just as historians interrogate any of their sources—whether they be government policies, personal diaries, archeological artifacts, or archival photographs—they must examine newspaper articles and editorials as primary sources to understand history’s “development and its consequences.”<sup>96</sup>

If Weicht is to be believed, by the early 1930s, much concern over the legitimacy of newspapers as historical sources had disappeared. He noted the fact “that the newspaper is an important source of historical materials is doubtless well enough established in the

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 657.

<sup>94</sup> Lucy M. Salmon, “The Newspaper and Research,” *American Journal of Sociology* 32, no. 2 (1926), 217.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 220.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 226.



minds [of historians] to need little further emphasis.”<sup>97</sup> Though he felt that newspapers were an important part of piecing together the story of everyday life in the past, he was less certain of the ability of all historical enquirers to use them effectively.<sup>98</sup> As for Salmon in the previous decade, Weicht’s concerns arose from an understanding that in order to be useful to historians, they must carefully interrogate them as sources. He understood that “a newspaper confined to straight news, editorials, and advertising would not be sufficiently interesting to hold its readers,” and that the biases and intentions of writers and editors must be a consideration for historical scholars.<sup>99</sup>

For some scholars, the shortcomings of newspapers have been too strong for them to be used as historical sources except as a last resort. Baumgartner noted that on the surface, newspapers seemed to be perfectly suitable for historical research—they are readily available, close in time to the events that they describe, and are generally the work of eyewitnesses or those closely connected to the events.<sup>100</sup> In spite of these superficial positive qualities, Baumgartner described a string of defects that he felt precluded the use of newspapers as historical sources. For one, the speed with which stories were produced and the desire for a sensational “scoop” could have led to errors in reporting—intentional

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<sup>97</sup> Carl L. Weicht, “The Local Historian and the Newspaper,” *Minnesota History* 13, no. 1 (1932), 45.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.

<sup>100</sup> Joseph Baumgartner, “Newspapers as Historical Sources,” *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 9, no. 3 (1981), 256.

or not.<sup>101</sup> Secondly, Baumgartner was very concerned with the potential bias of newspaper sources. Whether it reflected the political views of the editors or the commercial concerns of advertisers, he was concerned that these biases would have distorted or suppressed important facts.<sup>102</sup> The final concern that Baumgartner noted was the potential for censorship at the level of governments and press authorities.<sup>103</sup> All of these concerns lead to the view that newspapers have the potential to be helpful historical sources, but that the need to check and recheck facts makes their use onerous enough to be avoided by the serious historian.<sup>104</sup>

A number of other scholars have made use of newspapers as historical sources since Baumgartner raised his concerns.<sup>105</sup> All of these scholars address the same concerns that he raised in 1981, but conclude that the benefits of using newspapers as sources for historical research outweigh the negative qualities. While acknowledging that there is the potential for this sort of research to come to questionable conclusions, the data from newspaper sources facilitate comparative and historical research<sup>106</sup> and generally make

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 257.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 258.

<sup>105</sup> See, for example, Roberto Franzosi, "The Press as a Source of Socio-Historical Data: Issues in the Methodology of Data Collection from Newspapers," *Historical Methods* 20, no. 1 (1987), 5-16; John T. Woolley, "Using Media-Based Data in Studies of Politics," *American Journal of Political Science* 44, no. 1 (2000), 156-173; and Jennifer Earl, Andrew Martin, John D. McCarthy, and Sarah A. Soule, "The Use of Newspaper Data in the Study of Collective Action," *Annual Review of Sociology* 30 (2004), 65-80.

<sup>106</sup> Sidney Tarrow, "Social Movements in Contentious Politics," *American Political Science Review* 90 (1996), 873-883.

research on large social movements—such as opposition to or support of educational policy—more viable.<sup>107</sup> The key is to consider the newspaper source reflexively just as one would consider and interrogate any other historical source.

There is a long tradition of historians of education using newspapers as historical sources. In his study of morals instruction and the educational system of Japan, Kerlinger noted that newspapers were an important part of his historical source material during the Meiji period in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. He used discussions in these newspapers to help him describe the radical changes that took place in the educational realm in Japan from the Meiji period up until the Allied occupation following World War II.<sup>108</sup> Japan was also the geographical focus of a study by Anthony S. Rausch that looked at the ways that newspapers reflected both “education and local identity creation in ... rural Japan.”<sup>109</sup>

In her study of education among the Monacan Indians of Amherst County, Virginia, Melanie D. Haimen-Bartolf uses newspaper sources to provide background into local views on education.<sup>110</sup> She also notes newspapers’ mentions of community action among the

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<sup>107</sup> Susan Olzak, “Analysis of Events in Studies of Collective Actions,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 15 (1989), 119–141.

<sup>108</sup> Fred N. Kerlinger, “The Origin of Morals Instruction in Japanese Education,” *History of Education Journal* 2, no. 4 (1951), 125.

<sup>109</sup> Anthony S. Rausch, “‘Newspaper in Education’ in Rural Japan: Education and Local Identity Creation in the Practice of Locally Scholastic NIE,” *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication* 14, no. 2 (2004), 223–244.

<sup>110</sup> Melanie D. Haimen-Bartolf, “The Social Construction of Race and Monacan Education in Amherst County, Virginia, 1908–1965: Monacan Perspectives,” *History of Education Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (2007), 389–415.

population that she is studying as well as newspapers' importance in demonstrating the conditions of public schools among the Monacans in the American South.<sup>111</sup> She further addresses concerns over bias in these newspaper sources by giving due attention to the editorials and rebuttals printed in the pages of the local press in Amherst County.<sup>112</sup>

This dissertation focuses on the careful analysis of the periodical sources of Northern India during this period along with analysis of the educational policy documents in place at the time. These analyses show both how the colonizers attempted to educate their subjects in India as well as the ways that these attempts were actually viewed in the colony. It provides a new lens through which to view these colonial actions. It also allows for some understanding of the way that Hindu and Muslim educational institutions—and the policies that created them—were used in an attempt to construct colonial subjects in India and the way that the respective Hindu and Muslim religious and linguistic communities across Northern India viewed this construction in terms of religious difference. Just as in the case of Haines-Bartolf, the result is the thoughtful use of newspaper sources to provide information looking at the way that schools were viewed in this community.

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 403.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 407.

CHAPTER THREE  
EDUCATIONAL POLICIES DISCUSSED AND IMPLEMENTED BY THE BRITISH COLONIAL  
AUTHORITIES IN INDIA

Throughout the period of rule by the East India Company and by the British Crown, educational policy was an often-debated subject among the officials leading colonial India. Beginning in the late-eighteenth century, the East India Company began to take a noticeable interest in education. From this early date, the decisions that were made were not comprehensive or forward-looking. Officials on the ground in Calcutta and other major cities around the subcontinent attempted to gain extra funding to establish new schools as they felt a need for new opportunities for their subjects. However, there was little effort to create a consistent curriculum across British India during the period of Company rule. Debates over the language of instruction used in government schools largely dominated educational policy discussions throughout the nineteenth century. Much time was spent discussing the merits of educating the people of India either in English or in Indian languages.

A number of leaders in the colonial administration believed that the government in India had a duty to promote Western knowledge through an English medium.<sup>1</sup> Many of these “Anglicists” believed that a British education would serve as a means of evangelizing

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<sup>1</sup> Lynn Zastoupil and Martin Moir, eds., *The Great Indian Education Debate: Documents Relating to the Orientalist-Anglicist Controversy, 1781-1843* (Surrey, UK: Curzon Press, 1999).

to the native population. Others appreciated the utilitarian benefit of an upper-class of Indians that could speak and read English to serve their colonial masters more effectively in the developing government bureaucracy. In 1835, Thomas Macaulay, the first Law Member of the Governor General's Council, produced his *Minute on Indian Education*, and a decision was made in favor of an officially-sanctioned Western education model. At the same time, another group of officials believed that the government of the British East India Company should continue to patronize Oriental educational institutions as had been done since the Company's founding.<sup>2</sup> These "Orientalist" officials proceeded to promote the traditional knowledge of the subcontinent, though not always purely for reasons of cultural appreciation.<sup>3</sup> It was this debate that persisted from the late eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century, leading to the last great educational policy proposed in India before the end of the century—the first Indian Education Commission.

This was an effort to standardize educational policy throughout the British Raj and was headed by British civil servant and historian William Wilson Hunter, this Commission made a number of recommendations in 1882 as to the educational needs of the people of India.<sup>4</sup> By this time, the East India Company had been dissolved and the British military presence in India had been reorganized and updated, but the educational status quo had

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Robb, *A History of India* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 137.

<sup>4</sup> William W. Hunter, "Education Commission of 1882," in *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education: 1797 to 1902*, ed. M. R. Paranjpe (London, GBR: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1938), 169.

remained from 1854.<sup>5</sup> The commission made a number of recommendations attempting to modernize the educational system and fit it with the needs of the colony. After a century of debate over the language of instruction to be employed in Indian schools, the Hunter Commission included specific recommendations on this topic. For primary students, the recommendation was that “instruction of the masses through the vernacular” should be standard for those in primary education settings.<sup>6</sup> Rather than trying to force a compromise between Anglicists and Orientalists, the Commission was clear that the vast majority of public instruction should be in the vernacular languages of the country.<sup>7</sup> For secondary students, the Commission recommended that teaching primarily in English. It did suggest that provisions could be made for teaching some classical and vernacular Indian languages, but was clear that “in all ordinary cases, secondary schools for instruction in English” was to be expected.<sup>8</sup>

Apart from linguistic concerns, the Hunter Commissions made several recommendations to do with collegiate education, education administration, school inspections, and treatment of special classes of people such as members of aboriginal tribes, students from low castes, and female scholars.<sup>9</sup> Of course, the changes recommended by the Hunter Commission were not without their detractors. Several

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<sup>5</sup> Christopher A. Bayly, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire* (London, GBR: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 194–197

<sup>6</sup> Hunter, “Education Commission of 1882,” 170-171.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 175.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 179-179.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 192-198.

members of the Commission were concerned about specific recommendations that had been made. These concerns were voiced in a variety of settings, and they ranged from concerns over providing extra educational funding to distinct groups within the Indian population to focusing too heavily on primary education.<sup>10</sup>

This was the state of educational policy at the beginning of the 1880s—the period under consideration in this dissertation. Though this was a uniquely forward-looking example of education policy in India, it was not the first foray into this arena—either for the British Crown or the East India Company. Formal educational policy was not put into place initially when the East India Company began to trade in Masulipatnam in the early seventeenth century. However, an analysis of the history of education in India leading up to the 1880s must begin in the 1750s when the Company began to develop as a political, as well as trading, power. The Battle of Plassey was a decisive moment in the British colonial project in South Asia. Having established a trading presence in Bengal by the end of the seventeenth century, the British East India Company had become the major European economic power on the subcontinent by the middle of the eighteenth century—the only potential rival was the French East India Company. The recently-crowned Nawab of Bengal, Siraj ud-Daulah, attempted to take more complete control of his state by attacking the British Company at Cossimbazar and Calcutta. This led to reprisals by the British forces of Colonel Robert Clive which routed the combined army of the Nawab and the French East India Company at Plassey in 1757. Clive's victory established the East India Company as

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<sup>10</sup> Several of the dissenting minutes from members of the Commission were published in M. R. Paranjpe, ed., *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education: 1797 to 1902* (London, GBR: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1938), 202-235.



not only the economic power in Bengal, but the political ruler of a large swathe of territory. This was the beginning of a long period of rule in South Asia by the Company and eventually the British Crown.

After establishing political superiority in Bengal, the East India Company began to consider the administration of the colony. One of the earliest treatises on educational policy in British India was produced by Charles Grant who had first arrived in India as a soldier in 1767. He was later able to secure a place as a trader for the East India Company and steadily rose through the ranks and was eventually made a director in 1796.<sup>11</sup> The following year, he published his thoughts on the proper place of education for the native populations of the Indian subcontinent. These were later used in the process of developing official educational policy in British India in 1813.<sup>12</sup>

Having been connected with Bengal for 30 years as a factor and then director of the East India Company, Grant felt very strongly that action must be taken to remove the ignorance “which destroyed the happiness, and obstructed every species of improvement among” the people of India.<sup>13</sup> He believed that the cure for this darkness was the light of a British education. In his analysis, the two possible ways of achieving this goal were either to educate the people of India in their vernacular languages or to teach them English and

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<sup>11</sup> Penelope Carson, s.v. “Grant, Charles (1746–1823), director of the East India Company and philanthropist,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11248>, accessed 18 November 2015]

<sup>12</sup> Paranjpe, *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education*, 1.

<sup>13</sup> Charles Grant, “Charles Grant’s Observations, 16-8-1797,” in *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education: 1797 to 1902*, ed. M. R. Paranjpe (London, GBR: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1938), 1.

introduce Western knowledge in that medium.<sup>14</sup> Though he believed that both were workable solutions, he expressed a preference for the latter. Grant felt that teaching the people of India English and providing them in that language was an integral tool “which would open to them a world of new ideas.”<sup>15</sup>

Grant’s plan called for the free instruction of Indians in the English language. He believed that such a program could be introduced for minimal cost but that it would be wildly popular with the people of India—especially the young. A concurrent push toward government administration in English would not—according to Grant—have caused too much hardship for the poor and previously uneducated classes. Where they had needed the services of Persian translators to lodge petitions with the government, they would only have needed to find one of the “great number of Portuguese and Bengalese clerks in the Provinces who understood both the Hindostanny and English languages.”<sup>16</sup> Grant also believed that implementing tuition in English for Indians across the territory administered by the Company would improve the moral condition of the people. Making use of the English language would allow the people of India to gain access to the latest treatises of science and philosophy in the Western tradition. He believed that a new understanding of the people’s “duty as rational creatures would open upon them; and that mental bondage in which that have long been holden would gradually dissolve.”<sup>17</sup> Grant continued with a

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

description of all the arts and sciences in which Indians could excel if only they were educated in English. His conclusion noted that though the positive effects would not be immediate or universal, the changes in India would be great:

how happy at length for the outward prosperity, and the internal peace of society among the Hindoos! Men would be restored to the use of their reason; all the advantage of happy soil, climate, and situation, would be observed and improved; ... the cultivation of the mind, and rational intercourse would be valued; ... and as the people found their character, their state, and they comforts improved, they would prize more highly, the security and happiness of a well ordered society.<sup>18</sup>

This was a great deal of hope to put in a system of educational instruction, but it was certainly not unique in the ensuing history of Indian educational policy.

It would be decades before the educational policies that Grant outlined for India at the end of the eighteenth century would be reevaluated. In 1813, however, the renewal of the East India Company's charter allowed for the government to give statutory responsibilities for the education of the people of India. The East India Company Act 1813 made many changes to colonial administration. One alteration was that provincial governments and provincial courts in India were given greater power over European British subjects.<sup>19</sup> In addition to limiting the exclusive trading rights of the Company and asserting the British Crown's sovereignty over the colony, the Act also demanded that the Company commit "a sum of not less than one lac [100,000] of rupees ... to the revival and

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>19</sup> Arthur B. Keith, *A Constitutional History of India 1600-1935* (London, GBR: Methuen, 1936, 128-129).

improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India.”<sup>20</sup> From this point until they left India, the British were bound to provide for the education the masses through monetary commitments.

Though his relationship to the colonial administration in India was complex, Ram Mohan Roy was serving as a factor of the East India Company in Serampore when he penned a letter to the newly-appointed Governor-General of Bengal, William Amherst, Baron Amherst in 1823.<sup>21</sup> In this letter he was clear that the desire of those Indians who had gained influence in the company was for a plan of instruction along the lines of that promoted a quarter century earlier by Charles Grant. He had been hopeful that a new institution of higher learning—which would eventually become Sanskrit College in Calcutta—would employ “European Gentlemen of talents and education to instruct the natives of India in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and Anatomy ... which ... Europe had carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of nations such as India.”<sup>22</sup> Much of Ram Mohan Roy’s letter deals with matters of faith rather than linguistic usage, but it would be only another decade before the first major discussion of education in Colonial India would take place and be resolved by Thomas Macauley in 1835.

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<sup>20</sup> “The East India Company’s Act of 1813,” in *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education: 1797 to 1902*, ed. M. R. Paranjpe (London, GBR: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1938), 8. This would have been worth about £10,000 at the time.

<sup>21</sup> Dermot Killingley, s.v. “Roy, Rammohun (1772?–1833), political and religious thinker,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/47673, accessed 25 November 2015]

<sup>22</sup> Bureau of Education, *Selections from Educational Records, Part I (1781-1839)*, ed. H. Sharp. (Calcutta, IND: Superintendent Government Printing, 1920), 99.

### Formulating Educational Policy in 1835

When the East India Company's charter was renewed in 1813, the education of India's population was made an integral part of the Company's mission. Twenty years later, the charter was up for renewal again and the leaders of the Company were eager to make clear what responsibilities it would bear going forward. The articulation of the position that was eventually taken by the East India Company and the Govern General's Council was made by Thomas Babington Macauley in his famous *Minute on Indian Education*. Though Macauley had been resident in India for less than a year and spoke no Indian languages, he made a forceful argument in favor of the Anglicization of Indian education.<sup>23</sup> Macauley's *Minute* and the Council's eventual English Education Act 1835 were destined for lasting influence in discussions of Indian educational policy. Indeed, as recently as 2007, a noted Indian sociologist and historian was discussing it in the pages of a major Indian daily newspaper.<sup>24</sup>

On the renewal of the Company's charter in 1813, a sum of 100,000 rupees was mandated to be set aside for the purposes of education.<sup>25</sup> Invariably, this was used to advance the study of traditional Indian literature and sciences. The two major institutions of higher learning that had been established in the Company's territory in Bengal were

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<sup>23</sup> William Thomas, s.v. "Macaulay, Thomas Babington, Baron Macaulay (1800–1859), historian, essayist, and poet," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17349>, accessed 15 December 2015]

<sup>24</sup> Ramachandra Guha, "Macaulay's Minute revisited," *The Hindu*, February 4, 2007, Chennai.

<sup>25</sup> This was equivalent to around £10,500 in 1813 and close to \$30,000,000 in 2016. Horace H. Wilson, *A Review of the External Commerce of Bengal from 1813-14 to 1827-28* (Calcutta, IND: Baptist Mission Press, 1830), 27.

Mohammedan College and Hindu College in Calcutta. The former had been established as a madrassa in the late eighteenth century while the latter had been established in 1817. As their names implied, both were primarily designed to serve students from the affluent, liberal-minded families of their respective religious communities, but both focused on instruction in classical Indian languages. Some of those in power worried that such a focus for education would not produce the sort of Indian subjects that were needed for the good of the British Empire. In 1833, speaking as a member of the British Parliament, Thomas Babington Macauley reflected the views of many in say

I see a government [in India] anxiously bent on the public good. Even in its errors I recognize a paternal feeling towards the great people committed to its charge. I see toleration strictly maintained. ... I see the morality, the philosophy, the taste of Europe, beginning to produce a salutary effect on the hearts and understandings of our subjects. I see the public mind of India, that public mind which we found debased and contracted by the worst forms of political and religious tyranny, expanding itself to just and noble views of the ends of government and of the social duties of man.<sup>26</sup>

Even at this stage, it was clear to Macauley that the more aspects of life in India which could be touched by European ideas, the better off India would be.

Macauley had been born in 1800 to a devoutly evangelical, abolitionist family. He “was a highly precocious and sensitive child. He was reading by the age of three, and even as a small boy he astonished adults with his odd learning and recondite vocabulary.”<sup>27</sup> After a gentleman’s education and a degree from the University of Cambridge, he dabbled in law and literary criticism before parlaying these interests into a seat in Parliament. It was hear

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<sup>26</sup> Quoted in A. Berriedale Keith, ed., *Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy, 1750-1921* (London, GBR: Oxford University Press, 1922), 1:247.

<sup>27</sup> Thomas, “Macaulay, Thomas Babington.”

that he was able to build his political influence and he was appointed to the Board of Control of the East India Company in late 1832.<sup>28</sup> The new charter of the Company that he debated created a supreme Council of India with a posting for a “law member.” Macauley lobbied to be appointed to this position and he sailed for India in March 1834.<sup>29</sup> Once in the country, he more firmly took the view that English language instruction was the only reasonable way to conduct an educational system in India. In this view, he was supported by his brother-in-law, Charles Edward Trevelyan.<sup>30</sup>

As the law member of the Council, Macauley was tasked with proposing the best way to implement educational policies in the Company’s Indian territories. The renewal of the charter in 1833 had been successful and the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, hoped to continue “sweeping social, economic, and political reforms which,” some later historians argued, “laid the foundations for modern India.”<sup>31</sup> He asked Macauley to prepare a report outlining the case for English education of the Indian population. In his *Minute on Indian Education*, Macauley argued that any government support for the publication of books in the classical languages of India should cease. He did not advocate for the complete cessation of education in these languages, though. His plan called for a reduction in funds

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> David Washbrook, s.v. “Trevelyan, Sir Charles Edward, first baronet (1807–1886), administrator in India,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27716, accessed 20 December 2015]

<sup>31</sup> Douglas M. Peers, s.v. “Bentinck, Lord William Henry Cavendish- [known as Lord William Bentinck] (1774–1839), army officer, diplomatist, and governor-general of India,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2161, accessed 20 December 2015]

provided to madrassas in Delhi and to Hindu College in Calcutta. In his plan, the monetary savings from these changes would allow more funding to go towards education in scientific and mathematical subjects on a European model—with instruction carried out in English.<sup>32</sup>

Other members of the Council were worried that a change in the model for funding Indian education would necessarily mean a renegotiation of the Charter Act of 1813. This act of Parliament had mandated that the Company fund schools to encourage the revival of Indian literature and ideas. In Macauley's view, though, the Company was no longer bound by this mandate. While making this declaration, he also stated bluntly "that English is better worth knowing than Sanscrit [*sic*] or Arabic," and that "the natives are desirous to be taught English."<sup>33</sup> Noting "that it is possible to make natives of this country thoroughly good English scholars," he concluded "that to this end our efforts ought to be directed."<sup>34</sup>

In forcefully condemning education in Indian languages, Macauley made what would come to be his most famous statement in the *Minute*. He did not feel that his admitted lack of knowledge on any language of the subcontinent was a problem.<sup>35</sup> His research into the efficacy of these languages consisted of reading celebrated works of Arabic and Sanskrit literature while interviewing linguistic scholars in both India and in England. His efforts

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<sup>32</sup> Thomas B. Macauley, "The Hon'ble T. B. Macauley's Minute, 2nd February 1835," in *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education: 1797 to 1902*, ed. M. R. Paranjpe (London, GBR: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1938), 14-29.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>35</sup> Macauley was famous for his self-assured air. British Prime Minister Lord Melbourne was said to have remarked, "I wish I were as cocksure of any one thing as Tom Macaulay is of everything." See P., "The Use and the Economy of Invective," *Graham's American Monthly Magazine of Literature and Art*, August 1851, Philadelphia.



had convinced him that no one “could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia.”<sup>36</sup> Though he discounted the entire corpus of Eastern literature in one stroke he did not believe that English education was a practical choice for the majority of the Company’s Indian subjects. He conceded

that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present 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, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.<sup>37</sup>

So Macauley’s Anglicism was fueled by the belief that a talented segment of India’s populace would—after being given an English education—raise the rest of the country up and prepare them for a more complete transformation into English subjects.

Of course, Macauley’s *Minute* was not without its detractors. One notable opponent of the policies laid down by Macauley was Henry Thoby Prinsep. Prinsep had a long family history in India and had been a civil servant for 25 years. As the member of the General Committee of Public Instruction, he wrote a note to Lord Bentinck expressing his own concerns about Macauley’s *Minute*.<sup>38</sup> Prinsep was fluent in Persian and had a working knowledge of Arabic and Hindustani and took issue with any suggestion that these languages should not have been taught because of their associations with Indian religious

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<sup>36</sup> Macauley, “The Hon’ble T. B. Macauley’s Minute,” 18.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>38</sup> Abram L. Harris, “John Stuart Mill: Servant of the East India Company,” *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 30, no. 2 (1964), 195.

communities.<sup>39</sup> Interestingly, while Prinsep strongly disagreed with the course of action suggested in the *Minute*, he was not necessarily opposed to Macauley's views on the worthiness of Indian classical languages. He noted that in the *Minute*, Sanskrit and Arabic "are dismissed on the ground that their literature is worthless and the superiority of that of England is set forth." He continued by assuring Lord Bentinck that there was "no body acquainted with both literatures that will not subscribe to all that is said in the minute of the superiority of that of England."<sup>40</sup> In spite of his familiarity with Indian languages and his opposition to the Anglicization of Indian education, Prinsep was still unable to countenance the suggestion that Indian languages and European languages were of an equal stature.

In spite of the pages of opinions penned and the opposition from Prinsep and others within the Company's colonial administration, Lord Bentinck's eventual resolution was promulgated in early March 1835. It consisted of four terse parts and largely followed the recommendations laid out by Macauley. In the first part, Bentinck declared "that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India."<sup>41</sup> Secondly, he made it clear that the Company would not abolish any college or school which Indian subjects wished to attend, while objecting to

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<sup>39</sup> Henry T. Prinsep, "Note of the Hon'ble H. T. Prinsep, 15th February 1835," in *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education: 1797 to 1902*, ed. M. R. Paranjpe (London, GBR: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1938), 44-45.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>41</sup> William Bentinck, "Lord Bentinck's Resolution, 7th March 1835," in *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education: 1797 to 1902*, ed. M. R. Paranjpe (London, GBR: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1938), 35.

government support or bursaries for students at schools that supported Oriental learning.<sup>42</sup> Third, he mandated that public funds would no longer be used to publish books and works of literature in Indian languages.<sup>43</sup> Finally, the resolution mandated that any funds made available by the other three parts should be “employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language.”<sup>44</sup> Bentinck’s resolution was an important gauge of broader feelings on educational policy in the Company at the time. Indeed, his “enthusiasm for Macaulay’s plan to put all government educational funding behind western education ... has often been cited as proof of his plans to remake Indian society.”<sup>45</sup> It is important to remember, however, that the Company “government actually funded very few school places” at the time.<sup>46</sup> Bentinck’s course of action was a pragmatic solution to the problems as the Company saw them.

With the resolution’s adoption, though, educational policy in British India was ostensibly put on a path towards formal Anglicization moving forward. There were certainly critics of this decision in India and in London. After penning his response to Macauley’s *Minute*, Prinsep continued to oppose Bentinck’s final policy decision in his role

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Peers, “Bentinck, Lord William Henry Cavendish.”

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

as a civil servant in India.<sup>47</sup> One of the most notable opponents of the newly-adopted policy was philosopher and political economist John Stuart Mill. He served for almost half his life as civil servant with the East India Company. Much of his time was spent drafting despatches laying out Company policy.<sup>48</sup> In 1836, he wrote just such a dispatch condemning the new policy.<sup>49</sup> Titled *Recent Changes in Native Education*, it was approved by the Company's Court of Directors only to be quashed by the President of the Board of Control, John C. Hobhouse in October.<sup>50</sup> Mill believed that it was impossible "to expect that the main portion of the mental cultivation of a people can ever take place through the medium of a foreign language,"<sup>51</sup> but his concerns would be archived by the Company and not read by historians until more than 100 years later.<sup>52</sup>

### **Indian Educational Policy from 1835 to 1854**

Though Anglicism remained the official educational policy of the East India Company after 1835, the critics of still had an impact on funding decisions and the language of instruction. Debates between Anglicists and Orientalists continued to rage on after the decision. Much of this centered on the question of vernacular languages and their use in

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<sup>47</sup> Harris, "John Stuart Mill," 195.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 185.

<sup>49</sup> K. A. Ballhatchet, "John Stuart Mill and Indian Education," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 11, no. 2 (1954), 288.

<sup>50</sup> Mark Tunick, "Tolerant Imperialism: John Stuart Mill's Defense of British Rule in India," *The Review of Politics* 68 (2006), 605.

<sup>51</sup> Harris, "John Stuart Mill," 197.

<sup>52</sup> K. A. Ballhatchet, "The Home Government and Bentinck's Educational Policy," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 10, no. 2 (1951): 224.

education. Macauley's *Minute* and Bentinck's resolution had focused on the teaching of the classical languages of Northern India and had not given much attention to instruction in the vernacular languages of Bengali, Hindi, and Urdu.<sup>53</sup> Following the installation of a new Governor-General in 1836, the colonial administration attempted to find a middle way forward on the issue of language and education.

Lord Auckland had taken up his post in March 1836 and soon realized that there was too much opposition to the plans that Bentinck had outlined. Rather than simply taking funds from programs promoting Indian language education and shunting them to English language programs, Auckland attempted to find more sources of funding so that both could remain viable educational options.<sup>54</sup> If there was difficulty in accommodating both the Anglicists and the Orientalists, Auckland blamed levels of educational funding that were too low. By 1839, he noted that in Bengal, "with its immense territory and a revenue of about 13 millions, the yearly expenditure of the government [on education was] a little in excess of £24,000 or 2,40,000 rupees."<sup>55</sup> This was wholly inadequate as far as the Governor-General was concerned. In addition to increase funding levels for education generally, Auckland restored funding specifically for the hiring of new Orientalist professors, for the publication of new books in Indian languages—both classical and vernacular—and for

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<sup>53</sup> Surendra Prasad Sinha, *English in India: A Historical Study with Particular Reference to English Education in India* (Patna, IND: Janaki Prakashan, 1978), 69.

<sup>54</sup> Stephen Evans, "Macauley's *Minute* Revisited: Colonial Language Policy in Nineteenth-century India," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 23, no. 4 (2002): 260-281.

<sup>55</sup> Bureau of Education, *Selections from Educational Records*, 148-149.

competitive scholarships to institutions teaching in Indian languages.<sup>56</sup> Auckland's compromise largely satisfied both sides in the debate over Indian education. The Orientalists had finally accepted that forcefully resisting the partial Anglicization of the system was futile. At the same time the Anglicists were pleased that funding for English education had been increased and that Auckland had accepted that proper European sciences could only be taught imperfectly using Indian languages as a medium of instruction.<sup>57</sup>

The next major official statement made on education in colonial India was a resolution from Lord Hardinge who had been appointed Governor-General in May 1844. The resolution, issued in October, stated that in order to reward individual merit among Indians and to benefit the government, "a preference should be given in the selection of candidates for public employment to those who had been educated in [government schools, and had achieved] a more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment."<sup>58</sup> Though Lord Hardinge's administration is often remembered more for the outbreak of the First Anglo-Sikh War, this was an important development in the indirect promotion of English education in India. It used the possibility of government employment as an incentive for more Indians to pursue an English education.<sup>59</sup> Preference would be given to those who

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<sup>56</sup> These replaced the stipends that had been denigrated in Macauley's *Minute* as a sign that native learning could never stand on its own without the support of British funding.

<sup>57</sup> Sinha, *English in India*, 71-72.

<sup>58</sup> Henry Hardinge, "Lord Hardinge's Resolution, 10th October 1844," in *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education: 1797 to 1902*, ed. M. R. Paranjpe (London, GBR: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1938), 67.

<sup>59</sup> Sinha, *English in India*, 72.

had attended schools that received government funding, but a position would only be open if the student had developed a mastery of the English language.

The resolution was clear that “to promote and encourage the diffusion of knowledge among the humbler classes of the people, ... that even in the selection of persons to fill the lowest offices under the Government respect be had” for educational attainment.<sup>60</sup>

Hardinge and the Anglicists achieved a two-fold purpose in issuing this resolution. Firstly, it “advanced the cause of English education by making it the only passport to higher appointments available to the Indians.”<sup>61</sup> Secondly, it “created a middle-class gentry that paid all attention to English education.”<sup>62</sup>

### **The Educational Despatch of 1854**

The most important educational policy statement of the nineteenth century was the dispatch drafted by the Board of Control of the East India Company. Historians often refer to this as Wood’s Despatch after the president of the board, Charles Wood, though many scholars believe that it was written largely by John Stuart Mill.<sup>63</sup> No other document did as much to form the modern Indian educational system into the twentieth century. The document was drafted because Board of Control felt that the summer of 1854 was “peculiarly suitable for the review of the progress which had already been made” in education and was a perfect moment for “the adoption of such improvements as may be

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<sup>60</sup> Hardinge, “Lord Hardinge’s Resolution,” 68-69.

<sup>61</sup> Sinha, *English in India*, 73.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> Lynn Zastoupil, *John Stuart Mill and India* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994), 213-214.

best calculated to secure the ultimate benefit of the people.”<sup>64</sup> The *Despatch* begins with an explanation of the importance of education as part of the colonial plan for the British in India. It would be used not only to educate the people of the subcontinent, but also to improve them morally and spiritually and raise up their character.<sup>65</sup>

The *Despatch* is divided into 100 sections that can, broadly speaking be divided into seven educational policy recommendations. Firstly, though, the text makes clear that the content to be taught across the territory controlled by the company was to have been “the improved arts, science, philosophy, and literature of Europe; in short European knowledge.”<sup>66</sup> Regarding the language of instruction, the drafters of this despatch looked “to the English language and to the vernacular languages of India together as the media for the diffusion of European knowledge.”<sup>67</sup> On the surface, this appeared to be a long-awaited resolution between the Anglicist and Orientalist factions in the colonial administration. But with the principles of Lord Hardinge’s resolution still giving preference in hiring to those Indians receiving training in English, the implicit promotion of English education continued.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Board of Control of the East India Company, “Educational Despatch of 1854,” in *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education: 1797 to 1902*, ed. M. R. Paranjpe (London, GBR: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1938), 73.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 78.

<sup>68</sup> Sanjay Seth, *Subject Lessons: The Western Education of Colonial India* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 19.



After laying out the underlying principles of the *Despatch*, Mill and his collaborators went on to describe the policies that they wished the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, to put in place in colonial India going forward. The first recommendation was the establishment of a dedicated education department in each of the five provinces of British India. Gratitude was first expressed for the work that had been done across the subcontinent, with the understanding that education could be further improved if things could be placed in the hands of qualified pedagogues.<sup>69</sup> These authorities would be given the power to examine and inspect schools and would be expected to produce reports for the national education leaders of the colony.<sup>70</sup> With regards to the “heads of the Educational Departments, the inspectors, and other officers,” it was seen as important to appoint people “who were not only best able ... to carry our objects into effect, but who would also command the confidence of the natives of India.”<sup>71</sup>

The next important recommendation made in the *Despatch* was the establishment of universities within India. A proposal had been made ten years earlier to establish such an institution in Calcutta, but this had not been acted upon.<sup>72</sup> In 1854, the proposal was expanded to include degree-awarding powers to three new universities—one in each of the presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. As had previously been recommended,

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<sup>69</sup> Board of Control, “Educational Despatch of 1854,” 79-82.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>72</sup> Fred J. Mouat, “Plan of the Calcutta University: A Proposal of the Council of Education, 25th October, 1845,” in *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education: 1797 to 1902*, ed. M. R. Paranjpe (London, GBR: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1938), 70-72.

the model for the new institutions would be the University of London, which had been chartered in 1836 as a federal university.<sup>73</sup> This model was meant to be followed structurally—colleges that had already been founded were expected to affiliate to the new institutions—and philosophically—the new Indian universities were to be entirely secular in nature.<sup>74</sup> Though medium of instruction was not addressed specifically when writing about universities, the official position using English and vernacular Indian languages was intended to hold true in this instance, as well.

In addition to the opening of universities to teach higher levels of learning, the *Despatch* also called for an increase in primary education across India. The recommendation was that at least one school would be established in each district

whose object should be not to train highly a few youths, but to provide more opportunities than now exist for the acquisition of such an improved education as will make those who possess it more useful members of society in every condition of life.<sup>75</sup>

These explicitly included institutions teaching in the vernacular languages of India as well as in English. Mention was even made of Anglo-vernacular institutions in Bombay and elsewhere. These were to be models for the creation of a working-class, bilingual population of Indians.<sup>76</sup> The general consensus, according to the *Despatch*, was that primary education had been wholly mismanaged and needed to improve and expand for the way of life in India to be made better.

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<sup>73</sup> Board of Control, “Educational Despatch of 1854,” 82.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 83 and 87.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

In order to reduce the strain on the finances of the Indian government, the drafters of the recommendations suggested that private schools—Hindu, Muslim, Christian, and secular—should be able to receive grants to increase their reach. It was clear that it would be impossible for the government of India to provide an education for all the people of the subcontinent, but the *Despatch* was also adamant that the “system of grants-in-aid, which it proposed to establish in India would be based on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the school assisted.”<sup>77</sup> As Macauley had said 20 years earlier, “it is the duty of the British Government in India to be not only tolerant, but neutral on all religious questions.”<sup>78</sup> The focus was to be on helping schools that were providing a quality education regardless of the language of instruction or religious precepts being espoused.

One of the final recommendations made in the *Despatch* was the promotion of education for females in India. This was to be done by giving parents incentives to educate their daughters and by establishing new institutions focused on the education of girls. Though the authors noted that improvements had been made with regards to female education over the previous decade, they also stated that “the importance of female education in India cannot be over-rated.”<sup>79</sup> The Governor-General had supported the sorts of initiatives described, and the authors of the *Despatch* hoped to see them continued.

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<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>78</sup> Macauley, “The Hon’ble T. B. Macauley’s Minute,” 26.

<sup>79</sup> Board of Control, “Educational Despatch of 1854,” 105.

All of the reforms that were recommended by the Board of Control were to be brought about through a general plan of restructuring and systematizing the educational program of the country.<sup>80</sup> Standard of textbooks, syllabi, and pedagogical training across the country would create a more unified system of education from primary level to the university level. This spread of a system of education would subsequently, it was hoped, “produce a greater efficiency in all branches of administration by enabling [the government] to obtain the services of intelligent and trustworthy persons in every department.”<sup>81</sup>

In the end, many of the recommendations in the *Educational Despatch of 1854* were not implemented. Though a Resolution establishing independent universities in the three presidency towns was passed in 1856, the outbreak of the Rebellion of 1857 stopped much work toward implementing the *Despatch's* reforms.<sup>82</sup> In spite of this incomplete introduction of educational reforms, most of the principles outlined in Wood's Despatch were reaffirmed when new recommendations were made shortly after the Rebellion in 1859.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 100-105.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 101.

<sup>82</sup> Cecil Beadon, “Establishment of Indian Universities: Resolution of the Government of India, 12th December 1856,” in *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education: 1797 to 1902*, ed. M. R. Paranjpe (London, GBR: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1938), 120.

<sup>83</sup> Secretary of State for India, “Educational Despatch of 1859,” in *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education: 1797 to 1902*, ed. M. R. Paranjpe (London, GBR: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1938), 134-168.

### The Educational Commission of 1882

The last great educational policy proposed in India before the end of the 1890s was the first Indian Education Commission. Under the leadership of British civil servant and historian William Wilson Hunter, the Commission made a number of recommendations in 1882 as to the educational needs of the people of India.<sup>84</sup> This was the first major expression of educational policy in the subcontinent in nearly 25 years. The East India Company transferred the administration of British India to the British Crown after the Rebellion of 1857.<sup>85</sup> Though the Crown dissolved the East India Company while reorganizing and updating the British military presence in India, the educational status quo remained from the days of the *Despatch of 1854*.<sup>86</sup> The Rebellion of 1857 affected educational policy in Northern India just as it did other domains of colonial administration.<sup>87</sup>

The recommendations proposed by the commission were an attempt to modernize the educational system of the subcontinent and fit it with the needs of the colony. The first topic under consideration was that of indigenous education. Schools were defined as indigenous if they were “established or conducted by natives of India on native methods.”<sup>88</sup> These schools were to be encouraged regardless of the perceived level of their instruction.

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<sup>84</sup> Hunter, “Education Commission of 1882,” 169.

<sup>85</sup> Percival Spear, *A History of India*, vol. 2 (London, GBR: Penguin Book, 1990), 147-148.

<sup>86</sup> Bayly, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire*, 194–197.

<sup>87</sup> Parimala V. Rao, “Modern Education and the Revolt of 1857 in India,” *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* 52, nos. 1-2 (2016), 34.

<sup>88</sup> Hunter, “Education Commission of 1882,” 169.

The Hunter Commission believed that these schools should be given support “if served any purpose of secular education whatsoever.”<sup>89</sup> It was recommended that local and municipal school boards be given authority over these indigenous schools and that, except under exceptional circumstances, they were to be open to all students irrespective of ethnic, religious, or linguistic identity.

After laying out recommendations for these indigenous schools, the Hunter Commission endorsed a plan for primary and secondary education within India. For primary students, the Commission felt that this should be done “as the instruction of the masses through the vernacular in such subjects as will best fit them for the position in life, and be not necessarily regarded as a portion of instruction leading up to the university.”<sup>90</sup> This was a marked departure from the previous attempts at laying down colonial educational policy. Rather than trying to force a compromise between the old antagonisms of the Anglicists and Orientalists, the recommendation was made to conduct the vast majority of public instruction in the vernacular languages of the country. In addition to teaching in the vernacular at that level, the Commission felt that primary education should have been an area of much great focus for India’s educational authorities. In matters of curriculum, the Commission did not suggest what should be taught, but did advise for the inclusion of some vocational and technical training for primary students.<sup>91</sup> The Commission recommended that secondary students be educated primarily in English. It suggested

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 170-171.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 175.

provisions for teaching Persian in some Punjabi schools and for vocational training in the vernacular, but also that “in all ordinary cases, secondary schools for instruction in English should be established by the State.”<sup>92</sup>

The Hunter Commissions made several recommendations to do with collegiate education in India, but these are largely restricted to matters of funding. In an effort to diversify the body of Indians working for the government, numerous methods for distributing scholarships and bursaries were suggested.<sup>93</sup> These would allow more diverse students to attend collegiate institutions and at the same time the Commission asked that the government reaffirm its commitment to hiring Indian graduates of universities—including both universities in Europe and on the subcontinent.<sup>94</sup> As education at the collegiate level was seen as largely successful, this was a relatively short part of the Commission’s report. This was a matter of fine-tuning rather than major policy recommendations.

After discussing the issues affecting the provision of education at the primary, secondary and collegiate levels, the Commission reported on the administration of education within the colony. This first included the internal administration of the education department. The Commission made recommendations on topics as varied as how individual sections should furnish reports and the make-up of textbook selection

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 178-179.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 179-181.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 179.

committees.<sup>95</sup> Inspections of local schools were a large part of this report and this included a recommendation that Indian natives who had been awarded university degrees should be allowed to serve as school inspectors. There was also continued support given to the encouragement of vernacular education across the country.<sup>96</sup> Aside from these internal issues related to the functioning of the education department, there were also recommendations about the acceptable interactions of the department with schools, teachers, and provincial leaders.<sup>97</sup>

The final set of recommendations made by the Hunter Commission called for rules regarding classes of people in India who required special treatment in the realm of education. These included the sons of native chiefs and noblemen, Muslims, members of aboriginal tribes, students from low castes, and female scholars.<sup>98</sup> For Muslim education, one of the main suggestions was that “indigenous Muhammadan schools be liberally encouraged to add purely secular subjects to their curriculum of instruction.”<sup>99</sup> Again, education in the vernacular languages was encouraged by the Commission. This was especially true in higher education, which was seen as an area where the Muslim community needed a great deal of help. Students from aboriginal tribes and low castes were also given special consideration along the lines of traditional liberal values. Aboriginal

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 182.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 184.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 185-191.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 192-198.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 192.



groups were recommended to be given a good deal of control over their own educational affairs. This self-determination extended to the language of instruction. Education was to be given in the vernacular languages of these groups—assuming that such languages had functional writing systems.<sup>100</sup> For members of low Hindu castes, the Commission recommended that they be protected from discrimination and stated that “no boy be refused admission to a Government college or school merely on the ground of caste.”<sup>101</sup> The Commission also provided recommendations on education for females in India. This was similar in that it called for greater participation for girls in formal education. Having banned the practice of sati only a generation earlier, the British broadly considered themselves the saviors of Indian femininity.<sup>102</sup>

Of course, the changes recommended by the Hunter Commission were not without their detractors. Several members of the Commission itself took issue with individual recommendations from the final report. This dissention ranged from concerns over providing extra educational funding to distinct groups within the Indian population to focusing too heavily on primary education at the expense of other areas. In general, individuals seem to have been concerned about the impacts of giving control of education to more inexperienced local boards and a failure to make education compulsory at any level.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 194.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 195.

<sup>102</sup> Mrinalini Sinha, “The Lineage of the ‘Indian’ Modern,” in *Gender, Sexuality, and Colonial Modernities*, ed. Antoinette Burton (London, GBR: Routledge, 1999), 207.

<sup>103</sup> Paranjpe, *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education*, 202-235.

The Hunter Commission was the last great piece of educational policy promulgated before 1890. It had a lasting impact on the educational system of India through the 1880s and into the twentieth century. As demonstrated in the next chapter, the support of vernacular languages as the media of instruction for primary, secondary, and collegiate education was a major shift that would play out in arguments over the proper role of colonial education in the North-Western Provinces and Punjab. Similarly, the recommendation to give greater autonomy and authority to local, district, and municipal boards would impact these same views—especially with the ability given to these local boards to develop, choose, and exclude curricula.

### **Intercommunal Relations in Colonial India**

Discussions over language of instruction and curricular decisions throughout the history of colonial education have largely turned on issues of community and social group. India's two dominant religious groups—the Hindu majority and the large Muslim minority—often serve as a proxies for linguistic divisions within the country. The assumption is that Hindus in Northern India speak Hindi while Muslims speak Urdu—with corresponding differences in the classical languages of Sanskrit and Arabic.<sup>104</sup> In evaluating the reactions of Indians to these educational policies, it is first important to understand the history of religious, communal divisions within the British colonial territory of Northern India.

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<sup>104</sup> Emmanuel S. K. Ghosh and Rashmi Kumar, "Hindu-Muslim Intergroup Relations in India: Applying Socio-Psychological Perspectives," *Psychology and Developing Societies* 3, no. 1 (1991), 101.

Many scholars believe that the appearance of two distinct, self-identifying religious communities in the Indian subcontinent stems from the colonial structures put in place by the British.<sup>105</sup> Talbot contends that “large-scale conflicts between Hindus and Muslims began under colonial rule ... [and that] ... communal violence was itself a British construct.”<sup>106</sup> Some scholars still assert that in some ways the separation of these two communities had already begun before the expansion of British colonial power in South Asia.<sup>107</sup> The subjugation of the Indian subcontinent by Muslims and the establishment of the Mughal Empire in the sixteenth century are seen by some as the start of communalization in South Asia.<sup>108</sup> Still, there seems to be general consensus, however, that no meaningful Hindu or Muslim communal identity existed in India before the nineteenth century.<sup>109</sup>

Whether the process of communalization started before their ascendancy or after, the British did magnify and exploit communal tensions between Hindus and Muslims in India. In some instances, the continued existence of a British presence in India was justified by explaining that only the British could protect the people of the subcontinent from

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<sup>105</sup> See Sandria Freitag, *Collective Action and Community: Public Arenas and the Emergence of Communalism in North India* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989) and Gyanendra Pandey, *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India* (Delhi, IND: Oxford University Press, 1990).

<sup>106</sup> Cynthia Talbot, “Inscribing the Other, Inscribing the Self: Hindu-Muslim Identities in Pre-Colonial India,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37, no. 4 (1995), 693.

<sup>107</sup> C. A. Bayly, “The Pre-History of ‘Communalism’? Religious Conflict in India, 1700-1860,” *Modern Asian Studies* 19, no. 2 (1985), 200.

<sup>108</sup> Zoya Khaliq Hasan, “Communalism and Communal Violence in India,” *Social Scientist* 10, no. 2 (1982), 25.

<sup>109</sup> Bayly, “The Pre-History of ‘Communalism’?” 202.

divisive conflicts between the two communities.<sup>110</sup> Pandey contends that British policy was clearly designed to create conflicts between the Hindu and Muslim communities of India leading to aggressive assertion by members of the differences they saw. This led to social and political confrontation throughout the colonial period.<sup>111</sup> The Hindu and Muslim communities variously vied for separation from the other or campaigned for access to limited resources at the expense of the other. All the while, the British colonial apparatus controlled the resources of the subcontinent and used communal “tensions to sustain their power in India by playing off Muslim feudal elites against the Hindu elites.”<sup>112</sup> Into the early twentieth century, the “British started characterizing political identities on a religious basis and transposed them into” political concerns.<sup>113</sup>

The way that these communal divisions were exploited varied over time, but in many instances the Muslim community was characterized by the British as being predisposed to criminal behavior.<sup>114</sup> After the Rebellion of 1857, many of the Muslim community who had supported the forces aligned behind Emperor Bahadur Shah II were described as members of the “turbulent” community. This was a code word for those who were not to be trusted even though they had not actually taken up arms against the

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<sup>110</sup> Gloria Goodwin Raheja, “Caste, Colonialism, and the Speech of the Colonized: Entextualization and Disciplinary Control in India,” *American Ethnologist* 23, no. 3 (1996), 495.

<sup>111</sup> Anurag Pandey, “Communalism and Separatism in India: An Analysis,” *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 42 (2007), 533.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 536.

<sup>113</sup> Bipan Chandra, *Communalism in Modern India* (Delhi, IND: Vikas, 1984), 237-289.

<sup>114</sup> Raheja, “Caste, Colonialism, and the Speech of the Colonized,” 501.

British.<sup>115</sup> The apparent reason for much of this characterization was a concern that the Muslim community of South Asia was predisposed to such “turbulence.”<sup>116</sup> Thus in many instances, the Hindu community was given a perceived favored status by the colonial administrators.<sup>117</sup> This would have carried over into the educational realm, as well, as Muslim community leaders began to feel that their educational needs were not being met. These communal tensions were perceived within the pages of the press in Northern India as editors addressed issues of educational policy.

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 500.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 506.

<sup>117</sup> Peter van der Weer, “Religion in South Asia,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31 (2002), 182.

CHAPTER FOUR  
REACTIONS TO BRITISH EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN COLONIAL INDIAN RELIGIOUS  
COMMUNITIES

Colonial educational policy at the end of the nineteenth century was the result of a long and gradual development of ideas beginning at the start of Company rule in India in 1757. As has been demonstrated in the previous chapter, much of the debate about the proper way to educate the colonial subjects of India centered on the issue of the language in which to provide instruction. The preceding review has given a glimpse of what colonial education looked like leading up to the 1880s. Using government reports and despatches and existing historiography, it is clear that education policy became a matter of intense concern for the colonial administration by the time of the Hunter Commission in 1882. Having demonstrated this, the dissertation will now turn to look at the way that the popular press of the time views this development. In the second half of the nineteenth century, colonial educational policy became more forward-looking and comprehensive. It began to consider the future needs of the colony and attempt to include a broader segment of society in the educational process. Looking specifically at Northern India, the reactions of the communities surrounding two of the more important institutions of higher education—the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College and the University of the Punjab—provide insights into how members of these two religious and ethnic communities viewed their own roles in the development and enactment of educational policies. Given the attempts of

of the British to divide their Indian subjects by religion, ethnicity, and language in order to rule them more efficiently, the reactions to educational policy that were printed in the newspapers provide some understanding of the way that Indians resisted these efforts and worked toward unity their educational settings.

The communities around these two institutions of higher education—the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College in Aligarh and the nascent University of the Punjab in Lahore—presented differing public reactions to the policies that were discussed and implemented in the North-Western Provinces and Punjab. The very foundations of these two institutions belie the differing sentiments of the communities in which they were established. The founders of the privately established college in Aligarh, which opened in 1875, had planned for it to operate along the lines of a Muslim *madrasa* with an additional focus on English language western science. Conversely, a government edict in 1881 had established the college in Lahore as a teaching and an examining institution. From its beginnings, it maintained a focus on instruction in the vernacular languages of Northern India. The differences between these two communities were apparent in the opinions given voice in the Indian media of the day. The themes that were apparent within these pages were quite consistent between the two communities, however.

### **History of the Popular Press in India**

It is first necessary to provide some insight into the development of the popular press in India.<sup>1</sup> Jeffrey divides the history of India into three distinct periods concerning the

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<sup>1</sup> See S. Natarajan, *A History of the Press in India* (Bombay, IND: Asia Publishing House, 1962) and Nadig Krishna Murthy, *Indian Journalism* (Mysore, IND: Prasaranga, 1966).

transmission of information—a preindustrial, face-to-face period; the era of genteel print from the 1870s to the 1980s; and the current age of mass media in the form of television and the Internet.<sup>2</sup> The primary audience for newspapers printed at the end of the nineteenth century comprised the social and cultural elite of Northern India. This elite group “was largely upper caste, urban and genteel” and comprised voracious readers in the cities of the region.<sup>3</sup>

In order to attract these audiences, the editors of these papers took firm editorial positions on the issues of the day. Indeed, the incentive to establish a newspaper was often the desire to establish a political voice rather than to make a profit.<sup>4</sup> Newspapers in India began to grow quickly after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 made it easier to bring printing presses from the United Kingdom. This led to the Vernacular Press Act 1878, which called for regulation of the popular press and specifically restrictions on Indian language newspapers throughout the colony.<sup>5</sup> Though Jeffrey asserted that the Indian press was vocal about matters of public policy during this period of “print-elite” information transmission, he is clear in his contention that the people of the subcontinent were not able to affect government policy and opinion to any great degree.<sup>6</sup> It would not be until the 1920s that the Indian independence movement would begin to use newspapers to impact

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<sup>2</sup> Robin Jeffrey, “Communications and Capitalism in India, 1750-2010,” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 25, no. 2 (2002), 61.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 63, 67.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 67-68.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.



the way that government policy was developed and implemented.<sup>7</sup> Prior to this, the newspapers were primarily sharing the opinions of the groups—teachers, lawyers, doctors, government servants, merchants—who read them.<sup>8</sup>

Modern scholars have divided the newspapers of this period into three broad categories. The first were essentially British weeklies and dailies that enterprising publishers had transplanted to India to serve the European population living in there.<sup>9</sup> The second category was the vernacular press—regulated by the law of 1878 and often the work of a single individual with access to a second-hand printing press. These were generally “small, flimsy, and ephemeral, often the mouthpiece of some political or religious movement.”<sup>10</sup> The final category was likely the smallest of the three and comprised English-language newspapers run by Indians. Though small, this category would continue to address the concerns of the educated elite that was emerging from the cities of colonial India in the nineteenth century. These would then lay “the foundations of the nationalist movement through such papers as the *Indian Mirror*, the *Hindoo Patriot*, and the *Bengalee*.<sup>11</sup> Although the colonial capital of Calcutta was the center for publication of this category of newspaper in Victorian India, examples existed in the other major and minor

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<sup>7</sup> Tara S. Nair, “Growth and Structural Transformation of Newspaper Industry in India: An Empirical Investigation,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 38, no. 39 (2003), 4182.

<sup>8</sup> Jeffrey, “Communications and Capitalism in India,” 69.

<sup>9</sup> Edwin Hirschmann, “The Hidden Roots of a Great Newspaper: Calcutta’s ‘Statesman,’” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37, no. 2 (2004), 141.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 141-142.

cities of Northern India. It is to this category that the two major sources for this dissertation—the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* and *The Tribune*—belong. In considering these newspapers, it is also important to consider the dominant educational institution in these two cities.

*Aligarh Institute Gazette* and Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College

Of course, political and social discourse in the media of Northern India did not appear suddenly in 1870. There had been a slow growth in newspapers and presses following the Rebellion of 1857. In North-Western Provinces, one of the most important media outlets was the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*. This newspaper was published twice weekly in both English and in Urdu.<sup>12</sup> Philosopher and social activist Syed Ahmad Khan had established the paper in 1866. As a Muslim pragmatist, he was concerned that the Muslim community in the North-Western Provinces was not sufficiently concerned with matters of education or with making India a great nation.

This led him to establish the bilingual journal, which bore the motto “Liberty of the Press is a prominent duty of the Government and a natural right of the subjects” on its masthead.<sup>13</sup> The goal of the newspaper was to ensure that the British colonial administrators were apprised of “the thoughts and points of view of the inhabitants of India.”<sup>14</sup> It also tried to keep these inhabitants informed of the policies that the British had

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<sup>12</sup> The publication frequency of the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* changed throughout its publication and it began as a weekly.

<sup>13</sup> H. K. Sherwani, “The Political Thought of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan,” *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 5, no. 4 (1944), 311-312.

<sup>14</sup> Belkacem Belmekki, “Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan’s Framework for the Educational Uplift of the Indian Muslims During the British Raj,” *Anthropos* 104, no 1 (2009), 167-168.

put in place.

As Syed Ahmad Khan established his newspaper in Aligarh, he also worked toward the foundation of a new educational institution that would help to raise the level of knowledge among the Muslim community of Northern India. He has established a number of schools for primary and secondary students, but dreamed of a university that would cater to Muslim students specifically.<sup>15</sup> In 1870, Khan formed the “Mohammadan Anglo Oriental College Fund Committee” with the purpose of collecting funds for just such an establishment.<sup>16</sup>

Five years later, Khan founded the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College in Aligarh. The University of Calcutta took responsibility for examining students at the new college. The first year, the college took in four pupils to study Muslim philosophy and modern, Western science and mathematics.<sup>17</sup> Khan was strictly secular in his own outlook,<sup>18</sup> but from the beginning, the college was an Islamic one.<sup>19</sup> The leaders of the college also supported and promoted English language study for the scholars.<sup>20</sup> From its earliest days, some were concerned that the religious focus of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College

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<sup>15</sup> Aijaz Ahmad, *Aligarh Muslim University: An Educational and Political History, 1920-1947* (Ghaziabad, IND: Lata Sahitya Sadan, 2005), 17.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>19</sup> Z. U. Malik, "State of Muslim *Madrasas* and Education During the Colonial Period, 1781-1835 A Derivative Discourse," in *Madrasa Education in India*, edited by S. M. Azizuddin Husain, 142-171 (New Delhi, IND: Kanishka Publishers, 2005), 164-165.

<sup>20</sup> Belmekki, "Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's Framework," 166.

meant that it would be anti-Hindu.<sup>21</sup> Khan vehemently denied any such insinuation and continued to lead the institution until his death in 1898.<sup>22</sup>

With the foundation of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College by Syed Ahmad Khan in 1875, an official connection between the *Gazette* and the new institution of higher learning began. The leaders of the *Gazette* expended every possible effort to make sure that it maintained its editorial independence. Syed Ahmad Khan and others involved in the foundation of the College hoped to raise the level of educational attainment for the Muslim community of Northern India. With its affiliation to the University of Calcutta, the college catered to the Muslim elite of the North-Western Provinces. The *Gazette* continued to print its news and editorial content in both English and Urdu to appeal to those who had not extended their education enough to speak or read English.<sup>23</sup>

#### *The Tribune* and Punjab University

Reporters and editors of *The Tribune* of Lahore debated the perceived merits of colonial educational policies just as they had in the *Gazette*. In the 1860s, Lahore had been home to two newspapers with very oppositional editorial stances. The founders of the *Lahore Chronicle* tried to appeal to those British leaders who had controlled the colonial administration since before the Rebellion of 1857. A rival newspaper, *Indian Public Opinion*, had begun publishing in the city in 1866 and favored the ideas of a younger generation of

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<sup>21</sup> John Zavos, "The Ārya Samāj and the Antecedents of Hindu Nationalism," *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 3, no. 1 (1999), 64.

<sup>22</sup> Belmekki, "Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's Framework," 169.

<sup>23</sup> Manzoor Athar, "The Oxford of the East: Sir Syed's Vision for Aligarh Muslim University," *American Research Thoughts* 2, no. 3 (2016), 3452-3458.

officials. One of the founders of this paper was Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner who would go on to become a leading light in the Orientalist educational tradition of Lahore—eventually becoming registrar of the Punjab University College.<sup>24</sup> These two newspapers merged, along with several others, to form the *Civil and Military Gazette* in 1872.<sup>25</sup>

One of the most important venues in which the debates of education played out during this period—and one focus of this study—was *The Tribune*. This newspaper had been established in Lahore in 1881—6 years after the foundation of Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College in Aligarh and only a year before the foundation of University College in Lahore. Soon after *The Tribune* began its publication run, its reporting staff took up the topic of education. Speaking of a report that the Committee for Public Instruction of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh had just published, the newspaper called it “a melancholy document.”<sup>26</sup>

During the 1880s, Punjab was a relatively recent addition to the Indian possessions of the British Crown. In 1849, the East India Company had annexed the province after their victories in the First and Second Anglo-Sikh Wars.<sup>27</sup> Shortly after this annexation, the British Crown took control of the territory along with the rest of the East India Company’s possessions in India. The British administrators quickly began discussing and planning for

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<sup>24</sup> G. R. G. Hambly, “Richard Temple and the Punjab Tenancy Act of 1868,” *The English Historical Review* 79, no. 310 (1964): 52.

<sup>25</sup> Asima Ranjan Parhi, *Indian English Through Newspapers* (New Delhi, IND: Concept Publishing Company, 2008), 26.

<sup>26</sup> “Education in the United Provinces,” *The Tribune*, February 2, 1881, Lahore.

<sup>27</sup> Charles Allen, *Soldier Sahibs: The Men Who Made the North-west Frontier* (London, GBR: John Murray, 2000), 192.

the educational needs of Punjab.<sup>28</sup> After a number of false starts, the provincial government established colleges in Lahore and Delhi in 1863. Just as with the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College in Aligarh, students in Lahore would sit examinations for the University of Calcutta.<sup>29</sup> Various public and private entities established other colleges within Punjab over the next several years. Some of the educational leaders in the province—notably Gottlieb Leitner—believed that students in Punjab sitting examinations for the University of Calcutta was unacceptable because of the focus of the university on English instruction.<sup>30</sup> By 1881, they had petitioned the government to sanction the establishment of a fourth university in Lahore.<sup>31</sup>

The new university was very different from its predecessors in the three presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. It had developed much more organically. From the beginning, it was an institution dedicated to both teaching students and administering their examinations.<sup>32</sup> By the time the university gained formal approval from the authorities in Calcutta and London, Leitner had already ensured that it would be financially viable by securing subscriptions from interested parties in Lahore.<sup>33</sup> Leitner continued to lead the University of Punjab in a variety of capacities until he left the subcontinent in 1888. He

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<sup>28</sup> J. F. Bruce, *A History of the University of the Panjab* (Lahore, PAK: Ishwar Das, 1933), 4.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>31</sup> Tim Allender, “Bad Language in the Raj: The ‘Frightful Encumbrance’ of Gottlieb Leitner, 1865–1888,” *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* 43, no. 3 (2007), 384.

<sup>32</sup> Bruce, *A History of the University of the Panjab*, 1.

<sup>33</sup> Allender, “Bad Language in the Raj,” 399.

continued spreading interest in the people and languages of British India by founding an Oriental Institute in London on his return.<sup>34</sup>

### **Support for Colonial Educational Policy**

The opinions expressed in these two newspapers and others in Northern India ranged from being explicitly supportive of colonial educational policies to being vehemently opposed to the ways that policies had been written and implemented. The editorial staffs of both *The Tribune* and the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* gave a variety of reasons for their opposition to or support for the policies enacted in Northern India ranging from the personal to the philosophical. In some instances, the opposition to colonial policies seemed to stem directly from an opposition to and dislike of Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner and his Orientalist pedagogies. In still other cases, the newspapers expressed their apprehensions along purely religious lines, as when the newspapers connected the success or failure of students to the religious communities in which they were living and learning.

For many of the editors, writers, and correspondents of these newspapers, the opinions taken with regard to educational policy resembled indifference. These writers were clear that they did not agree with the implementation of many of the colonial administration's educational policies—throughout the nineteenth century and specifically in 1882. As will be demonstrated in the analysis below, the key issue to consider in evaluating these policies was the unity of the Indian people. Inasmuch as the policies sought to divide the Indian subjects of the British Empire, they voiced their opposition to

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 402.

the policies. The editorial decisions made during this period show that they understood that if India were to be a great nation again, it would need a cadre of individuals educated with a view to becoming patriots as well as individuals given the skills to be practical men. According to *The Tribune*, “such men were indispensable ... [and would] save the people from ever increasing penury and wretchedness” at the hands of the British.<sup>35</sup>

In both of the major papers, one finds expressions of support for the educational policies implemented in the North-Western Provinces and in Punjab. In many instances, these were reprinted reports on educational happenings from around Northern India that other newspapers had previously published elsewhere. The support given to educational policies in Northern India rarely considered the region as a whole. In Punjab and the North-Western Provinces, reports in these newspapers generally presented educational policies as affecting either one province or the other. In February 1881, *The Tribune* included an editorial note documenting that “[t]he Aligarh Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College has made considerable improvement during the last five years of its existence.”<sup>36</sup> The article went on to describe the successes of the College in terms of the number of students who had matriculated and those who had been able to continue their educations in England. The next article in that edition of the newspaper was a broad summary of the successes of educational policy in Punjab.<sup>37</sup>

The editors and reporters of both these newspapers were much more likely to

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<sup>35</sup> “The Necessity of Technical Education,” *The Tribune*, March 8, 1884, Lahore.

<sup>36</sup> “The Week,” *The Tribune*, February 2, 1881, Lahore.

<sup>37</sup> “Education in the Panjab – II,” *The Tribune*, February 2, 1881, Lahore.



commend the educational policy of the North-Western Provinces as being effective. In 1886, the summary of a speaking tour of Northern India by the Principal of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College noted that the students had great opportunities at the institution but also that the College expected great things from them. In exhorting them to raise up their community, this newspaper editorial stated, “in Aligarh a great effort has been made by the Honourable Syed [Ahmad Khan] to improve the condition of his countrymen. It is through his exertions that you are being educated here. ... You are the young men who are the hope of your countrymen. You are the only large body of young Musalmans who are being educated in India.”<sup>38</sup> Just a few months earlier, the editors of *The Tribune* were calling for the Lahore Government College to take up a similar position. The paper wanted this institution—which was separate from the University College in Lahore—“to act as an agency for imparting a good English education to [the] young men” of Punjab.<sup>39</sup> Though the paper stated that the Lahore Government College was in a good position to do this and that it could serve as a model for other institutions across Northern India, it did not feel that it was actually fulfilling these mandates as well as institutions in the North-Western Province were doing.<sup>40</sup>

Both *The Tribune* and the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* were supportive of two other institutions founded at this time in the region. They welcomed developments at Muir Central College—making note of remarks given by Frederick Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood,

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<sup>38</sup> “M. A.-O. College, Aligarh,” *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, March 2, 1886, Aligarh.

<sup>39</sup> “The Lahore Government College,” *The Tribune*, November 21, 1885, Lahore.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

Earl of Dufferin in 1886. The crown had appointed him Viceroy of India two years earlier and he was speaking at the opening exercises for the college's academic year. In a report on the opening in February of 1886, he declared that the education of the people of India was "one of the noblest and, thanks to the aptness and docility of its scholars, one of the most grateful tasks which England" had taken on in the country.<sup>41</sup> The editorial staff of the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, however, stated that the Muir Central College would only remain a positive force for education in India if it were able to focus on providing an English education for Indian students. It went on to express concern that it might hurt Indian education by modeling itself after the nascent Punjab University in Lahore. According to the editors of the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, it was important that educational institutions in the country not deprive "the natives of India of high English Education, which [was] of vital importance for the well-being of the people of [the] country."<sup>42</sup>

The other institution that had a great deal of support in the North Indian press was the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, established in Lahore in 1886. Writing at the end of that year, reporters at *The Tribune*, noted that the development of the college had "been rather slow, but ... steady."<sup>43</sup> The paper congratulated the promoters on the success that they had achieved in founding the college in spite of concerns from some that an institution founded in the name of Swami Dayanand Saraswati and the *Ārya Samāj* would be overly sectarian. In discussing this and similar institutions, the reporters of *The Tribune* hoped that Lahore's

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<sup>41</sup> "The Opening Ceremony of the Muir Central College Allahabad," *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, April 13, 1886, Aligarh.

<sup>42</sup> "The Would-Be University of Allahabad," *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, April 17, 1886, Aligarh.

<sup>43</sup> "Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College," *The Tribune*, December 4, 1886, Lahore.

“Mahomedan brothers [would] also gladly contribute towards them. In educational matters, Hindus and Mahomedans have always cheerfully assisted each other. The Aligarh College, although it was the result of Mahomedan patriotism, owes its existence chiefly to the contributions from the Hindus.”<sup>44</sup> The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, then, represented an opportunity for intercommunal cooperation as well as educational opportunity for Indians.

Of course, the North-Western Province and Punjab were not the only places where newspapers addressed issues of educational policy. News outlets around India took up these matters in their pages showing that readers had a deep interest in debates of educational concerns across the country. In the summer of 1886, the *Patna Institute Gazette* in Bihar noted that the colonial administration had attempted to improve the educational condition of the native population.<sup>45</sup> This news story noted that individuals in Patna had “founded a school on the same lines as the M. A.-O. College at Aligarh, combining religious instruction with English Education.”<sup>46</sup> Just as in Aligarh, the paper noted that the leaders of this institution also wanted to affect improvements similar to those made in other areas of Northern India with the addition of technical education and courses in physics, chemistry, and mechanical drawing into the curriculum.<sup>47</sup>

Aside from its generally negative view of schooling in Punjab, these examples shows

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> “The Mahomedans of Patna,” *Patna Institute Gazette*, July 10, 1886, Patna.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> “Educational Retrogression,” *Patna Institute Gazette*, August 7, 1886, Patna.

that *The Tribune* did not see educational policy in the province as being completely unsuccessful. Indeed, according to an editorial published in the spring of 1886, education had “been the greatest blessing of the British Government in India, and the people fully appreciate it.”<sup>48</sup> Later in 1886, a reporter writing for *The Tribune* spoke kindly of the Punjab Chief’s College when the Viceroy laid the cornerstone for its new main building. It noted that similar institutions in other parts of the country had “on the whole shown satisfactory results and it is hoped that the Punjab Chiefs’ College also will remove a want which has long been keenly felt here.”<sup>49</sup> There was, it would seem, a strong desire for the upper classes of Punjabi society to be well educated and some argued that this institution would help to achieve that goal as similar ones had done “in Rajkote and Ajmere.”<sup>50</sup>

There had been broad appreciation of the work that the British were doing to improve education in Northern India. Though critics worried that the Anglicists were intent on destroying Indian language and culture and the Orientalists were setting Indians up for subservient status in the colonial regime, many media outlets and communal leaders were happy to report when educational policy was effectively improving the economic and social situations of the Indian population. Earlier in this period—at the end of 1883—a report on education in Northern India from *The Tribune* noted that the North-Western Provinces and Oudh had experienced a “steady and silent improvement in attendance and instruction” in

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<sup>48</sup> “Transfer of Punjab District Schools to Municipalities,” *The Tribune*, March 13, 1886, Lahore.

<sup>49</sup> “The Punjab Chiefs’ College,” *The Tribune*, October 2, 1886, Lahore.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

their schools through the early 1880s.<sup>51</sup> In addition, it stated that there had been a marked increase in the number of indigenous schools that were operating with official support across the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.<sup>52</sup> Of course, some commentators in the pages of Northern India's newspapers did not accept all educational policies as beneficial. Large groups across the region were vehemently opposed to the plans put in place by the British.

### **Opposition to Colonial Educational Policy**

The opponents of educational policy in the Northern region of British India also prominently presented their concerns in the media. As early as the 1840s, members of the Indian press were making it clear that they did not approve of the way that East India Company officials had implemented educational policy in the country. During its relatively short time in publication,<sup>53</sup> the editors of the *Benares Recorder* expressed concern that many schools in Indian lacked books that would appeal "to the present state of the Native mind in Hindoostan" and that there had long been a dearth of materials "of a scientific, historical and moral nature" for students.<sup>54</sup> Similarly, the paper lamented the use of rote memorization in Indian colleges, rather than "drawing out the powers of the mind for the

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<sup>51</sup> "Education in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh," *The Tribune*, November 3, 1883, Lahore.

<sup>52</sup> "Education in the United Provinces," *The Tribune*, February 20, 1886, Lahore.

<sup>53</sup> W. H. Carey, *The Good Old Days of the Honorable John Company...*, (Calcutta: R. Cambray and Company, 1906), 453. The *Recorder* had been established in 1847 and struggled to publish for two years before folding.

<sup>54</sup> "Benares School Book Society," *The Benares Recorder*, February 12, 1847, Benares.

exercise of judgment.”<sup>55</sup>

Returning to the period under consideration here, much of the commentary written in the press of Northern India expressed unease about the ways that the crown had implemented educational policy. Just as the opinions of those supporting policies differed dependent on whether the North-Western Provinces and Oudh were being considered rather than Punjab, so it was among those opposed to the policy. Using Lahore and Aligarh as points of reference for which to discuss these two areas, it is clear that many people were unhappy with education for Indians and stated that the population was not being well-served by existing policies.

Throughout the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, a number of commentators expressed concern for the fact that educational policies had reduced the overall number of students enrolled in Indian schools. In fact, the administration’s statisticians reported a decrease in total enrollment in government schools of 25% within this region for the two years to 1881. Because this was such an unprecedented decrease, some reporters and editors worried whether institutions would survive. Early in 1881, a report on education in Northern India from *The Tribune* expressed worry that “the fate of the Agra College [was] trembling in the balance” and argued that “the educated classes in the North-Western Provinces should exert their best to avert the doom with which it [was] threatened.”<sup>56</sup> Indeed, some made comparisons to other Indian territories. These were searching for some explanation as to why the people of the North-Western Territories and Oudh were not

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<sup>55</sup> “Deficiencies of Education,” *The Benares Recorder*, March 16, 1847, Benares.

<sup>56</sup> “Education in the United Provinces,” *The Tribune*, February 2, 1881, Lahore.

clamoring for education. Those in Bengal or Bihar had done fought for educational opportunity, but not those in the North-Western Territories and Oudh.<sup>57</sup>

Community leaders understood education as a vitally important aspect of communal and national development in these media outlets. According to an 1886 editorial in *The Aligarh Institute Gazette*, one of the greatest tasks “that has hitherto lain before the reformers of the Indian Mahomedans has been to teach the community that their only means of progress is by education.”<sup>58</sup> The *Gazette* went on to discuss the ways that the Bengalis of Calcutta and the Parsis of Bombay had been successful and overtaken the Muslim community in a number of indicators precisely because they had worked toward obtaining an education for their young people. It was this broad understanding of the importance of education in the Indian context that led to much of the opposition that critics voiced over educational policies in this period. The concern regarding educational policies carried over into specific educational domains such as elementary and higher education.

#### Opposition to Higher Education Policy

Looking more specifically at higher education in Northern India, the media raised a number of issues in the colony. *The Tribune* published a forceful editorial condemnation of colonial educational policy in this 1881, saying, “The present system of high education in India has always been an eye-sore.”<sup>59</sup> Invoking the Educational Despatch of 1854, the paper went on to commend “those who would ... do away with the present system of high

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> “The Future of Our Students,” *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, March 16, 1886, Aligarh.

<sup>59</sup> “High Education in India,” *The Tribune*, May 14, 1881, Lahore.

education in India. <sup>60</sup>

The editors of *The Tribune* were wary of changing things too quickly, though. There seems to have been a concern with trying to expand education very rapidly at the expense of quality in both students and curriculum. Also in 1881, a report on education in Punjab and the North-Western Province and in nearby Baroda from *The Tribune* contended, “it would be more useful to impart high education to one boy at a cost of Rs. 1,000 than to give primary instruction to 333 boys at Rs. 3 per head.”<sup>61</sup> The report declared that such a view should have been clear to any intelligent and unprejudiced individual who truly wanted the best for India. As Thomas Baring, 1st Earl of Northbrook and former Viceroy had said in 1880, “India [was] too poor a country to bear, as yet, the expense of a thorough popular system of education” and it must wait to expand education to the lower classes.<sup>62</sup>

There seem to have been a number of reasons for this distrustful attitude towards expanding education in Northern India. An editorial from *The Tribune* in 1884 passionately described the purposelessness that fell upon many Indians after finishing their schooling. The editors asked why it was “that the spread of education, instead of bringing blessings on its train, should call forth curses?” Critics blamed the unpractical nature of educational practice in Northern India. They were concerned that

the education that most of our young men receive fits them more to be day-dreamers than to be anything else. [These students] talk big of patriotism, of the ancient glory of their country, and a lot of platitudes of various kinds, and all their energies become exhausted. They do not know how to better their own condition

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> “Education in the United Provinces,” *The Tribune*, February 2, 1881, Lahore.

<sup>62</sup> Thomas Baring, “The Natives of India,” *Fraser’s Magazine*, December, 1880, London.



and to make themselves more really useful to their country.<sup>63</sup>

*The Tribune's* editors acknowledged that India needed eloquent patriots and great thinkers to rouse the patriotic spirit of the people. At the same time, they wrote in opposition to increasing classical education. They believed that the country required "men who might be able to give the nation practical training and teach them to work upon the unbounded material resources of the country and this save the people from ever increasing penury and wretchedness."<sup>64</sup> In Lahore, at least one newspaper worried that lamentable practices imported from the North-West Provinces into Punjab were detrimental to students there.<sup>65</sup> *The Civil and Military Gazette* echoed these concerns several years later in an edition published in Lahore in 1885. The contention in this newspaper was that many Indians felt having an education of any sort would entitle a student to a sinecure in the colonial administration of the North-Western Provinces.<sup>66</sup>

In line with this view of popular education espoused by *The Civil and Military Gazette* and *The Tribune*, many other commentators articulated the apprehension apparent within the community about providing enough opportunities for gainful employment even for the Indian young people who had been earning educational qualifications. In 1886, a report from *The Tribune* lamented the fact that relatively few graduates of Indian universities would actually be able to secure jobs in government—with even fewer finding

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<sup>63</sup> "The Necessity of Technical Education," *The Tribune*, March 8, 1884, Lahore.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> "Telegraphic Intelligence," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, January 5, 1885, Lahore.

<sup>66</sup> "Discontent in the Education Department," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, January 17, 1885, Lahore.

work in the private sector. The report suggested that schools needed an injection of capital to build up native arts and industries in the country to provide employment opportunities for Indians. This, then, would entice more Indians who were qualified to pursue an education. The authors of this article held firmly to the belief that educated Indians would continue to do the great work of lifting the country out of poverty.<sup>67</sup> Later in 1886, the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* made clear its view in an editorial that for impoverished Muslim communities in Northern India, education was a particularly efficient way to improve the employment rate for young people.<sup>68</sup>

Indeed, the media of this period were clear that they knew how best to approach the issue of education in the North-Western Province and Punjab. According to an editorial from *The Tribune* in 1886, the colonial administration—for all the good it had done—had “drained away [India’s] resources. And blasted the industrial energies of her people.” It was clear to the staff of the newspaper “that agriculture alone could not lift the masses out of the squalid poverty in which they seemed to be wallowing.” The solution—an Indian version of the Industrial Revolution—was obvious to the editors. They stated that providing vocational and technical instruction was not simply a matter of duty to India, but one of necessity “and every patriotic endeavour should be directed towards effecting it.”<sup>69</sup>

#### Opposition to Punjab University

In the early 1880s, the media of Northern India also directed their discontent with

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<sup>67</sup> “The Prospects of Educated Indians,” *The Tribune*, April 10, 1886, Lahore.

<sup>68</sup> “Employment of Mahomedans,” *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, October 19, 1886, Aligarh.

<sup>69</sup> “The Importance of Technical Education,” *The Tribune*, February 13, 1886, Lahore.

the educational climate in Punjab specifically towards the administration of the nascent Punjab University. According to a series of reports from *The Tribune* on “Education in the Panjab” in February and March of 1881, those who supported the continued development of “Panjab University College maintained the great desirability of improving the Vernaculars, and contended that the masses of the people cannot be taught in English.”<sup>70</sup> The newspaper confidently asserted that very few would oppose such an opinion. Those who opposed Punjab University College were concerned that all instruction and study was to be in the vernacular languages—which were viewed as undeveloped and imperfect. They noted a troubling lack of instructional resources available at a high level in Hindi and Urdu and a complete lack of books and materials available at even an elementary level in Punjabi.<sup>71</sup> The authors wrote that one of the main ways to overcome the poor educational situation in Punjab was to raise Panjab University College to the status of a full-fledged university immediately.<sup>72</sup>

Later in the spring of 1881, though, the authors continued their report by making it clear they did not believe that the full-fledged university could succeed as the official government policy of the early 1880s had conceived it. They wrote that the University College had “done hardly anything to popularize European Science in India.” Though the paper stated that “one of the main objectives in starting the University College should have been to promote the diffusion of European Science through the medium of the Vernacular,”

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<sup>70</sup> “Education in the Panjab – II,” *The Tribune*, February 2, 1881, Lahore.

<sup>71</sup> “Education in the Panjab – III,” *The Tribune*, February 16, 1881, Lahore.

<sup>72</sup> “Education in the Panjab – VI,” *The Tribune*, March 19, 1881, Lahore.

educators were actually teaching very little European science at the blackboard.<sup>73</sup> Similar complaints regarding the actual functioning of the Punjab University College and its related institutions continued for years in the pages of *The Tribune*. As Punjab University College began to coalesce into a proper university in Lahore, the editorial staff of *The Tribune* became more and more vocal in its opposition to it. When the *Indian Mirror* voiced its support for the University College and its leaders in the fall of 1881,<sup>74</sup> *The Tribune* in Lahore was quick to respond with an editorial highlighting description of the appalling condition of the institution.<sup>75</sup>

The publication of new statutes for the recently established university in 1884 did not assuage the concerns of all the institution's opponents in Northern India. In fact, *The Tribune* was concerned that "most of them [were] mere reproductions of those of the Panjab University College."<sup>76</sup> The author of this editorial applauded some of the changes that the Punjab University had made and approved of many of its stated aims. Though more subjects were on offer with the new statutes, the editorial still noted unhappiness that Punjab University focused on an "enlightened study of Eastern classics"—the authors did not think that such study could be enlightened without a thorough understanding of Western classics.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> "Education in the Panjab – IX," *The Tribune*, April 30, 1881, Lahore.

<sup>74</sup> "Punjab University College," *The Indian Mirror*, September 20, 1881, Calcutta.

<sup>75</sup> "The *Indian Mirror* and the Punjab University Question," *The Tribune*, October 8, 1881, Lahore.

<sup>76</sup> "The Punjab University and Its Operations," *The Tribune*, April 12, 1884, Lahore.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

Later in 1884, a report from *The Tribune* on the Lahore Government College—an institution that would eventually affiliate with the Punjab University—made it clear that the newspaper presented the argument that more centralized control in the province would be a detriment to education. It was clear to the authors of the report that Lahore Government College had the potential to be a uniquely capable institution within Punjab. The report expressed appreciation of the twofold goal of the college in that it “intended to act as an agency for imparting a good English education” on the young men of the province and sought to “spread enlightenment among the people by giving ... a proportion of well-educated men” without giving in to pressures towards mass education.<sup>78</sup> In the opinion of the newspaper, however, Lahore Government College was unfortunately doing neither of these things well.

By the next year, much of the concern about education in Punjab generally—and the University of Punjab in particular—seems to have stemmed from a disagreement over educational policy itself. A report in *The Civil and Military Gazette* from 1885 expressed concern over whom the administration would appoint as directors of the Punjab education department because some knew the effects that different appointments would have in schools themselves.<sup>79</sup> The editors of this Lahore newspaper expressed a keen relief upon hearing news that the provincial administration would be handing more control of

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<sup>78</sup> “The Lahore Government College,” *The Tribune*, November 21, 1884, Lahore.

<sup>79</sup> “The Punjab Education Department,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, January 7, 1885, Lahore.

educational affairs to municipal and local authorities.<sup>80</sup>

One of the particularly grievous offences noted by the critics of Punjab University was the conferral of honorary degrees on the Earl of Dufferin, the Viceroy, and the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, a younger son of Queen Victoria.<sup>81</sup> Reporting on the event in 1886, *The Tribune* interpreted it as an attempt by the university to honor itself rather than the dignitaries. It noted that the university with its unqualified degree recipients “and unlettered Fellows had already become a butt of ridicule throughout India”, but hoped that the passage of time would increase its effectiveness in educating the people of India. The main problem that the newspaper saw with the university was that it was “perverted into encouraging ‘sham’ orientalism” by providing an education in Indian learning without “a thorough knowledge of Western science and history, which was sadly wanting in oriental literature.”<sup>82</sup> The reference to “sham” learning seems to have been a slight directed specifically at Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner. Throughout the decade, he was a constant focus of attention from *The Tribune* specifically. The animosity directed toward the sometime registrar of Punjab University was fierce, constant, and vitriolic.

#### Opposition to Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner

Born into a Jewish family in Pest, Hungary, Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner traveled through Eastern Europe extensively as a child. He also quickly demonstrated an aptitude for the acquisition and mastery of new languages. Those who knew him reported that he

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<sup>80</sup> “The Work of the Education Commission,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, January 27, 1885, Lahore.

<sup>81</sup> “The Convocation of the Punjab University,” *The Tribune*, November 6, 1886, Lahore.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

was nearly fluent in 15 languages by the time he left school.<sup>83</sup> He eventually moved to London for tertiary studies and lectured at King's College in Arabic, Turkish, Modern Greek and "Mohammedan law."<sup>84</sup> At the age of 24, the newly established Lahore Government College chose Leitner as its new principal. He remained a considerable force in the fields of both education and scholarly research for the next 25 years. In addition to founding a number of schools, literary societies, and free public libraries, he also published journals in English, Urdu, and Arabic and started the newspaper that became *The Civil and Military Gazette* in Lahore. His goal in establishing the educational institutions was teach Western science using European methods but in vernacular languages—something for which he received support from both Hindu and Muslim community leaders.<sup>85</sup> It was this strategy that brought such ire from the editors of *The Tribune*. Though he returned to live in England in 1881, he made frequent trips back to Punjab and was involved in the educational endeavors that he founded there through the end of the decade.<sup>86</sup>

In general, Leitner's opponents contended that his educational establishments were superficial and lacked seriousness in terms of pedagogy and practice. These opponents saw these establishments as dilettantish institutions that made little effort to connect their

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<sup>83</sup> W. D. Rubinstein, s.v. "Leitner [formerly Sapier], Gottlieb Wilhelm (1840–1899), educationist and orientalist," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/51109>, accessed 11 November 2015]

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

work to other schools in Lahore or in greater Punjab.<sup>87</sup> Shortly after it began publication in 1881, the staff of *The Tribune* was making the case that educational policy—as implemented by Leitner in Lahore—was detrimental to the communities of Northern India. In an editorial that year, they decried “the utter hollowness of the assertion made by the champions of that college that it is a popular institution.”<sup>88</sup> To make it clear that this opposition was not simply the manifestation of feelings of linguistic superiority by an English language newspaper, the editors noted that across the “country there were only two papers which, instead of denouncing the education policy and the Punjab University College, support it,” and that these were both connected to Leitner in some way.<sup>89</sup> This is also how the problem was framed as it was raised by the editors of *The Tribune* when they noted in 1884 that the university had “no provision for the teaching of the English language, and that instruction in other subjects are given in the vernacular.”<sup>90</sup>

Later in 1884, *The Tribune* was pleased to think that proper provincial authorities would be taking more of an interest in the workings of the Punjab University. The editors were certain that a closer examination would make it clear to all that the constituent Oriental College—which Leitner had led since its foundation—would be exposed as a misguided purveyor of “sham” Orientalism that swallowed up an overly large share of the

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<sup>87</sup> Allender, “Bad Language in the Raj,” 392.

<sup>88</sup> “The Popularity of the Punjab University College,” *The Tribune*, July 30, 1881, Lahore.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> “The Lahore Oriental College,” *The Tribune*, August 2, 1884, Lahore.



province's education budget.<sup>91</sup> The paper's writers proclaimed in this report that they had long declared "that an almost impenetrable darkness prevailed within the walls of the Oriental College and that it required the strength of a Hercules and the patience of a Job to cleanse the den of jobbery of its abuses."<sup>92</sup> They went on to say that

there can be no question that the inefficiency of the teaching staff is notoriously one of the main causes of the poor results complained of. It is high time now that the College should be purged of those excrescences which a lover of Oriental flattery in Dr. Leitner and his followers has hitherto tolerated, and that the institution be placed on a sound and reformed basis, with a staff of efficient men to take charge of the difficult teaching functions.<sup>93</sup>

The *ad hominem* attacks against Leitner continued in the pages of *The Tribune* for months and years after this.<sup>94</sup> In the summer of 1885, the paper reported on the Punjab University after what it considered a long break. This editorial noted that the newspaper's leaders had hoped that further government oversight would result in changes at the university and its constituent colleges and institutes. By this time, however, they had made the decision that such hopes were delusions and that "absolutism had again made its appearance and had now reached such a stage as almost to threaten any successful working of the institution."<sup>95</sup> Having the powers of a full university and not needing to appeal to the Universities in Calcutta, Bombay, or Madras, Leitner's institution was seen as possessing "immense power for good or for evil." It held "the key of progress of twenty

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<sup>91</sup> "The Lahore Oriental College," *The Tribune*, August 2, 1884, Lahore.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> "The Oriental Institute Again," *The Tribune*, October 25, 1884, Lahore.

<sup>95</sup> "The Punjab University," *The Tribune*, August 22, 1885, Lahore.

millions of people in its hands.”<sup>96</sup> If vagaries could not be passed unchallenged in the days of the University College, they certainly cannot be tolerated now. The paper then went on to present a long list of misdeeds by the university generally and by Leitner specifically. These included misappropriation of funds and numerous other “scandals.”<sup>97</sup>

By the end of the decade, the editors of *The Tribune* were convinced that the Punjab University had nearly passed all hope of evolving into something useful for the people of India. Reporting on episodes in 1889 that it considered scandalous, the paper acknowledged that what they saw as a universal acceptance among the educated class of India that “the establishment of a University on the lines proposed by Dr. Leitner would be the ruin of high Western Education in the Punjab.”<sup>98</sup> They also noted, “With the very birth of our paper, we waged a war against Dr. Leitner’s scheme of a University which should communicate all instruction and knowledge through the medium of the vernaculars.”<sup>99</sup> Though it is clear that there existed some personal animosity between the editors of *The Tribune* and Leitner’s staff at the Punjab University, it is important to consider the main issue of contention throughout all of the newspaper’s invective. The education of linguistic and religious communities of Northern India was of paramount importance to all of those writing on the subject in the popular media at the time.

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> “Punjab University Scandals,” *The Tribune*, March 30, 1889, Lahore.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

## **Educational Policy and Its Relation to Linguistic and Religious Communities**

Though the editors of *The Tribune* were adamantly vocal in their opposition to Leitner, their opposition to educating Indian students in the vernacular languages of the country was not unique during this period. In most instances, the editors laid out their arguments against such an education along similar lines. The arguments held that since modern Indian languages did not have classical tradition of literature, they were only suitable for daily interactions and not as a medium of instruction—especially at the university level. These groups considered that the only true literature in Northern India was written in the classical languages of Sanskrit and Persian, which were not used in daily life and considered dead. This led to a belief that English—a living language with long history of literary development—was the only logical choice as a medium of instruction for a proper education.<sup>100</sup> Concerns over religion and education in colonial India directly influenced the concern over the linguistic issues. Because Hindi and Urdu were so closely associated with the Hindu and Muslim communities across Northern India, support for a certain linguistic course of action in education was seen as support for a religious education policy.<sup>101</sup>

### Reactions to Language Policies in Education

When the University of the Punjab officially came into being in 1882, the constituent colleges maintained an Orientalist pedagogy that favored teaching students in the

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<sup>100</sup> “Sir Comer Petheram on Primary Education,” *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, January 21, 1888, Aligarh.

<sup>101</sup> “Report of the Education Commission – III,” *The Tribune*, January 26, 1889, Lahore.

vernacular languages of Northern India. Supporters saw this implicit government support for Orientalist educational policy as a way to be more inclusive and permit students to gain an education without having first mastered English. The supporters of instruction in English cast themselves as progressives trying to provide a better education than the Orientalists such as Leitner did.<sup>102</sup> They asserted that teaching—especially at the university level—in the vernacular languages of India was a capitulation to those who felt that Indians were inferior and could not master English. In an 1881 report on education in Northern India, *The Tribune* noted that it “failed to understand how a wider diffusion of Vernacular education would prove of practical utility to the community generally.”<sup>103</sup> In this instance and throughout the pages of *The Tribune*, the editorial staff used the term “educated” to mean “English-educated.” These writers were very confident that the introduction and use of English in India’s educational system had been nothing but good for the country and they did not believe that education in English would harm the national identity of Indians in any way.<sup>104</sup> The general editorial position maintained by *The Tribune* throughout this period was explained in a report of remarks made by Sir Robert Egerton, the Lieutenant Governor of Punjab in 1881. He contended that the vernacular languages of India “were in such an extremely unadvanced state that it was impossible to impart ... anything like a valuable and

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<sup>102</sup> “Education in the Panjab – II,” *The Tribune*, February 2, 1881, Lahore.

<sup>103</sup> “Education in the United Provinces,” *The Tribune*, February 2, 1881, Lahore.

<sup>104</sup> “Educated Natives and Their English Governors and Fellow Subjects,” *The Tribune*, March 19, 1881, Lahore.

scientific education through their medium.”<sup>105</sup> At about the same time, an editorial from *The Tribune* discussed the impact that an English education had on the loyalty or disloyalty of Indians to the colonial project, the newspaper concluded that Indians owed so much to the English that they would be unlikely to prove disloyal no matter the language in which they were educated.<sup>106</sup>

Of course, aside from philosophical discussions of the value of education in languages other than English, there had long been concerns about the pragmatic issues related to teaching in the vernacular languages of India. In the 1840s, Orientalist members of the community in the North-Western Provinces had recognized that there was a lack of teaching material and school textbooks in these languages.<sup>107</sup> Those who wanted to teach students in the vernacular had a difficult time finding resources and curricula.<sup>108</sup> These problems continued into the 1880s throughout Northern India. In an 1881 report on education in Punjab, *The Tribune* noted that many of the books published in Punjabi over the previous five years were not works of general literature, but were vocational, engineering, or bibliographic works.<sup>109</sup> The used this fact to support its suggestion that ventures to “urge that the improvements of the vernaculars of the country can only be

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<sup>105</sup> “Sir Robert Egerton on the Punjab University College,” *The Tribune*, May 28, 1881, Lahore.

<sup>106</sup> “The Loyalty of Educated Natives,” *The Tribune*, April 16, 1881, Lahore.

<sup>107</sup> “Benares School Book Society – II,” *The Benares Recorder*, February 19, 1847, Benares.

<sup>108</sup> Sudipa Topdar, “Duties of a ‘Good Citizen’: Colonial Secondary School Textbook Policies in Late Nineteenth-Century India,” *South Asian History and Culture* 6, no. 3, 418.

<sup>109</sup> “Education in the Punjab – VIII,” *The Tribune*, April 22, 1881, Lahore.

attained by stimulating the spread of high English education, and thus invigorating the native mind with the thoughts and ideas of the West.”<sup>110</sup> The editorial position that the paper continued to hold was that Indians did not know enough English to benefit from that great language and that not enough great translations were available in the vernaculars to provide a legitimate education without English.<sup>111</sup> Of course, matters of language were closely related to matters of religion in policy discussions on the late nineteenth century. Much of the discourse surrounding the use of language in education across Northern India closely paralleled the religious communities to which Indians belonged in the 1880s.

By 1886, other newspapers of Northern India were also providing commentary on the issue of language and education in the region and they were not always supportive of the Anglicist vision. A report on the end-of-year festivities at the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College from *The Aligarh Institute Gazette* lamented that the Indian language department was closed that year.<sup>112</sup> Only four students had been enrolled in the program, which delivered most instruction in Arabic and taught English as a second language. The newspaper went on to concede that most commentators seemed “to admit that the old Eastern Sciences and Arts were not of much practical value” at the time but also went on to note that Arabic—and other vernacular languages—would continue to be taught at the college.<sup>113</sup> As the officials at the Anglo-Oriental College were making the sad realization

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> “The Annual Prize Distribution Meeting of the M. A.-O. College, Aligarh,” *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, February 16, 1886, Aligarh.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

that this department would close, they were also promoting a new scholarship scheme that would allow “natives of India” from the institution to study at Oxford or Cambridge.<sup>114</sup>

Keeping in mind the professed progressive ideals of the Anglicist educational policy proponents in Northern India, the *Gazette* also addressed concerns of some that an English medium of instruction would promote a sense of entitlement among the people of the country. In an editorial from 1866, the newspaper noted that some were worried that “that those who received high education [in English] expected to get employment under Government” and because the government could not provide employment for all, they would become dissatisfied.<sup>115</sup> The paper argued that, far from “forming a class of people who are opposed to government,” those Indians educated in English were engaged in many different activities in which they earned their livelihood and were more connected to the colonial administration and less likely to develop animosity towards the British.<sup>116</sup>

#### Reactions to Religion Policies in Education

The India of the 1880s was a diverse place. There was a variety of ethnic and linguistic groups with unique ideas about how their needs could best be served. In Northern India, the main divisions were religious in the North-Western Province and Punjab. Many saw education, though, as a way to bridge the divide between the two dominant religious communities. As *The Tribune* put described the situation in 1884

there are in India about 200 millions of Hindus and about 50 millions of

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<sup>114</sup> “English Scholarships for Natives of India,” *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, February 23, 1886, Aligarh.

<sup>115</sup> “The Graduates of Universities and Government Employment,” *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, May 4, 1886, Aligarh.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

Mahomedans, ... Religious prejudices are the great stumbling block in the way of brotherly feeling between the two mighty sections of the people; but liberal thought and liberal training have been at work, and we have already seen many apostles among the Hindus who have made it the mission of their life to teach the development of that feeling.<sup>117</sup>

Whether it was to address the fears of one community that they were being discriminated against, to encourage a community to raise itself up through schooling, or advocating cooperation between communities, education and religious communal interests were often featured in the newspapers of this period.

Running through many issues of North Indian newspapers during this period was a concern raised by groups that a religious community faced discrimination in the domain of education. For example, many within the Muslim community of Punjab were complaining that the distribution of patronage positions in government was unfair. Sir Charles Turner, a member of the Council of India and previously a judge in Madras noted in *The Tribune* in 1884 that many felt “the Government did not show due consideration for their claims or give them their fair share of the administration.”<sup>118</sup> Many leaders in the Muslim community understood that much of this perceived shortfall in patronage had to do with the language skills of Muslims, but some were concerned that religious discrimination was a factor. Some of these commentators were concerned that even if administration equalized the educational situation and if Muslims had the same educational opportunities as Hindus in the 1880s, it would take at least a quarter of a century for Muslim youth to reach the levels

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<sup>117</sup> “Hindus and Mahomedans,” *The Tribune*, February 9, 1884, Lahore.

<sup>118</sup> “Sir Charles Turner on Mahomedan Education,” *The Tribune*, May 17, 1884, Lahore.



of other Indians in terms of employment and culture.<sup>119</sup>

The concerns that Indians had with regard to religious discrimination were often followed by a call to action imploring students to pull themselves and their communities up by their bootstraps. This was especially evident in the pages of the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*. In 1886, Theodore Beck, the principal of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, wrote of the Muslim community in Northern India. He lamented the terrible decline in the state of Muslim society and culture from the time of the Mughals. He implied that this decline was the result of laziness among individuals in the Muslim community, but also of preferential treatment for the Parsi community in Bombay and the Hindu community in Bengal.<sup>120</sup> In considering why Hindu Bengalis had been able to occupy such high and powerful offices relative to the Muslims, he specifically pointed to education, asking “if we ask why the Mahomedans have sunk so low, why there are so few in Government employment, how they grow poorer every day, is it not because they have neglected education?”<sup>121</sup> His prescription was “therefore, for Mahomedans ... to form their own schools”<sup>122</sup>

Many commentators saw education as an integral part of any program to raise a religious community out of poverty. A report from the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* in 1888 noted that the percentage of Muslims in the school population in India roughly equal to the

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<sup>119</sup> “Mahomedan Education,” *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, July 24, 1888, Aligarh.

<sup>120</sup> “M. A.-O. College, Aligargh,” *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, March 2, 1886, Aligarh.

<sup>121</sup> “Among the Patna Mahomedans,” *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, January 2, 1886, Aligarh.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

percentage of Muslims in the country as a whole.<sup>123</sup> Rather than embrace this as a sign that the condition of Muslim schooling was improving, some were concerned that this statistic gave an overly optimistic impression of Muslim education. The author believed lower caste Hindus should not have been included in the calculations because these groups had absolutely no chance of participating in the formal education system.<sup>124</sup> If these had been removed from the figures, then Hindus would have been vastly over-represented in educational institutions because they would have been a smaller proportion of the population. In noting that nearly 20 times as many of the Hindu students in Northern India were pursuing higher education compared to Muslim students, the author reiterated Beck's call for more Muslim schools.<sup>125</sup>

Beck and those of a similar mind were not simply advocating schools for Muslim students, but Muslim schools. *Aligarh Institute Gazette* suggested in 1886 that in these institutions, school leaders should make provisions for teaching students from the Qur'an and mosques be constructed to allow students places to pray.<sup>126</sup> Two years later, the *Gazette* noted that this focus on the religious aspects of community life was seen as one of the primary ways to build up the Muslim community in Northern India.<sup>127</sup> It had also been

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<sup>123</sup> "Mahomedan Education in British India," *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, July 21, 1888, Aligarh.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> "The M. A.-O. College Boardinghouse and the Prayer Association," *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, February 23, 1886, Aligarh.

<sup>127</sup> "The M. A. O. College – Its Difficulties and its Prospects," *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, May 15, 1888, Aligarh.

advocated by *The Civil and Military Gazette* as a way to improve the position of non-Muslim groups in the region. Some saw the Muslim worldview as an antidote to the backward social practices of the Hindu majority—specifically with regard to women and those of lower castes.<sup>128</sup>

Perhaps it was a result of this advocacy of such schools focused on religious instruction and the opposition to Hindu social mores, but *The Tribune* noted some in the majority community who worried about the subversive effects of education a large Muslim minority.<sup>129</sup> A report from 1886 expressed concern that the polytheistic Hindu community was at a disadvantage in dealing with British colonial education administration dominated by Christians. The monotheistic Muslim community was thought to have the advantage in this regard.<sup>130</sup>

A converse historical argument was made by the Muslim community for why they had not done better under the British. A lengthy editorial treatise appeared in the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* in 1888 describing how Hindus had a long history of being subjugated by different races of people—notably the Muslim Mughal Empire. The Muslim community was seen as having a long history of freedom and was not thought to be able to cope with subjugation at the hands of the British as the Hindus had.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> “Mr. Hunter on Domestic Reforms,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, January 24, 1885, Lahore.

<sup>129</sup> “Hindus and Mahomedans,” *The Tribune*, February 9, 1884, Lahore.

<sup>130</sup> “An Educational Compromise,” *The Tribune*, April 24, 1886, Lahore.

<sup>131</sup> “The Indian Mussulmans and the Government of India,” *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, April 24, 1888, Aligarh.

Whatever the reason for the perceived ability or inability of Muslims to cope with the colonial administration more effectively, the Hindu community was also interested in using education as a means of gaining and retaining a position of prestige. As mentioned earlier, many praised the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College on its founding in Lahore in 1886. However, *The Tribune* expressed worries within both the Hindu and Muslim communities that this would be a sectarian institution.<sup>132</sup> These were reasonable reservations since the institution was set up specifically to teach Sanskrit literature and the Vedas. This description of the Anglo-Vedic College, though, ends with a call for cooperation between the communities of Northern India.<sup>133</sup> During the 1880s, this seems to have been the most common topic of discussion in the press of the region.

In spite of many concerns from both Hindus and Muslims about sectarian education raised in the press of Northern India, much was made during this period of presenting a united front of Hindu and Muslim Indians in matters of education. *The Tribune* filled its pages with advocacy for this sort of unity. In an 1881 report, *The Tribune* noted that someone corresponding with them “had insinuated that [the newspaper] was inimically disposed towards its Mahomedan countrymen, but the editors assured readers that “nothing could be more untrue than this insinuation.”<sup>134</sup> The author was clear that the editorial staff of the paper had few convictions stronger than any others did concerning the strengthening of the country. If India was to recover any greatness that it had had, “it *must*

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<sup>132</sup> “Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College,” *The Tribune*, December 4, 1886, Lahore.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>134</sup> “Hindoos and Mussulmans,” *The Tribune*, November 12, 1881, Lahore.

be through a *complete union* between her Hindoo and Mahomedan” communities.<sup>135</sup> This rhetoric continued on the pages of the paper when, three years later, an editorial expressed “desirability of establishing more friendly relations between the Hindus and Mahomedans”.<sup>136</sup> Indeed, the editors saw the division of educational institutions for the Hindu and Muslim communities as part of a larger plot to divide and conquer the Indian people. They wrote that many in the Muslim community could not see through these motives, saying in 1886 that

“divide and rule” is the policy to which the bureaucracy has committed itself. It is so jealous of its rights and privileges that it naturally leaves no stone unturned to create dissensions and ill-feelings among the various races and classes of India. There can be no doubt that this is the best course which the bureaucracy can adopt for preserving its rights and privileges intact. ... The Mahomedans may rest assured that the moment they attach the rights and privileges of the bureaucracy, and demand the fulfilment of the solemn pledges made to them ... in the matter of their education, the attitude of Anglo-Indian officialdom towards them will undergo a thorough change.<sup>137</sup>

This article ended with an exhortation for both Hindus and Muslims to band “together, and demand a just and fair recognition of the claims of the people of India as a body.”<sup>138</sup>

An editorial in *The Tribune* from 1887 noted that in places like Bengal to the East—where the Muslim and Hindu communities had united in education and other social concerns—the British had provided more resources to both.<sup>139</sup> Thus, many saw

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<sup>135</sup> Ibid. Emphasis in original.

<sup>136</sup> “Hindus and Mahomedans,” *The Tribune*, February 9, 1884, Lahore.

<sup>137</sup> “Hindus and Mahomedans,” *The Tribune*, June 19, 1886, Lahore.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> The Disagreement Between Hindus and Muhamedans: Why Greater in British than in Native India?” *The Tribune*, June 25, 1887, Lahore.

intercommunal cooperation in the realm of education as beneficial to all of the native people of India. Similarly, the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* made calls to bridge the divide between the Shia and Sunni portions of the Muslim community in the North-Western Province.<sup>140</sup> Later in the same 1886 edition, the *Gazette* called for greater unity between all “natives of India”—including “all Hindus, Mahomedans, Native Christians, Eurasians, and Europeans whose parents were domiciled in India.”<sup>141</sup> Education was certainly a key part of these calls for greater unity. The *Civil and Military Gazette* recommended that that “an attempt be made to prepare a moral text-book, based upon the fundamental principles of natural religion, such as may be taught in all Government and non-Government colleges.”<sup>142</sup> It also called on all institutions to lecture students on the duties of men and citizens. These were a “religious and moral element without which any scheme of advanced education would be necessarily so defective.”<sup>143</sup>

### **Summary of Reactions to Educational Policies**

Educational policy had become a matter of intense concern for the colonial administration by the time of the Hunter Commission in 1882. This chapter has shown the reactions of the communities surrounding two important institutions of higher education and provided insights into how members of two related religious and ethnic communities

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<sup>140</sup> “The M. A.-O. College Boardinghouse and the Prayer Association,” *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, February 23, 1886, Aligarh.

<sup>141</sup> “English Scholarships for Natives of India,” *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, February 23, 1886, Aligarh.

<sup>142</sup> “The Work of the Education Commission,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, January 27, 1885, Lahore.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*

viewed their own roles in the development and enactment of educational policies. In the era of genteel newspaper printing in India from the 1870s, the social and cultural elite of Northern India shared their opinions on colonial education policy in the region.

The political discourse seen in the pages of the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* and *The Tribune* mirrors the discussions surrounding the foundations of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College and Punjab University. In a number of instances, the educational leaders of these institutions showed general support for policies implemented in the region. Others expressed their opposition to colonial educational policy—with special attention given to higher education policy, Punjab University, and Gottlieb Leitner. In all of these cases, the discussions mirrored the divisions in religious and linguistic communities in the region.

As described above, support for educational policy decisions in colonial India at this time was generally not very spirited. In many instances, the reactions more closely resembled indifference. Commentators gave their support in light of the fact that they believed if India were to be a great nation again, it would need a cadre of individuals educated with a view to becoming patriots as well as individuals given the skills to be practical men. These educated patriots could save the people of India from “ever increasing penury and wretchedness” at the hands of the British.<sup>144</sup> The newspaper reports and editorial opinions noted that educational opportunity gave students great opportunities to raise up their community.<sup>145</sup> Both *The Tribune* and the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* were generally supportive of elementary and secondary education institutions founded during

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<sup>144</sup> “The Necessity of Technical Education,” *The Tribune*, March 8, 1884, Lahore.

<sup>145</sup> “M. A.-O. College, Aligarh,” *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, March 2, 1886, Aligarh.

this time in the region—especially those that held pupils to high standards in their studies. These could be high standards in terms of content, but often implied an English education since so much more curricular material was available in English. As *The Tribune* editorialized in 1886, education had “been the greatest blessing of the British Government in India, and the people fully appreciate it.”<sup>146</sup> There was broad appreciation of the work that the British were doing to improve education in Northern India—though some worried that the Anglicists were intent on destroying Indian language and culture and that the Orientalists were setting Indians up for subservient status in the colonial regime. These concerns led to some of the opposition to educational policy in colonial India.

Much of the commentary written in the press of Northern India expressed unease about the ways that the crown had implemented educational policy. Many people were unhappy with education for Indians and stated that the existing policies did not serve the population well. Though community leaders understood education as a vitally important aspect of communal and national development in these media outlets, they worried that it was not being used effectively by all groups in the subcontinent. This specifically manifested itself in a concern for the state of higher education in Northern India to the

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<sup>146</sup> “Transfer of Punjab District Schools to Municipalities,” *The Tribune*, March 13, 1886, Lahore.



point where *The Tribune* colonial higher education policy an “eye-sore” in 1881.<sup>147</sup> There were a number of reasons for this distrustful attitude towards higher education in Northern India. Some described the lack of employment opportunities for graduates, while some were critical of the unpractical nature of a classical higher education. Whatever the reason, the media made clear that they knew how best to approach the issue of education in the North-Western Province and Punjab.

There was also a strong opposition to Punjab University and Gottlieb Leitner. The editors of *The Tribune* were confident that their view represented the position of the vast majority of people in the province.<sup>148</sup> As Punjab University College began to gain more prominence and resemble a traditional university, opposition to it became even fiercer. If any notable commentator was willing to come out in support of the university, *The Tribune* was quick to respond with an editorial rebuttal describing the shortcomings of the institution.<sup>149</sup> Even new statutes published in 1884 did little to ease worries over Punjab University.

The issue of educational policy and its relation to linguistic and religious communities, however, was much more complicated than Leitner’s opponents admitted it was. They stated that the only true literature in Northern India was written in the classical languages of Sanskrit and Persian, which were not used in daily life and considered dead. Thus, English was often presented as the only logical choice for the medium of instruction

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<sup>147</sup> “High Education in India,” *The Tribune*, May 14, 1881, Lahore.

<sup>148</sup> “Education in the Panjab – II,” *The Tribune*, February 2, 1881, Lahore.

<sup>149</sup> “The *Indian Mirror* and the Punjab University Question,” *The Tribune*, October 8, 1881, Lahore.

in a proper education.<sup>150</sup> Concerns over religion and education in colonial India directly influenced the concern over the linguistic issues, though. Because Hindi and Urdu were so closely associated with the Hindu and Muslim communities across Northern India, support for a certain linguistic course of action in education was seen as support for a religious education policy.<sup>151</sup>

The importance of religion and education was clear to the editorial decision-makers at these newspapers. Though in many cases they conveyed broad approval for educational policy as it had been implemented in Northern India by the 1880s, the opinions expressed in these pages seems to have been in general agreement that there were some serious shortfalls. Specifically, there were problems with the implementation of higher education policy. These problems were seen to manifest principally in the linguistic and religious domains of educational policy. In the end, many in Northern India maintained that the best course of action—for the country as a whole and for its non-British inhabitants—was to unite and work towards the greater good of India regardless of differences in race, religion, or language. In short, any attempts to divide the people of the subcontinent to create colonial subjects was made difficult by the unity of the people.

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<sup>150</sup> “Sir Comer Petheram on Primary Education,” *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, January 21, 1888, Aligarh.

<sup>151</sup> “Report of the Education Commission – III,” *The Tribune*, January 26, 1889, Lahore.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND COLONIAL SUBJECTS

Throughout the nineteenth century, the educational policies of the British colonial administration seem to have pursued a plan of action that sought to divide and rule the Indian people. The British did not simply wait passively as diverse Indian communities fought each other. Instead, they put in place educational policies intended to divide—through the finance of education, by sowing seeds of distrust, and by attempting to limit interactions.<sup>1</sup> Some policies attempted to divide the people along class or caste lines and some attempted to divide along linguistic or communal lines.<sup>2</sup>

The Indian popular press noticed these policies. It was clear to some editorial boards that during this period, the government provided funding for some groups at the expense of others.<sup>3</sup> Some saw education policy as an attempt to divide the communities of Northern India into parallel tracks along religious and linguistic lines.<sup>4</sup> As part of this policy package, however, the Anglicist members of the educational administration attempted to

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<sup>1</sup> Eric A. Posner, Kathryn E. Spier, and Adrian Vermeule, "Divide and Conquer," *Journal of Legal Analysis* 2, no. 2 (2010), 419.

<sup>2</sup> Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1989), 92-94.

<sup>3</sup> "The Work of the Education Commission," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, January 27, 1885, Lahore.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

suppress Indian culture by introducing English education more widely. The Hindu and Muslim religious and linguistic communities across Northern India seem to have seen these systems taking form during the period from 1880 to 1890. The leaders of these communities were able to discuss these observations in the media during this decade. Among their more prescient remarks were those noting that the British had given the Indian community access to a great unifying force that would bring a disparate and diverse nation together with one identity. In attempting to construct religious difference through its educational policies, the British administration had unified the subcontinent.

### **A Policy of Divide and Conquer**

The editors of *The Tribune* may have overstated the matter when they asserted that “divide and rule’ was the policy to which the bureaucracy had committed itself” in 1886.<sup>5</sup> Whether or not English education was being used to “impose an alien culture on native society” in late-nineteenth century India, it is important to consider how the British colonial administrators could have thought that such a policy would have worked. According to Posner, Spier, and Vermeule, the phrase “divide and rule” has a long history in the social sciences. In spite of this usage, their contention is “no single theoretical construct can capture the ideas underlying divide and conquer. Instead, the maxim is a placeholder for a complex of ideas related by a family resemblance, but differing in their details, mechanisms, and implications.”<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> “Hindus and Mahomedans,” *The Tribune*, June 19, 1886, Lahore.

<sup>6</sup> Posner, Spier, and Vermeule, “Divide and Conquer,” 417-418.

In conceptualizing policies focused on dividing and ruling, Posner, Spier, and Vermeule proposed that the construct must necessarily consist first of "a unitary actor bargaining with or competing against a set of multiple actors." Second, they propose that the unitary actor must "follow an intentional strategy of exploiting problems of coordination or collective action among the multiple actors."<sup>7</sup> One model for this is provided by the ancient historian Gaius Sallustius Crispus who notes that in the Ancient Roman Republic, "the nobles had the more powerful organization, while the strength of the commons was less effective because it was incompact and divided among many."<sup>8</sup> The situation in colonial India certainly meets these basic conditions as well. The colonial administration—both in the form of the East India Company before 1858 and in the British Crown after—represented a unitary actor looking to extract economic wealth from India. In a region as diverse as the Indian subcontinent, there were any number of divisions among the people.<sup>9</sup>

Posner, Spier, and Vermeule go on to assert that there is no "divide and conquer" strategy if the unitary actor simply waits passively for existing tensions and conflicts to separate the multiple actors.<sup>10</sup> Thus in the case of educational policy in colonial India, it is important to demonstrate that the British actively attempted to divide their colonial

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 419.

<sup>8</sup> Sallust, *The War with Jugurtha*, trans. J. C. Rolfe (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921), 225.

<sup>9</sup> Vasha Chitnis and Danaya Wright, "The Legacy of Colonialism: Law and Women's Rights in India," *Washington and Lee Law Review* 64, no. 4 (2007), 1316.

<sup>10</sup> Posner, Spier, and Vermeule, "Divide and Conquer," 419.

subjects in order to benefit. This is a difficult task and Posner, Spier, and Vermeule note that many cases “writers frequently attribute a divide and conquer strategy to the beneficiary just because there is a beneficiary.”<sup>11</sup> In their analysis, they provide a number of mechanisms and strategies for dividing multiple actors. It is helpful in this instance to look at these strategies in relation to educational policy in colonial India to see if the British simply benefit from pre-existing disunity, or actively supported the division of the Indian people along religious and linguistic lines.

#### Dividing Through the Finance of Education

Two interrelated methods of preventing multiple actors from cooperating are the payment of bribes and the imposition of penalties.<sup>12</sup> In the case of Indian educational policy during the nineteenth century, there are a number of instances where actions taken by the colonial administration fit this model. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, educational administrators made funding decisions that benefited certain groups more than others. The East India Company Act 1813 is one example of the power of the purse used to benefit one group—in this case “the learned natives of India.”<sup>13</sup> This funding was obviously not specifically designed to divide the people along religious or linguistic lines. However, it would help to divide along lines of class or caste. Giving extra resources to those studying the classical languages of India would provide support to the upper classes of Indian society. Rather than giving instruction in the vernacular languages of Hindustani

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 420.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 427.

<sup>13</sup> “The East India Company’s Act of 1813,” in *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education: 1797 to 1902*, ed. M. R. Paranjpe (London, GBR: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1938), 8.

or Bengali, this funding provided instruction in Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit—languages that were the domain of the elite and wealthy Indian subjects of the British.<sup>14</sup>

Similarly, when Thomas Macauley published his *Minute of Indian Education* in 1835, a number of places were funded through scholarships and bursaries in classical Indian schools and *madrassas*. The resolution that William Bentinck eventually approved based on Macauley's recommendations abolished these government-funded places.<sup>15</sup> The government had, in essence imposed penalties on those who wished to study the classical languages of the country rather than English. Such policies—both of bribing and of penalizing Indian colonial subjects—continued throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>16</sup>

Such policies certainly did not go unnoticed by the population at large during the period from 1880 to 1890. The editors of *The Civil and Military Gazette* mentioned proposed changes in funding that promised great expenditure for “special classes” of people including the Muslim minority of Lahore.<sup>17</sup> In the same way, the editors of *The Tribune* believed that distribution of funds to institutions providing education in the vernacular languages of India were, in fact, an attempt to keep the country in destitute poverty. Rather than providing funding for academic work in Hindi and Urdu that they deemed useless, the editorial board suggested that imparting vocational and technical

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<sup>14</sup> Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest*, 92-94.

<sup>15</sup> William Bentinck, “Lord Bentinck’s Resolution, 7th March 1835,” in *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education: 1797 to 1902*, ed. M. R. Paranjpe (London, GBR: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1938), 35.

<sup>16</sup> Posner, Spier, and Vermeule, “Divide and Conquer,” 430.

<sup>17</sup> “The Work of the Education Commission,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, January 27, 1885, Lahore.

knowledge on Indians had “become a matter not only of duty but of necessity, and every patriotic endeavour should be directed towards effecting it.”<sup>18</sup> Such a view was echoed on the pages of the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* later that year.<sup>19</sup> The editors also raised the same concerns when they lamented that the Zoroastrian Parsi and Hindu Bengali communities of Northern India had been the recipients of largesse from the British government at the expense of the Muslim community.<sup>20</sup> They made clear that “the great task that has hitherto lain before the reformers of the Indian Mahomedans has been to teach the community that their only means of progress is by education,” and that the community had failed in that regard partly because they had not received the same level of funding as the other groups.<sup>21</sup>

#### Dividing by Sowing Seeds of Distrust

Another method for dividing the actors in a divide and rule scenario is the sowing of seeds of distrust. Posner, Spier, and Vermeule note that the “unitary actor may succeed in preventing the players from cooperating with each other by convincing one ... player that the other player is untrustworthy and prone to uncooperative behavior.”<sup>22</sup> There is evidence of this strategy in the educational policies adopted by the British colonial administration throughout the nineteenth century. For example, the recommendations

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<sup>18</sup> “The Importance of Technical Education,” *The Tribune*, February 13, 1886, Lahore.

<sup>19</sup> “The Would-Be University of Allahabad,” *The Aligarh Institute Gazette*, April 17, 1886, Aligarh.

<sup>20</sup> “The Future of Our Students,” *The Aligarh Institute Gazette*, March 16, 1886, Aligarh.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Posner, Spier, and Vermeule, “Divide and Conquer,” 431.



made by the Hunter Commission specifically called for special educational rules to be applied to different subsets of people in India—including the sons of native chiefs and noblemen, Muslims, members of aboriginal tribes, and students from low castes.<sup>23</sup> Prior to this, the administration policy implemented in 1854 called for competitive grants-in-aid for schools that were successful. In order to reduce the strain on the government’s educational budget, many understood that it would be impossible for it to provide an education for all the people of the subcontinent. The implication was that a zero sum game would result in fewer resources for one group if a different group was successful.<sup>24</sup> In cases such as this, “the divide and conquer tactic operates not by altering the players’ incentives, but by affecting their beliefs” about what will happen.<sup>25</sup>

The media sources of Northern India during the 1880s noted a number of instances in which such distrust was evident between linguistic and religious communities concerning educational policy. To *The Tribune*, it was clear that the costs of facilitating two schools with different languages of instruction would be too great for many districts and residents of districts with majority Muslim populations would need to apply pressure to be certain that those districts preserved Muslim schools teaching in Urdu and Arabic.<sup>26</sup> They

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<sup>23</sup> William W. Hunter, “Education Commission of 1882,” in *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education: 1797 to 1902*, ed. M. R. Paranjpe (London, GBR: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1938), 192-198.

<sup>24</sup> Board of Control of the East India Company, “Educational Despatch of 1854,” in *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education: 1797 to 1902*, ed. M. R. Paranjpe (London, GBR: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1938), 93.

<sup>25</sup> Posner, Spier, and Vermeule, “Divide and Conquer,” 432.

<sup>26</sup> “Report of the Education Commission – III,” *The Tribune*, January 26, 1884, Lahore.

later questioned policies that limited the number of government employment positions that were available. There was concern that the Muslim and Hindu communities in Northern India were in direct competition with each other for the limited number of jobs related to the administration of government and that this competition was directly related to educational funding for the two communities.<sup>27</sup>

Similarly, *The Civil and Military Gazette* was concerned that the educational policies implemented in Punjab in the 1880s were intended to sow discord among the communities of the province. Also speaking of the Hunter Commission of 1882, the *Gazette* was alarmed that the Commission considered including a clause in the final report stating, "Parents can take their children out of schools if the only school in a village has a religious focus that goes against their own."<sup>28</sup> They saw this as an attempt to divide the communities of Punjab along linguistic and religious lines. In *The Tribune's* general antipathy towards Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner and his educational pursuits in Punjab, the editors also saw an effort to separate higher education into parallel tracks with different purposes. Comparing Leitner's Punjab University College to the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College in Aligarh, they noted that the former had been a failure in terms of either promoting the diffusion of European Science in India or sparking a renaissance in studying classical Indian languages.<sup>29</sup> By 1885, they noted that the leaders of the college in Lahore were "no longer the *soi disant* educators of the people but duly accredited agents of Government entrusted

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<sup>27</sup> "The Prospects of Educated Indians," *The Tribune*, April 10, 1886, Lahore.

<sup>28</sup> "The Work of the Education Commission," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, January 27, 1885, Lahore.

<sup>29</sup> "Education in the Punjab - XIII," *The Tribune*, June 18, 1881, Lahore.

with the advancement of their best interests.”<sup>30</sup> The editors were concerned that the university in Lahore would use its government-subsidized, substandard curriculum to compete with the private institutions that they saw as more rigorous. This would, in turn, divide the population along a number of lines.<sup>31</sup>

#### Dividing by Limiting Communication and Interaction

Finally, Posner, Spier, and Vermeule suggest that unitary actors can attempt to divide and rule multiple actors by limited their frequency and duration of interaction<sup>32</sup> and by destroying communication channels.<sup>33</sup> Whether or not it was successful, the former was certainly a goal of the colonial administration during the nineteenth century. Many saw education as one tool for keeping the multiple actors of India separated from each other. The destruction of communication channels is one area, however, where the British did not attempt to divide the people of India. Though some in the colonial administration advocated the use of vernacular languages that would have made coordination and cooperation less effective, they did not present their main argument for the policy in this light.

Colonial educational policy throughout the nineteenth century attempted to limit the frequency and duration of interactions for native Indians in a number of ways. Thomas Macauley’s *Minute on Indian Education* explicitly sought to divide students in the Indian

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<sup>30</sup> “The Punjab University,” *The Tribune*, August 22, 1885, Lahore.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Posner, Spier, and Vermeule, “Divide and Conquer,” 432-433.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 426.

population based on class and caste.<sup>34</sup> These policies continued up until the Hunter Commission of 1882 when it recommended separate educational institutions for various classes of people. As mentioned previously, these included the sons of native chiefs, the sons of noblemen, Muslims, members of aboriginal tribes and students from low castes.<sup>35</sup>

The local leaders of India's native communities were certainly concerned about what they perceived as a division from a limit to the frequency and duration of interaction. This was generally seen as taking the form of religious and linguistic separation, as when the editors of *The Tribune* noted that

as English education advances the animosity between the [Hindus and Muslims] increases. That it is worse in Delhi, which has been English territory for a longer time than in Lucknow. That it is worse among those who have learnt English in the colleges than among the old fashioned Taluqdars and the villagers. That in Bundekhand, where society is very old-fashioned, the Rajas are quite Islamized in their customs and thoughts; while in Calcutta, where English influence has been longest, the anti-Muhamadan feeling reaches its greatest height, and the object of the Hindu community seems to be to root out Islamic influences that have been instilled into it for centuries and to fix the idea of their society as what they suppose it to have been in prehistoric times.<sup>36</sup>

By encouraging animosity between these groups through their educational policies, many believed that the British were trying to keep them from uniting and exercising their full

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<sup>34</sup> Thomas B. Macauley, "The Hon'ble T. B. Macauley's Minute, 2nd February 1835," in *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education: 1797 to 1902*, ed. M. R. Paranjpe (London, GBR: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1938), 28.

<sup>35</sup> Hunter, "Education Commission of 1882," 192-198.

<sup>36</sup> "The Disagreement Between Hindus and Muhamedans: Why Greater in British than in Native India?" *The Tribune*, June 25, 1887, Lahore.

political power and potential. In their estimation, “English education ... produced ... ill feelings between the two races in this way.”<sup>37</sup>

The editors of *The Tribune* were not alone in suspecting that the British colonial administration was attempting to separate and control the people of Northern India. In the same way, the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* was concerned that the colonizers were using a lack of access to education to keep Muslim youth unemployed and unlikely to interact with the Hindu majority.<sup>38</sup> They also believed that circumventing the educational policies of the British administration was the only way to achieve political and cultural success after the founding of the Indian National Congress—which they saw as a power grab by the Hindu majority.<sup>39</sup>

As Posner, Spier, and Vermeule note, one of the most effective ways that a unitary actor such as the British government can prevent cooperation among multiple actors is by sabotaging communication channels.<sup>40</sup> India is a country with a great diversity in languages and communication among the various communities would have been a key to presenting a unified political voice to the British administration. Educational policy had a direct impact on the ability of Indian communities to communicate with each other. As described in Chapter 3, a number of colonial leaders throughout the nineteenth century advocated education in the vernacular languages of the subcontinent. Though that would have made

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> “Employment of Mahomedans,” *The Aligarh Institute Gazette*, October 19, 1886, Aligarh.

<sup>39</sup> “The Mahomed Educational Congress,” *The Aligarh Institute Gazette*, February 4, 1888, Aligarh and Judith E. Walsh, *A Brief History of India* (New York, NY: Infobase Publishing, 2006), 154.

<sup>40</sup> Posner, Spier, and Vermeule, “Divide and Conquer,” 426.

coordination and cooperation less effective, they did not present the argument in favor of vernacular education in this way.

The main arguments in favor of limiting English instruction during the nineteenth century were primarily practical concerns.<sup>41</sup> The Orientalists in the colonial administration—beginning at the time of Macauley’s *Minute* in 1835—first believed that an English education could only really be useful to a very few Indian residents of the presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras.<sup>42</sup> Outside of these and a few other towns that were growing in importance as centers of trade, the Orientalists felt that there was little practical value in learning English. The daily interactions of Indians would continue to take place in the vernacular languages of their region or community. The Orientalists thought it best to provide instruction in these languages to avoid wasting the money of the colonial administration and the time of Indian students.<sup>43</sup>

Another argument made in favor of retaining vernacular instruction throughout India was the seeming incompatibility of English with the dominant languages of the subcontinent.<sup>44</sup> This, too, was a concern about the practical use of English. Many understood that the native people of India would want to continue studying their own literature and culture, but many Orientalists believed that “English was utterly discordant

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<sup>41</sup> See C. A. Bayley, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870* (New Delhi, IND: Oxford University Press, 1997), 257-267 for more on the way that Orientalist views changed over time.

<sup>42</sup> Surendra Prasad Sinha, *English in India: A Historical Study with Particular Reference to English Education in India* (Patna, IND: Janaki Prakashan, 1978), 57.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 57-58.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

with any Indian language and could not convey the secret charms of ... oriental literature.”<sup>45</sup> James Mill, the father of John Stuart Mill, felt that “under these circumstances, the very general diffusion of the English language among the natives of India I think, is to be despaired of.”<sup>46</sup>

The other main concern of many Orientalists during the nineteenth century was that the introduction of English language instruction in any large scale would only succeed in dividing the Indian people along lines of class. Because English had little practical use for those outside of the major cities of India and because it was seen as poorly suited to transmitting the cultural heritage of the majority of the Indian people, “English would be the language of a few persons having leisure and opportunity and would not percolate to the masses.”<sup>47</sup> The concern, then, was that it would become the language of an upper class “that was nourished on the provisions of a permanent settlement, or of a middle class that depended for sustenance on government jobs. To the teeming millions of the poor class English would ever remain an alien tongue.”<sup>48</sup>

In advocating education in the vernacular languages of the subcontinent, the Orientalists were attempting to avoid disunity along class lines. They did not want to increase the power of forces dividing the people of India into haves and have-nots. At the same time they were—perhaps inadvertently—attempting to divide the people by

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 59.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 58.

obstructing their means of communication in a unified language. English could have been the *lingua franca* that united the country linguistically, but was eschewed in order to promote the Orientalist view of unity.

In their own view, the Anglicists advocated the adoption of English language instruction throughout India for noble reasons.<sup>49</sup> They felt that the best way to rescue the Indian people was to provide them with the tools of European science and mathematics and the only way to do this was through the medium of European languages. They did not feel that Indian vernacular languages could adequately express the ideas and principles that had been used to make Europe—and the United Kingdom—the world’s super power.<sup>50</sup> When writing about the need for English medium instruction in Northern India, *The Tribune* alleged that attempting to teach “proper” science and mathematics in Indian vernacular languages would leave students in “an almost impenetrable darkness.”<sup>51</sup>

In addition to this concern for how to teach practical sciences and mathematics, there were some among the Anglicists who wanted to implement English language instruction in order to “reach the great mass of the population” with British ideals and values.<sup>52</sup> These men believed that English was uniquely suited to bring culture to the

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<sup>49</sup> Harald Fischer-Tiné, “The Only Hope for Fallen India’: The Gurukul Kangri as an Experiment in National Education (1902-1922),” In *Explorations in the History of South Asia: Essays in Honour of Dietmar Rothermund*, ed. George Berkemer, Tilman Frasch, Hermann Kulke, and Jürgen Lütt, 277-299 (New Delhi, IND: Manohar Books, 2001), 280.

<sup>50</sup> Sinha, *English in India*, 60.

<sup>51</sup> “The Lahore Oriental College,” *The Tribune*, August 2, 1884, Lahore.

<sup>52</sup> Tim Allender, “Bad Language of the Raj: The ‘Frightful Encumbrance’ of Gottlieb Leitner, 1865-1888,” *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* 43, no. 3 (2007), 386.



world—it had a long and storied literature *and* was still the language of the streets. The classical languages of Sanskrit and Persian had extensive literary traditions, but were not spoken in the quotidian life of Delhi and Lahore in the late-nineteenth century. Similarly, Hindustani and Bengali were spoken across Northern India at the time but—at least according to the Anglicists—did not have extensive literary traditions that were ripe for study.<sup>53</sup> One of the main problems that the editors of *The Tribune* had with Gottlieb Leitner’s educational institutions in Lahore was that they did not recognize this understanding. They repeatedly admonished Leitner’s “sham Orientalism” for focusing on vernacular teaching and not giving enough attention to classical literature—either Indian or European.<sup>54</sup>

Of course, some of those who favored teaching in English did so not because they wanted to see European learning thrive in India, but because they wanted to see English supplant Indian literature and learning. The Anglicists advocated giving “a subordinate place in the curriculum for the study of the [Indian] classical languages of Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit.”<sup>55</sup> By making English a necessary skill to gain access to employment in the higher levels of the Indian administration, an English education became something to which all Indians strove. Some Anglicists hoped that this would push an interest in Indian languages out of the consciousness of many young scholars.<sup>56</sup> While Gottlieb Leitner

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<sup>53</sup> Sinha, *English in India*, 76.

<sup>54</sup> “The Lahore Oriental College,” *The Tribune*, August 2, 1884, Lahore.

<sup>55</sup> Allender, “Bad Language of the Raj,” 385.

<sup>56</sup> Sinha, *English in India*, 73.

attempted to “add the superstructure of English thought, English inventions, English science and art, and English civilization” onto the base of Sanskrit and Persian instruction,<sup>57</sup> the Anglicists were trying to supplant this classical Indian knowledge with English learning. By the time that the Hunter Commission released its report in 1882, it was widely accepted that an English education was superior to an education in one of the languages of India. Many understood that teaching students any of these languages was separate from “instruction leading up to the university.”<sup>58</sup>

### **Colonial Successes and Failures**

As the British Army was racing to reoccupy the Burmese capital of Rangoon in the spring of 1945, Anglo-Indian officer John Masters remarked that the Indian subcontinent comprised “twenty races, a dozen religions, [and] a score of languages.”<sup>59</sup> He went on to say that when his “great-great-grandfather first went to India there had been as many nations; now there was one—India.”<sup>60</sup> Throughout the nineteenth century, the British colonial administration attempted to implement educational policies that would have divided the people of India. In these efforts, they experienced a number of successes in dividing the people of India in an effort to more effectively rule over them. The failure to divide the Indian people through limiting their communication tempered these successes. In fact, the

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<sup>57</sup> Quoted in Tim Allender, *Ruling Through Education: The Politics of Schooling in the Colonial Punjab* (New York, NY: New Dawn Press, 2006), 131.

<sup>58</sup> Hunter, “Education Commission of 1882,” 170-171.

<sup>59</sup> John Masters, *The Road Past Mandalay: A Personal Narrative* (London, GBR: Harper and Brothers, 1961), 312.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 313.

Anglicist faction within the colonial educational administration attempted to crush the culture of the Indian people by give them access to a great unifying force that would bring a disparate and diverse nation together with the single identity that Masters noticed on the eve of partition.

In spite of the close correlation between language and religion in Northern India, the advocacy of instruction in Indian languages did not correspond to the religious beliefs of the advocates. In large measure, the proponents of Orientalist and Anglicist ideas in Northern India voiced their opinions in the pages of the newspapers surveyed and—surprisingly, given the history of colonial policy in India and the philosophies of the educational institutions in the region—supporters and detractors do not seem to have been divided along religious lines. Support for educational instruction in either English or in native languages was much more dependent on class and political persuasion.

As outlined above, one of the most effective ways that the colonial administration was able to use education as a means of dividing the people of India was through its finance. From the early 1800s, funding decisions were made by the colonizers that had outsized impacts on certain groups in the subcontinent. The East India Company Act 1813 was an example of financial largesse used to benefit one group at the expense of another—a sort of bribe by the colonial government.<sup>61</sup> In this case, it divided people along lines of class and caste.<sup>62</sup> In Macauley's *Minute* in 1835, the government withheld funding from

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<sup>61</sup> "The East India Company's Act of 1813," 8.

<sup>62</sup> Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest*, 92-94.

groups that had previously benefited from the administration's patronage.<sup>63</sup> Such policies—both of bribing and of withholding funding from Indian colonial subjects—continued throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>64</sup>

Similarly, the British colonial leaders attempted to divide by sowing the seeds of distrust among their subjects.<sup>65</sup> This strategy can be seen throughout the nineteenth century used as a tool to divide the people of India. The Hunter Commission in 1882 specifically called for special educational institutions and rules within different communities in the subcontinent. These groups included the sons of native chiefs and noblemen, Muslims, members of aboriginal tribes, and students from low castes.<sup>66</sup> This was a marked change from previous policies that gave funding to successful schools—whether or not they served a specific population within India. It was implied in this decision that educational attainment was a situation in which one gains made by one group would be balanced by the losses of the other participant.<sup>67</sup> Here, the British employed a “divide and conquer tactic [that operated] not by altering the players' incentives, but by affecting their beliefs” about what would happen in the end.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Bentinck, “Lord Bentinck’s Resolution,” 35.

<sup>64</sup> Posner, Spier, and Vermeule, “Divide and Conquer,” 430.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 431.

<sup>66</sup> Hunter, “Education Commission of 1882,” 192-198.

<sup>67</sup> Board of Control, “Educational Despatch of 1854,” 93.

<sup>68</sup> Posner, Spier, and Vermeule, “Divide and Conquer,” 432.

Interestingly, leaders of the Hindu and Muslim religious and linguistic communities across Northern India clearly saw the attempts to divide the people of the subcontinent through the construction of religious and linguistic difference using education. In spite of these efforts to use education in this way—dividing the people of India into disputant factions—education also gave them the greatest tool for their unification. Indeed, throughout the 1880s, many in the Indian communities made calls to unity for the good of all—in spite of efforts to separate them. *The Tribune* noted in 1886 that it was clear “that the policy of the Indian bureaucracy, is to divide the Hindus from the Mahomedans, and to disunite instead of uniting the Native races, and by keeping up and sharpening their race-feelings to work out its own ends.”<sup>69</sup> The editors were also clear that such a narrow-minded and illiberal educational policy was “compatible neither with the true interest of the British Empire, nor with the real wellbeing of the Indian population.”<sup>70</sup> They concluded with a call to action saying that it was “beyond question that the Indians will never become a great nation unless the Hindus and Mahomedans unite, and act together for the amelioration of their condition.”<sup>71</sup>

The editors of *The Tribune* also offered analysis of why the British were attempting to divide the people. Remembering that Muslims were a group “which, in a wave of religious fanaticism, conquered and converted half the world in a few years’ time,” they believed that the British feared that Muslims would do something similar in India—leading

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<sup>69</sup> “Hindus and Mahomedans,” *The Tribune*, June 19, 1886, Lahore.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

a united nation in deposing the British colonizers.<sup>72</sup> At the same time, though, *The Tribune* questioned whether British educational policies had actually divided the Hindu and Muslim communities of the subcontinent. The editors of the paper did not think that British rule had necessarily increased inter-communal unrest and felt that there was much to build on in the unification of India's people.<sup>73</sup>

In the other major paper of Lahore, the editors proposed that education could absolutely be a tool for unification of the people of India. *The Civil and Military Gazette* recommended that textbooks be prepared that presented morality as a matter of "natural religion."<sup>74</sup> Such a syncretic moral guide could then "be taught in all Government and non-Government colleges" and this would show Hindus and Muslims what was shared between their communities and traditions.<sup>75</sup> Similarly, the *Gazette* called for more instruction on the duties of citizens rather than matters of religious doctrine and belief. These recommendations were not adopted in the end, but the editors of the *Gazette* adopted, felt that any scheme of advanced education would be necessarily defective without such a moral element.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> "The Disagreement Between Hindus and Muhamedans: Why Greater in British than in Native India?," *The Tribune*, June 25, 1887, Lahore.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> "The Work of the Education Commission," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, January 27, 1885, Lahore.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

The *Aligarh Institute Gazette* also presented a strong editorial case for unity among the communities of Northern India. In this case, the support was specifically for English education as a unifying force for the people of India. The paper praised institutions that taught religious material, but did so in English.<sup>77</sup> In fact, the editors of the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* painted an ecumenical picture of whom to call “Indians.” This included “all Hindus, Mahomedans, Native Christians, Eurasians, and Europeans” who were born in India and whose parents lived there.<sup>78</sup> This educational institution, conducting its lessons in English, was part of this process of forging a national identity for the diverse linguistic, cultural, and religious population of the Indian subcontinent.

This vision of a united India outlasted the educational reforms and political aspirations of the 1880s. This decade was an important one in the domain of education. As mentioned earlier, several important leaders of the movement to free colonial India from British control—such as Mohandas Gandhi, Lala Lajpat Rai, and Muhammad Ali Jinnah—were all beginning their educations around the early 1880s.<sup>79</sup> By the end of the decade, the British had become so firmly established in India, that some colonial administrators of the day looked “forward to, if not a thousand-year Raj, at least a rule that extended well beyond

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<sup>77</sup> “The Patna Institute Gazette,” *The Aligarh Institute Gazette*, July 10, 1886, Aligarh.

<sup>78</sup> “English Scholarships for Natives of India,” *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, February 23, 1886, Aligarh.

<sup>79</sup> Ramachandra Guha, *Gandhi Before India* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014), 24-25; Urmila Sharma & S. K. Sharma, *Indian Political Thought* (New Delhi, IND: Atlantic Publishers, 1996), 125, 127-129; Jaswant Singh, *Jinnah: India—Partition—Independence*, (Oxford, GBR: Oxford University Press, 2009), 54.

their own lifetimes.”<sup>80</sup> It is likely that the British colonial project in India did outlast many of these administrators. It was almost sixty years before the British partitioned their Indian domains and then their independence.

Moving into the twentieth century, the quest for a united, independent India seems to have been less successful. India was, and remains, a strikingly diverse country. When the British first started gaining power in the subcontinent, there were hundreds of communities that spoke dozens of languages from the Indo-Aryan language family, the Dravidian language family, the Austroasiatic language family, and the Sino-Tibetan language family among others.<sup>81</sup> The people speaking these languages represented three of the world’s great religious traditions and numerous smaller ones. Into this milieu came the colonizing power of the British Empire. While the British were able to encourage rivalry between the communities of South Asia, they also provided the unifying force for the modern, democratic India that began in 1947. Even as Pakistan was carved out of the colonial nation, the leaders of independent India were calling for unity and forgiveness among their people.<sup>82</sup>

Returning to the research question of this dissertation—which considers how Hindu and Muslim religious and linguistic communities across Northern India viewed the construction of religious difference in British the colonial educational administration—it is clear that community leaders saw the attempted construction and resisted it. There were

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<sup>80</sup> Ramachandra Guha, *India After Gandhi: The History of the World’s Largest Democracy* (New York, NY: Harper Collins Publishers, 2007), 2.

<sup>81</sup> Judith E. Walsh, *A Brief History of India* (New York, NY: Infobase Publishing, 2006).

<sup>82</sup> Guha, *India After Gandhi*, 39.



continued calls for unity and coordinated opposition to the British colonizers. There are a number of schools of thought as to what doomed a united India at independence. Some blamed Jawaharlal Nehru and Mohandas Gandhi for underestimating the Muslim leaders of the nascent Pakistan, others blamed Mohammad Ali Jinnah for promoting his personal agenda of partition at the cost of human suffering, and still others blamed the British for effectively employing a divide-and-rule policy in India.<sup>83</sup> Whatever the reason, it is remarkable that a nation-state as diverse as India can remain intact today. Post-colonialist writer Albert Memmi noted that it was strange “to write to the conquerors of one’s people. Wonder was expressed at the acrimony of the first colonized writers. Do they forget that they are addressing the same public whose tongue they have borrowed?”<sup>84</sup> In the case of the Indian subjects of the British colonial machine, the Anglicists attempted to crush Indian unity by giving them access to a great unifying force.

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 42 and Sucheta Mahajan, *Independence and Partition: The Erosion of Colonial Power in India* (New Delhi, IND: Sage, 2000).

<sup>84</sup> Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1967), 109.

## CHAPTER SIX

### FORMS OF KNOWLEDGE IN BRITISH EDUCATIONAL POLICY

This dissertation has attempted to more fully understand the ways in which Hindu and Muslim religious and linguistic communities across Northern India viewed the construction of religious difference in British educational administration in the colonial system at the end of the nineteenth century. The broad sweep of educational policy shifts made by the British colonial administration throughout the century included many fluctuations between Anglicist and Orientalist views in education. There were also discussions around the efficacy of specifically religious curricula, classical and practical schooling, and the education of girls. These questions of education in Hindu and Muslim communities were debated by the intellectual and political readership of Lahore and Aligarh during the period.

These debates occurred in a policy landscape that developed piecemeal through the nineteenth century. These commentators shared their thoughts and reactions to these educational policies with the Muslim and Hindu populations in Northern India in the popular press of the time. These reactions were nuanced and varied and many people expressed concern that the policies were either ineffective or specifically designed to promote the interests of one Indian community over another. In spite of the violence of the colonial experiment, a number of indigenous Indian commentators presented the existing educational policy as an imperfect system in which the people of India can and indeed

should be working. The majority of the newspaper editorials and articles discussing education during this period, however, presented these policies negative for the people of India.

### **Investigating Forms of Knowledge in Colonial India**

In his book *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*, Bernard S. Cohn attempts to demonstrate the connection between knowledge and power in eighteenth and nineteenth century India beginning with efforts to secure profits for Europeans through the command of Indian languages.<sup>1</sup> Cohn has provided a history that, as Gyan Prakash described, explores the fault lines of colonial discourse to “describe histories revealed in the cracks of the colonial archaeology of knowledge.”<sup>2</sup> This look at the relationship between knowledge and power along these fault lines does not imply that these are small matters in the history of India. In his forward to Cohn’s book, Nicholas B. Dirks notes how the author makes clear that “the colonial state has had extraordinary effects on the base structure of contemporary Indian life.”<sup>3</sup>

Cohn describes how British colonial authorities appropriated and organized knowledge to legitimize their continued rule in India throughout the eighteenth and

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<sup>1</sup> Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

<sup>2</sup> Gyan Prakash, “Postcolonial Criticism and Indian Historiography,” in *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation and Postcolonial Perspectives*, eds. Anne McClintock, Aamir Mufti, and Ella Shohat (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 492-493.

<sup>3</sup> Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, xiii.

nineteenth centuries. In the introduction to his book, he discusses the modalities that were used by the British to build knowledge and power from the earliest days of British involvement in the subcontinent. The first, and most influential, of these investigative modalities is the historiographic. This aligned the significant perceived progress of British rule with the ontological construction of an Indian past that resonated with that progress.<sup>4</sup> Cohn also describes an observational/travel modality, a survey modality, an enumerative modality, a museology modality, and a surveillance modality.<sup>5</sup> All of the investigative modalities that Cohn describes in the post-colonial world contribute to the broad development of colonial power in India during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The four essays that Cohn included in his book demonstrate the “interactive, improvisational nature of the colonial encounter” within the Indian subcontinent where relations were out of balance, but did not disempower the colonized as absolutely as Cohn implied.<sup>6</sup> The first essay explores the use of language in colonial India.<sup>7</sup> It shows the ways that understanding certain languages became a requirement for the East India Company to extend its power further into the subcontinent.. With language issues being such an important part of the discussion of education throughout the nineteenth century educational policy debates, it is important to remember this general concern of an

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 5-6.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 6-11.

<sup>6</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London, GBR: Routledge, 1992), 6-7.

<sup>7</sup> Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, 16-56.

overdependence on translators and native intermediaries. The East India Company, from its earliest days, hoped to educate its employees in Persian and Sanskrit so that it would not need educated Indians to mediate its exchanges.<sup>8</sup>

The second essay looks at the construction of laws in the colonial state and continues the discussion of ways that knowledge of Indian languages provided power to colonial administrators.<sup>9</sup> Here Cohn describes the way that British colonialists assumed that within the subcontinent there existed a vestigial “state system” that was simply in disarray and needed to be revived by the new rulers.<sup>10</sup> In their estimation, this system could helpfully be placed into structures familiar to the British from their own state in Europe. New colonial administrators needed only to search for this existing knowledge to wield the power to realize their goals and construct India in their own image. Early leaders of British India sought to redefine forms of authority and rule—moving from the perceived indigenous legal system to something more closely approximating British ways of operating.<sup>11</sup>

Cohn goes on to explore the museological and survey modalities of investigation that contributed to this production of colonialist knowledge in India.<sup>12</sup> He describes how British colonial administrators began to categorize and document the Indian subcontinent

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 16-56.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 57-75.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 60.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 61-63.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 76-105.

in an effort to treat it as a museum of Europe's own past. This categorization of India's past helped to make up for what was seen to be a missing history. Borrowing from Benedict Anderson, these investigative modalities "profoundly shaped the way in which the colonial state imagined its dominion."<sup>13</sup> The British understood the importance of knowledge production not only in creating their colonial subjects in India, but in maintaining their own standards and keeping their Indian subjects from fully Westernizing.<sup>14</sup> At the same time, the British used differences in modes of dress and knowledge of sartorial matters to help maintain a separate identity from their subjects. In this scheme, they were able "to understand and act in India" such that "they reduced vastly complex codes and their associated meanings to a few metonyms."<sup>15</sup> Through these and the other modalities Cohn describes, he makes it clear that the appropriation of knowledge in matters as diverse as Indian clothing, artifacts, and laws the British were able to impose their manners, their common law, and their culture on the Indian colonial subjects.

### **Media and Forms of Knowledge in Northern India**

The attitudes expressed in the two newspapers surveyed for this dissertation project a diversity of discursive opinions and open themselves to the sort of investigative modalities that Cohn highlights. The opinions of authors, commentators, editors, and readers across Northern India ranged from being explicitly supportive of colonial educational policies to showing a measured indifference to being vehemently opposed to

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<sup>13</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, GBR: Verso, 2006), 169.

<sup>14</sup> Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, 121-124.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

the ways that policies had been written and implemented. The editorial staffs of both *The Tribune* and the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* gave a variety of reasons for their opposition to, support for, or indifference to the policies enacted in Northern India. These ranged from the very personal to the abstractly philosophical. In considering education as exemplified in formal schooling on a Western model, important differences appeared in the views expressed by the British administrators of Northern India and the Hindu and Muslim communities with which they interacted. These differences were revealed in what education meant to them and what it represented, but also in what education promised and what they believed was threatened by education.

### The Meaning of Education

For the British leaders of Northern India, education was clearly an important policy issue with which to grapple. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Hunter Commission provided a strong indication of what British goals were in the subcontinent—what education meant and what it represented for the colonial rulers. William Wilson Hunter's effort to standardize Indian education made a number of recommendations attempting to modernize the educational system and fit it with the needs of the colony.<sup>16</sup> After a century of discussion and debate regarding the proper language of instruction, Hunter recommended that for general primary education, vernacular Indian languages should be in standard use.<sup>17</sup> As the need for Indian intermediaries in government had declined over

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<sup>16</sup> William W. Hunter, "Education Commission of 1882," in *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education: 1797 to 1902*, ed. M. R. Paranjpe (London, GBR: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1938), 169.

<sup>17</sup> Hunter, "Education Commission of 1882," 170-171.

the nineteenth century, there was no longer a need for educational apparatus to educate Indian students—aside from the most advanced—in the English language.<sup>18</sup> Thus, rather than trying to force a compromise between Anglicists and Orientalists, the Hunter Commission conceded that the vast majority of public instruction should be in the vernacular languages.<sup>19</sup> For students at upper levels, the Commission recommended that teaching primarily be in English.<sup>20</sup> Of course language was not the only issue under consideration by Hunter. The Commissions also made several recommendations to do with collegiate education, education for those of low castes, and education of girls among others.<sup>21</sup> For the British, then, education was seen as a way to observe and survey the people of India so as to control their knowledge and their power.

Among the Muslim community in Northern India, specifically within the North-Western Provinces, education was seen to mean something else. It was no longer seen as a way to prepare intermediaries for the British to communicate with their Indian subjects. But neither did the leaders of the Muslim community see it as a way to surveil and monitor Indians. The leaders of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College in Lahore noted that the students had great opportunities at the institution but also that the College expected great things from them. In exhorting them to raise up their community, this newspaper editorial stated, great efforts had been made “to improve the condition of [Indians]. It is through

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<sup>18</sup> Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, 53-56.

<sup>19</sup> Hunter, “Education Commission of 1882,” 175.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 179-179.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 192-198.



these exertions that students were being educated.” These men were, then the hope of their countrymen.<sup>22</sup> There, of course, similar calls for the Lahore Government College to take up a similar position in Punjab. *The Tribune* wanted this institution “to act as an agency for imparting a good English education to [the] young men” of Punjab.<sup>23</sup> This was not so that they could serve as underlings of the British, but so that they could lead the country as Indian patriots.

For the Hindu community, the position represented by formal, Western education seems to have been more complex. In many ways, they saw education as a means to promote intercommunal cooperation. Putting aside the differences between the Hindu and Muslim communities—regardless of how long they had been evident—leaders of the Hindu community saw institutions such as the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College in Lahore as very important. As *The Tribune* noted, the development of the college had steady, even if it had been somewhat slow.<sup>24</sup> The paper congratulated the promoters on the success that they had achieved in founding the college in spite of concerns from some that an institution founded in the name of Swami Dayanand Saraswati and the *Ārya Samāj* would be overly sectarian. In discussing this and similar institutions, the reporters of *The Tribune* hoped that Lahore’s Muslim community would support the institution as a sign of intercommunal collaboration and assistance.<sup>25</sup> They did not see education as a way to gain influence and

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<sup>22</sup> “M. A.-O. College, Aligarh,” *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, March 2, 1886, Aligarh.

<sup>23</sup> “The Lahore Government College,” *The Tribune*, November 21, 1885, Lahore.

<sup>24</sup> “Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College,” *The Tribune*, December 4, 1886, Lahore.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

special favor for their own community at the expense of others. They saw education as a way to build a strong Indian identity while diminishing the importance of communal identity within India.

### The Promise and Threat of Education

If the British colonial administration saw the meaning and purpose of education as a tool for levelling, observing, and surveilling their Indian subjects, they believed that the promise of education along a Western model in India was the creation and exploitation of divisions within the subcontinent's dominant communities. As described earlier, there is some debate over when two distinct, self-identifying religious communities appeared on the subcontinent.<sup>26</sup> Whether or not the "large-scale conflicts between Hindus and Muslims began under colonial rule" and "communal violence was itself a British construct,"<sup>27</sup> it is clear that the British hoped to magnify and exploit the differences that were apparent by the late nineteenth century.<sup>28</sup> In some instances, the continued existence of a British presence in India was justified by explaining that only the British could protect the people of the subcontinent from divisive conflicts between the two communities.<sup>29</sup> The efforts of

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<sup>26</sup> Expressed well in Sandria Freitag, *Collective Action and Community: Public Arenas and the Emergence of Communalism in North India* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989) and Gyanendra Pandey, *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India* (Delhi, IND: Oxford University Press, 1990).

<sup>27</sup> Cynthia Talbot, "Inscribing the Other, Inscribing the Self: Hindu-Muslim Identities in Pre-Colonial India," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37, no. 4 (1995), 693.

<sup>28</sup> C. A. Bayly, "The Pre-History of 'Communalism'? Religious Conflict in India, 1700-1860," *Modern Asian Studies* 19, no. 2 (1985), 200, 202 and Zoya Khaliq Hasan, "Communalism and Communal Violence in India," *Social Scientist* 10, no. 2 (1982), 25.

<sup>29</sup> Gloria Goodwin Raheja, "Caste, Colonialism, and the Speech of the Colonized: Entextualization and Disciplinary Control in India," *American Ethnologist* 23, no. 3 (1996), 495.

the British to ossify what they saw as the true, violent past of the Indian subcontinent fits well with Cohn's conception of the museological tendency to control colonial knowledge.<sup>30</sup> Just as Pandey contended that British education policy was designed to create conflicts between these communities, the social and political confrontation throughout the colonial period extended to in independent India decades later.<sup>31</sup> The British colonial apparatus controlled the resources of the subcontinent and used communal tension to control knowledge and power among the Muslim feudal elites the high-caste Hindu elites.<sup>32</sup> For them the promise of Western education in India was a divided population.

If this was what the British believed that Western education promised to achieve in India, many of the native leaders of the subcontinent saw the same as a threat to their identity as Indians. By the 1880s, many newspapers of Northern India were providing commentary on the issue of language and education in the region and they were critical of formal education along Western lines. The closure of the Indian language department at the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College in 1886 was lamented by *The Aligarh Institute Gazette*.<sup>33</sup> The fact that only four students had been enrolled in the program, was seen as testament to the fact that Indian linguistic and cultural identity was being driven away by

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<sup>30</sup> Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, 80-88.

<sup>31</sup> Anurag Pandey, "Communalism and Separatism in India: An Analysis," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 42 (2007), 533.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 536.

<sup>33</sup> "The Annual Prize Distribution Meeting of the M. A.-O. College, Aligarh," *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, February 16, 1886, Aligarh.

British educational policy.<sup>34</sup> Conceding that many in Northern India had admitted that native forms of knowledge had ceased to be of much practical value, they hoped that Arabic—and the vernacular languages of India—would continue to be taught at the college.<sup>35</sup> Knowing that those who supported Western education in English professed progressive ideals, the *Gazette* also addressed concerns of some that an English medium of instruction would promote a sense of entitlement among the people of the country. In educating the native elite of Northern India, whether Hindu or Muslim, the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, feared that school leavers would see themselves as having a right to employment in government positions.<sup>36</sup> The paper argued that, far from “forming a class of people who are opposed to government,” those Indians educated in English were engaged in many different activities in which they earned their livelihood and were more connected to the colonial administration and less likely to develop animosity towards the British.<sup>37</sup> Thus, far from seeing their goal of an educational establishment that produced the leaders—the patriots and practical men—of India’s future, some began to fear the threat of Western education as a cadre of entitled graduates who looked out for themselves and their vested interests. The author of this piece in the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* makes it clear throughout his work that the British and their Indian subjects perceived and knew the world in

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<sup>34</sup> Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, 55.

<sup>35</sup> “The Annual Prize Distribution Meeting of the M. A.-O. College, Aligarh,” *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, February 16, 1886, Aligarh.

<sup>36</sup> “The Graduates of Universities and Government Employment,” *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, May 4, 1886, Aligarh.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

fundamentally different ways. It was the remaking of these distinctly Indian ways of knowing that allowed the British to take control of the subcontinent. It allowed the British to divide the people of India in ways that made them easier to rule.

The British attempted to use the investigative modalities described by Cohn to impose themselves on their colonial subjects. By dictating the ways that knowledge could be produced and managing ways of knowing, the British were able to further their imperial mission in India. This was not a process forced on India without any acquiescence, however. As Cohn described, Indians were far from passive as they “increasingly became drawn into the process of transformation of their own traditions and modes of thought.” He describes how, “the authoritative control that the British tried to exercise over new social and material technologies was taken over by Indians and put to purposes which led to the ultimate erosion of British authority.”<sup>38</sup> As the British attempted to tighten their grip on their Indian subjects by erasing their culture with English education in the nineteenth century, they provided those same subjects with the tools that they needed to bring about their independence in the twentieth century.

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<sup>38</sup> Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, 56.

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## VITA

David T. Boven is an educator with experience teaching social science courses at a variety of levels in numerous international settings. He completed a bachelor's degree in history and secondary education at Calvin College in Grand Rapids, Michigan in 2004. While teaching in Chicago, he was awarded master's degree in curriculum and instruction from Concordia University Chicago in River Forest, Illinois in 2008. In 2012, he was admitted to the degree of master of research at the University of London with a focus on educational and social research. His specialties as an education researcher include urban education, distance education, and situated learning theory. His research interests in the historical realm include southern Asia, Dutch immigration to North America, and the use of academic dress in higher education.

