Chapter I

Higher Education in Nineteenth Century Colonial India

Introduction

Systems of education have been an integral part of Indian society, endowed as it has been with structures of school and higher education that predated the advent of British in second half of eighteenth century. These educational institutions were privately run and managed by a variety of communities and religious denominations. The state did not normally interfere with education. Nor was there an organizational network or system through which educational institutions could be interconnected.\(^1\) The traditional centers of higher learning were patronized by wealthy individuals who considered such support a religious and social obligation. By the end of eighteenth century this traditional system witnessed an overall decline due to the general instability and decadence of the social order in India after the collapse of Mughal Empire.\(^2\) There was an

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\(^1\) See Chapter I of Vina Mazumdar 1972: *Education and Social Change: Three Studies on Nineteenth Century India*, Delhi, pp. 3-33. Mazumdar argues that the centers of education functioned due to the efforts of individual scholars. There was no organized curriculum, examination system, and the duration of study depended on the capacity and readiness of the student to learn and absorb. She finds the nineteenth century as a century which brought about a revolution in the field of higher education with the establishment of university system of education in India. The absence of an organized system prevented the evolution of any common accepted standards of assessment. Further, the medium of education in the older pattern was Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian which was the language of the official communication. The new institutions of education and examination introduced English as a medium of instruction, western knowledge and science to the Indians. But this new pattern of education in India continued to attract a small privileged section of society.

\(^2\) Minute by the Governor General, Warren Hastings on April 17, 1781 and also by Lord Minto (Governor General 1807-12) dated March 6, 1811, *Selections from Educational Records, Part I; New Delhi: National Archives of India, 1965.*
increasing trend of decline in the number of students, teachers, and institutions of higher learning in both the Islamic and Hindu education.¹

The East India Company extended its political control over India in the second half of eighteenth century. One of the responsibilities that came with this agenda was the education with the expansion of empire there arose the need to create some 'educated insiders' who would help in its administration and maintenance. Modern education was for the revival and improvement of literature and educating the population in western science and English along modern lines. The proponents of modern education in Bombay and Bengal Presidencies subscribed to a version of "percolation theory".² Off late the historians of education have shown great interest in the policies and institutions of education established in the nineteenth century.³

Imperial interests shaped British educational policy in India. Many policies and initiatives strengthened administrative control and created a class of Indians predisposed to the Raj.⁴ These initiatives have been understood from a variety of

¹ William Adam. 1941. Reports on the State of Education in Bengal (1835-1838); Calcutta university: Calcutta
² The objective of primary education in Bombay was to impart knowledge of western culture and science through the vernacular languages. Sanskrit was studied with a view to enriching the modern Indian languages as a medium of instruction. The goal of the Orientalists in Bengal was to revive and improve classical literature by grafting the modern onto the classical. For details see Aparna Basu p. 16 and S. D. Collet. Life and Letters of Raja Rammohan Roy.
³ This instrumentalist view is now refuted by scholars studying the different aspects of British rule in India. Krishna Kumar suggests that the colonial system of education did not only produce clerks but also created nationalists, educationists, politicians, historians etc. From the ranks of this newly educated class would emerge the 'enlightened insider' who would subvert the agenda of colonial education. See Krishna Kumar. 1991. Political Agenda of Higher Education; New Delhi: Sage Publication Ltd.
⁴ Raja Ram Mohan Roy, a leading eighteenth century modernizer, believed that a regeneration of the Indian nation was possible only if India drank deep at the fountain of western knowledge. He therefore, advocated the study of the English Language, English Literature and the European
historiographical frames. Thus there are those who see the field of higher education in India in the nineteenth century as a laboratory for higher education. Higher education in British universities like Oxford and Cambridge in the early half of the nineteenth century conformed to the medieval pattern and change was slow.¹ The pressures of the industrial revolution catalyzed the creation of new universities and university reform.² The demands of industrial society and the imperial state included the creation of a technical and professional class. Thus the first half of nineteenth century witnessed the growth of many new universities and professional colleges in England and especially in London-the great centre of Population: University of London was established.³

¹ Oxford and Cambridge were the medieval Universities of England which had religion, theology etc as the subjects which were preferred and during the nineteenth century this university was undergoing changes within its system. For details see Eric Ashby (in association with Mary Anderson). 1966. Universities: British, Indian, African- A Study in the Ecology of Higher Education; Weidenfeld and Nicholson: London. pp. 19-22.

² For details on the different models of Universities in Britain which existed during the nineteenth century and the model which was best suited for Indian colony at that time see Eric Ashby. 1966. Op. cit., pp. 19-72. This mainly relates to the theme of the First Generation Universities in India on London model which was the recent model in England and was the examining and affiliating body for the professional colleges and gave degree to the highly populated educated class. See Government of India- Bureau of Education. 1917. The Essentials of a University in a Great Centre of Population (Being a Reprint of Part II of the Final Report of the Royal Commission on University, Education in London), Superintendent Government Printing: Calcutta. Some important portions reproduced as Appendix I in this thesis.

³ This was the model of University which was established with the initiative of the parents who could not afford to send their children to Oxford and Cambridge as they were elite institution and were costly. University of London was established without government financial support. For details see Appendix I.
This chapter discusses the importance of modern education introduced by the colonial state in order to create a class to administer the state efficiently. These policies incubated in imperial bureaucracies for sometime before their limited implementation in urban areas where the presence of the colonial state was the most visible, such as the Presidency towns. Educational policy during this period was consciously designed to create a new Indian socialized into the sustenance of the colonial project. This discussion is restricted then to the system of higher education which at the time was restricted to a very small percentage of the population. Also there was very less expenditure by the government on education.

The Structure of the System of Colonial Education in the 19th century

The societies and institutions of knowledge established during the period of 1761-1903 are very important for understanding British education policy. In the last quarter of eighteenth century pre-colonial centers of learning and scholarship were in a state of crisis. Educational policy has naturally been scrutinized by historians of a variety of historiographic and ideological predispositions, and they have highlighted either colonial hypocrisy or British ignorance of Indian social conditions. British educational policy in India was also shaped by ruling interests who dominated political life at any given time in England. Consequently, the determinants of colonial educational policy and the resistance to these policies changed with time. In the early twentieth century the

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1 Extracts from the speech of Lord Minto's (Governor General 1807-12), minute dated March 6, 1811, in A.N. Basu (ed.), 1952. Indian Education in Parliamentary Papers, Part I; Asia Publishing House: Bombay, p.145.

2 The charter Act of 1813 had proposed that every year at least 1 lakh rupees will be spent on education, but this amount did not come till 1824.

3 For details on this debate see Veena Mazumdar. 1972. op. cit; chapter I.
focus of education policy shifted from secular and nonsectarian and permitted the funding of educational institutions on communitarian lines.¹

The East India Company in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were cautious in their approach to education and patronized indigenous modes of education. The first educational institutes that were opened were mostly dedicated to the instruction of British officials in order to familiarize them with local laws and customs.² These institutes were not merely symbols of imperial power but were also helpful in championing imperial program to expropriate and control.³ These requirements led to the foundation of the Calcutta Madrassah in 1781 and Sanskrit College at Benaras in 1791.⁴ The establishment of Fort William college in 1800 excited the general attention to the Oriental languages, literature and knowledge, which promised to be most effective in the administration of every branch of the affairs of the Honorable Company in India.⁵

The establishment of these two institutions gave preference to Urdu and Sanskrit in order to enlist the support of the local elites and to prepare and train them for subordinate government jobs. This helped colonial officials in their attempt to

¹ Ibid; Mazumdar emphasizes that these institutions were founded on sectarian principles but were communitarian in nature.
² Fort William in 1800 was also one of the institutions established for the training of the British officials in the Oriental learning and literature of the land which was vast and its administration needed people trained in Indian languages. For details see Thomas Roe Ebak. 1819. Annals of the College of Fort William. Calcutta, p.19.
⁴ Ibid, pp. 859-877.
acquire knowledge to facilitate the tasks of administration, and to establish ties with Hindus and Muslims. During the first few decades neither English nor western education were imparted in these institutions. Instruction was limited to theology, medicine, philosophy, music, arts, arithmetic/mathematics, grammar/logic, astronomy, geometry, history, law and literature differences arose in the medium of instruction. The language of instruction was Sanskrit at the Sanskrit college, where most of the students were Hindus. Similarly Persian was the medium for education at Calcutta Madrassah.

A few enthusiastic colonial officials attempted to understand local customs and systems of knowledge and translated classical texts on religion, law, grammar etc to English. One of the directors of East India Company, Charles Grant wrote a treatise (1792-97), where he vigorously argued in favour of imparting western education to the Indians in English. Early initiatives in modern education were

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3. Being well versed in Sanskrit and Persian and a man of deep culture, William Jones alerted the Western world to the importance of oriental and scientific works in India and established the Asiatic Society in 1784. For details see D. N. Bose, S.N. Sen and B. V. Subbarayappa (ed.), 1989. *op .cit*; chapter I, p 496.
4. A treatise by Charles Grant entitled “Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, Particularly with respect to Morals; and on the Means of improving it.” He emphasized on the need to introduce the principles of mechanics and their application to agriculture and to the useful arts. He accepted that the Indians manufactured quality products but that this involved hard work and patience; inventions were very few and a few things had improved due to the intercourse with Europeans, who possessed superior technology. Thus he advocated the western learning for the Indian masses for the improvement of existing technology. For details see D. N. Bose, S.N. Sen and B. V. Subbarayappa (ed.), 1989. *Op. cit*; chapter I, p 497.
undertaken by missionaries,\(^1\) private societies, and individuals including the British officials. Christian missionaries had an evangelical interest in their literacy and teaching programmes. Introduction of the Education also helped in growth of scientific and technical education in India, though on a very small pace as nothing actually figured till second half of nineteenth century.\(^2\)

The goal of education in this phase was to acculturate colonial officials with the territory to be administered. Literary and scientific organizations, and learned societies established in India by the colonial administration were largely inspired by similar institutions in Britain. The aims and objectives of some of these institutions were similar to their counterparts in Britain. The medical colleges that were established in Calcutta and Bombay in 1835 and 1845 respectively were

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\(^1\) In the Despatch of 1659, the court of directors had expressed their desire to spread the Gospel. Later missionary clause was included in the Charter of 1698. For details see B. R. Garg, 2001. *op. cit*; chapter I, pp.17-31.

\(^2\) The first half of nineteenth century saw few developments in science and a small committee under leadership of David Hare from the Asiatic Society was to look into physical investigations, collection of facts, specimens and correspondence with favorable individuals for such discussions and investigations. The two committees were formed to look into 'Natural History, Physics, Medicine, Improvement of the Arts, and whatever is comprehended in the general term of physics' and the other for the literature. The members of Asiatic society who were interested in scientific investigations of the vast flora and fauna and the geology and geography of India took the initiative in publishing research papers in the *Asiatick Researches* (started in 1829 and ceased in 1839) was divided in two parts—one for the scientific researches (Captain J. D. Herbert Deputy Surveyor- General, started a monthly under the name of *Gleanings in Science*, to publish extracts and abstracts from European Scientific Publications. It also published society’s monthly proceedings) and other for literary communications. James Prinsep, one of the Secretaries of the Asiatic Society, took over the periodical in 1832 and published under the name of *The Journal of the Asiatic Society* 500 papers in mathematical and physical sciences, 560 in Zoology, 320 in geology and 80 in Botany with some scientific notices found place in this journal in 50 years. Other scientific organisations like the Agricultural Society of India founded by William Carey in 1820 (renamed as the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India in 1826) and the Bombay Natural History Society (1848) were other scientific bodies to provide stimulus to scientific pursuits. For details see D. N. Bose, S.N. Sen and B. V. Subbarayappa (ed.), 1989. *Op. cit*; chapter I, p 499-500.
maintained at the cost of the native medical institutions and the medical classes held at Sanskrit college and the Madrassas.¹

Thus during the governor generalship of Lord Bentick, initiatives were taken to introduce western education by abandoning the commitment to oriental literature and learning.² It was proposed that the few Indians who would acquire a modern education would help in further educating the masses. But the enlightened educators (outsiders and insiders) forgot that Indian society was not egalitarian in nature, wherein the upper castes would capture the opportunities available for acquiring a modern education.³

Indian society had been traditionally divided into different sections on the basis of occupation, caste and class- so it was hard to imagine that education would percolate to all sections of society following its introduction in the presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Bengal. The barriers between the educated few and the rest of the society came to be accentuated and this impeded the expansion of modern education.⁴

¹ For details of the establishment of modern medical institutions in India in nineteenth century see chapter VIII in J. Richey ed., Selections from Educational Records, II pp. 312-338. Also see D. P. Sinha. The Educational Policy of the East India in Bengal, pp. 172-73 also mentioned in Suresh Chandra Ghosh. Educational Policy in India since Warren Hastings, chapter VI, pp. 88-102. The establishment of these medical colleges in the year 1835 and 1845 at Calcutta and Bombay coincides with the year of introduction of western education in 1835 (Macaulay’s Minute). It shows that the policy of promotion of indigenous educational institutes was changing and this led to decline of the Indian medical practices (though only in the cities in beginning), but it later affected the indigenous practices. Also due to lack of financial support from government these institutions gradually became redundant.


³ In traditional Hindu society only three castes (Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Kayasthas) had access to education. This trend did not discontinue till the early twentieth century in India.

The exposure to modern ideas through the system of education stoked a new awakening in India and certain sections of society began to commit themselves to the social transformation of India in the last decades of the nineteenth century. This meant a revision of the agenda of colonial education to suit another vision of India. It is at this moment that we reckon with the beginnings of Indian nationalism. Historians like R.C. Majumdar have even gone to an extent to say that 'The nineteenth century was the dividing line and these hundred years changed the face of India far more than did the preceding thousand years.'

With the passage of time there was an increasing demand among the educated Indians, to have institutions where research in pure science could be undertaken and which would help in growth and development of the country. Many scientists in the second half of nineteenth century from Calcutta University pointed the need for education which could bring some changes in the living condition of the people. The educational ideas of the scientists like S. C. Chuckerbutty, P. C. Ray, M. N. Saha, Mahendralal Sarkar etc criticized in their own ways the education system of colonial India and showed the need to have national institutions where science education could flourish.

Industrialists like J. N. Tata supported the establishment of institutions such as Indian Institute of Science (IIS) at Bangalore that would produce graduates who would further the industrial development of the country. The new institute

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would be modeled along the lines of Johns Hopkins University.¹ But there were other scientists like Prafful Chandra Ray who wanted the necessary changes to be brought in the existing universities, which meant initiating research and teaching in the universities themselves.²

The Beginning of Higher Education in the Nineteenth Century

Five major phases of educational policy during the period of British have been identified:

- **Phase I: 1813-1854:** The Charter Act of 1813 opened India to the missionary workers; the Charter Act of 1833 lifted the ban on employing Indian Christians; the phase of, “The Age of the Mission Schools” in the period between 1833-1855.

- **Phase II: 1855-1900:** Wood’s Dispatch in 1854, suggesting the promotion of improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe. Universities to be created on the model of London University at Bombay, Calcutta, Madras. Later the addition of Allahabad and Lahore University after the Hunter Commission Report.

- **Phase III: 1901-1921:** University’s commission recommendation to rehabilitate the existing Universities; Greater interest to be taken in Indian

¹John Hopkins University in Baltimore, USA, was founded in 1875 in a center where a vast industrial development was happening. For details see B. V. Subbarayappa 1992. In Pursuit of Excellence: A History of the Indian Institute of Science; Tata Mac Graw Hill: p, 27.

²The community of scientists in late nineteenth century were perplexed with the thought of university being just the examining body and not teaching and doing research as were the universities in Germany (Humboldt model). For details see Dhruv Raina and Ashok Jain, 1997. “From the Imperatives of Big Science to the Impoverishment of the University Research System in India”, in John Krige and Dominic Pestre (eds.), Science in the Twentieth Century, Hardwood Publications: Amsterdaml,
Education Policy by the Provincial governments. This was the period that saw the growth of National Education and the establishment of Swadeshi schools and the higher institutions of learning were being established.

- **Phase IV: 1921-1937**: Old Universities revived and new one's established in the provinces of India on Oxbridge model. Hartog Committee’s Report in 1929 emphasized on industrial and commercial subjects to be included for preparing students for practical occupation.

- **Phase V: 1937-1946**: Provincial autonomy was introduced with the government of India Act 1935, and it was thought that reorganization of education would take place. But the ministry resigned in 1939 due to war.

These five phases of Indian colonial education had far reaching impact on Indian social development. The period from 1813 to 1833 was a period of controversy on a number of issues like: the use of vernaculars as the medium of instruction at the primary level and English as the medium of instruction for higher education; education was the state's responsibility. However, there were both individual and group efforts for the spread of education. In 1811, Agra College was established and in 1817, with the combined initiative of David Hare and Raja Rammohun Roy, a Vidyalaya or Hindu College at Calcutta was opened with an objective to provide education in European languages and sciences. Later this college became the nucleus for of Presidency College. In 1834, the Elphinstone College was founded in Bombay to train “a class of persons qualified by the intelligence and morality for their employment in the civil administration of

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2 Ashby, Eric (in association with Mary Anderson) 1966. op. cit., p. 49.
There was some initiative to introduce western sciences with opening of medical colleges at Calcutta in 1835.

The Hindu college was opened at Calcutta in 1817, though no fund came till 1823. The supporting the proposal for the creation of Sanskrit college organized themselves under the leadership of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The latter's famous letter dated December 11, 1823, to the Governor-General Lord Amherst, opposed the general committee's recommendation to establish a new Sanskrit college. He suggested that the government should promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, and anatomy and other useful sciences which had raised the European nations above the nations of other parts of the world. But the committee continued with its support to oriental learning and opened the center at Delhi, also added English classes in these colleges. This charter could not achieve its goal and remained mostly on paper and thus paved the way for a new one. Macaulay in his famous minute on education in 1835 pointed that western education was of more value than the oriental learning. He wrote, "we must act at present to our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern—a class of persons, Indian in blood and color but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect...". He insisted on the adoption of English as the language of instruction, the closure of Sanskrit and Arabic colleges, and to encourage education in English schools. The support of the modern system was at the expense of the prevalent systems of education. This resulted in large scale

1 Ibid. p. 11
2 Sen, J. M. 1933: History of Elementary Education in India Calcutta; p.66; Mukhopadhyaya, Gopal. 1984. op. cit. p. 7.
3 S. Nurullah and J. P. Naik. 1943. History of Education in India During the British Period Bombay; p.75; Mukhopadhyaya, Gopal. 1984: op. cit. p.8.
unemployment among Muslims and Hindus (who were well versed in the earlier language of administration, Persian). This resulted in an agitation among the Muslims in opposition to this policy. In the words of Farquhar they felt that they had "sunk with the empire." The remark is reaffirmed by R. P. Singh based on a statistical analysis on the state of Muslim education in north-west U.P in the year 1850.

After the revolt, India passed directly in the hands of British government. In the field of education, a commitment was made for the establishment of three universities in 1854 as one of the provisions of Woods Dispatch. These universities were established in 1857-58 at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. This marked the beginning of university education in India, which was an inexpensive version of the British university system. The university system established by the colonial government did not cost it very much. During that very decade Britain's teaching and research institutes were going through lot of crisis, but the University of London proved successful by providing higher education at a smaller cost. Large scale urbanization that followed in the wake of the industrial revolution created a terrific demand for scientific and technical training institutes and universities. Since there was accumulation of wealth due to industrialization so the parents of students who were from middle class founded several professional training institutes and affiliating universities,

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2 1852. Report on Indigenous Education and Vernacular Schools in Agra, Aligarh, Bareilly, Etawah, Farukhabad, Mainpuri, Mathura, and Shahjahanpur for 1850-51; Secundara Press: Agra, p. 176. See also the table drawn by R. P. Singh. "British Educational Policy in 19th Century India", in S. Bhattacharya (ed.) 1998. Op. cit, p. 106. He shows that though the Mughals still governed the country yet the number of Hindus in these schools was 5,526 as against 4,528 Muslims. And in the Hindu schools the number of Muslim students were either nil or negligible. There were 200 Hindu Persian and Arabic teachers among the total of 1,445.
without or with little help of the state. In Oxford and Cambridge were out of bounds for these classes.

In India the first generation universities were introduced on London Model in the three presidencies of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras in 1857-58. This discounted form of education in India was imposed without analyzing and studying the need of India (or any other colony). The policy was shaped by the requirements of the colonial government without any consideration for the welfare of the colony. The transplantation of this first generation university in India revealed the very limited objectives of university education at the time. The initiation of English education in the mid-nineteenth century led to creation of fragmented thoughts and cultural conflict between the colonialists and nationalists. English education was seen by a few nationalists as a threat to the traditional ideas and knowledge. There were leaders who wanted to even teach science in the local languages. Delhi College became the center of Delhi renaissance, where most of the teachers and students got involved in promoting the cause of education through the vernacular.

The Historical Significance of Benaras Hindu University

Benaras has traditionally been considered a center of learning and culture in pre-colonial India and it had a lively intellectual tradition even in the eighteenth

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1 For details see Appendix I based on 1917. *The Essentials of a University in a Great center of Population* (Being a Reprint of Part II of the Final Report of the Royal Commission on University Education in London); Superintendent Government Printing India: Calcutta.

2 See Eric Ashby, 1966. *op. cit.*, for detailed analysis of the universities that were exported to Australia and Africa (also British colony) in the nineteenth century from Britain.


century. Consequently, both native and colonial actors may have reckoned with the cultural importance of establishing a College in Benaras. What came to be a university started as Benaras Sanskrit College founded by Jonathan Duncan in 1781. In 1896, Annie Besant had opened a college for Hindus where religious education was imparted to help in character building of the student. This college later served as the platform for Benaras Hindu University. By the end of the nineteenth century there was a new middle class who wished to institute a modern educational institution at this seat of ancient learning.

The university was perceived as an institution where training in a range of disciplines could be acquired. The idea of the residential university evoked images of a student body from different parts of the region apprenticed to teachers in an institution whose practices were similar to the traditional Guru-Shishya Parampara. The demand for establishing a University at Benaras had acquired momentum by 1906 and this was expressed in the Sanatan Dharma Sabha. Pandit Malaviya expressed the desire to establish an educational institution, which was considered an Indian university and would impart a scientific, technical education, including emphasise the importance of Ayurveda and a philosophical education that included the study of the Vedas. In addition, one of the functions of the university was to sensitise the Indian population to the contributions of Indians to scientific and technological development. This agenda needs to be located in the variety of Indian responses to colonial rule and education towards the end of the nineteenth century.  

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2 See chapter VI for details on establishment of Benaras Hindu University
The University embodied the spirit of the Hindi renaissance in North Western Provinces. The leaders of this movement were inclined to the modern science but at the same time valued Hindu tradition and culture. The University was rhetorically conceived as lending the best of east and the west. Following the enactment of University Charter Act of 1904, it was felt that the new institutes of learning should be built with the help of wealthy Indians. Local elites and rulers were encouraged to contribute to building educational institutions which would further help in training the youth for research.

The products of the teaching type universities had been alerted to the nature of the University and the character of education in Europe and the United States. They were also aware of the increasing importance of the sciences in the life of the University. Some of these students sought to redirect the energies of the university in India to the development of society in India.

Furthermore, they wished to create a moral citizenry who were well seasoned within their system of values. The process of higher education initiated by educationalists such as Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Pandit Madan Mohan

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1 The Benaras Hindu University and Aligarh Muslim University were established in the first quarter of twentieth century through voluntary donations, though the latter stared off as a college. The colonial government was to grant the permission to establish the university, design a curriculum and courses.

2 Details on the conceptualization and establishment of BHU are in chapter VI of this thesis.

3 Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was a progressive Muslim, reformer and educationist, who understood the Koran and simplified its understanding for the common masses benefit, he was one of the pioneers among Indian Muslims who realized the importance of English education for his community and worked for it till he survived. For further details of his works and contributions please see: David Lelyveld, Aligarh's First Generation Sir Syed's speeches at different platforms specially of the All India Mohamadan Association edited in Abdul Rashid Khan. 2001: The All India Muslim Educational Conference: Its Contribution to the Cultural Development of a Indian Muslims 1886-1947.
Malaviya, the founders of Aligarh Muslim University and Benaras Hindu University respectively was a milestone in national education. This thesis sets out to investigate the role of an Indian educationalist in the founding of a university during late colonialism. It would be interesting to study how eastern and western elements were blended together in this university. The universities endeavored to teach in Urdu and Hindi respectively, and in the process sought to play a role in the creation of new cultural identities.

Thus while there was an empathetic appreciation the importance of liberal education thinkers such as Sir Syed, Annie Besant, Shri Aurobindo, Pandit Malaviya stressed the importance of institutions that would bring modern science and value education together. These educationists dreamed of an India where scientific and technological education would co-exist with Indian philosophy, literature, culture and tradition. They were also attempting to conceive of an educational institution that students would find salubrious for learning. They wanted their countries educational institutions to be similar to that of the developed countries of the world and at the same time they also wanted to maintain the indigenous quality of value education which existed in the ancient institutions of India. As a response to cultural imperialism it naturally

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followed that the newly modernizing classes gravitated towards identities that crystallized around religion, or community, or language and the luminal nation.

**Summary**

Most of the Indian nationalists or historians of nineteenth century like Dadabhai Naroji, R.C. Datta who understood the economic motives of British colonialism possibly realized that their objectives never included the development of a robust education system or to invest in projects that did not directly contribute to the imperial coffers.¹ Their policies were never intended to bring about deep change within Indian society. Early colonial efforts in education were largely restricted to the Presidency towns where the demand for educated youth was the highest. Policy itself was framed during the early decades keeping the requirements of these symbols of imperial power in mind. The smaller cities and towns and provinces were untouched by the diktat of colonial policy during the first decades of imperial rule.

Higher education in nineteenth century India was deeply informed by the debates prevalent in the world of education in England and was often structured by the models of the university in England. Secondly, policy was equally shaped by the needs of the colonial state and its pressing requirement for a bureaucratic class to administer the empire. The debates on higher education reflected the tentativeness characteristic of a system in transition.² The middle of the nineteenth century was crucial for the English universities since they were

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² In 1852 Royal Commission was set up to review the education at Oxford and Cambridge which later submitted its report submitting that the two universities should include scientific and technological teachings in their syllabus and there was need to have research on such issues.
themselves undergoing transition. Off the variety of models available the model of the affiliating university was the one that traveled to India.\(^1\) This was the model provided by London University. The study examines the innovations in the models of the late nineteenth century that were produced by Indians in their attempt to domesticate this institution of higher learning to the Indian environment.

The first universities that were established by the British administrators in the middle of the nineteenth century in India were situated in the Presidency towns which had become the seats of imperial power. Higher education then had limited scope and its objectives were limited to producing a cadre of officials for the administration of empire. Secondly, it was further limited in outreach in that it did and could not draw a significant section of Indian society to its classrooms.

In the process the system ended up producing a modern educated elite class; from which ranks the resistance to colonial rule would emerge. Large scale unemployment amongst this newly graduated class produced political militancy and stoked the spreading fire of nationalism. On the other hand it also generated a number of projects of reform within Indian society. Thus by the end of nineteenth century the educated Indians began to deliberate upon the role and

\(^1\) Eric Ashby mentions that the London model of university was less money venture as it was just affiliating body. See his book in association with Mary Anderson. 1966. *Universities: British, Indian African-A Study in the Ecology of Higher Education*; Weidenfeld and Nicolson: London, p. 28. Also it's interesting to note that in Britain or West till the end of nineteenth century there was no university which was totally supported by the state. Even London University was an effort of the growing capitalists who had funds which could be used to establish institutions to provide professional degrees to all the students from the middle class who were no lucky enough to enter the two universities of elites. Such university to provide professional degree was established in great centers of population—where the supply and demand was more. For details on this see Appendix I of this thesis.
structures of higher education that would conform to their vision of a developing Indian society. This prompted them to scout around and innovate with other organizational forms of the university.