
Introduction of English Education in British India: Rhetoric and Implications

_____ Himayatullah Yaqubi

The paper is related to the coming of the Englishmen and their decision of implementing English education in Indo-Pak subcontinent in early Nineteenth century. The topic is crucial as until now some sections in the intelligentsia associate all the evils in our education system with Thomas Babington Macaulay, one of the pioneers of English education in the subcontinent. Moreover, there are people who thought that due to the heterogeneous nature of the society and the presence of a number of regional languages, the introduction of English education was a step, which provided the subcontinent a symbolic unity. The paper focuses on the interface of social forces, the attitude of the Company government and the process of implementation of English education to understand its different patterns.

The objective is to provide a view of the extensive and varied landscape of English education at the time of its implementation. The effort is to strike a balance between empirical data and theoretical analysis. An attempt has been made to provide answers to some questions. For instance the explicit and implicit worth of the indigenous system of education, the activities of the Christian missionaries, the controversy of Orientalists and Anglicists, and the response of the local population to the English

education, reservations, and its impact on two major communities would also be evaluated. Moreover, the designs of the Englishmen have been discussed in detail.

Introduction

Colonial involvement in the development of a coherent system of education in the Third World is a matter of heated debate among historians, educationists and other social scientists. Critics of Western colonialism accused their educational policies of being inappropriate, too dominated by colonial culture and disruptive of the indigenous culture. Serious concerns were expressed about the direction of the colonial education system by the rightist and the radical sections in the former colonies. They castigated all form of colonial education and held it responsible for their backwardness.

The introduction of the English education in the Indian subcontinent in nineteenth century too is a legacy of the British colonial period, which has triggered an unending controversy in academic circles. The implementation of the new education system took place in very controversial and confused circumstances. As different forces operated within the society, therefore different interpretations were given which brought with them some new and unending controversies regarding its originators and their designs. Some historians consider the imposition of an alien language a conspiracy while for others it was a step in the right direction. The supporters of the English education, while commenting on the controversy, think that the change in the system of education was imperative as it introduced modern European philosophy and Western science.

Others contend that English literature had played a socializing role for the Indian society. Besides, interesting

comments have been provided on the discourse of education in the subcontinent. Some of these findings range from different paradigms of thoughts of Orientalists and Anglicists to various form of imperialism.¹ Besides, a relatively economic and Marxist approach was adopted by a number of scholars.² It has been suggested that local educational institutions are destroyed by the coming of new economic forces who were interested in different mode of economic exploitation.

The majority of historians looked to the matter from the extreme view in which no importance has been given to the genesis of English education. The arguments put forward by some historians are either polemical or one sided. In discussing the controversy, terms of aggressive and benevolent imperialism were used for the British colonial power. Another important aspect of analysis made by scholars is that they ignore the impact of the new system and look to the change without taking into consideration the socio-political environment of the country. Some analyses also reflect that the indigenous system of education was worthless possessing no progressive elements necessary for building a modern state structure. The introduction of the new system was called a state of transition from one way of thinking to another.³

This article would consider a number of issues for instance (i) the strength and weaknesses of the indigenous education, (ii) role of missionaries in educational discourse. (iii) Patterns of educational development under the East India Company, and (iv) the so called emerging paradigm of the Anglicists in which India was viewed a backward, weak and inefficient country will be also evaluated.

I

It is true that hardly any one appears in the Indian subcontinent, at the time when it was exposed to the Europeans, who is worthy of remembrance for his own sake in the domain of modern English education. People were unaware of the fast changing events in Europe and other parts of the world. During the age of the Industrial Revolution in Europe, people in Indian subcontinent witnessed the decline of Mughal Empire. That Empire was not lost to any indigenous or local rival, but to the alien Englishmen—who were not the sons of the Indian soil.

Before the arrival of the Englishmen education in India included the study of classical Sanskrit among the Hindus and Arabic grammar, literature, logic and philosophy, mathematics, medicine and Persian grammar and literature among the Muslims. This type of education was prevalent from centuries in the Indian subcontinent. Generally a room attached with a mosque was used in which Muslim children were given basic Islamic education. Some *ulema* opened *madrassas* in the reception rooms of their houses. Besides, there were several *madarassas* associated with some *Sufis*' shrines. Most of the shrine's expenses had been used to provide boarding and lodging to the students. Portions for higher schools were held in the houses of the most liberal patron, being attached to temples, huts of *fakirs* or in the *chaupals* (village hall). *Umara* and courtiers patronized *ulema* in their efforts of running *madrassas* in homes.⁴

In typical Muslim *madrassas* Arabic grammar, literature, logic and philosophy, *fikh* (Mohammedan law), jurisprudence had been thought to the students. Also, important mathematical, astronomical and philosophical works were included in the syllabus of these schools. Persian was the language used during the primary years. At

the secondary level Arabic was the chief medium of classical study before the thirteenth century. There were also some pre-Islamic Arabic texts, which have been taught in the *madrassas*. Position of Arabic was such that it was a specialization and not a living language. Most of the work produced in Arabic was related with the religion of Islam and early Muslim scientific achievements. The dominance of Arabic as a language of science was retained for almost six centuries. Algebra, geometry, trigonometry, and medicine have been developed in Arabic and exported to other parts of the world.

There was well entrenched academic tradition among the Hindus and it had profound influence upon the Muslims. A sudden spurt had been witnessed in intellectual activities when Muslims established their supremacy in the Indian territories. Muslim learning is indebted to the efforts of the Hindu scholars who have done great achievements in intellectual and scientific pursuits. It is to be mentioned here that there was a strong local tradition of scholarship. In the field of Astronomy several Muslim achievements were based on the research done by Indian astronomers. Besides, Muhammad ibn Zakkariyya al-Razi (d.925) particularly mentioned the views of Indian physicians in his famous encyclopedia of medicine *al-Hawi*⁵. Muslim scientific research had been done in Arabic. A large number of books had been translated from Arabic into different Indian languages. In this way Muslim and Hindu knowledge absorbed each other in the subcontinent which produced a healthy intellectual tradition.

Traditional courses in *madrassas* were taught in Arabic as it was compulsory for some state functionaries such as judges (*qazis*), theologians (*ulema*) and clergymen (*maulvis*) to be fluent in Arabic. Students often sat on ground around a teacher to listen to his instructions and

teaching. Ibn-e-Batuta, while talking about the Sultanate period, makes mentioned about the existence of the separate schools for female children.⁶ Generally the richest in the society could afford to make special arrangement to educate their women-folk. Education in the subcontinent was outside of the orbit of the state authority. That is why an integrated system of education did not evolve under the Muslim rule in the Indian subcontinent. Religious education was required as a basic component of the indigenous education in most of the Muslim *madrassas* and Hindu *patshalas*.

The hallmark of the knowledge in Muslim *madrassas* was that it was conservative and elitist in nature. An essential feature of the Islamic knowledge was its transmission in a chain from person to person. Other attributes include learning by heart, memorization and reciting loudly was the first task of pupils in *madrassas*. Memorization of the original text, absence of critical analysis, undisputed nature of the knowledge and subordination to both divine authority and tradition were some characteristics of the *madrassas*' knowledge.⁷ The curriculum called *Dars-i-Nizami*⁸ was used in the *madrassas*, which apart from other disciplines also contained a number of secular passages. For instance *Alf Laila Wal Laila* (one thousand and one nights) was taught in Arabic whereas *Bahar-i-Danish* and *Nairing-i-Ishq* was in Persian.⁹ In the Muslim tradition little attention was provided to arithmetic, theology and its related subjects of logic, and philosophy were rather discouraged in Hanbali, Maliki and Shaffi *madrassas*. Only *madrassas* in Hanafi and Shia legal traditions found it generally acceptable.¹⁰

In regard to the Hindus' education, pupils for the elementary schools came from all Hindu castes except the Harijans. About thirty percent pupils were Brahmins. The

other castes, which sent their children to schools, were Wanis, Ksatriyas, Prebhus, Sunars and Baniyas. *Tols*, *patshalas* and temples were used where *pundits* set to teach traditional subjects to their pupils. In the field of metaphysics and science great wisdom was displayed by Hindu scholars. *Pundits* were well versed in Sanskrit, classical Hindu literature, the four *Vedas* and other religious texts. In the field of arithmetic a variety of multiplication tables were taught to the pupils mainly with a view to enabling them to solve mentally all types of sums that ordinarily occurred in daily life. There were some Hindus engaged as Persian teachers in these schools. Hindus took great interests in learning Persian and Arabic and some of them emerged as great scholars of these languages. Books written by Hindu authors have been taught to Muslim children. For instance *Dastur-us-Sabiyan* of Nonda Rai, and *Insha-i-Madhuram* were some excellent Persian books produced by Hindus and widely read by pupils in different *madrassas*. Besides, people like Diya Shankar and Mirza Qateel has surpassed even Muslims in Persian poetry and prose writings.¹¹

Brahmins predominated in the Hindu schools as students and teachers.¹² They were attached to the learning profession more by their responsible position, which the tradition bestowed on them. Elementary education among them consisted of the religious myths and legends. In *patshala* the Hindu children used to study the *Nagri* character and then proceeded to study other fields which include Sanskrit grammar, poetry, rhetoric, the *vedant* and *nayaya* (philosophy and logic), medicine, drama, astronomy, astrology, law and many more.¹³ There were large education institutes in the various religious centers, the most famous of which in Ganges Valley were Nadia, Tirhut and Benares.¹⁴ These learned schools were invariably endowed by different sources. Some of them

extracted money from rent-free lands. Muslim rulers and Hindu *Peshwas* were generous enough to provide support for such schools as a form of government subventions. Moreover, wealthy officials and landowners could also assist learned men or schools.¹⁵

The indigenous system of education existed among all the communities in different forms. At the time it was a popular system having the potential to regenerate some of its lost worth. It was not altogether an obsolete system. It was a living and vibrant system through ages which produced great sages. It was no one else than Panini whose method of teaching grammar fascinated most of European philologists. Panini was a Sanskrit scholar born in 350 BC, at Lahor, a small town in the present Swabi district of NWFP in Pakistan.¹⁶ In philosophical reasoning, said Leitner, there is not a single European system in which it has not been preceded by Indian thinkers. The kindergarten system was in vogue in the subcontinent. It was one of the best means to increase the moral and mental capabilities of the children. Parallel with kindergarten, the system of peregrinations from one scholar to another was also in existent. Exactly the same methods were followed in most of the countries in Europe.¹⁷

William Ward, a Baptist missionary observed that almost all villages possessed schools for teaching, reading, writing and elementary arithmetic.¹⁸ The indigenous schools performed the duty of an effective social instrument. These schools were not communal in their working and were open to all those who could afford to pay for the schooling of their children except low castes. Learning school was a sort of forum for both Hindus and Muslims to share their opinions in an atmosphere of communal harmony. These schools rendered great services to the general public. Albeit some parts in the curriculum

was absurd and illogical and it contained some deficiencies but it was not altogether unacceptable. It was the time when Europe was passing through the age of renaissance. A new approach of thinking had developed among the people in Europe and they had made great strides in every field of life.

II

It was in 1670 that the East India Company (EIC) opened the first ever school in Madras to educate the children of its British, Portuguese and European employees. It was also in Madras that a secondary school was established in 1673. Then the issue of education in the subcontinent was brought into limelight when the churchmen in 1698 succeeded to insert a clause in the new charter about spreading education and Christianity. This clause also stipulated that every ship going to India should take at least one priest who should be inducted in a factory as Company's employee. Consequently a few charity schools had been established in Madras, Calcutta and Bombay. One of the oldest schools to be established in Madras was St. Mary's Charity School founded by Rev. W. Stevenson.

The establishment of schools provided the missionaries the opportunity to interact with the people and to educate them so that they may be more capable to understand facts and evidence. Missionaries' schools were important for other purpose than education. In the words of Rev. D. O. Allen "these schools served as a means of communication with different classes of people with children and parents and with men and women. These have become chapels under the control of missionaries. Their use for this purpose is often more important than for education".¹⁹ They introduced the printing press through which they printed

the Bible in the vernacular languages. However, the ultimate aim of the missionaries was the expansion of Christianity among the Indians and the improvement of the social and economic condition of the converted people.²⁰

The pattern of the missionaries' activities was that they expanded their tentacles with no check upon them in the early years of colonization. In the early stages when the colonial government was concerned with the maintenance of law and order, self defense and economic development, the authorities left the indigenous education untouched or left educational development in the hands of missionaries. Hence the impact of missionaries on educational development in the early years was much greater than the colonial government. Missionaries were the people who brought the wind of modern education into India much before the colonial government took over from merchants and trading companies.

The attitude of the Company (EIC) was favorable until 1765, after that it emerged as a political power in the Indian subcontinent. Political responsibility made the authorities conscious of the religious sensitivities of the people. In view of these circumstances they abandoned all their earlier connections with the missionary enterprises. Particularly after the Sepoy Mutiny of 1806 at Vellore²¹ the Company's authorities tried to keep vigilant eyes on the missionaries' activities. There were occasional conflicts between the missions and the Company's authorities. Another point of concern for the Company was the diverse nationalities of the missionaries. The Danish mission was active in Madras since 1706.

This Mission in Madras was regarded as the pioneer of education. It established Portuguese and English schools for Indian children and early converts.²² The Roman

Catholic Brothers in Bengal were mainly French or French Canadian and the Don Bosco group in India often had Irish or Italian priests.²³ The main purpose of the missionaries was proselytization through the adoption of moral and scientific characteristics of Christian Europe. It was difficult for them to achieve these goals without introducing sciences and liberal arts through English language. It required them to teach basic literacy to the pupils so that they could read the *Bible* and memorize the Catechism. Missionaries worked in the downtrodden sections such as inaccessible tribal dwellings (Sudan), rural backward areas (Rhodesia) and untouchables (India) in which the Imperial authorities showed little interest.²⁴

Support for missionaries mainly came from ruling class, merchants and those lower castes, untouchables who wanted upward social or political mobility. In the beginning of nineteenth century Evangelicals characteristics had been deeply rooted in the moral and character of the Englishmen. They had developed deep connection with the officials of the Company in Bengal. For many people the missionaries provided the avenue for such mobility. With the spread of Christianity as its essential feature, western education was thus introduced which later experienced many manifestations. With the coming of some sophistication in the subsequent years the concept assumed the shape of 'White Man's Burden Theory'.²⁵

After establishing their writ in the *diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, some of the earlier officials of the Company started taking keen interest in its alien culture. They developed a sort of attraction in the local traditions and way of thinking. Despite the existence of a communication gap, they took interest in the revival of the indigenous culture. There were some Europeans who

excelled in speaking and writing in a number of vernacular languages and enjoyed poetry in Persian and Hindi. There were some Englishmen who adopted Indian dress. The life style of the native elites appealed to their aesthetics. They lived like Indian aristocrats.²⁶ This was the emergence of the Orientalist school of thought which admired Oriental learning. A taste had been developed for Oriental culture and other Indian things. Warren Hastings (Governor General 1774-1785) was among the first to admire Indo-Persian culture and was interested in its promotion. He founded the Calcutta *Madrassa* in 1781 with a purpose “to qualify the sons of Mohammedans gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the state.” It was a school for training Muslims in Islamic law and aimed to give them education in Arabic and to employ them in the judiciary as *qazis* (judges). Another Englishman Jonathan Duncan established Sanskrit College in Benaras in 1792 for the preservation and cultivation of the Hindu law, literature and religion. These institutions were established on the pattern of the indigenous tradition. Their explicit aim was to appease the local elites and to accommodate their views and opinions. It was also a political expediency because the Englishmen needed the trust and support of elites of both the communities.

Warren Hastings’s policy of promoting traditional learning got further impetus when he founded some likeminded persons around him. Orientalists were at the helm of affairs in the Company Government at that time. Apart from Jonathan Duncan, Charles Wilkins, Nathaniel Halhed, William Jones, William Hunter, Neil Edmundstone, Henry Foster and John Gilkrist did pioneering works in Oriental learnings.²⁷ During the same period a request was made by John Owen to the British authorities that schools with English as medium of instruction should be established. Under the same policy

the traditional education got tremendous encouragement. This was aimed at winning the loyalty of the Muslim *maulvis* and the Hindu *pundits* because any abrupt change in the social structure might hamper the Company's interests. With the official encouragement *mullahs* in the *maktabs* and *pundits* in temples grabbed more followers and influence in the prevailing conservative society.²⁸ In Fort William College Calcutta (founded in 1800) the employees of the East India Company had to learn Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit, six Indian vernaculars, Hindu and Muslim law before being appointed as judges, officials and administrators.²⁹

In this period interest in Oriental learning grew with a rapid speed. Some Orientalists did strenuous efforts in the field of learning and laid the real foundation of Indology. Among them William Jones stands foremost. With the help of Charles Wilkins who had learned Sanskrit from some Bengali *pundits*, Jones began to learn this language. The Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded due to his efforts on the first day of 1784. This large-scale interest produced tremendous results. A research journal, *Asiatic Researches* has started which proved the first real steps in unraveling the past history of the subcontinent. These efforts were soon followed by Welkin's translations of Sanskrit works. Thus the Orientalists may be truly called fathers of Indology. Translation of Muslim and Hindu texts has been published and due to these translations interest in Oriental learning was triggered in Europe.³⁰ Progress was also made by Orientalists to study the ancient culture of the subcontinent. James Prinsep, an official of the Calcutta Mint and Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, interpreted for the first time the earliest *Brahmi* script and was able to read the edicts of Emperor Asoka. Another young officer of the Royal Engineers, Alexander Cunningham started the work of decipherment in the field of

Archaeology. Thus for the first time traces of ancient cities began to come into light.³¹

As mentioned above political expediency and administrative considerations rather than the intellectual promotion was the aim before the British authorities when the Orientalists initiated interest in Indian learnings and culture. Educational institutions were founded with the objective to share the burden of administration with the natives. It is evident from the statement of Sir John Malcolm, the Governor of Bombay who stated that “the diffusion of education among the natives of India was to associate them in every part of the administration to share our increased power. It is deemed essential for the protection of political and economic interests”.³² Other reason of educating Indians was that majority of the Company’s British employees at Bengal and other parts were inexperienced having little knowledge of commercial arithmetic and book-keeping. Since the Company paid the employees very lowly, they had to indulge in some financial irregularities for sustaining their families in England. For most of them the major concern was to make money.

Despite the assertion made by some scholars about shifting paradigm³³, the Orientalists’ intention of the revival of the indigenous education was, more or less, useful as far as Oriental learning was concerned. The revival was in line with the aspiration of the local forces operating in the society at that time. It is evident from the statement of Syed Mahmud about the performance of Calcutta Madrassa, Agra and Delhi College. He said that in these institutions “...learning of English language and literature produced unexpected results. The Indians took interest in its learning which even Europeans seldom took in its study...the educated youth started establishing their

own schools in different localities.”³⁴ While it is debatable whether all it was done out of culture respect but it is understandable that the subcontinent owes much of its intellectual achievements to the work done by Orientalists.

It was found out in a number of surveys that the indigenous system of education was extensive. In a minute of 10th march 1826, Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras Presidency, held an inquiry about the strength and extent of the indigenous education. He observed that there were 12498 schools with 188,650 pupils in the whole province of the total population of 12,850,941. In Bombay Presidency the same kind of inquiry was conducted by its Governor Mountstuart Elphinstone between 1823 and 1825. He suggested seven measures for the development of indigenous system which he explained thus:

1st, to improve the mode of teaching at the native schools, and to increase the number of schools; 2nd to supply them with school-books; 3rd, to hold out some encouragement to the lower orders of natives to avail themselves of the means of instruction thus afforded them; 4th, to establish schools for teaching the European sciences and improvements in the higher branches of education; 5th, to provide for the preparation and publication of books of moral and physical science in native languages; 6th, to establish schools for the purpose of teaching English to those disposed to pursue it as a classical language, and as a means of acquiring a knowledge of European discoveries; 7th, to hold forth encouragement to the natives in the pursuit of those last branches of knowledge.³⁵

The above noted plan of Elphinstone created violent criticism when it was put before the Governor's Council. Warden opposed the idea of Government taking any responsibility of mass education. It was sounded in the Council that paramount importance should be given to English education. During these deliberations the idea of the Downward Filtration Theory³⁶ was, for the first time put forward by Warden in these words "It is better and safer to commence by giving good deal of knowledge to a few than a little to many."³⁷ A little later William Adam conducted three surveys in different districts of the Bengal Presidency. He submitted three reports between 1835-1838 in which he estimated that in the beginning of the nineteenth century there were 100000 schools in Bengal and Bihar or roughly two schools for every three villages. In his report he stated "a distinguished member of the General Committee of Public Instruction in a minute on the subject expressed the opinion, that if one rupee per mensem were expended on each existing village schools in the Lower Provinces, the amount would probably fall little short of 12 lakhs of rupees per annum. This supposes that there are 100,000 such schools in Bengal and Behar, assuming the population of those two provinces to be 40,000,000, there would be a village school for every 400 persons."³⁸ He deplored the Downward Filtration Theory and opined that it should be abandoned.

The theory, he wrote "overlooks entire system of native educational institutions,...which existed long before our rule, and which continue to exist under our rule, independent of us and our projects, forming and molding the native character in successive generations... this is an application of the maxim foreign to its spirit."³⁹ William Adam's three reports regarding the state of indigenous education is a monumental work in this field. These reports

contained critical information about the curriculum, position of the teachers, extent of the schools and domestic instruction to the children. However, some of his proposals drew opposition from Macaulay and Lord Auckland.

Orientalists contended that an abrupt change in the present balance of power would not yield positive results. Hence an effort of progressive reformation through the gradual revival of indigenous learning was initiated. An important aspect of that revival was that it operated within the social milieu. It may be mentioned that the tolerant attitude of Hastings and the Orientalists' readiness to admire and work through the existent institutions, their practical grasp of British possession unclouded by sentiments of racial superiority or a sense of mission were the reflection of eighteenth century England. It might possibly be that some Orientalists thought that transformation of the English society after the Industrial Revolution evolved through centuries. It was fundamentally an English and not Indian phenomenon. Probably for most of them the emergence of a new paradigm in England was a phenomena occurring out of the Indian context. The social and political environment of the subcontinent in which the people lived did not acquire a high degree of sophistication in intellect in terms of English education and liberal philosophy to smoothly absorb the transformation occurring in the English society.

The other side of the story is grim and bleak as far as Orientalists are concerned. Marxist writers such as Katz (1971), Bowles and Gintis (1976) and Joseph Di Bona (1990) rather made the early colonial policies responsible for the actual demise of the indigenous system of education. They used terms like 'class analysis', 'primitive capitalism' and 'world system of exchange' to show how local schools were destroyed after the collapse of the

subsistence economy in Bengal. It was a concerted drive to transform India into a commodity market which dragged her into the world system of exchange. Particularly the policy of the resumption of the rent free land associated with learning schools struck a severe blow to the indigenous education. The actual decline of the indigenous industry in the early nineteenth century and the accompanying hardship and miseries reduced the population of Bengal from 200,000 in 1800 to 68,000 in 1838. Consequently poverty and destitution increased wherever the British influence extended.⁴⁰ It also witnessed the decline in academies which reduced from 46 in 1816 to 31 in 1818 and 25 in 1821.

Some writers for instance W. W. Hunter⁴¹, Dharampal⁴², N. A. Baloch⁴³, Leitner and a number of others agreed on the perception that revenue policy and the resumption laws of the Company put a finishing stroke to the indigenous education. In addition to the outright resumption of land and grants, the authorities channelized the endowments of the local schools to serve the needs of the English schools. Joseph Di Bona reported a number of cases showing that donations, grants and rent-free lands of the local schools were reduced and was used to support English education, science and literature.⁴⁴ While the resumption policy involved million of rupees, the expenditure on education was marginal. Even the English education was not developed adequately to fill the vacuum.

The perception of sharing the burden of administration by the Company's authorities was to create free labors, petty clerks, and surveyors, compositors, copyists, librarians and teachers. The Directors endorsed this policy of using more Indians in the administration as there was little hope to import enough Englishmen for the task. However impartial analyses would make it clear that the

indigenous system did not completely died out at that time. The preposition of primitive capitalism too is not a sensible notion because there is no evidence to prove its authenticity. Marxist assertion in this regard is based on speculative reasoning.

III

As mentioned above the Company (EIC) adopted the policy of religious neutrality and strictly watched the missionary activities. The Directors were reluctant to assist their work because they were afraid of harming the sensitive elements of the local people. Fear of offending religious sensibilities of the Indians was always in their mind. It was due to this fear that a proposal of sending missionaries to India on Company's expense was rejected in the Parliament in 1793.⁴⁵ The relation between the missionaries and the official of the Company became extremely strained. The officials expelled two missionaries from its territories and some of them brought into the notice of British authorities. They were barred to work within its territories and the official assistance which was previously provided was stopped. This enraged the missionaries who in turn started their assault on the Company's policies and officials. Even personal conduct of the officials came under their direct criticism. In this regard Nurullah and Naik mention a note of Richter in these words: "Further the English officials had almost without exception abandoned the principles of Christian morality. Even a Governor General like Warren Hastings and his inconvenient rival Philip Francis were not ashamed to live in open adultery."⁴⁶

It was an era when Britain saw the emergence of a spate of missionary organizations. Among these the Baptist Missionary Society was very popular. Christian missionaries took up residence in non-European countries and sought to educate the people. Also important is the transformation of the English society in the aftermath of the Industrial Revolution. It totally changed the perception of the Englishmen and transformed them from *nabob* to *sahib*. The transformation was deep and fundamental. A complex had been developed which made them conscious of their castes, religion, way of life and other characteristics. Development in the British economy moved in a new direction, which also give a new dimension to its relation with its colonies. Eric Stokes thus describes the transformation of the English society and its subsequent relations with India:

A transformation in the purpose of political dominion was the main result. Instead of providing a flow of tribute--a conception which survived until the end of the eighteenth century----the British power in India came to be regarded after 1800 as no more than an accessory, an instrument for ensuring the necessary conditions of law and order by which the potentially vast Indian market could be conquered for British industry. This transformation of economic purpose carried with it a new, expansive and aggressive attitude, which the French, who were its later masters, termed that of *la mission civilisatrice*. The missionaries of English civilization in India stood openly for a policy of 'assimilation'. Britain was to stamp her image upon India. The physical and mental distance separating East and

West was to be annihilated by the discoveries of science, by commercial intercourse, and by transplanting the genius of English laws and English education. It was the attitude of English liberalism in its clear, untroubled dawn....⁴⁷

It was probably under these circumstances that missionaries commenced a policy of Christian Constructive Orientalism. It might be also utilized to conciliate the estranged Orientalist officials of the Company. Pattern of the missionaries' activities has also changed after the Industrial Revolution. The new policy adopted was a blend of missionary zeal with that of European sciences and utilitarianism. In Serampore a college was established in 1818, which was a rare manifestation of such sort of missionary activities. These missionaries hoped to cultivate a particularly Indian brand of European science which suited the temperament of the subcontinent. Rev. William Carey, Rev. William Ward and Rev. Joshua Marshman were among those missionaries who attend the college and developed its courses. These Baptist missionaries hoped to recover the truth of what they saw as ancient wisdom, which were consistent with the Biblical narratives.

The Benares Sanskrit College became a center of Constructive Christian Orientalism. John Muir and James Ballantyne sought to use Western sciences as a tool for the propagation of Christianity among the Hindu elites. Christian Orientalism was set apart, in its discourse, from its secular counterparts. In one of his letter Carey wrote his Indian subordinates: 'I am convinced my people are great bunglers...still, however, they are among the best to found among the natives of this country, but indolence and a stupid inattention to the production of nature are the prevailing traits of their character.'⁴⁸ The same sort of

rhetoric has never been used by secular Orientalists. Rather it was a clear feature of Anglicists and missionaries. This missionary Orientalism was affected by the utilitarian approach and a strong belief that European science could alter the happiness of the country. It was the firm belief of these two sections of Englishmen that those who benefited from improved scientific methods were more likely to convert to Christianity.⁴⁹ Later the scientific approach of the missionaries evolved from Constructive Orientalism to Anglicism. An alliance was created between the two elements through which they protected each other's interests.

With the coming of some zealot liberals, Wilberforce, the champion of missionaries, again found it expedient to campaign for the inclusion of a clause that the Company should provide sufficient facilities to those who proceeded to India to promote the interest of happiness of Indians. Encouraged by the 1813 Charter of the British Parliament the later missionaries played important role in educational affairs.⁵⁰ Among them one name stands foremost that of William Carey who along with other missionaries came to Calcutta in 1793. The centers of their activities were Bengal and Madras. Bengal owes the introduction of English education and Bengali prose literature mainly to his efforts. It was along these lines that subsequent intellectual development has taken place in Bengal. Other missionaries and Indian liberals followed the footsteps of William Carey. In the subsequent years a School Book Society was founded in Bengal for selling and circulation of English books among the natives. This society gained tremendous popularity by selling 31000 English books in just two years.⁵¹ In 1820 missionary bodies founded the Bishop's College at Calcutta; in 1823 a college was founded and endowed by *Pundit* Gangadhar.⁵²

In the days of Orientalists, the directors of the Company, being more concerned with the preservation of their investment and profit, showed no haste in bringing about a change in the policy. Rather, they adopted a conciliatory and soft attitude towards the natives and their sensitive issues. They maintained non-intervention with the local traditions and religion.⁵³ The Directors, in a policy letter of 3 June 1813 said: "We have kept in view the peculiar circumstances of our political relation with India which, having necessarily transferred all power and pre-eminence from native to European agency, have rendered it incumbent upon us, from motives of policy as well as from a principle of justice, to consult the feeling, and even to yield to the prejudices of the natives".⁵⁴

In the last quarter of the Eighteenth century the Evangelical group and the Utilitarians in England "portrayed Hinduism as rotten to the core and incapable of any sort of restoration, reform or renaissance". It was done under the same spirit of reforms and liberalism that was in the offing in England. Events in England also put its effects on the Indian matters and guide the destiny of the Indian people through some Anglicist Englishmen. The perception of the Englishmen towards certain things has been drastically changed. Liberal thoughts prevailed due to which capital punishment was modified in England in 1823, slavery was abolished in 1833, and law for the workers in the factories was repealed in 1824. In India the most profound exponents of liberalism were Munro, Elphinstone and Bentinck. These people provided the moving spirit to reforms to benefit the Indian masses.

Anglicists challenged the Orientalists argument---that Hindus had a good system of morals and religion and it would be madness to attempt their conversion or to give them any more learning. Further the Charter Act of 1813,

which changed the role of the Company from a trading organization to a responsible government led, to a vital change in its education policy. This act for the first time set apart an annual grant of one lakh rupees for the revival and improvement of the learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of knowledge of science in the British territories in India.⁵⁵ It was also mentioned in the Act ...that the missionaries were to be allowed to enter India and to reside there; they might preach, found churches, and discharge all spiritual duties...⁵⁶

IV

The first sign of dissent in the Court of Directors against Orientalists' view came in 1792 from Charles Grant, a British politician and Evangelist.⁵⁷ He was one of Company's directors who mooted the idea of setting up of a network of schools for teaching English. He wrote a lengthy treatise titled *Observation on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, Particularly with Respect to moral; and the means of improving it* on the state of affairs in the subcontinent. He argued that traditional educational system was responsible for their evident decadence. The social abuses and moral degradation of the Indians were "the result of dense and widespread ignorance and could be removed only by education and first of all by education in English language". He was more critical of the miserable morals of the Indians and their want of proper religion. He wanted that first Indians would be educated and then converted into Christianity.

Charles Grant was so optimistic that he termed his policy as "the best remedy for their disorder...that if judiciously and patiently applied it would have great and

happy effects upon them, effects honorable and advantageous for us.”⁵⁸ He was in favor of English language as medium of instruction. He said “many Englishmen reside among the natives, our language is not unknown there, and it is practicable to diffuse it more widely...to impart to the Hindoos our language.... to make them acquainted with our easy literary compositions”. Through education the trust of the Indians would be best secured which would create better understanding between the rulers and the ruled. He was of the view that in this way commerce would be ultimately expanded.⁵⁹ It is to be mentioned that Grant wrote his work in 1792 but it was neither published nor presented to the authorities until 1797.⁶⁰

Actually the objective of Charles Grant and other Anglicists was to undermine what he called the “local fabric of error”. Introduction of English, he reasoned, would show Hindus how absurd their religion was and dispel many of their myths. The spread of English arts, science and philosophy along with the spread of Christianity, according to Grant, would enable the local people to rise to the level of human beings. On his return to England Charles Grant tried hard to persuade the House of Commons and the Court of Directors to his views, but gained no success.

Like Charles Grant other Anglicists too believed in the superiority of English language, western knowledge and Christianity. They wanted to change the perception of the Indians towards British imperialism through English language and Christianity. Writing in 1792 Charles Grant argued that English literature would silently undermine and at length subvert the Hindu religion. He possessed radical views, as he saw no harm in spreading Christianity simultaneously with education. He dismissed the notion

that education would necessarily bring with it self awareness and political maturity to Indians. He thought the elite, who read it, would support the British policies. The apprehension of some Englishmen regarding the assertion of independence among the natives was brushed aside with clear reflection of sincerity. He said:

The question may more properly be— Whether we should keep our subjects in their present state? For if improvement ought not to be communicated to them, we should not be merely passive, but be careful to exclude it; as, on the other hand, if it ought to be communicated; or if it is possible that any ray of light may fortuitously break in upon them, we would not leave the task to others, or to chance, but be ourselves the dispensers of the new principles they receive, and regulate the administration of them.⁶¹

The spirit of Grant was high but not the ideal one. He was the first one who suggested the introduction of English as the medium of instruction. It was due to his views that he was called as the father of modern education in India.⁶²

All the Anglicists believed in the same argumentation. They changed the rhetoric but not the content. In the early years of Nineteenth Century some Anglicists joined the service of the Company. From time to time they argued in favor of English education and Western sciences. While Orientalists did not like interventionism, Anglicists were more vigorous in their endeavors. They campaigned for radical reforms in the society. An interesting point in this regard is that it was in 1818 that Britain was recognized as

paramount power in India. As a result Britain pursued its imperial imperatives in the subcontinent with a fresh zeal. The early years of the nineteenth century remained critical in the relationship between different imperial powers. They operated in their own parameters for winning successes and loyalties in various regions. The interventionism of Anglicists would not be fully understandable without looking at the forces operating in the imperial parameters. The Dutch East India Company was active in Indonesia for more than 200 years, in the Middle East, Britain fears about a threat to its position from both France and Russia. The latter carrying out its own imperial expansion eastwards into the Muslim land of Central Asia.⁶³ Therefore, it may be stated here that the policy of education in this period was developed according to the highest imperial motives. In the historical time-scale colonialism had different imperatives and manifestation. The pattern of its operation varies from one region to another. The policy varied according to the strength of personality of the imperial governors.⁶⁴

General Committee of Public Instruction (GCPI) was appointed under a Resolution dated 17th July 1823 with the purpose to prepare a draft of proposal, on the basis of which an organized system of education would be established. It continued to look into the matter till 1833. Education grant of India was increased from one lakh to a reasonable amount of ten lakhs rupees per annum. The issue of imparting education to the Indians was debated in the GCPI between Orientalists and Anglicists. Heated debates, argumentation and counter argumentation ensued in the committee on this specific issue. The ten members committee was equally divided on the issue of imparting education to the natives. During these years three different views have been emerged. The first view is that of Orientalists which was represented by men like Duncan,

Hastings, Minto, Prinsep and H. H. Wilson. They maintained the worthwhileness and proper study of Oriental learning. They opined that it is upon Western scholars that they should take interests in preserving the indigenous culture of Hindus and Muslims. These people did not oppose the introduction of English language and Western sciences, but they attached greater importance to the preservation of indigenous culture.

The second view is that of the Anglicists, which was the opposing extreme. The proponents of this view mostly consist of missionaries and zealous Anglicists like Charles Grant, Charles Trevelyan and Lord Macaulay. The third view held that syntheses of both the two cultures would be evolved to preserve all that is good in the Oriental system and Western system. This view is shared by some Indians like Ram Mohan Roy and Englishmen like Colonel Jervis. Another Englishman who held the same view was James Thomason who proposed that a scheme of education should be planned which include a study of Oriental culture blended, where necessary, with Western knowledge and ideas from European civilization.⁶⁵ Due to these rival views the Directors of the Company were unable to incur expenditure for education. Even section 43 of the Charter of 1813 remained inoperative till 1823. The Directors got confused amid the absence of a specific policy regarding education. In 1924 the Directors wrote to the Governor-General of India: "We wish you to be fully apprised of our zeal for the progress and improvement of education among the natives of India, and of our willingness to make considerable sacrifices to that important end, if proper means for the attainment of it could be pointed to us⁶⁶".

In 1828 Lord William Bentinck came to India as Governor-General. He showed extreme liberalism in the introduction of the English language and education in the

subcontinent. Since from his Madras days he considered Sanskrit a useless language.⁶⁷ In 1819 James Mill joined India House as Assistant Examiner of Correspondence. He veiled considerable influence on India policy due to his intellectual capabilities. He, with his strong utilitarian argumentations, largely influenced the GCPI. Soon Grant found himself in the company of his likeminded Anglicists for instance James Mill, Francis Warden, Alexander Duff and Charles Trevelyan. He is alleged to have said to James Mills after his appointment as Governor-General: I am going to British India, but shall not be Governor-General. It is you that will be Governor-General. Bentinck was receptive to the idea of Anglicism.⁶⁸

In the new imperial arrangement the balance of power was shifted from Persian to English language which emerged as a language of power and a means for upward mobility. It facilitated Indians in getting powerful government jobs and high social status. For most of the people the greatest attraction in acquiring western knowledge and English language was to get employment. People started taking interest in seeking English to find employment in the Company Government. In 1816 some gentlemen of Calcutta collected 113,179 rupees to establish a *Vidayala* or Anglo-Indian College with English as a medium of instruction. It was made possible due to the efforts of David Hare (1775-1852) and Ram Mohan Roy. In 1820 the inhabitants of the town of Panswell wrote to the Governor of Bombay that they were desirous to learn English to be employed in your service and maintain ourselves. For the Company, employing more Indians was also politically expedient. In a minute of 13 December, 1823 Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, notes that: a man with such knowledge of English as we required, would easily get 150 or 200 rupees as a clerk to a merchant.⁶⁹ So the interest of getting western knowledge among the

Indians should be seen in the light of a requirement of becoming employees of the Company.

Among the liberal Indians the most outstanding personality in this regard was Ram Mohan Roy. He initiated a social movement in which Dawarkanath Tagore helped him. As a first step an English Free School was established for educating the Hindu children on liberal scale. Ram Mohan Roy then found himself in the midst of controversy of Orientalist and Anglicist. His view was more in line with the latter as he demanded Western science and English language from the Company's authorities. He expressed his regret over the establishment of Sanskrit College. In a letter addressed to Lord Amherst (1823-28) he stated that the Sanskrit system of education would be the best way to keep Indians in darkness. He wanted that a more liberal and enlightened system of education embracing, mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy with other useful sciences which may be accomplished by employing a few gentlemen of talent and learning, educated in Europe and providing a college furnished with necessary books, instruments and other apparatus.⁷⁰

In his petition to Lord Amherst he criticized Orientalists' policy of the revival of mere indigenous education, he stated "what was known two thousands years ago with the addition of vain and empty subtleties since produced by speculative men."⁷¹ Nurullah and J. P. Naik are of the view that Ram Mohan Roy was among those liberal Indians who took the task to build the structure of the Indian education as such to accommodate the good aspects of both indigenous and western education. He did not out-rightly shed the native system of education but held the view that a syntheses should be developed to make it open for both the systems.⁷² He was essentially a

syncretist who sought to combine Western science with indigenous tradition. His association with the missionaries too witnessed different shades. By 1820s he criticized them for their religious fervor. A public controversy erupted in which he challenged the divinity of Christ and the doctrine of Trinity. He urged missionaries to keep the idea of the Trinity hidden because it is no longer suited to their interest India.⁷³ He vigorously responded to the missionaries' criticism in his book *The Percepts of Jesus* which he wrote in 1820 as a response to *Friends of India*. Apart from Mohan Roy other Hindu liberals like Ishwarachandra Vidyasagar and Jagannath Shankarset also participated in order to draft a proposal regarding education.⁷⁴ Avril Ann Powell observed that the Hindus' inclination towards English education was due to the fact that Hinduism was more vulnerable to the missionaries. They were eager to preach to the Hindus as certain features of the Hindus' social life were more disturbing such as the practice of *sati*.⁷⁵

During the era of Orientalists, a number of Muslim gentlemen set themselves to learn English. Some of them acquired reasonable knowledge and translated books from English into Persian. One Deen Mahomet⁷⁶ (1759-1851), who converted to Christianity, wrote two books in English. There were others who went to England and learned English and read books in it. About the early response of the Muslims towards English Tariq Rahman remarked

...they manifest no aversion to English...they took it a vehicle of new knowledge which they themselves kept producing in Arabic and Persian. As Persian was still ascendant in India and a Mughal emperor still occupied the throne at Delhi, they may not have felt that their cultural

identity or the power of their social class were under imminent threat.⁷⁷

However, the general Muslim elites avoided sending their children to the English schools and exhibited minimum interest in learning English language.⁷⁸ Despite this latent aversion of Muslim elites, an atmosphere of understanding and accommodation was evolved between the Muslims and Englishmen. The disturbance of the balance of power was not an issue with the Muslims lower classes and that they learned English for pragmatic reasons, but even then one cannot deny the fact that Orientalists' education policy was more or less liked by influential Muslims. As it is amply evident from the establishment of the Calcutta *Madrassa*. Certainly not a brainchild of Warren Hastings; this *Madrassa* was founded on the initiative of some influential Muslims who presented a petition to the Governor-General to use his influence in persuading a Muslim scholar to stay in Calcutta and to establish a Muslim College. They requested Warren Hastings that Mudgid O'din, a Muslim scholar, should be appointed as its principal. Warren Hastings stated:

In the month of September 1780 a petition was presented to me by a considerable number of Mussulmen of credit and learning, who attended in a body for that purpose praying that I would use my influence with a stranger of the name of Mudgid O'din who was then lately arrived at the Presidency to persuade him to remain there.... They presented that this was a favourable occasion to establish a Madressa or College, and Mudgid O'din

the fittest person to form and preside in it.⁷⁹

About the lukewarm response of the Muslims it must be said that there were some serious issues with them. Colonization was in the offing throughout in the Islamic world. The main centers of Islamic civilization in the subcontinent, Central Asia and Middle East fell to colonial powers. The consequences of colonialism were very much deep for the Muslims as most of their territories fell into the hands of colonizers. It was not a simple loss of political power; the entire Muslim world had fallen behind Europe materially, technologically and in terms of intellectual development. The religion of Islam was directly challenged by Western philosophical and scientific theories. This gave the Muslims a problem of how to reconcile themselves with the new waves of reason and materialism. They came under the influence of reform movements developed in the Arabian Peninsula with their own combination of ideas. In the middle of eighteenth century a reform movement led by Maulana Abd-ul-Wahab (1703-1787) was started that discouraged rational discourse and philosophical reasoning. This movement influenced the views of the Indian Muslims to a great extent.

With the same agenda Haji Shariatullah (1781-1840) launched *Faraizi* movement in eastern Bengal in the first quarter of the eighteenth century.⁸⁰ *Ulema* issued a number of *fatwas* (religious decrees) regarding the occupation of the Indian territories by the British imperialists. In one such *fatwa* Shah Abdul Aziz, a leading Muslim *alim*, indicated that India had become *dar al harb* (land of war) as Islamic laws no longer exist. The *jihad* movement of Sayyed Ahmad Barelwi might be interpreted as an unsuccessful

attempt to realize the actual expulsion of the Christian overlords from Indian soil.⁸¹

With colonialism, structural changes occurred in the Indian society. New institutions were introduced to replace the old and decadent ones. Muslims found it difficult to adjust themselves in the new power structure in which Persian, their cultural identity, was discarded. It was no more possible for the Englishmen to retain its old position intact for their policies appeared irrational in the given circumstances. Moreover, English was a difficult language for the Muslims to learn it simultaneously with Arabic and Persian. There were also some Muslim scholars who thought it abhorrent to learn English for employment.

V

One of the most important periods in the history of English education in Indo-Pak subcontinent was the period between the years 1830 and 1835. In this period the renewal of the charter of the East India Company had to be considered by the British Parliament. Subsequently the Charter was renewed for a further period of twenty years. At the same time Thomas Babington Macaulay⁸² was appointed the first Law Member of the Council of the Governor-General. Macaulay (1800-59) arrived to India in the year 1834. He was a distinguished lawyers, historian and essayist.

Charles Trevelyan, Thomas Macaulay's brother-in-law, had already won the battle for English education despite the fact that Orientalists occupied important position in the GCPI. Trevelyan appeared more enthusiastic. He claimed that through English education Hinduism and Islam would be shaken to the core and our language, our learning and

our religion would be established in India. He wrote to Lord William Bentinck, the Governor General who brought about the demise of Persian that “the abolition of the exclusive privileges which the Persian language has in the courts and affairs of courts will form the crowning stock, which will shake Hinduism and Mohammedanism to their center and firmly establish our language, our learning and ultimately our religion in India.”⁸³ At the same time economic, political and religious reasons worked in favor of Anglicists.

After his arrival, Thomas Macaulay has been appointed the President of the GCPI. Within a month he urged upon Governor-General Lord Bentinck of the wholesale adoption of the English education as a policy. He recommended that the printing of Arabic and Sanskrit texts should cease, that the scholarship to students of Islam and Hinduism should be discontinued and that all the available state funds should be devoted to promoting the study of English language and literature.⁸⁴

Macaulay contends that it was the duty of the Company Government to educate the Indian people. As for as his way of thinking was concern, he was clear that the only means of educating the native was to give them knowledge of Western philosophy and science. Considering the irresistible impact of the West on the subcontinent, which had begun its work by early nineteenth century, Macaulay had a good and receptive case. There were some other Englishmen who share his idea for instance Munro and Metcalfe. In the House of Commons, where he represented the constituency of Edinburgh, he often spoke of Indian problems. For example in July 1833 he delivered a speech about the introduction of English system of education in the subcontinent in the following words:

It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system, that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government, that having instructed in European knowledge; they may in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whether it comes it will be the proudest day in English history.⁸⁵

It is clear from the above statement that whatever may be the consequences, Macaulay put the introduction of “European knowledge” in high esteem. Certainly the commencement of the “European institutions” in India found no place in his proposals. It was not emerging paradigm but a very minute part of it. Along with the above statement in which he very sincerely representing the Indian case, another often-quoted statement from his minutes on education of 1835 is worthy of mentioning. He said:

We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreter between us and the million whom we govern---a class of persons, Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinion, 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.⁸⁶

The above two quotations are enough for understanding the objectives of the Anglicists. They were the pillars of English aggressive imperialism supporting it in one-way or the other. In the words of K. K. Aziz “the highest ideal to be contemplated with pride is the creation of a black Englishman, who will owe everything to England and only his color and blood to India...to treat a race with contempt, to make it read with an alien literature in an alien tongue, and by this process alone to transform it into some thing which it had no intention of becoming was beyond even the Englishmen”.⁸⁷ Besides, another important point in Macaulay’s minutes was the creation of a class of people who may perform the duty of interpreters. It was rather a confused policy in which the indigenous elites would be encouraged to educate their children in the schools usually conducted in English language, while the indigenous poor, rural vernacular schools were left for the poor masses. It was a clear manifestation of creating a cultural dependency among the educated Indians. In this regard Carnoy (1974) remarked that “ the primary purpose of the (colonial) schooling was control’ and’...to build a cultural dependency among the educated and ruling classes so that revolutionary overthrow would never be a likely alternative.”⁸⁸

The appointment of a famous missionary Alexander Duff in the GCPI strengthened the hands of the Anglicists, and it scored its first victory when Lord William Bentinck founded the Calcutta Medical College. The appointment of Thomas Macaulay as its president put another stamp on the discomfiture of the Orientalists. William Bentinck accepted the proposal initiated by Macaulay on 7 March 1835. It stipulated:

1. The policy of devoting all educational grants to Eastern education alone was completely reversed.
2. The avowed object of Government was to be the introduction of English literature and the impartation of modern Western knowledge.
3. Institutions similar to those of the West were to be founded and whatever benefits might result to intellectual and social life from such institution were to be freely and generously offered to the local people.⁸⁹
4. The existing Oriental institutions were to continue but fresh awards of stipends to students of these institutions and the publication of classical texts must cease.⁹⁰

From time to time the Orientalists raised their objections to criticize the new education policy. H. T. Prinsep registered his observations on the new recommendations by arguing that the Muslims had as yet exhibited no inclination to study English, and that even among the Hindus only those who had connections with the English through public or private service really regarded the study of their foreign tongue and alien literature as indispensable.⁹¹ Prinsep also observed large-scale resentment from students learning in traditional schools. He stated: "In three days a petition was got up signed by not less than 30000 people in behalf of the *madrassa* and another by the Hindus for the Sanskrit College. T. B. Macaulay took it into his head that this agitation was excited and even got up by me."⁹² It testifies that there were sharp differences between the two sections which ran parallel

against each others. Both had some extraordinary and capable personalities on its board.

In 1842 the GCPI vanished and was replaced by the Council of Education. The controversy regarding English education tilted in favor of the Anglicists by the regulations introduced by Lord Harding (1844-48). The right of public services appointment was given to the Council of Education through a process of open competitive examination. It was made clear that preference will be given to the English education and literature. From then onwards the door of higher services was closed upon everyone except candidates fluent in English. Virtually it was the sadist period in the history of all other languages i.e. Persian, Hindi, Urdu and others. In this way Anglicists averted the expected revival of the indigenous education in its very early phase. Moreover, the extra-ordinary attention given to English language retarded the performance of the vernacular schools vis-à-vis the ability of brilliant students. So much so that the deplorable condition of these ordinary schools alarmed the Company government, which immediately ordered to further investigate the matter. It is astonishing that vernacular schools were left at the miserable condition and widespread ignorance and superstition. For a long time the government relied on the 'Downward Filtration Theory.' Very little was done to improve the quality of primary education during that period. The hitherto existed policy of feeding and funding the vernaculars had been ceased. The teaching of Arabic, Persian, Islamic jurisprudence, the four *Vedas* and that of other Hindu religious text were left to *maulvi* in *maktab* and *pundit* in *pathsala* respectively.

The new system received scathing criticism from natives and Europeans as well. The super-imposition of Western knowledge was termed by Lord Curzon as too

academic, too European and misguided.⁹³ It will be pertinent here to note that even the European system borrowed some of its features from the subcontinent. It is evident from the first Educational Dispatch of the Court of Directors which was issued on the 3rd June 1814. It goes on to say:

The mode of instruction that from time immemorial has been practiced...received the highest tribute of praise by its adoption in this country...and it is now become the mode by which education is conducted in our national establishment, from a convection of the facility it affords in the acquisition of language by simplifying the process of instruction.”⁹⁴

In this way the marginalization of the society was brought about. The negligence of the indigenous system made its associates rival of the Western knowledge that bemoaned it for creating stratification in the society. Since then the indigenous system was developed on its own line, guided the destiny of millions of people. They made their own syllabus free from state intervention and taught pupils according to their own methods. An atmosphere of rivalry has reaped which some time took the shape of uprising. Gradually a sense of deprivation and frustration had been developed among the natives. The Frustration-Aggression Theory⁹⁵ implies that aggression always stems from frustration. The same dilemma was created in the Indian context by the Englishmen in the first half of the nineteenth century. In the domain of education they made stereotypes images which are difficult to call them as representative of the natives. The image of Western knowledge was projected as dominant perception of the liberal world. In this state of affairs the natives perceived themselves at loss

as they witnessed misfortune looms on the Indian subcontinent.

However, there were even some Englishmen who castigated the strange policy of the Company. A. P. Howell commented:

As each province fell under our rule, the Government did not take advantage of the time... to make the village school an important feature in the *village system that was almost everywhere transmitted to us. Had this been done, and had the numerous village allowances been diverted to this object*, and had the Government devoted itself to the improvement of school-books and school masters, instead of establishing a few new schools of its own, and thereby *encouraging the belief that it was for the state, and not for the community, to look after education*, [italic by author] the work of general improvement would have been substituted for the work of partial construction, and we should now have had in every province a really adequate system of national primary education. Sir Thomas Munro aimed at this in Madras, as did Mountstuart Elphinstone in Bombay and Lord William Bentinck in Bengal

After this Howell opined “but their views were overridden by men who, if less farseeing, were more persistent.”⁹⁶

Very soon virulent campaign of vilification had started against the English education by the conservative sections

of both Hindus and Muslims. They were afraid of their diminishing influence in the society after the introduction of liberal education. They urged upon their co-religionists to abstain from obtaining secular education, as it would corrupt their moral character. They took it as a personal matter after the stoppage of funding from the Company government, though some of their reservations were justified. Due to their propaganda Muslims in general and the Hindu aristocracy remained aloof from seeking English education for a period of time.⁹⁷

Conclusion

It is patently clear that the indigenous system was at its lowest ebb at the time of British advent in the subcontinent. But, it was not as deeply decadent as was projected by missionaries and Anglicists. The scathing criticism against it does not hold weight on the face of fresh research. The indigenous system had a rich tradition of science and philosophy. It had some good scholars in different fields of study. Over centuries a blend of Indian and Muslim learning had been developed, in which both enriched each other with their own ideas. There were some revolutionary features of the indigenous system such as the monitor system, and the kindergarten system which were later adopted in most of European countries.

It is understood that Western sciences and Christianity were among some of the most potent ideological tools of British imperialism that lead to the colonization of the mind of the people. In all this educational discourse it is clear that the objective of the Anglicists intended to create a class of English-speaking Indians who would help them govern the country. Moreover, the spread of Christianity in the grab of education was another but explicit design of not only the missionaries but majority of the Anglicized Directors and members of GCPI. All the Englishmen,

irrespective of their schools of thought, had strong and unshakable faith in the superiority of Western civilization and Christianity. However, within the imperial parameter, the policy of the Orientalists, despite its drawbacks, was less harmful for the subcontinent as they associated its policy with the local background. Contrary to it the Anglicists replaced the indigenous system, and the edifice of the English educational structure was so built to display its external beauty and to conceal hollow interior of the knowledge. The whole structure of education was so fabricated which created an amalgam of stratification in the society. The civilizational superiority of the Anglicists was assumed an emerging paradigm of liberalism and bestowing upon Englishmen the right to represent the natives.

It must be said that all the Englishmen (Orientalists, Anglicists and missionaries) were very sincere in giving European sciences to the Indians. Particularly they pursued this policy in aggressive mood after the emergence of liberal thoughts in the English society. But they were not consistent in its implementation as different policies have been devised and implemented by different governor-generals. An essential feature of their (Anglicists and missionaries) rhetoric contained an inherent traduce of the indigenous education which was biased, one-sided and transgenic. It was a process of imperial subjugation authorities in which three components of religion (Christianity), science and empire were engaged in a continues dialogue in various degrees. Orientalists were secular imperialists having great respect for indigenous education. Most of them learned Indian languages and initiated interest in Oriental learning. Their secular credentials and lukewarm attitude towards religion were no more acceptable to their zealous religious and aggressive counterparts. It was in early nineteenth century that an

alliance of science, religion and imperialism has been evolved. The alliance of religion (missionaries), science and imperialism (Anglicists) has the potential to accommodate the entire three components workable and acceptable to most of the British officials.

The education policy was accordingly devised which produced English-educated subservient subjects who were not capable of using it a de-colonizing tool to produce indigenous literature. It lacked the quality of being a uniform system of education. They infused in their minds that access to enlightened works of modern science; technology, law and philosophy would become easier through English. Should one call it a proudest day in the history of England as was predicted by Macaulay? Certainly not. One of the objectives of getting education is the change of mental approach towards every aspect of life. However, English education system in India was not designed to perform its right duty. It did not create enlightenment or intellectual curiosity. It did not mould character and produce the best man. It produced degree holders but not educationists. This kind of origin deteriorated the whole concept of education.

Should children be taught in familiar vernacular languages to develop their early cognitive skills, or in English, the international language of business and commerce? The obvious answer is both. English language can be adopted as a tool to express indigenous cultural experience. One may speculate that if the indigenous system of education had been allowed to accommodate some newly introduced disciplines like liberal arts, Western philosophy and English language, it might have served the needs of the developing subcontinent rather well. It would have been better for the British authorities to introduce

certain reforms in the system and evolved a unified educational structure.

Notes and References

- 1 Benevolent and Aggressive imperialism was used for understanding views of Orientalists and Anglicists particularly those of Macaulay. George D. Bearce, *British Attitudes towards India 1784-1858* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961). The introduction of English education is viewed as an emerging paradigm by some scholars in the study of languages. Tariq Rahman, 'The Rise of English in Nineteenth Century British India', in *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, VolII XIII No. 2, 1992. Keith Watson looked at the educational development in the Third World former colonies from the angle of imperialism. In his *Education in the third World* he made analysis and compared educational development in English, French and Dutch former colonies. Keith Watson, *Education in the Third World*, Ed. (London: Croom Helm, 1982.).
- 2 The Marxist approach was developed for the purpose to view educational development parallel with economic development. It has been stated by some scholars that the roots of indigenous education was cut off through the resumption of land policy in British India. For detail see Joseph Di Bona, 'The Transitional Process of Educational Systems from Pre-Colonial to Western Forms in 19th Century India,' in *Journal of South Asian and Middle*

Eastern Studies Vol. XIII, No. 3, spring 1990, pp 49-62.

- 3 Tariq Rahman, 'The Rise of English in Nineteenth Century British India'. p. 42.
- 4 Azra Wiqar, 'Bartanvi Ahad Mai Angraizi Zuban Ki Tarvij', *Mujjala-i-Tarikh-o-Saqafat Pakistan* [Urdu] October 2000-March 2001, p. 50. Also see Lecture titled '*Ashaat wa Maujooda Halat Aala Taleem Angrezi ke Musalmano mai Ba ahdi Angrez*' [Urdu] delivered on the occasion of 8th Mohammedan Educational Conference 28 December 1893 by Syed Muhammad Mahmud (Agra: Matba Mufeed-i-Aam, N. D), p. 5. For detailed study see Francis Robinson, *Cambridge Illustrated History: Islamic World* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- 5 Francis Robinson, *Islamic World*, p.228-29.
- 6 Ibn Batuta, *Ajai-bul-Asfar*, Urdu trs. Mulvi Muhammad Hussain (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1983), p. 687.
- 7 Tariq Rahman, *Language, Ideology and Power: Language Learning among the Muslims of Pakistan and North India*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 78. Also see Francis Robinson, *Islamic World*, pp. 221-223.
- 8 Popularly known as Darsi Nizami (Nizami curriculum) was a comprehensive curriculum developed by *Mullah* Nizam-ud-Din of the

Farangi Mahal family of Lucknow. It included a wide ranging of subjects like rational sciences, revealed sciences and social sciences based on the Iranian and Indian achievements. (Francis Robinson, 242) There were also some liberal passages and composition in most Arabic and Persian schools. *Bahar-e-Danish* written by Shaikh Inayatullah Kumboh (1608-1671) was regarded as an excellent model of composition. *Masnavi Nairang-e-Ishq* of Maulana Muhammad Akram Ghanimat was another popular *masnavi*, which was a part of the curriculum in the Persian school in the Punjab. (Tariq Rahman, *Language, Ideology and Power*, p.128). It is evident from these facts that Muslims in India embraced not only rational sciences but also developed an interest in liberal arts and literature.

- 9 Tariq Rahman, *Language, Ideology and Power*, p. 128.
- 10 Francis Robinson, *Islamic World*, p. 226.
- 11 Syed Muhammad Mahmud, p. 32.
- 12 C. Lloyd Thorpe, *Education and the Development of Muslim Nationalism in Pre-Partition India* (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1965), p. 4.
- 13 G. W. Leitner, *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab* (Delhi: Amar Prakashan, 1982), p. 79.

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- 14 There were schools for different communities. Members of different religious communities had managed the affairs of these schools separately. A clear-cut classification is difficult but broadly there were four types of schools i.e. *Maktab* or place of writing was a Persian school, open to all sects. *Madrassa* or place of lesson is meant an Arabic school where pupils learned Holy Quran. It also imparting highest knowledge in the language, literature, law and the sciences. By *Patshala* is meant a school in which Sanskrit is taught in religious manner. There was also *Gurmukhi* School chiefly for Sikh population in which *Gurmukhi* was taught. *Mahajani* schools had been established for commercial and trading community. For understanding the nature of the indigenous education in Indo-Pak subcontinent see G. W. Leitner, p. 10.
 - 15 Joseph Di Bona, p. 53.
 - 16 Himayatullah, 'Religious Transformation and Development among the Pakhtuns: A Historical and Analytical Study', in *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2. 2007, p. 134.
 - 17 G. W. Leitner, p. 20.
 - 18 Suresh Chandra Ghosh, *The History of Education in Modern India 1758-1998* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2000), p. 8.
 - 19 Tahira Aftab, p. 11.
 - 20 Syed Nurullah, J. P. Naik, p. 61.

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- 21 Vellore was a district of South India in which a sepoy mutiny took place in August 1806. The Vellore mutiny was attributed to the missionaries working there. Some officials of the Company and Anglo Indians blamed missionaries for creating uneasiness among the soldiers. In their defense missionaries reject their claim by saying that neither in Vellore nor in the neighborhood did there exist one single mission station. See Syed Nurullah, J. P. Naik, p. 80.
- 22 *Ibid*; p. 61.
- 23 Keith Watson, p.12.
- 24 *Ibid*; p. 13.
- 25 Some Anglicists for instance Charles Grant and Wilberforce believed in the White Man's Burden Theory. They saw nothing intrinsically valuable in the Indian culture and learning. They dismissed everything related with India contemptuously. Considering Western culture and English language as superior they were supposed to educate Indians and help them evolve a higher level of civilization. See, Tariq Rahman, 'The Rise of English in Nineteenth Century British India', p. 49.
- 26 Tariq Rahman, *Language, Ideology and Power*, p. 146.
- 27 Among some known Orientalists were Charles Wilkins (1750-1836) arrived in Bengal in 1770, appointed director of Company press at Calcutta. He was a scholar of Persian, Sanskrit,

and Bengali literature. Nathaniel Halhed (1751-1830) arrived in 1772. He was a judge in Supreme Court and was a scholar of oriental learnings. He wrote the first Bengali grammar. Jonathan Duncan (1756-1811) arrived in 1772. He was a scholar of Persian and Bengali languages. William Jones (1746-1794) arrived in 1783. He was a scholar of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic and became president of Asiatic Society of Bengal. He translated *Manu Shastra* and *Shakuntala*. William Hunter (1755-1812) arrived in 1781 and was later appointed professor at Fort William College. He was a scholar of Urdu and Persian. Neil Edmonstone (1765-1814) arrived in 1783 he was a scholar of Bengali and was also a Persian secretary. Henry Foster (1760-) arrived in 1783. He was a Bengali scholar and produced first Bengali dictionary. John Gilchrist (1759-1841). He joined Fort William College and prepared a grammar and dictionary of Hindustani. See Tahira Aftab, pp.17-18.

- 28 When Hastings founded the Calcutta *Madrassa* it was very popular and attracted scholars from far off places. They received stipends to study the courses. He purchased a site for the *madrassa* on his own account and induced the Court of Directors to assign the rent of one or more villages near Calcutta as endowment. The Director later sanctioned it and also reimbursed Hastings. The same practice was started in the Sanskrit College at Benares. See Suresh Chandra Ghosh, p. 10. Also see Tariq Rahman, *Language and Politics in Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 27.

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- 29 Suresh Chandra Ghosh, *The History of Education in Modern India 1758-1998*, p. 10. Also see Tahira Aftab, p. 11.
- 30 Unpublished *Comprehensive History of Pakistan*, Vol. 1, p. 5. The manuscript is available in the National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad.
- 31 *Ibid.*
- 32 H. Sharp, *Selection from Educational Records*, Vol. 1, 1781-1839 (Calcutta, 1920), p. 7.
- 33 Paradigm was used in the sense that after the Industrial Revolution the British economy witnessed large-scale development. That economic transformation carried with it a new, expansive and aggressive attitude in which the representative of English civilization stood for a policy of assimilation in India. They looked to their colonies through the eyes of an Englishman. It was the dawn of English liberalism in England. The Anglicists brought it in the wrong time to India to stamp British image upon India. See for the phenomena of paradigm, Tariq Rahman, 'The Rise of English in Nineteenth Century British India', p. 42.
- 34 Syed Muhammad Mahmud, p. 27.
- 35 Syed Nurullah, J. P. Naik, p. 11. Also see G. W. Leitner, p. 21.

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- 36 The Downward Filtration Theory was designed by the Anglicists to create a group of black Englishmen. It worked from top to bottom leaving primary and elementary education to grow for itself. The government spends on the improvement of English education alone in the hope that Western culture would gradually permeate into the whole society. See R. C. Majumdar, p. 819, Nurullah, J. P. Naik, p. 113.
 - 37 Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1832, quoted in Nurullah, J. P. Naik, p. 118.
 - 38 Adam's Report quoted in Syed Nurullah and J. P. Naik. 21.
 - 39 *Ibid*; 123.
 - 40 Joseph Di Bona, 'The Transitional Process of Educational Systems from Pre-Colonial to Western Forms in 19th Century India', in *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* Vol. XIII, No. 3, Spring 1990, p. 51.
 - 41 W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans* (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel, 1999).
 - 42 Dharampal, *The Beautiful Tree*, (Delhi: Beblia Impex Pvt. Ltd, 1983).
 - 43 N. A. Baloch, *Education in Sind before the British Conquest and the Education Policy of the British Government* (Hyderabad: University of Sind, 1971).

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- 44 In Hugli *Imambara* a trust was set up by Haji Mohmud Mohsin along with a college. The British authorities took over the fund of the trust worth 40,000 per annum and used it in the promotion of English education. Even the Europeans were employed to raise salaries from the fund. In another similar incident the authorities ceased the educational fund of Gungadhur Pundit of Agra which he received from Madho Rao Scindia. In some cases the local Committee of Public Instruction reduced the endowments. It was illustrated in the case of Nawab Fazel Ali Khan of Lucknow who established the endowment at Delhi College. Besides, Dakshina Fund of Shivaji worth Rs. 500,000 for indigenous education was used for English education on a reduced scale. By 1857 the fund was reduced to 12,000; in 1873 it was down to Rs. 3,594 and in 1905 only Rs. 27. For more details see Joseph Di Bona, 'The Transitional Process of Educational Systems from Pre-Colonial to Western Forms in 19th Century India'. To vindicate his Marxist approach Joseph Di Bona consulted a number of source materials in his article. Starting from Marx, *Capital*, he mentioned reports and proceedings of the General Committee of Public Instruction and documents of National Archives of India.
- 45 *Ibid.* Sir Wilberforce and Charles Grant, who became Director in the Company, submitted the proposal in the House of Commons. See Sujit Sivasundaram, 'A Christian Benares: Orientalism, Science and the Serampore Mission of Bengal', *The Indian Economic and*

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- Social History Review*, VoII. 44, No. 2, 2007, p. 114.
- 46 Syed Nurullah, J. P. Naik, p. 68.
- 47 Eric Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. xiv.
- 48 Carey to Hooker, dated 3 Feb. 1831 quoted in Sujit Sivasundaram, 'A Christian Benares', p. 121.
- 49 *The Friends of India*, Quarterly series, VoI. 1. 1820, p. 53 quoted in Sujit Sivasundaram, p. 123.
- 50 Sujit Sivasundaram, p. 114. Also see H. Sharp, p. 17 and Tahira Aftab, p. 11.
- 51 R. C. Majumdar, p. 818.
- 52 Syed Nurullah, J. P. Naik, p. 78.
- 53 F. G. Hutchins, *The Illusion of Permanence*, (Princeton: 1967), pp. 3-19.
- 54 Tariq Rahman, *Language and Politics in Pakistan*, p. 27.
- 55 Tahira Aftab, p. 13.
- 56 J. A. Richter in Syed Nurullah, J. P. Naik, p. 81.
- 57 Evangelism or Evangelical Party was known as the Clamphan Class or Sect, which had on its role such men as Zachary Macaulay, Charles

Grant, John Shore, William Wilberforce, a champion of the poor. Evangelicism was that rock in which the character of the Nineteenth century Englishman was founded. The militant and aggressive Christianity of the Clapham or Clamphan became a force in public life. Its members were men of religious zeal, keen to spread Christianity through English in the early stages of its introduction in India. See N. Krishnaswami, Lalita Krishnaswami, *History of English in India*, (New Delhi: Foundation Books, N. D), p. 11. Also see Eric Stokes, p. xii.

58 Syed Muhammad Mahmud, p. 11.

59 *Ibid*, p. 72.

60 V.D. Mahajan, *Advanced History of India*, (New Delhi: S. Chand and Company, 1990), p. 354.

61 Syed Nurullah, J. P. Naik, p. 75.

62 *Ibid*: p. 77.

63 Sarah Ansari, 'The Islamic World in the age of European Expansion 1500-1800', in Francis Robinson, *Islamic World*, p. 95.

64 Syed Muhammad Mahmud, p. 20.

65 Syed Nurullah, P. J. Naik, p. 125. Thomason was educated in England and had Macaulay as his school fellow. He began his official career in India in 1823 and remained the District Officer at Azamgarh from 1832 to 1837.

66 *Ibid*; p.90.

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- 67 Bentinck to Castlereaagh 24 March 1804, cited in J.C Joshi, *Lord William Bentinck: His Economic, Administrative, Social and Educational Reforms* (New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publication, 1988), p. 170
- 68 J.C Joshi, p. 177.
- 69 *Ibid*, p. 46.
- 70 J. C. Joshi, *Lord William Bentinck: His Economic, Administrative and Educational Reforms*, (New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 1988), p. 138-39.
- 71 Syed Nurullah, J. P. Naik, p. 108.
- 72 *Ibid*.
- 73 Sujit Sivasundaram, p. 140.
- 74 *Ibid*, p. 84.
- 75 Avril Ann Powell, 'Maulana Ramat Allah Kairanawi and Muslim Christian Controversy in India in mid-19th Century', in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 1, 1976, p. 42. Also see from the same author *Muslims and Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny India* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1993).
- 76 Dean Muhammad was born at Patna in Behar in 1759. He joined the service of the East India Company at the age of eleven and became a *subedar* in 1781. He wrote *Travels of Dean Muhammad* in 1794. The revised edition of the book was published by the University of

California Press in 1997. He went to England in 1784 and converted to Christianity in 1786 after marrying an Irish lady Joan Daly. He died on 24 February 1851 at the age of 92. For details see Yaqub Nizami, *Pakistan se Englstan Tak* [Urdu] (Lahore: Nigarishat Publishers, 2006).

- 77 Tariq Rahman, *Language, Ideology and Power*, p. 169.
- 78 Syed Muhammad Mahmud, p. 32.
- 79 Syed Nurullah, J. P. Naik, p. 56.
- 80 Sarah Ansari, quoted in Francis Robinson, *Islamic world*, p. 97.
- 81 Avril Ann Powell, Maulana Rahmat Allah Kairanawi, p. 43.
- 82 Macaulay was born in 1800 and was a Whig politician who was appointed as a commissioner of the Board of Control Supreme Council of India. In 1839 he was elected as a member in the House of Commons from Edinburgh and appointed Secretary of War. He was interested in Utilitarianism and was influenced by the ideas of Jeremy Bentham and Joseph Priestly. He wrote *History of England*.
- 83 Tariq Rahman, *Language, Ideology and Power*, p. 137.
- 84 G. Allana, p. 559.

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- 85 K. K. Aziz, *The British in India: A Study in Imperialism* (Islamabad: National Commission on History and Cultural Research, 1975), p. 147.
- 86 *Ibid.*
- 87 *Ibid.*; p. 148.
- 88 Carnoy quoted in Keith Watson, *Education in the Third World* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), p. 10.
- 89 *England and India*, (Calcutta: Longman, Green and CO, 1918), p. 164.
- 90 R. C. Majumdar, p. 11.8
- 91 G. Allana, p. 559.
- 92 Tariq Rahman, *The Rise of English in Nineteenth Century British India*, p. 52.
- 93 Keith Watson, p.11.
- 94 G. W. Leitner, p. 21.
- 95 The Frustration-Aggression hypothesis was developed by John Dollard; it contends that frustration always generates instigation to aggression. The theory is basically a psychological one based on the realization that past expectations will not be achieved in the present. James Davies supported this theory in sociological context. He wrote that group frustration indicated by the gap between expected need satisfaction and actual need satisfaction. He confirmed that systematic

frustration is the key cause of cross-national political instability. Ted Gurr connected the theory directly to relative deprivation. For detail see Aftab. A. Kazi, *Ethnicity and Education in Nation-Building in Pakistan* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1994), p. 35.

96 A. P. Howell, *Education in British India Prior to 1854 and in 1870-71* quoted in G. W. Leitner, *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab*, p. 22.

97 Aftab A. Kazi, p. 42.