CHAPTER - I

Introduction: Education, History and Ideology
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It was in Orissa, as elsewhere in India, a tradition of interaction between an authority of wisdom and a generation of aspirants for that wisdom existed from very early times. Such a tradition proves the existence of an ideological apparatus like the centres of learning. Orissa had its own indigenous centers of learning. In that situation, to say that the English were the pioneers in imparting education in this land is incorrect.

The English had a two-fold objective to teach English both as a language and as a subject. To a greater or lesser degree, every language offers its own reading of life, expanding or delimiting the interpretation of experience by its existing range of diction, syntax and rules of grammar, and thus the possession of that language becomes a step in the progress of constructing a world-view. For the English colonialists, their language was a new ideological tool to establish their political, commercial and cultural hegemony in Orissa as elsewhere in India. They could construct a new world-view with the help of ideology inscribed in their language and, specifically, in specific discourses of that language. Thus the colonial conquest of the English can be perceived more as an ideological conquest than a political and commercial one.

The colonialists evolved a new system, a new polity to ensnare the subject people into a complex social practice. Accordingly, they developed a new concept of ‘schooling’ i.e. the formation of a habit among the natives to attend classes in order to make them acquainted with ‘a new way of thinking, speaking, experiencing’, with the ideology embodied in the English words. They established schools that introduced the people of this country to a new
environment within the four walls, not in an open space, meant for the teacher pupil interaction. They appointed a new class of schoolmasters who could have authority over the specific branches of knowledge. They evolved a concept of ‘curriculum’ or ‘syllabus’ with a view to use literature (English), the most powerful ideological apparatus for the sake of having an access to the racial psyche of the people. They also introduced a system of training for the teachers in the new methods of pedagogy, educational technology and child psychology. They brought an agency of inspection and supervision into the educational sphere. There was the inception of a new system of educational administration, with the hierarchy of departments from the center to the periphery. They developed educational policies, sanctioned money to that effect, made education a state responsibility, and kept observations on the people. They formulated theories like ‘Downward Filtration’ to create a class in their own model; gradually, established commissions, made reports, suggested ways and means for the instructions of the people. They encouraged private enterprise, motivated the learners with scholarships and prizes, they encouraged the educated to get higher education as a passport for employment in the government offices.

They promoted the English learning for they considered it as the vehicle of advance western culture. Their motive of civilizing the natives was nothing but the beguiled cry of "Evangelico preparatia" by the Christian missionaries. The whole process of educational network was for the purpose of realizing some sort of political, commercial and religious benefits. The political benefit out of it was to turn out clerks who could be employed cheaply. The commercial benefit was that to develop a taste among the natives for the products of Lancashire. The religious benefit was to convert the colonised to the colonizers’ religion. These intentions are made clear from the following statement of Macaulay: “We must at present do our best to form a class who
may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect".2

Macaulay's was a mixture of Benthamite theory of legislation and Evangelical vehemence in sentiment. Where on the one hand, he supports James Mill’s 'doctrine of utility' relating to education, on the other hand his main thesis, regarding 'all the learning of the East being nothing beside the metaphysics of Locks and the physics of Newton', reflected utilitarian contempt for Oriental civilization. Macaulay's Minute decided the fate of English education in India. However, that was not the beginning of an endeavor to introduce the alien culture to subdue a national culture. Before it, there were the western scholars and Christian missionaries making texts in grammar and vocabulary in the Indian languages as a part of a larger project, which would stabilize and perpetuate British rule in the Colony. Before introducing English to the colonised, the British needed to cultivate the language of the people, which would enable them to explain 'the benevolent principles' of legislation, which they were to enforce.3

However, up to 1813 the policy of the East India Company's Government regarding India's social and educational matters had been one of indifference and non-interference. Starting from the charter Act of 1813 to the Government India Act of 1935, the records generated by the colonial Government exhibited the Imperial ideology of the British. The British as such had a record of long history. They had a habit of recording facts and events and creating history. This habit had given them an analytic power to save themselves from the tyranny of nature and the fear of foreign invasion. This made them to evolve into a 'Nation', an organized power to overcome obstacles in their physical surroundings and the menace of their powerful neighbours.
They started organizing their power till they were not only reasonably free from the above said obstacles, but had a surplus of it left in their hands to employ against others. As this power was based upon national selfishness and pride, the British lost their sympathy for the people upon whom they employed their surplus power. The Oriyas became a victim of narrow national habit of the British, as the former had to succumb to the British policy of peripheralization. The people in Orissa, as elsewhere in India, had no such organised political and commercial unity to achieve any selfish end. They had never felt a need of recording the rise and fall of their kingdoms and tried to find out a political solution. As they were not a 'Nation', they had no sense of the 'patriotism' in the modern sense of term. We must see that 'patriotism', as Tagore observes, is the tower of national selfishness. Thus, being devoid of this quality, the Oriyas never rejected the influence of a foreign culture upon them. Obviously, due to the lack of their historical knowledge, the Oriyas never developed an analytical observation to the past and thus became a prey to the political conspiracy of the colonizer.

By 'Orissa', up to 1905 (the year in which the district of Sambalpur was brought to the Orissa Division), the records of the British identified the area consisting of the three important towns—Puri, Cuttack and Balasore—and their adjacent region. The British conquest of Orissa was accomplished in three different phases: first the southern part consisting Ganjam district (1768), next, the coastal and central region consisting of Puri, Cuttack, Jaleswar and Bhadrak (1803) and lastly, the western part, i.e. Sambalpur region (1849). This phase-wise conquest of Orissa caused her complete political dismemberment. Where the southern part was annexed to the Madras Presidency and the western part was to the Central Provinces, the main land remained in the Bengal Presidency. This made the Oriyas suffer as the linguistic minorities in different administrative authorities. A fourth
administrative unit was formed outside the direct administration of the Company. It was governed by the prevailing indigenous administrative system under the authority of the Tributary Chiefs in twenty-six Feudatory states. This political strategy of the Company Government to keep the Oriya speaking people under the dominance of alien language and culture was no doubt inspired by the 'divide and rule' policy of the colonizer.

The colonial discourse and historiography on Orissa tended to blame Oriyas for their own degradation. We can easily discover the hypocrisy behind the 'civilising mission' of the English to introduce the Oriyas to the English system of education. This civilizing mission failed due to the fact that the Oriya mind was not a blank sheet of paper where the colonizer could write anything they desired. Whatever impact colonialism and English education had on the Indian context at large might not have been so in the context of Orissa. Though the charter Act of 1813 directed the Company Government to spend one lakh rupees per annum for the promotion of education among the Indians, Orissa had not received a single pie of that amount until 1835. Wood's Dispatch of 1835 was undoubtedly a 'landmark in the history of English education' in India. But as Tulsi Ram observed, "The real objective of the Dispatch being political and commercial, it was nothing short of a manifesto of the language department of British imperialism." The political and commercial objective was attained, but it did no good to the people of Orissa. It was because no official step was taken to work out the recommendation made in the Wood's Dispatch. During the Company rule, no real concern was shown for the promotion of English education. Even after fifty-four years of the Company's rule and thirteen years of the reign under the Crown in 1870, Hunter gave a very dark picture of education in Orissa.
The widespread existence of the indigenous system of learning—both elementary and higher education—created a traditional elite in Orissa. We can easily comprehend the misguided remark made by Hunter, when he said, “The Brahmins had the monopoly of education and they kept it strictly in their own hands”. But from the life sketches of the educated Oriyas, we can gather evidences to contradict the above statement. The abadhanas or the village schoolmasters were the karanas, or even men of inferior castes. The learned Brahmins disliked the profession and were mostly engaged in the vocation of Sanskrit teaching in the tols, i.e., the centers for Sanskrit learning. The traditional education was not provided by the state or by religious bodies, but was left to private enterprise. In every village, these indigenous centres of learning were there for making people literate and for providing moral teaching with the help of religious and philosophical instructions. These schools were the centers of cultural interactions. They were the ideological apparatuses giving sufficient contributions to the existence of an elite class, who had a reverence for their culture. These elites mostly consisted of the higher caste Hindus, the Brahmins and the Kshyatriyas (the feudal sections), who considered themselves as the guardians of national culture. With the coming of the missionaries and their strategic opening of schools in the different areas of interior Orissa, alarmed these elites. The missionary had a rapid programme of the establishment of schools, in order to facilitate their primary objective of conversion. They felt that only preaching could not make the task possible. So they took the task of educating children as a means of bribe leading to mass conversion. Within a year, they established fifteen modern schools near about Cuttack. These schools had no bearing with the indigenous schools that already existed in Orissa. The missionaries taught and preached the Bible in these schools. Such a massive programme of the missionaries was looked down suspiciously by the traditional elites. Before the Colonial Government entered the field of education, the missionaries had created an atmosphere of doubt and
disbelief in Orissa. Consequently, the elites also opposed Government interference in their cultural set up. Their resistance to English education took the form of interference, protest and isolationism. They not only boycotted the missionary schools and Government schools, but also excommunicated those from Brahmanical orders, who attended those schools. Such a resistance was not vehemently supported by the traditional elites in other parts of India, not even in Bengal. That was the reason why, the British historians cursed the Oriyas as the most orthodox and the most ignorant of the ‘Hindu provinces of India’ and the missionaries supported the historians by condemning Orissa ‘as the garden of superstition and idolatry’. These abusive remarks were nothing but the result of colonial frustration in perceiving the failure in colonizing the Oriya mind and thus anticipating a failure in conquering the culture of Oriya society.

The unfortunate experience with the Oriya people made the Colonial Government neglect the Oriya interest and left them to fight against their fate under the pressure of economic (man-made) and natural calamities. The backwardness of the Oriyas was the result of economic exploitation and educational deprivation under the Colonial Government. The historiography tended to put a mask on the naked reality of the historical crisis. Glorifying the intention of the Government as a benevolent ‘civilizing mission’ was nothing but an escape from the hard realities of the time. Their superficial presentation, in the Official reports, of the gradual changes in the socio-economic status of Orissa due to the subsequent progress of education obviously ridicules their intentions. Their policies, minutes, dispatches and other official records were nothing but an expression of the above-identified superficial concern for social and economical upliftment of the people. Wood’s Dispatch provides a very benevolent picture of the colonial intention:
This knowledge (European knowledge) will teach the natives of India the marvelous results of the employment of labour and capital rouse them to emulate us in the development of vast resources of their country, guide them in their efforts and gradually, but certainly confer upon them all the advantages which accompany the healthy increase of wealth and commerce, and at the same time, secure to us a larger and more certain supply of many articles necessary for our manufactures and expensively consumed by all the classes of our population, as well as an almost exhaustible demand for the reduce of English labour.\textsuperscript{11}

This pietistic statement of intentions was contrary to the purpose of teaching English language and education that remained the commercial and political benefit of the English nation. In a sense, Orissa advanced but that was within the colonial and capitalist framework as a supplier of raw materials and a consumer market for British manufacturers. In the initial years, British adopted a policy of depriving the Oriyas in education and also in economic enterprises. The economic deterioration started with the land revenue administration and continued up to the decline of shipping trade, salt industry and the trades in handicraft, textile etc.\textsuperscript{12} This economic ruin was matched by neglect in education. We can trace the game played by the Colonial Government, while interfering with the educational affairs of the people. No doubt, the Government was giving repeated emphasis on the acquisition of English language and education for providing material benefit to the people; it was giving stress on the fulfillment of the economics needs. Interestingly, though much stress had been laid upon the relationship between English education and employment in Government offices, no link was made between the English education and private enterprise in trade and commerce. One can easily discover the political calculations made by the British while linking education with the Government job. As the empire expanded, the cobweb of English system of administration
demanded more recruitment of the clerks and deputies. The system could not fulfill the demand by appointing only English men in all the offices. The higher posts were filled by the people of English origin, because the Government did not want to give responsible jobs to the people of the colony. Again it was not easy for the system to import a large number of minor officials from its homeland. It was also a fact that an Englishman might not be prepared to cross the sea and come to India only to earn a meager amount, which the system could pay for a clerk or a chaprasi (office guard). So the economic policy of the Company Government aimed at giving some sort of vocational training in office-work on the spot. It was some kind of a training in penmanship (as the literate in Orissa used to write on palm leaves with the help of their iron pens, they did not know how to write with a pen on paper), good handwriting and practical knowledge of the rudiments of English. However, interestingly, in order to achieve that purpose, they trained the clerks in such matters as English syntax, Shakespearean prosody, and about the kings and queens who had reigned over England.

Though ‘useful education’ had been the British policy from the start, no serious thought was given to the practical utility of the education imparted to people. The theoretical education based on Shakespearean literature and English history could not fulfill the practical needs of the people. English education thus started, initiated a wrong tradition in the economic aspect of life in this land. As the objective was employment, unemployment led to frustration for no other choice was there on the part of a learner. Of course, English education modernised Orissa by serving as an ideological tool in bringing in a change in the outlook of the educated, it caused gradual discontentment among the educated middle class.
As English education, in the beginning, was introduced to create clerks, it was not meant for training individuals for any private enterprise. It did not inspire the educated to be united for any group adventure in the field of commercial or social success. In the initial years of expansion of the official network, the Government created a few job opportunities for the people. But after the filling of these posts, the Government could not satisfy the growing demands of the people for the government jobs nor could it encourage them to engage themselves in any kind of commercial activities. Here we can easily understand the economic as well as political calculations made by the Colonial Government. They were afraid of introducing people with advanced training in trade and commerce. The awareness of the English about the fact that 'education to the natives was our highway back to Europe'\(^\text{13}\) made them adopt strategic means to carry out their so-called 'civilising mission'. The gradual shifting of their attention from the provision for English education for a class to the provision for Vernacular education for the mass points out the changing of colonial front by the Government for its own benefits.

Taking up the elementary education as the state responsibility was obviously a new strategy to influence the masses. It was an excuse for withdrawing its direct control over the higher English education.\(^\text{14}\) A perusal of the reports made by the English officers of the time makes it clear that the increasing desire for English education in this land started giving headaches to the Government. The initial excitement of success in spreading English in this country gradually transformed to a bewilderment about losing authority over the people and their culture. The welfare of the people was nothing but a mask of conquering them with the help of repressing state apparatuses like administration and law but also with the help of ideological apparatuses like schools and literature. However, there was the alternative use of mask from time to time. The Government took to an alternative measure, when they
realised the threat due to higher English education. Lack of employment gradually turned the educated Oriyas to politics. The discontentment in the colonial rule was reflected in the various socio-political activities of the educated middle class. So, as early as 1866, the Government realized its mistakes and withdrew its patronage from direct control over English education. They introduced a grant-in-aid system. This system was a novel experiment on this land. As Orissa had been undergoing the curse of poverty due to its economic ruin under the colonial rule, people had to depend upon some sorts of financial aid for the establishment of English schools. The grant-in-aid system of the Government favoured private enterprise in the field of education. The Government kept a distance from the promotion of higher English education and showed superficial interest to the education of the masses through elementary education. The Government had shrewdly mobilized the sentiments of the people at large in this case. We can easily see the safe guarding self-interest of the colonisers to put blame upon the newly educated class. The resolution of the Government of India, 1904, said, "Expansion of primary education has received a check due to famine and plague, and further impeded by the indifference of the more advanced and ambitious classes." The Government targeted the middle class to put a mask upon its self-interest. Again, in the beginning of the twentieth century, the Government was in a new crisis. Something beyond their expectation happened. Withdrawal of direct control from the Secondary education and giving it to the enterprise of private individuals created new problems. The opening of the national schools like the school of Satyavadi in the district of Puri established by Gopabandhu Das in 1909 and the school at Sambalpur established by Nilakantha Das and Chandrasekhar Behera in 1921, generated anti-colonial activities in Orissa. The Government was afraid of the desire on the part of professional agitators to establish schools in which they can create an
atmosphere of disaffection and sedition. They took that the provision of better Secondary Schools would cause the national schools to die a natural death'.

The 'national' schools as the British thought were not really the centres of any revolutionary political activities, but those, unlike the conventional High School, inspired students with idealism, patriotism and nationalism. The goals of these schools can better be understood from the following observation:

*The Satyavadi School is not a local, communal or sectarian institution in respect of its ideals, form and management; its basic ideal is to impart liberal education to the community at large. This is the beginning of a comprehensive educational drive for which we have been preparing for a long time. Our idea is to build up a series of institutions of this type and it is only one of the series. In course of time, schools of this type will raise their heads all over the province. In these institutions, there will be a union of wealth, education and character.*

Through these institutions the newly educated wanted to spread the message of nationalism and moral idealism and train up a generation of patriotic and selfless young men who would brave every hardship to free the country from the colonial bondage. Remarkably, these institutions were the combinations of both indigenous and English ideals. As the Colonial Government was suspicious regarding the activities of the schools, it was keeping a watch over them. These schools did not thrive, because they could not get the various financial supports. The other remarkable feature of their failure was the growing ambitions of their founders and the latter being involved in power politics.
Unhesitatingly, we can say that the English system of education being a deviation from the indigenous system brought a remarkable change in Oriya society. However, it did not transform the traditional outlook. The impact of tradition was so deep rooted that English education could not become successful in creating a class of Oriya with English in taste or moral. There was no evidence in Orissa regarding the summary rejection of age-old social practices by the English educated as the first effect of freethinking. That was the case with the English-educated in Bengal. It may sound an exaggeration, but a Bengal periodical in 1830-31 published a serious lamentation by a father who took his son, a student of the Hindu college, to the temple of goddess Kali at Kalighat. The boy instead of prostrating before the deity like others said, "Good morning, Madam". Such an outright rejection of the traditional practices had never been known in the history of English education in Orissa. Of course, the effect of neo-rationalism through English education generated a revolt against the orthodox beliefs and practices, but it didn't motivate the young mind to disobey all social customs.

Another point adds to this argument is that the impact of English education upon the Oriyas in the beginning years of its introduction was not up to the mark. If we remember, the educated coming out of schools, before 1866, were mostly the sons of Bengali Government servants. This was the case in the mainland attached to Bengal. The case was different in the other Oriya tracts, where English education came to exist at a later period and the resistance from the traditional elite was comparatively less. The class that came to be acquainted with it in Orissa comprised the Bengalis. They showed the same temperament like their counterparts in Bengal, that of Bengali babus. This babu-culture was so much criticized in the then Bengali literature that we feel the echo of that in contemporary Oriya literature. Even up to the end of the
nineteenth century, we can see that English education had not touched the public sentiment. The Commissioner of Orissa wrote in 1885-86:

As regards the tone of the public, it may be said that the bulk of the people knows nothing about public affairs and have no public feeling to describe. Among the educated few, and especially such as have received an English education (as it is called), there has been the usual display of carping and cantankerous criticism of every act of the Government, accompanied by the usual amount of; deliberate misrepresentation and of malevolent language. In fact the tone and the feeling which have so disgraced the Native Press in Bengal has been imitated here by a few who chiefly come from Bengal, and are but temporary residents of Balasore, but who unfortunately take a lead here and pretend to represent the public of Orissa.  

These people really pretended to be the wellwishers of the people of Orissa and started a conspiracy to replace Oriya from the curriculum of the schools. As a protest against that conspiracy, the educated Oriya started a language movement. The terrible experience of the Disastrous Famine of 1866 and the Language Movement of 1870s prompted the educated Oriyas in Orissa to seek for an identity. Thus, they started a move in the construction of Oriya nationalism. It stood for Oriya resistance to alien interference in culture and colonial misrule and exploitation. This construction of Oriya nationalism didn't take its inspiration from the American war of Independence, the French Revolution, Unification of Italy and that of Germany. Though English education gave a material base to it from the reading of Shakespeare, James Mill, Pope, Johnson, Wordsworth and a host of English literateurs and philosophers, an attachment to the indigenous litterature and regional history
gave a spiritual support to Oriya nationalism. The gradual awareness of the national degradation due to the lack of cultivation of national ideals inspired them to search for an Oriya identity in the broad spectrum of Indian nationality. My argument here is that the growth of Oriya nationalism was not as much due to the impact of English education, as it was an indigenous phenomenon. The English idea of 'nationalism' was conceived as a 'political and commercial union of people deliberately organised for a mechanical purpose'. This 'nationalism', as Tagore understood, was a great menace to humanity at large.23

Construction of Oriya nationalism had no adherence to this crude concept of English/western nationalism. It had its source in the inheritance of its past, in the history and culture of Orissa. We can know this from a study of the newly educated Oriyas in Orissa who had a strong foundation in the indigenous culture. Though nationalism was a new concept in Orissa, as everywhere in India, it was imbued with a spirit of cultural regeneration typical to Oriya reawakening against the background of a desire to have linguistic, cultural, political and racial unity in Orissa.

At this point, while dealing with the theme of construction of Oriya nationalism, we cannot deny the impact of English education upon it. It was English education, which gave an intellectual support (may not be emotional, because language and culture are largely an emotional concern than a political or intellectual one) to the growth of Oriya nationalism. After being successful in using the repressive state apparatuses like the Army and administration, the Colonial Government took to the use of ideological state apparatuses like schools, press and literature.24 English literature, thus, became a powerful ideological apparatus by establishing an intricate and connected relationship between history and literature. The internal relationship is what constitutes the definition of literature as an ideological form. The institutionalization of English literature in the colonial set-up gave it an
ideological position to be used for social control and cultural formation. Oriya Literature was the only ideological apparatus at that time unconsciously serving the moral strength of the people. The religious element in it served a purpose in uniting the people in the different Oriya speaking regions. Though no uniformity was there in the use of literary texts in the different indigenous schools, Jagannath Das’s *Bhasabata* served this function. The creation of modern Oriya literature and the disciplinary formation of it went on together during the last part of the nineteenth century. Remarkably, the pedagogy in Oriya literature, giving emphasis on translation, critical practice and linguistic interpretation was very much influenced by the English pedagogy. Of course, missionary involvement in the large-scale linguistic engineering in standardized Oriya prose gave rise to the production of graded texts, translations, lexicons, grammar etc. in Oriya language. We can see that the literary practice of ‘translation’ has been considered a western impact on the Oriya literary canon. The concept of ‘translation’ has been used in a wider sense to include adaptation, imitation, parody, plagiarism etc. A perusal of the existing literary works in Oriya can enlighten us with the fact that ‘translation’ as a way of seeing and experiencing had been practised widely from a very early time. There existed a literary practice in this country where re-telling the original rather than the accurate rendering of the first text was the traditional mode of translation from one language to another. The two national epics, the *Ramayan* and the *Mahabharata* were retold many times. Sarala Das’s *Mahabharata*, Balarama Das’s *Ramayana*, Jagannath Das’s *Bhasabata* are the re-telling of the originals. They tried to bring home the great ideals of the epics and had given their contribution to the national unity even before the British came to Orissa and introduced English education as an ‘integrative’ force.

However, ‘translation’, in the modern sense of the term created a wrong tradition in modern Oriya literature. The first interaction between Oriya
creative imagination and English literature was based on this practice of translation. The talented Oriya intelligentsia had an access to the varieties of literary genres in English literature and started experiments on the methods of translation-adaptation, imitation, parody, even plagiarism. Modern Oriya literature, thus, founded on a defective literary tradition. A letter published in the *Utkal Dipika*, traces the beginning of the above-mentioned wrong tradition:

*In consequence to the progress of education, a new class has emerged in our province. By manipulating English works, they deceive people and try to gain fame as literary figures. One of the members of that class has recently published a poetic work entitled *Kedar Gouri* in Oriya slightly altering the famous work of an English author. Presentation of a secular story in the name of a mythological one has stirred the arrogance of the people in the educated society. Such an ailment is spreading rapidly among the so-called learned few.*

This sarcastic remark aimed at Radhanath Ray, one of the first among the literary pioneers in the modern Oriya literature, who initiated this tradition of translation. His above mentioned work bore a claim of the poet, in its preface to the second edition (1886), that it describes the mythological story associated with the Kedargouri shrine of Bhubaneswar. It was written in imitation of a story in Ovid’s *Metamorphosis*. However, it was deliberately done to enrich Oriya literature. Radhanath created such narratives by fusing his romantic imagination with the history, legend, folklore and nature of Orissa and a number of themes from the western authors. It was in order to bequeath a new sense of modernity to posterity. Creativity in both Radhanath Ray and his contemporary Madhusuadan Rao was under the spell of English literature. Phakirmohan Senapati, another beginner in this field had no formal education in English, but had received a training in the English method of perceiving life.
His novels and short stories were the new genres adopted from the English literary tradition. He had tried his best to highlight the dichotomy of tradition and modernity constructing the characters, who represented on the one hand the futile imitation of western culture and on the other hand the consequence of degeneration due to that. In his works, he showed how the elements of western culture define the identity of the educated middle class and how the same element brought about their fall. Into that effort were added the works of a dozen of tradition-loving young educated Oriya, who loved Oriya culture and tried to save it from the impact of western culture. This group, specially known as the Satyavadi group added a new dimension of self-definition to the construction of Oriya nationalism. Their treatment of Orissa history was more a subjective and interpretative narrative of the past than factual account. This over emphasis on history was the result of a desire to prove unique identity of Orissa and to arouse a sense of unity among the people. This dimension of Oriya nationalism was obviously inspired by the importance given to a number of historical texts in the literature curriculum of Scholarship and Entrance Examinations. If we remember, English education introduced to us some new subjects like History, Geography etc. Among other subjects, these two played the most significant role in the construction of Oriya nationalism. In the period of peripheralisation and deprivation, a knowledge of History and Geography helped the enlightened Oriyas to identify the national history and natural geography of Orissa. The Oriya poets like Radhanath Ray, Madhusudan Rao, Gangadhar Meher, Goapandhu Das, Nilakantha Das and others tried to map the geographical territory of Orissa in their works in order to create a demand for a separate political identity of Orissa with the unification of all the Oriya-speaking tracts.

The concept of 'geography' was the most novel idea in the history of education in Orissa, as elsewhere in India. Introduction of 'Geography' as a
subject in the curriculum added some new experiences to the intellectual
dimension of Oriya-identity. It made the students comprehend the inter-relation
between man and nature in different global units of the earth. It gave a new
outlook on nature and culture and the interaction between the two. Geography
aimed at making the pupils to know what each community is and what its
political and social aspirations are. It provided an interpretation to the complex
relation between the physical environment on the one hand and distribution,
mode of life and economic and social activities of man on the other, both in the
present and in the past. This teaching of Geography made the educated aware
of their vast natural resources and developed in them a critical analysis to study
the consequences of political and commercial exploitation by British nation.

The study of history in the modern sense of the term also added to
this new consciousness in the last part of the nineteenth century. History, in the
new sense, had an ideological impact in shaping the modern mind in Orissa.
Unlike the English, the Indians were ignorant of the principles of a sound
historiography. They did not have the scientific knowledge of keeping historical
evidence in the shape of records. Premature philosophizing based on unshifted
facts and untrustworthy chronicles yielded a crop of wild theories and fanciful
reconstruction of the past. ‘History’ in the literature syllabus, gave a new
perspective to the educated for the reconstruction of their history.

They were conscious of the harm done to their culture and society
by colonial historiography and missionary literature. The colonial, anti-
Jagannath perspective was de-constructed and a new nationalist perspective was
constructed in modern Oriya literature. Lord Jagannath has been identified with
the Oriya nationalism. Expressions like ‘Jagannath Desa’ and ‘Thakura Raja’
have been used to denote the land and the Hindu king of Orissa respectively.
This indicated not only a religious entity (Jagannath and Thakura) but also a
political entity (Desha and Raja). This combination of religious and political aspects gave a strong basis to the evolution of Oriya nationalism.

The history of English education with its beginning in missionary charity culminated in the evolution of regional identity and construction of Oriya nationality. Of course, English system of education has bequeathed to us some important institutions, which transformed Orissa from a traditional set up to a modern one. The structure of English system consisting of its hierarchy of primary, secondary, collegiate and University education was a deviation from the traditional system of education. English was the medium of instruction from the secondary to the University level. Interestingly, the Oriya intelligentsia who came under the spell of English education had a strong foundation in their indigenous culture received in the village schools. The English expanded their network of training schools, scheme of supervision and inspection, medical and survey schools, the University to examine and award degrees, in order to control the culture of the people. However, the printing press, which came to India without the wish of the Colonial Government, created an opportunity for educating people in a new language of politics. It was up to the last decade of the nineteenth century, the building of Cuttack Printing Company was the only centre for political and social discussions. The printing press movement introduced a new mode of preparation of textbooks.

A new movement started in the political life of the Oriyas with the establishment of a large number of political and social associations and the coming out of periodicals and journals. Along with a dozen of periodicals, the two which played remarkable role in giving an identity to the Oriyas, were Utkal Dipika and Sambalpur Hitaisini. The editors of the two were Gourishankar Ray and Nilamani Vidyaratna respectively. These periodicals fought for the political, social, religious rights of the people. The Utkal
Sammilani, or the Orissa Union Conference provided a common platform to the people. On the stewardship of Madhusudan Das, the Conference discussed problems pertaining to educational affairs and amalgamation of the Oriya speaking tracts. These were the two issues, which formed the most vital problems for the region. The resolution of the Conference can tell us how the educated valued English education in a high manner. Accordingly they indicated an awareness for the need of separate University (Paralakhemundi session, 1914; Sambalpur session, 1915 and Balasore session, 1916), uniform educational policy (Sambalpur session, 1915), an Engineering School (Sambalpur session, 1915), opening of M. A. and B. L. Classes in the Ravenshaw College (Puri sessions, 1908 and 1913), Funds for technical education (Cuttack session 1904 and Balasore session, 1906), mass education (Cuttack sessions, 1908 and 1910) and female education (Cuttack sessions, 1908 and 1910).\(^3\) Among these, the most significant issue was the female education. Even after seventy-five years of colonial rule in Orissa, no real progress was seen in the field of female education. Though the Government and the Missionaries had their respective programs for the education of Oriya girls, the people themselves did not show any enthusiasm for it.

For the educated, it was a period of cultural transition. They were in conflict with the tradition and with the orthodox members of the family, particularly the women folk who had their strong adherence to old traditional ideas, customs and practices. The educated might discuss their new experience and new knowledge among themselves in a club or in a society established by them, but they failed to establish intellectual contact with their women counterparts at home. This awkward position made them realize the necessity of educating their women. Their gradual exploration of the defects in their family life, society and religion made them aware of the cruelties inflicted upon women and inspired them to bring changes in the condition of women by
educating the later. Due to the impact of English education, women discovered a new role in the society.

Not only the welfare of women but also the welfare of the downtrodden, aboriginal and the untouchables was the goal of the reformative ideology of the English educated. Whatever defects the new system might have, it inspired the educated to reform their society. They understood that the division into numerous castes had destroyed all feelings of oneness and patriotism and had checked a uniform national growth in India. The humanistic ideology of the West became so powerful that the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity developed a sentiment of aversion towards the authority of the caste. However, we cannot be idolatrous in praising the English for making us civilized or reformed. The selfish interest of the colonial masters mocked at the advanced ideology like humanism, rationalism, and nationalism of the West.

Can western humanism equal the Universal love for mankind as expressed in the following lines of an Oriya poet, Bhima Bhoi, in the second half of the nineteenth century:

Who can bear to see man suffer so much?
Hurl me to hell, O Lord, but save mankind!³²

Bhima Bhoi, had never attended an English school nor had he read the philosophy of Plato, Socrates, Marx, or Rousseau, but in a society divided and dominated by casteism, polytheism, brahmanical orthodoxy and royal authority, this poet raised his standard of revolt against social inequality, political oppression, religious fanaticism and caste discrimination. Another poet, Gangadhar Meher, who had also not acquired a perspective from English education, tried to seek for an Oriya identity in his poems. Humanism for these
poets was more broadbased then that of the British. The traditional effort never lacked an initiative to reform the society even in the pre-British period. The religious reformers like Kabir, Nanak, Chaitanya had a motive to reform the society whenever the time demanded to do so. Their ideology of human love and reformation was no less important than the western humanism. However, the modern concept of humanism had an extra dimension added to it, i.e. the love for one's nation, which turns it to nationalism.

Culture in Orissa, as everywhere in India, had its growth from its reverence for God and humanity. But English colonialism, with the help of its ideological apparatus tried to infuse a concept that idolatry of the Nation was almost better than the reverence for God and humanity. The Oriya mind, which had a strong foundation in the culture, combined his love for nation and his love for mankind. This national awakening was based on self-sacrifice and self-less service to mankind. Gopabandhu had of the vision: "Not parochialism but humanism was the goal of Oriya Nationalism. It consists of universal love and fullness of life."

Following the tradition of nationalist historiography in India, the historians in Orissa have tended to overestimate the role of English education on the evolution of Oriya nationalism. They are still in the habit of citing the English historians taking them as their authority. We should not take that in reading Toynbee, Sterling and Hunter, we are reading the final history of Orissa. We must realise that what we are reading is not history, but only material out of which, we may construct our own history. From this point of view, Sterling and Hunter are no longer authorities, but some kind of sources merely. A critical history tends to improvise the previous attempts to construct history. Thus, every historical narrative seems to be incomplete. When we refer to the history of education in Orissa, we see the differences in interpretations.
Historical works – political, social, cultural, educational- invariably echo the statements of the colonial officers and the British historians. While taking evidences from them, we must realise that they worked for the circulation and construction of an ideology that had been inspired by colonialism. Collingwood, says, “We depend in history, on sources, we do not depend on authorities: that is, we are not at the mercy of our informants’ knowledge and verity; for we can to some extent detect and allow for their failings and supplement their information by evidence of other kind.” 34 Thus I have tried to interpret the facts, which had been overlooked by the historians in establishing a relationship between English education and the evolution of Oriya Nationalism.

Notes

8. A detailed analysis of the situation is given in Chap.II.
12. It has been discussed in Chap. VI.
14. Discussed in chap. II.
19. Discussed in chap. VI.
21. Annual General Administrative Report of Orissa Division for 1885-86, From C.T. Metcalf, Commissioneer of the Orissa Division to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, General Department, Para. 73, p. 18.
22. Discussed in chap. VI.
24. In Marxist theory, the repressive state apparatus contains the Government, the Administration, the Army, the Police etc. But according to Louis Althusser, Ideological State Apparatus contains, the religious ISA like the Church, the educational ISA like the Schools, the Cultural ISA like literature etc.
30. It has been discussed in chap. VI.
33. It has been discussed in chap. VI.