Colonial Codification of Education in India until 1920

PREETI*

Abstract

This paper seeks to understand the nature of colonialism and the nuances of education provided by it through the lens of curricular knowledge in social and natural sciences and technical education till 1920. The British Indian education is conceived in India as an act of securing and consolidating power. By the introduction of the 'complete system of education', the British sidelined indigenous education which was marked by diversity. Certificates and exams became 'a guarantee for high ability and valuable attainments'. The realignment of education brought consent to the British rule which the military power could not have achieved. The Indian subjects were informed that colonial education aimed at bringing 'modernity' among the natives. But in the garb of bringing 'modernity', it brought a culture of certificates, marksheets and medals which became the prized possessions of 'haves'. The major social function which colonial education fulfilled was to differentiate the 'haves' from the overwhelming majority of 'have-nots'. However, Indians were not meek spectators either. Several Indian intellectuals set up their own model schools. Active demands put up by the Indian leaders to have more technical colleges attest to Indian participation in education. Therefore, no simple model or statement can be devised to understand why colonial education had the kind of effects it had.

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The Foundation

In 1757, when the East India Company started its political career in India, it had its own traditional system of imparting education to the students. Initially, the East India Company had no plans to impose a westernised system of education on its Indian subjects. "Its lack of interest in education is not surprising since its primary motive was trade and it did not in any way wish to tamper with social and religious institutions" (Basu, 1982, p. 3). Robert Clive too maintained the view that there should be no interference in the existing system of education. Men like Warren Hastings, Jonathan Duncan, Mount Stuart Elphinstone, Mr. Fraser and Sir William Johns gave encouragement to the Orientalist studies. However, the "early policy of encouraging oriental education was soon questioned in England" (Basu, 1982, p. 2). The challenge came basically from three groups, namely, the Evangelicals, the Liberals and the Utilitarians. Although they themselves had huge ideological differences, they all agreed at a point that the Indian society had to be radically transformed. Both the Anglicist and the Orientalist factions were equally complicit with the project of domination, the British Indian education having been conceived in India as a part and parcel of the act of securing and consolidating power.

The Indigenous System of Education

Education was one such institution which could lead to the transformation in society. However, this is not to suggest that there was no educational system in pre-colonial India. The surveys done in 1820s and 1830s by the government in the Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras, have shown that India had a deep-rooted and widespread system of education. But, one needs to keep in mind that it was not a centralised or homogenous apparatus of education. Indigenous system of education comprised "a vast network of *pathshalas* and *maktabs* for elementary education; *tols*, *agraharams* and *madrasas* for higher learning; Arabic, Persian, Bengali and literatures; and the provisions of domestic instruction for many boys and especially girls by their parents, relatives, or privately engaged tutors" (Gupta, 2012, p. 31).

Poromesh Acharya's study of Bengal showed that *pathshalas* were of the exclusive status of Brahmins in society. The existing hierarchical structure of society was justified in such *pathshalas*. However, "indigenous education was not limited to Brahmins alone, as there is evidence of some pupils from so-called polluting castes receiving elementary education, and even some Chandals working as teachers" (Gupta, 2012, p. 32). In fact, Satish Chandra Mitra, in his book, *Jessore Khulnar Itihas,* states that the Muslims won recognition for being efficient *pathshala* teachers by the end of Pathan era. Acharya further showed that within the indigenous system of education as well, we can see huge diversity and change.

> In fact, there was not one single system of education for the different strata of the rural people but two distinct systems, to suit broadly the two main classes of conflicting interests, viz., the landlords, the leisured class or zamindars, and their associates, on the one hand, and the rest of the working people, on the other (Acharya, 1978, p. 1981).

The *zamindars* tried to educate their children at home, at the same time, the *raiyats* and the petty traders sent their children to the *pathshalas*. But, one needs to take note that although the lower castes were allowed to take elementary education, they were debarred from taking higher education due to the social taboos. W. Adam pointed out that in Bengal and Bihar, there was on an average a village school for every 63 children of school-going age.

We can see a shift among the trends followed by the indigenous schools. "The *maktabs*, however, retained their religious character intact while the *pathshalas* were steadily becoming secular" (Acharya, 1978, p. 1983). Hence, these indigenous schools were not static. Although they were numerous in number, they almost remained isolated from each other. They did not know the subjects they taught and the curriculum followed. The courses of studies usually offered by the Sanskrit schools comprised Hindu Law, Logic, and Literature, *viz.*, *Smriti, Nyaya, Kabya* and *Alankar*. While the Persian and Arabic schools offered many courses of Muslim Law and Islamic religious science, i.e, the Quran, the Tafsir, the Hadith and the Fiqh. The Persian schools also included in their courses some of the literary and historical works like 'Padnameh', 'Amednameh', 'Gulistan', 'Abul Fazzal', etc.

Active Intervention of the British

The indigenous system of education continued more or less in the same form till 1813 when the British tried to introduce a 'complete system of education'. The Charter Act of 1813 "produced two major changes in Britain's relationship with her colony: one was the assumption of a new responsibility toward native education, and the other was a relaxation of controls over missionary activity in India" (Viswanathan, 1990, p. 23). Moreover, Macaulay's minute and Benedict's resolution in 1835 marked a change from the previous era. Education was becoming more 'homogenised'. New syllabus was drafted and students from all walks of life could get educated. The Despatch of 1854 declared that the system of grants-in-aid should be based on an entire abstinence from the interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the school assisted. It was carried forward in the Hunter Commission's Report of 1883.

The Hunter Commission clearly articulated that if any institution or teacher wants to teach or instruct students in religious matters they can do separately, but it could not be a part of school curriculum. The Hunter Commission clearly articulated that those schools which were granted aid from the government were to be opened for pupils belonging to 'all castes and classes of the community'. Some assistance could be granted to the poor students belonging from low castes. Assistance was recommended to schools and orphanages in which poor children were 'taught reading, writing, and counting, with or without manual work'.

A special attention in moral education was also emphasised. The Hunter Commission aimed at giving a good moral character and strong physical qualities to students. "We therefore recommend that physical development be promoted by the encouragement of native games, gymnastics, school drill, and other exercises suited to the circumstances of each class of school" (Hunter, 1883, p. 127). Because they thought that a sense of right and wrong should prevail among the students. "When a boy knows and keeps his proper place in the school, he will be in some degree trained to keep it in the world also" (Hunter, 1883, p. 128). Moral deterioration in Indian school boys can lead to departure from the gentle and respectful manner of 'old times'. And therefore inspecting officers and teachers were recommended to observe the conduct of children. Krishna Kumar tries to understand the nature of colonial enterprise. "At the heart of the colonial enterprise was an adult-child relationship. The coloniser took the role of the adult, and the native became the child" (Kumar, 1989, p. 45). The state's role in this vision was that of a protector of the 'ignorant masses' who personified the 'Asiatic mind' portrayed by James Mill in his popular *History of British India*. Education was perceived as the chief agency for accomplishing the great moral agenda of colonialism. The colonial enterprise always needed the moral climate of the Victorian age in England.

Case Studies: The Central Hindu School and The Arya Mahila College

To manifest the impact of various reports, we can take the case study of two educational institutions which started within three decades. Namely, the Central Hindu College founded in 1898 and the Arya Mahila School founded in 1926. These two institutions are specially dealt with because these two institutions were following the parameters set up by the colonial state but, at the same time, "they were resisting colonial dominance" (Kumar, 1996, p. 137). They were trying to give a new impetus to Hindu religion. They tried to institute Hinduism 'through rituals and to Indianise schools'. They valued *dharma*, *sabhyata*, *samskara*, *gyan*. "They were opposed in concept

to Western civilisation and life-style, and described typically by adjectives like *prachin* (ancient), Aryan, and vedic" (Kumar, 1996, p. 135). The students had to learn science and other Western subjects which were made compulsory by the government. But, the school authorities made a compulsion to teach religion. "The optional subjects of religion, Sanskrit, music, and art, were unpopular partly because they were additional to an already complete syllabus, and partly because they were unofficial and unrecognised" (Kumar, 1996, p. 146).

Nita Kumar acknowledges that the educators had to pay dearly because they doubled the burden of students for making them study the compulsory subjects as well as the religious subjects. The teaching of English became a compulsory part of the school curriculum along with history, geography, mathematics and science. The emphasis was on granting 'secular education'.

> Translated into secular terms, classical humanism assured protection of the integrity of native learning, defusing potential protest by Indians against overtures of cultural domination, for quite independently of the actual sentiment of officials toward the native culture; the classical model in delineating disciplinary boundaries around subjects as independent areas of study permitted the assertion of the respective claims of both Oriental and Western learning to the status of true knowledge without necessarily invoking normative criteria (Viswanathan, 1990, p. 46).

This produced a chain reaction effect. "Educational enterprise became favourite sphere of revivalist mobilisation" (Kumar, 1990, p. 4). The Hindu revivalists' major task was the development of Hindi as a medium of modern education. Krishna Kumar argues that the revivalist organisations like the Arya Samaj or Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh were not anti-modern but they took a different route to modernity rather than prescribed from the colonial rule. Hindi increasingly acquired the status of a unifying language which unified all the Hindu to fight against the British as well as to distance themselves from the Urdu speaking Muslim population. The reasons they cited were basically two "….:one, that Hindustani, as a spoken idiom of the common man, is inadequate for serious discourse; and two, that it cannot promote national integration as sanskritised Hindi can, for traces of Sanskrit are found in all Indian languages" (Kumar, 1990, p. 17).

Subsequently, Hindi was approved as a subject for the intermediate examination in the United Province in the late twenties. The Indian Press got a boost from it. The Indian Press emerged as a near monopoly house of textbooks in Hindi. "A full-fledged

Hindi print industry developed only from the late 1860s" (Stark, 2007, p. 33). Robinson points out that print gradually induced religious change. "With nascent Hindu nationalism and revivalism, Hindi was assigned an important new role as the vehicle of a distinct Hindu consciousness and was soon to challenge the position of Urdu" (Stark, 2007, p. 32).

Women's Education

In the elite circles in pre-British India there were strong precedents of female intellectual participation. Women from respectable families often studied classical or vernacular literature as a recreation, and girls from propertied families learned some accounting skills. The upper classes were restricted to learning at home by the strict seclusion practised by their families. But, most women learned the household arts and the performance of duties with 'sacred' or 'semi-sacred' associations. However, women were neither ignorant nor without 'knowledge'. "Women, more than men, were responsible for the oral transmission of knowledge, which usually came in the form of smriti literature, music, ballads and folklore" (Sen, 2002, p. 202). G.W. Leitner wrote about Punjab that the upper class Hindu and Muslim women used to receive some education at home or through religious institutions, and that a large number of women in princely states were found to be literate at the time of annexation. But, with the coming of the British the structure of education got realigned. When it was decided in 1813 that the colonial government was to undertake some responsibility for imparting education to its Indian subjects, and again in 1835, when it was decided that this education was to be education in western knowledge, the authorities had only their male subjects in mind. "The education of women was not high on the agenda in Britain at the time, and the small resources to be devoted to educating England's Indian subjects were not to be wasted on the lower classes or on women" (Seth, 2008, p. 137).

It was in the 1840s when the unmarried female missionaries arrived in India, and were assigned the work of educating women and children in their homes. "The Protestant missionary societies were the first to address the issue of girl's education" (Rao, 2013, p. 352). The Wood's despatch for the first time offered the provision for imparting education to females. "Mary Carpenter's intervention was highly significant. It sponsored energetic debates on female education, particularly within the ranks of the ICS, if not so much within the education service itself, in the late 1860s" (Allender, 2013, p. 330). It was later echoed in the Hunter Commission's Report and other subsequent reports. "The progress and development of women's education during the British rule was very nominal in comparison to the education for males" (Paul, 1989,

p. 3). The uprising of 1857 which gave a serious blow to the colonial government made them cautious and a policy of social and religious neutrality was declared by the Queen. The participation of a large number of women, including Laxmi Bai, Tara Bai, Sunder, Moti Bai in the mutiny made the government a little more careful about the promotion of education. The overall progress was slow and the 1881 Census showed that there was just one woman under instruction for a population of 403 women in Madras. However, a considerable private and collective effort made by the Indians and Europeans cannot be overlooked in shaping women's education. Officials like Bethune, Reid and Howard's patient work had already clearly demonstrated what was possible without strong intervention from the centre. Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar set up more than 40 schools for women from 1855 to 1858.

> During the colonial period, the three important agencies that promoted women's education were the Christian missionaries, the male intelligentsia and the British government. The missionaries were pioneers in this field, but the thread of their activity was gradually taken up by educated Indian men (Srivastava, 1998, p. 275).

The government policy mainly concentrated on primary education. There was hardly any school in the rural area for girls. Government schools, with their dark, stuffy classrooms and lack of space for the girls to run about, were only an extension of the unhealthy atmosphere of the women's life at home. Shortage of teachers was a perennial problem with girls' schools set up by the government. The schools in the cities were drawing women students mainly from Anglo-Indian, European, the Indian Christian, Parsee and a few enlightened and well to-do Hindu and Muslim families. Only 50 women schools out of 81 were run by their grants-in-aids. All this hindered the growth of secondary education of women and the little efforts made by local bodies in promoting secondary education. Secondary education among the women could not make much headway.

> At first sight a different result might have been expected; the explanation lies in the fact that girls' schools are for the most part supported by private agencies, while of boys' schools, a much larger proportion is maintained either by government or by local boards, involving consequently a much greater charge on public funds (Review of Education in India, 1886, p. 284).

Nurullah and Naik in their study showed that when Curzon came to India only 2.5 per cent of the female population of school-going age was in school and the total expenditure was

11 lakhs, as compared to 80 lakhs on boys' education. Due to government's negligence of the women's education it became imperative for the western educated Indian intelligentsia to shoulder the responsibility of women's education. Mill's *Subjection of Women* (1869) became popular among the Indian educated, who often spoke in favour of female equality. Comte wrote about the absolute necessity of women's equality. His ideas had a major impact on the intelligentsia of all the three presidencies.

> Western ideas helped these men examine their society to find out what retarded it. It became clear to them that, in addition to the caste system, social progress was blocked by old customs and traditions, particularly those that affected women: infanticide, child marriage, enforced widowhood and purdah (Srivastava, 1998, p. 276).

People like Gopal Hari Deshmukh, G.G. Agarkar, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Kashinath Trimbak Telang and R.G. Bhandarkar, took up the liberal ideas in their writings and speeches. Indian students were often required to reflect upon this aspect of Indian society. The status of women was a popular essay and exam question, particularly in the first half of the 19th century. In 1889, around 549 members of the Indian National Social Conference pledged to abstain from alcoholic drinks, cease the practice of dowry and child marriage, endorse widow remarriage, and educate their daughters. But, this did not mean a complete equality between the male and female education. By and large, academic education was thought to be for boys, while 'domestic' education was for girls. They wanted to make them an ideal housewife which was the need of the urban middle class household. In fact, the curricula of girls' schools were quite different. In 1882, the Education Commission explicitly recommended separate curricula for girls to draw in a larger body of women. The curricula varied from school to school, but almost all girls' schools taught hygiene, needlework, household management and child-rearing. Moreover, the Sadler Commission of 1917 "encouraged the religious value systems to mingle with women's education" (Paul, 1989, p. 11). Not many secondary schools were funded by the government. Moreover, out of the total 81 secondary schools, the colonial government fully financed only 6 secondary schools. Only the Bethune College was financed by the colonial government that too after 20 years of establishment. Initially, women were not permitted to enrol themselves at any of the universities opened up in the presidencies. The others were financed and managed by private bodies and missionaries. They did not even recognise the S.N.D.T. Women's University till independence.

To manifest the cause and effect of the women's education, one has to

delve into ideology of the society in general and state in particular.

> The State system of instruction, as regards control, inspection, and textbooks, has been framed with a view to the requirements of boys; and it needs modification in many important points if the education of girls is to receive due encouragement (Review of Education in India, 1886, p. 278).

B.M. Malabari once stated that "In the moral and spiritual education of men, refinement of life, improvement of the home, upbringing of children, and implanting true faith in the hearts of men, the sphere of women is absolutely boundless." Dalpatram, a well known poet, wrote that there were many advantages in educating one's daughter, including, the prevention of petty quarrels among women. Narmada, the poet, claimed that "An educated man cannot share his life with an illiterate wife. Education will make a woman a better wife, a better daughter-in-law and a better mother". Statements made by these prominent public figures underline the basic motive of the society in general, and state in particular. They did not want their female counterpart to be competitive or mannish.

> However, the ideal of monogamy coupled with the need to establish men's mastery in the home, loaded the sexual expectations from a wife in new ways. On the one hand, men asserted their own sexual control over the body of the wife; on the other, the wife was expected to combine the accomplishments of a courtesan with the domesticity of a wife to please the monogamy bound husband (Malhotra, 2009, p. 125).

Women were not expected to be professionals. Manmathnath Ghosh wrote in 1863, "dullness in a girl was considered a virtue and smartness in conversation a crime, smarter and competent women were a threat to patriarchy". They were expected to be good wives, daughters, mothers and nothing more. They were expected to be a guard of their husband's petty salary, at best. Women's relationship was being reworked with her husband, his family, and the world outside, a restructuring, in other words, of the daily business of living. The feudal background coupled with modern education enabled 'the educated middle class' to reinforce feudal hierarchies and gender disabilities. Hence, a feudal relationship was envisaged even while imparting 'modern' education to women.

Teaching of Natural and Social Science: The Establishment of Universities

> The rapid spread of a liberal education among the natives of India since that time, the high attainments shown by the native candidates for Government scholarships, and

> by native students in private institutions, the success of the medical colleges, and the requirements of an increasing European and Anglo-Indian population, have led us to the conclusion that the time is now arrived for the establishment of universities in India, which may encourage a regular and liberal course of education by conferring academic degrees as evidences of attainments in the different branches of art and science, and by adding marks of honour for those who may desire to compete for honorary distinction (Biswas and Agrawal, 1986, pp. 24–25).

"The establishment of the Calcutta, Bombay and Madras Universities in January 1857 marked beginning of modern higher education in India" (Paul, 1989, p. 8). These were called the 'first generation universities'. Initially, the government performed the examining role only. Fees had to be borne by the candidates. The 'second generation universities' included the Benares Hindu University, the Allahabad University, the Aligarh Muslim University, etc. For the Allahabad and the Benaras Hindu Universities, the immediate model, for all subjects, was the Calcutta University, of which they were offshoots. From 1890s to mid-1920s, Allahabad was an affiliating and examining, not a teaching university. By 1914, there were thirteen M.A. colleges, inspected and approved, Nagpur and Lahore among them, and there were eleven accepted up to the B.A. standard, including Meerut and Indore. College libraries were small and their funds were even smaller. In 1915, the first university library was opened. The most 'popular' subjects offered were English, Geography, History, Law, etc. The arts courses attracted the students more. "The pattern of studies in rhetoric and logic then current in England provided a convenient model for adaptation in India" (Viswanathan, 1990, p. 46). However, science was also taught in the university but it was made compulsory even in the schools as well.

Science was expected not just to improve India materially, but intellectually and morally as well. Bernal looked at science as an occupation which had three aims namely the psychological, the rational and the social. David Arnold talks about the Indian science which was not static, the trans-regional exchange took place in the field of science. Even after the decline of Mughal Empire, "the decentred nature of India's political and cultural system enabled, most obviously (though not uniquely) in the eighteenth century, several centres of science, technology and medicine to flourish at the same time and for each to develop its own distinctive characteristics" (Arnold, 2000, p. 7). Dharampal too attests this point. "The artificial making of ice seems to have been till then unknown in Britain" (Dharampal, 2000, p. 19).

He further gives the example of inoculation and plastic surgery in the field of medicine. The Benares observatory made by Raja Jayasinha, production of iron and steel in several parts of India, etc., were the examples given by Dharampal to show that India also had a very developed science, technology and medicine in India. But by eighteenth century, the science and technology started lagging behind. David Arnold too agrees to the point that with the advent of the colonial state, it tried to superimpose its modernity over India. But, he suggested that the exchange of knowledge would have been better for the Indians.

He further talks about the East India Company's policy towards promotion of science, medicine and technology in India. "The British enjoyed the company of science; it would be excessive to suggest that they ruled by it" (Arnold, 2000, p. 25). Much of the scientific endeavour undertaken during the East India Company's rule took place outside or on the margins of the state institutions. Many early accounts on Indian geology were written by military officers and army surgeons, not as a part of their official duties, but under the stimulus of personal interest and in the course of cross-country marches. The Company's servants who wished to pursue scientific interests remained heavily dependent on the approval and funding of the Court of Directors or the Governor General in India. But, they hardly showed any interest except a few like Wellesly. "Rarely did European men of science retire in the country" (Arnold, 2000, p. 24). Even if they showed interest in research, their main aim was to facilitate revenue collection in the newly conquered areas of South Asia.

The researches done in India provided data upon which further researches were done in England. Museums were set up to display the researches done in India. It became also "a way of establishing a self-esteem of colonial science" (Arnold, 2000, p. 29). Moreover, the Asiatic Society started taking interest in science. Journals like *The Journal of the Asiatic Society, Gleanings, The Calcutta Journal of Natural History*, etc., came into being. But, the readership was considerably low. However, one cannot view that the Indians were "totally isolated from the scientific enterprise of the period" (Arnold, 2000, p. 33). Bal Shastri Jambhekar was one such. S. Irfan Habib opines that people such as Ramchandra, Syed Ahmad Khan, Munshi Zakaullah, etc., "went to sensitize vernacular Indian cultures to modern science" (Habib and Bhattacharya, 1998, p. 345). Ramachandra thought that the task of communicating scientific knowledge in local language would enable the Indians to contribute to the development of science. In 1868, Imdad Ali founded the Bihar Scientific Society. Munshi Zakaullah

translated books. "His first book on mathematics, called *Tuhfat-ul-Hisab*, appeared in 1852; it is considered one of the first books in any Indian language in modern Western mathematics" (Habib and Bhattacharya, 1998, p. 347).

Medicine

Deepak Kumar talked about the western medical discourse. "It functioned in several ways: as an instrument of control which would swing between coercion and persuasion as the exigencies demanded, and as a site for interaction and often resistance" (Kumar, 2000, p. 32). He clearly showed that earlier when the Europeans came to India as travellers they showed respect for the local *vaidyas* and the *hakims*. In fact, India had the tradition of collaboration in medicine. But, things started changing with the colonial rule. And the indigenous systems felt so marginalised that they did not collaborate even if they could have done it. The Western Science put emphasis on the cause of the disease, the Indians on *nidana* (treatment). "Microbes and microscopes constituted the new medical spectacle. But, the *vaidyas* put emphasis on the power of resistance in the human body" (Kumar, 2000, p. 33).

Indians were essential, nonetheless, to the organisation and dissemination of the Western medicine. In Calcutta in 1824, and in Bombay two years later, training institutions were set up for the purpose, primarily designed to supply the army with sub-assistant surgeons, dressers and apothecaries. "With respect to medicine, official policy seems all along to have been directed to the practical goal of providing cheap but reliable medical aid for Company servants" (Arnold, 2000, p. 62). In 1835 Bengal, Lord Bentinck appointed a committee for the purpose of improving the constitution and extending the benefits of the Native Medical Institution and creating a system of management and education better suited to the official needs. After a heated debate, the committee advised the abolition of the Institution, along with medical classes at the Madrassa and Sanskrit College, and the creation of a new college to teach Western medicine exclusively and with English as the sole medium of instruction which was taken as the hallmark of a superior civilisation, a sign of the progressive intentions and moral legitimacy of colonial rule in India and the corresponding backwardness and barbarity of indigenous practice.

The Parsis formed the largest single contingent among early entrants to the college, forming more than 40 per cent of the intake between 1846 and 1866, but there were also substantial number of Christians and Hindus. Almost same was the scenario for women. Most of the women students in the medical colleges were drawn from the Anglo-Indian, Indian Christian and Parsee

communities. The Hindu and Muslim women in the higher professional education were almost non-existent. In fact in 1885, the Countess of Dufferin Fund was created to promote medical education among women. In 1902, there were 76 women in medical colleges and 166 in medical schools. Besides there were a fairly large number of women undergoing training as nurses, mid-wives, etc.

The scene started changing for the men, by the mid-1880s, nearly a third of the students at Grant Medical College were Hindus, drawn mainly from the higher castes, especially the Brahmins. Across the British India as a whole by the 1920s, about 1,000 Indians were employed as assistant surgeons in the provincial (or 'subordinate') medical departments, backed by a further 4,000 sub-assistant surgeons. Due to the limited career prospects and financial rewards that Western medicine offered, the Indian medical profession developed gradually, slower than in the more lucrative and prestigious fields of law and government service.

Technical Education

"The idea of providing technical education to the people of India by the Government was first mentioned in Sir Charles Wood's Educational Despatch of 1854" (Basu, 1982, p. 39). But, the schools and colleges which were teaching science, vocational studies and technical colleges were largely neglected. Even when the rule was given to the Crown, the scenario did not change much. But this time, nationalist leaders and local committees kept on putting their demand for the technical education to the Indians. The Nainital Conference recommended a technological institute at Kanpur, the Shimla Conference of 1901 passed several resolutions on technical education, the Ootacamund Industrial Conference of 1908 also recommended that the Engineering College in Madras should be expanded.

The natives also felt the need for technical education and research. The Indian Institute of Science was conceived by Jamshedji Nusserwanji Tata as early as 1896. But, even "as late as 1919, senior government officials were arguing that one engineering college would suffice and that an output of about a hundred civil engineers was enough" (Basu, 1982, p. 50). One of the main reasons for the slow growth of engineering education was the lack of employment. Indian engineers were mostly recruited in PWD. And rest of the departments like railways, irrigation had European and Anglo Indians' predominance. The Census report of 1921 pointed out that there were 1,315 Europeans and Anglo-Indians officers against 262 Indians.

Between 1870 and 1914, "a science-technology-industry connection was beginning to be forged" (Raina and Habib, 2004, p. 76). The indigenous demand for an upgradation of courses in science and engineering became louder and

louder. Due to the constant demands raised by the prominent leaders like W.C Bonnerji, Anandamohan Bose, Chandavarkar, Madan Mohan Malviya, etc., that pressure could be built on the British rule. Sir Harcourt Butler too believed that industrial education was a good antidote to the political agitation. Moreover, the outbreak of the First World War gave stimulus that placed Indians in a better position. A mining school at Dhanbad was opened in 1921, the School of Arts and Crafts was opened in 1912 in Lucknow, the Mayo College of Art was opened up at Lahore. Aparna Basu opines that after 1920, the government started taking interest in opening technical colleges.

Social Science

Almost all the universities had the social science segment. It was so because unlike the natural science department which was expensive to maintain, social science department was relatively cost-effective as one need not spend on labs and equipments. Subjects like History, English, Law were quite popular among the students as it promised, to a larger extent, the government jobs ranging from civil services to lower level in the government job hierarchy. Literature and humanities were more popular among the students. They were a key to the ideologies born in the West. In fact, in the Bengal presidency, it became fashionable to study literature. People loved to quote Shakespeare, Mill, Comte, etc., to underline their 'enlightened' thinking. Intellectual thinkers from the West became the yardstick to test one capability and to reform one's society. The so called western educated Indian intelligentsia always loved to read these famous writers which were necessarily considered as a key for even self-correction.

Conclusion

M.K. Gandhi very famously said at Chatham House in London on 20 October 1931, "I say without fear of my figures being challenged successfully, that today India is more illiterate than it was fifty or a hundred years ago, and so is Burma, because the British administrators, when they came to India, instead of taking hold of things as they were, began to root them out." In retrospect, the British in power effectively sidelined the indigenous system of education. The realignment of education brought consent to the British rule which the use of military power could not have. "The violence which had helped build the empire could henceforth be practised only on the outskirts of the proposed civil society. Within it, coercion had to be replaced by socialisation. This is where education had a role to play" (Kumar, 2005, p. 28). Hence, colonial education not only aided in producing clerks but also catered to the issues of moral agenda and 'cultural hegemony'. The Indian subjects were told that the colonial education aimed at

bringing 'modernity' among the natives. But, in the 'garb' of bringing 'modernity', it brought a different culture, culture of certificates, marksheets and medals which were the prized possessions of people. The major social function which it fulfilled was to differentiate its beneficiaries from the larger population. It created a gulf between have and have-not. "The so-called 'complete system of education' ultimately engulfed and emasculated the indigenous system into it" (Acharya, 1978, p. 1988). But, one cannot deny the fact that Indians were not meek spectators either. This can be very much attested by the fact that people responded in their own ways like schools set up by Annie Besant and Vidya Devi or the surfacing of the Hindu–Urdu controversy or active demands put up by the Indian leaders to have more technical colleges. "No simple model or statement will help us understand why colonial education had the kinds of effects it had" (Kumar, 1989, p. 45).

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