

**SAKARYA UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**BRITISH COLONIAL EDUCATION POLICY: THE
ORIENTALIST-EVANGELIST CONTROVERSY IN INDIA
(1780-1835)**

**Submitted to the Institute of Social Sciences
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts in History**

**by
Mahmut Cihat İZGİ**

Advisor: Prof. Dr. Azmi ÖZCAN

FEBRUARY - 2014

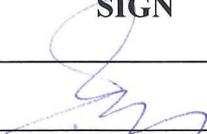
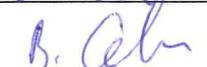
SAKARYA UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

**BRITISH COLONIAL EDUCATION POLICY: THE
ORIENTALIST-EVANGELIST CONTROVERSY IN INDIA
(1780-1835)**

Submitted to the Institute of Social Sciences
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts in History

by
Mahmut Cihat İZGİ

The thesis in 14.02.2014 has been approved by:

EXAMINING COMMITTEE MEMBERS	OPINION	SIGN
Prof. Dr. Azmi ÖZCAN	Başarılı	
Asst. Prof. Dr. Muammer İSKENDERÖĞLU	Başarılı	
Asst. Prof. Dr. M. Bilal ÇELİK	Başarılı	

To my uncle, Cevat İZGİ

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this Master's thesis is my own work, and it does not contain other people's work without this being state and the bibliography contains all the literature that I have used in writing the thesis, and that all references refer to this bibliography.

Mahmut Cihat İZGİ

20.01.2014

PREFACE

In Indian education history, the British education policies played considerable role for the transformation of the native education. Until the establishment of the British rule in India, there was no official education system in the subcontinent and native education was promoted and encouraged by the Sultans. However after the middle of eighteenth century, the British officers made serious effort in order to protect the political future of the British Empire in India. To this end, in addition to the political and military measure, education became one of the most critical instruments to terminate the prejudices against the British raj.

In this sense, this study aimed to emphasize the nature and intentions of the British colonial educational policies during the years of 1780-1835. Under the light of the British official documents and the treaties of the British officers in the British East India Company, this study investigates the Orientalist-Evangelist controversy in India.

In the course of writing this thesis, I received help, advices and encouragements for many scholars and friends. First of all, I owe special debt of gratitude to Prof. Dr. Mehmet İpşirli who supported me to study about Indian history. Secondly, I am indebted to my thesis advisor Prof. Dr. Azmi Özcan for his advices and encouragements. I owe a huge debt of gratitude and sincere thanks to my first thesis advisor Prof. Dr. Tufan Buzpınar. I also would like to appreciate my gratitude to some friends who helped me during my study: Efe Yeşildurak and Ahmet Usta, all research assistants, and members of the history department of Sakarya University.

I am also sincerely thankful to Asst. Prof. Tuncay Başoğlu, founders and employees of the Centre for Islamic Studies (ISAM) for their endless support. I would also like to express my gratitude to Turkish History Society (TTK).

Finally, I am eternally gratitude to my father, mother, and brothers for their incomparable support during my long education. In the same manner my greatest debt of gratitude goes to my wife, Rûveyda, for her endless help and encouragement. Lastly

when I was studying on my thesis, my daughter Nesliřah Sare was born, she is the most important motivation for me.

Mahmut Cihat İZGİ

20.01.2014

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS	III
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	IV
ÖZET.....	V
SUMMARY.....	VI
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER I: THE PROMOTION OF EDUCATION IN MUSLIM INDIA	13
1.1. The Introduction of Islamic Learning in India	13
1.2. The Advancement of Muslim Education Rule of Turkish Dynasties	14
1.3. The Mughal Empire: The Advancement of Muslim Education in India	21
1.4. The British East India Company and Missionary Education	25
1.4.1. Critics for the Company’s Missionary Education.....	26
1.4.2. The Charter of 1698: Missionary Clause.....	27
CHAPTER 2: THE EDUCATION UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY: THE ORIENTALIST POLICY	30
2.1. The Orientalist Policy	31
2.1.1. The Foundation of Calcutta Madrassa	32
2.1.2. The Benares Sanskrit College.....	33
2.1.3. A Colonial Project: The Orientalist Policy	34
2.2. The Opposition: The Emergence of Evangelist Party.....	36
2.2.1. The First Battle: The Orientalist-Evangelist Controversy and Charles Grant	38
2.2.2. The Charter Act of 1793: Rejection of “Pious Clause”	40
2.3. The First Official Educational Policy in India: The Charter Act of 1813.....	42
2.3.1. The End of Anti-Missionary Policy of the Company	44
2.3.2. The Section 43: Beginnings of Company Educational Policy.....	45
2.3.3. The First Educational Dispatch in India	46
CHAPTER III: THE INTRODUCTION OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION	50
3.1. The British Education Policy in India Throughout 1813-1830.....	50
3.1.1. The Orientalist Policy and the Engraftment Theory	52
3.1.2. The Establishment of the General Committee of Public Instruction	53

3.1.3. Reactions to the Policy of GCPI	54
3.1.4. James Mill and Utilitarianism in India	56
3.2. The Resistance against the Orientalist Policy: The Evangelists in India	57
3.2.1. The Beginning of the Controversy.....	59
3.2.2. The Macaulay's 'Famous' Minute.....	61
3.2.3. The Resolution of Lord Bentinck: English Official Language in India	62
3.2.4. The Role of Macaulay Minute in Indian Education	63
3.3. The Reactions against the New Education Policy.....	69
3.4. The Colonial Discourse: Orientalist and Evangelist Education Policy.....	71
CONCLUSION.....	73
BIBLIOGRAPHY	76
APPENDICES	81
BIOGRAPHY	91

ABBREVIATIONS

GCPI	:	General Committee of Public Instruction
DIA	:	Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi
VOC	:	Verengide Oostindische Compampagnie
Trans.	:	Translated

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Table 1: The Number of Public Construction during the Period of Firuz Shah.....	17
Table 2: The Syllabus of Dars-i Nizami	23
Table 3: The Educational Expenditures between 1813-1838.....	51
Table 4: Publishing Books during 1834-1835.....	71

Tezin Başlığı: İngiliz Sömürge Eğitim Politikası: Hindistan’da Oryantalist-Evangelist Mücadele (1780-1835)

Tezin Yazarı: Mahmut Cihat İZGi **Danışman:** Prof. Dr. Azmi ÖZCAN

Kabul Tarihi: 20.01.2014

Sayfa Sayısı: VI (ön kısım) + 80 (tez) + 10 (ek)

Anabilimdalı: Tarih

Bilimdalı: Yakınçağ Tarihi

On dokuzuncu yüzyıl İngiliz eğitim politikalarının Hindistan’da yürürlüğe girmesi hasebiyle Hindistan eğitim tarihinde mühim bir dönüm noktasıdır. Ticari faaliyetler için on yedinci yüzyılda itibaren Hindistan alt-kıtasına ulaşan İngiliz tüccarları, İngiliz Doğu Hindistan Şirketi’nin himayesinde ticari alanda önemli bir güç haline geldiler. Ancak on sekizinci yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren Şirket, ticari faaliyetlerin yanı sıra Hindistan’daki siyasi çekişmelere de müdahil olmaya başladı. Bu tarihten sonra İngiliz yöneticiler, Fransız ve yerel güçlere karşı İngiliz varlığını koruma mücadelesine giriştiler.

Ancak bu mücadele sadece askeri ve siyasi alanlarda verilmedi; Bengal Genel Valisi olan Warren Hastings, İngilizlerin Hindistan’daki varlığını sağlam temellere dayandırmak amacıyla Oryantalist eğitim politikasını yürürlüğe koydu ve böylece Şirket, Hindistan’da eğitim meselelerine eğilmiş oldu. Ancak kısa bir süre sonra Oryantalist eğitim politikası, Charles Grant öncülüğündeki Evangelistler tarafından şiddetli bir biçimde eleştirildi. Hindistan’da eğitim konusunda yaşanan tartışmalar İngiliz Doğu Hindistan Şirketi’nin hükümet ile imzaladığı sözleşmeye yansdı ve 1813 Sözleşmesinde yerel eğitimin geliştirilmesine yönelik bir takım tedbirler alındı.

Bu bağlamda bu çalışma özellikle 1780-1835 yılları arasında Hindistan’daki Oryantalist ve Evangelist parti arasında yaşanan tartışmaları incelemektedir. Çalışma, iki grup arasında eğitim dili ve müfredatı konusunda -her ne kadar bir tartışma yaşansa da-Oryantalist ve Evangelist grup üyelerinin Hindistan toplumunun “modernleşmesi” sağlamak ve İngiltere’nin sadık bir sömürgesi haline getirmek amacıyla eğitimin bir araç olarak kullanılmaya çalışıldığını göstermeye çalışacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Oryantalist-Evangelist Mücadele, Warren Hastings, Charles Grant, Lord Macaulay, Lord William Bentick, 1835 Eğitim Kararnamesi, Lord Macaulay’ın Eğitim Tutanağı

Title of the Thesis: British Colonial Educational Policy: the Orientalist-Evangelist Controversy in India (1780-1835)

Author: Mahmut Cihat İZGi

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Azmi ÖZCAN

Date: 20.01.2014

Nu. of pages: VI (pre text) + 80 (main body) + 10 (appendices)

Department: History

Subfield: Modern History

The nineteenth century was an important turning point in the Indian education history because it was the beginning of the British educational policies in India. The British merchant arrived to the Indian subcontinent by the seventeenth century and thanks to the British East India Company, they became crucial factor in the commercial activities. However, by the middle of the eighteenth century, the Company's servants began to interfere the political quarrels and they made serious effort against French and local power to protect the British presence.

Nevertheless, the political and military measures were not only way for the preservation of the British power. The first governor-general of Bengal, Warren Hastings, imposed the Oriental education policy to terminate the fragile basis of the British rah in India.

Nonetheless, after a short period the new policy was began to criticize by the Evangelists lead by Charles Grant. As a result of the first part of the Orientalist-Evangelist controversy, the British government put some provisions into the Charter Act of 1813 concerning native education.

In this context, this study investigates the Orientalist-Evangelist controversy throughout 1780-1835. Despite the debate between the two party permitting to the medium of instruction and curriculum, the study try to show how the members of the both side made considerable effort to modernize Indian society and transform India as a loyal colony of the British Empire and what was the role of education being as an instrument in this process.

Keywords: The Orientalist-Evangelist Controversy, Warren Hastings, Charles Grant, Lord Macaulay, Lord William Bentinck, The Resolution of 1835, Lord Macaulay's 'Famous' Minute.

INTRODUCTION

On the eve of 15th century, the European powers appeared on the coast of the Indian subcontinent. Firstly the Portuguese power emerged and then merchants, adventurers and sailors came from Lisbon to Calicut. Within a short time, the Portuguese made great progress in terms of commercial activities as they encountered Hindu local powers. The fame of lucrative commercial activities spread in a short time within the different parts of Europe. One by one the Dutch, French and British arrived in India for commercial purposes.

In a short time, the Portuguese power formed a monopoly in the Indian seas and the political background paved the way for Portuguese presence. In this period, Spain and Portugal were the most noteworthy naval forces and there was serious competition between the two. In order to cease the competition and struggle between them the Papal Bull of 1493 and Treaty of Tordesillas marked the borders between the two powers.¹ Thus, North America was to become the sphere of the Spanish Armada and the remaining areas were in favour of the Portuguese. In this political division, the Catholic zeal was one of the critical factors. After a period, the Dutch also appeared in Indian seas through the foundation of Verengide Oostindische Compagnie or the Dutch East India Company (VOC).

Nevertheless, British merchants had implemented the most complex and longest venture. The stories of British merchants in Indian seas were embarked by individual efforts, not like the naval voyages of the Portuguese. The British made their first contacts with India during the period of Elizabeth I of England and Akbar of India.² A priest, by the name of Thomas Stephens, went to India with a letter that created great interest among the London merchants.³ In 1583 four Englishmen⁴, John Newbery, Ralph Fitch, William Leedes and James Storie traveled to India.⁵ In the end of this arduous journey, Storie had died, however, Newbery became a shopkeeper in Goa; as

¹ H. H. Dodwell, (ed.) **The Cambridge History of India**, Vol. 5, (British India 1497-1858), Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1929, p.76.

² M. E. Chamberlain, **Britain and India: The Interaction of Two Peoples**, Great Britain: David & Charles Limited, 1974, p.23.

³ Chamberlain, p.23.

⁴ For the story of Thomas Stephens see; H. G., **British Beginnings in Western India 1579-1657**, Oxford, 1920.

⁵ Chamberlain, p.23.

Leedes entered the service of the Moghul, Fitch alone was the one who returned to England.⁶ The first British expedition was launched by Edward Fenton in 1587-1580, but he never reached India.⁷ In 1591, another expedition was initiated by George Raymond under the command of James Lancaster. However, the British merchants could not overcome the monopoly of the Indian seas.

Owing to the domination of the Portuguese and Dutch, the British merchants for a time tried to find another way to arrive to India.⁸ Some British merchants' duties were to find new sea-routes, while others tried to break up the monopoly of the Spanish and Portuguese in the naval battles. Additionally, in this period, the Dutch merchants raised the price of pepper and this seriously influenced the British merchants.⁹ To this end, eighty London merchants, including Ralph Fitch came together at Founders' Hall on 22nd September, 1599 with Lord Mayor.¹⁰ In the end of this meeting, they agreed to form an association to trade directly with the Eastern seas. There were some concerns against the powerful Portuguese and Spanish Armadas, however, with a royal Charter¹¹ from the Queen Elizabeth I, the British merchants obtained permission for commercial activities in seas of the East under the title of "the Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies in 31 December 1600." It had 125 shareholders and a capital of £70,000.¹² The royal permission consisted of a monopoly from the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan, and it granted a term of fifteen years.¹³ Hence, the British East India Company¹⁴ had been established as an instrument for the British merchants.

After establishment of British business interest, the first of voyages of the British merchants however, were not towards India. They initially focused on Sumatra and Java, Spice Islands (present time Indonesia), but were forced out by the Dutch in 1623

⁶ Chamberlain, p.23.

⁷ Chamberlain, p.23.

⁸ Dodwell, p.76

⁹ Chamberlain, p.24.

¹⁰ Chamberlain, p.24

¹¹ A 'Charter Act' was an act to renew the Company's Crown Charter, the document which defined the Company's rights, privileges, and responsibilities under British law. The Charter always renewed for twenty years, and the periodic renewals were the usual occasion for Parliamentary investigation and reform of the Company.

¹² Chamberlain, p.24

¹³ Dodwell, p.77

¹⁴ For the story of the Company see; C. H. Philips, **The East India Company: 1784-1834**, Manchester: Manchester University Press, London, 1968.

after the torture and murder of the British traders in Moluccas in the same year.¹⁵ When the British launched expeditions, the first expedition being from 1601-1603 and the second from 1604-1606, they were still at war with Spain and Portugal but by 1604, the peace was initiated.¹⁶ In this context, in London the third expedition was prepared and this time the purpose of it was the port of Surat in the province of Gujarat in India. For this reason the command of the voyages was given to William Hawkins who was a merchant in the Levant for a considerable length of time who was skilled in languages as he had learnt to speak Turkish. Another important responsibility for William Hawkins was to deliver a letter from King James to the Mughal Sultan, Akbar. In fact, the Mughal Sultan died before the arrival of the British ambassador to India as Jahangir had come to power instead¹⁷ The British voyages arrived at the port of Surat in 1608. After a short time, they tried to get permission for establishing a factory for British goods, but their proposal was rejected by governor Mukarreb Khan. Thereupon, William Hawkins went to the Mughal Palace in Agra to acquire permission from the Mughal Sultan. The new Sultan, Jahangir gloriously welcomed the embassy delegation. As aforementioned above, Hawkins knew Turkish; he thus easily spoke with Sultan Jahangir. In a short time, the relationship of the Sultan and Hawkins advanced, Hawkins married an Armenian damsel, and accepted to enter under the Sultan's service.¹⁸

On the other hand the close relation between the Mughal and the British delegation caused serious reactions by the Portuguese against the presence of the British. Recognizing the prospect of the British competition, the Portuguese made serious efforts against local powers and made the threats to them, mainly related to the stopping of financial activities which paved the way for exclusion of new comers. To this end, a British fleet defeated the Portuguese squadron at Swally.¹⁹ After one year of victory, the Sultan declared to override the privileges for the British in 1613. Thus, the British merchants initially established their factory in Surat.

Following the first experience, the British embarked on a new expedition to secure British presence and establish permanent relations with the local powers. For this

¹⁵ Williams Matthew, "Imperial Venture: The Evolution of the British East India Company 1763-1813", MA Thesis, The Florida State University, 2011, p.12.

¹⁶ Dodwell, p.77.

¹⁷ Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, **Hindistan Tarihi**, Vol.3, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara, 1987, p.180

¹⁸ Dodwell, p.78, Bayur, p.181

¹⁹ Chamberlain, p. 24

reason, with the order and permission of King James and the desire of the British East India Company, a new fleet was sent to India with the ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe.²⁰ The British delegation and Thomas Roe reached the Mughal Palace on 26th September, 1615. Thomas Roe stayed in India for three years to interview the Mughal Sultan as well as attempting to attain privileges from him. However, Roe could not reach an agreement with the Mughal Sultan concerning the granting of privileges for British commercial activities. Just as the previous attempts of the British had failed, once again, the Portuguese and some local leaders who supported the presence of the Portuguese were able to assert their influence once more. Despite all the obstacles in front of the British, by the time Thomas Roe embarked from India in February 1619, there were permanent English factories in Surat, Agra, Ahmadabad, and Broach.²¹ Among the cities, Surat played a remarkable role not only as a kind of presidential place but it was also used to control the British sea trade.

By this time the British East India Company made serious efforts in Indian waters against the Portuguese, the Dutch and local powers. There were severe problems in the heart of the company in London. The serious naval struggles negatively influenced the amount of earned profits and the financial difficulties paved the way for criticism of the British East India Company. Thus, a new trade and rival company had been established in 1635, it was commonly known as “Courteen’s Association.” This Company traded with China, Japan, the Malabar Coast and other parts in which the East India Company had not yet established factories.²²

The first part of the seventeenth century was an important period pertaining to the presence of the British and they made substantial efforts towards establishing legitimacy for the British power. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the struggle rapidly continued yet in the early years of the century, a vitally significant process was actualized for the British. In 1661, the Portuguese Princess, Catharine of Braganza, married King Charles II of England and the island of Bombay was granted to the British as part of the dowry for the new queen.²³ The marriage and the alliance between the

²⁰ For the story of Thomas Roe see; William Foster (ed.) **The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615-1619**, (2 Volume in one, reprinted), Liechtenstein: Nendeln, 1967.

²¹ Dodwell, p.81

²² Dodwell, p.90

²³ Vincent A. Smith, **The Oxford Student’s History of India**, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921, p.165

British-Portuguese power was not only important for the expansion of British power, but it was also crucial in order to control Dutch influence and encroachment against the British in sea-born trade.

By the eighteenth century, competition between the British, Portuguese and the Dutch, subsided as the British and French were to become the main protagonists in the Indian subcontinent. The French East India Company, “Compagnie des Indes Orientales” had been founded in 1664. This was the beginning of the new imperial power against the British in the seas of India.

As a result of the rising struggle between the two Company’s in India, they began to exploit the weakness of Indian politics, Joseph François Dupleix played a considerable role in this period against the British influence.²⁴ During this period, both powers pitted the local powers against each other and the first important conflict between the British and the French was actualized in 1756. To protect the British’s presence and interest in India, John Clive organized the first military troops from the sepoys²⁵ against the French-nawab²⁶ alliance. The allied troops had been defeated by John Clive’s sepoys at Plassey in 1757. The active role of the British in India and their success paved the way for new progress; the Mughal Sultan acknowledged the British East India Company as an effective ruler of the Bengal and granted the company diwani, or revenue authority, over Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa.²⁷ Eventually, the condition of the British East India Company not only in commercial matters, but also political and military changed the mind of the British statesman in London.

Ultimately, the British East India Company began voicing only commercial concerns in 17th century to take a piece from the beneficial trade in Indian seas. After a long struggle against the Portuguese and Dutch presence in India, the British merchants achieved their goals such as establishing trade factories in the Indian ports. However, some political causes transformed the concept and practice of the company such as the rise of French power in India. Not only was there a struggle between the British and French companies, but also the global competition of the two states increased the importance of

²⁴ Chamberlain, p. 41.

²⁵ Sepoy: a corruption Persian word, Sipahi.

²⁶ *Nawab*: a corruption of the Mughal title from “Nabob”, governor.

²⁷ Jacob Thiessen, “Anglo-Indian Vested Interest and Civil Service Education, 1800-1858: Indications of an East India Company Line”, **Journal of World History**, Vol. 5, No. 1, Spring 1994, pp.26-27.

India. After the decline of French power, the British officers made considerable efforts to protect their presence in India.

However, during this period, besides the political and military efforts of the British officers, the cultural aspect was carried out as way for fortification of the British presence in India. This was expressed in *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge the British India* by Bernard S. Cohn:

“Colonial conquest was not just the result of the power of superior arms, military organizations, political power, or economic wealth—as important as these things were. Colonialism was made possible, and then sustained and strengthened, as much by cultural technologies of rule as it was by the more obvious and brutal modes of conquest that first established power of foreign shores. The cultural effects of colonialism have too often been ignored or displaced into the inevitable logic of modernization and world capitalism; but more than this, it has not been sufficiently recognized that colonialism was itself a cultural project of control. Colonial knowledge both enabled conquest and was produced by it; in certain important ways, knowledge was what colonialism was all about...”²⁸

As indicated by Bernard S. Cohn colonialism “was itself a cultural project of control” and the British officers made significant efforts to control the subcontinent and legitimize British hegemony in India. The promotion of learning and English education was considered one of the important instruments to reconcile the British raj and Indian society. Firstly, the Orientalists²⁹ lead by Warren Hastings and secondly the Evangelist³⁰ lead by Charles Grant, Charles Trevelyan, Lord Babington Macaulay, imposed educational policies in order to keep India as a part of the British Empire.

²⁸ Bernard S. Cohn, **Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British India**, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996, p. IX.

²⁹ “The original connotation of term orientalist was, in 1683, “a member of the Eastern or Greek Church”: in 1691 Anthony Wood described Samuel Clark as an “eminent orientalian,” meaning that he knew some oriental languages. Byron in his notes to Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage speaks of “Mr. Thornton’s frequent hints of profound Orientalism.” During the educational controversy in India which was settled by Macaulay’s celebrated Minute of 1835, the Orientalists were those who advocated Indian learning and literature, while their adversaries, who desired English to be the basis of education in India, were called Anglicists. New Oxford Dictionary defines an orientalist as “one versed in oriental languages and literature” quoted from Arthur John Arberry. J. **British Orientalists**, London: William Collins, 1969, p.8.

³⁰ Evangelist or Anglican; The movement that became know as the Evangelical movement began within the Church of England in the 18th century, although it had many points in common with earlier Low Church attitudes and with 16th and 17th century Puritanism...They emphasized evangelism, social welfare, and missions and they established the Church Missionary Society (1799) and the Colonial and Continental Church Society (1838). Included among the Evangelicals’ many leaders were the influential Clapham Sect, a group of wealthy laypersons prominent in England from 1790 to 1830. Many of them were members of Parliament, and they were responsible for ending the slave trade. See; **The New Encyclopaedia Britannica**, “Anglican Evangelical” Vol. 1, (15th edition), Chicago, 1979, p. 407; George M. Marsden William L. Svelmoe, “Evangelical and Fundamental Christianity” in Lindsay Jones, (Editor in Chief), **Encyclopaedia of Religion**, Second Edition, USA, 2005, pp. 2287-2893.

However, it should be remembered that in this period in England, there was no official education policy and the state was not responsible for education. The Church was still the most crucial structure controlling and organizing education matters. As indicated by Gauri Viswanathan in the study *Masks of Conquest Literary Study and British Rule in India*;

“The amazingly young history of English literature as a subject of study (it is less than a hundred and fifty years old) is frequently noted, but less appreciated is the irony that English literature appeared as a subject in the curriculum of the colonies long before it was institutionalized in the home country. As early as the 1820s, when the classical curriculum still reigned supreme in England despite the strenuous efforts of some concerned critics to loosen its hold, English as the study of culture and not simply the study of language had already found a secure place in the British curriculum.³¹”

In this sense, the primary aim of this study is to question the British colonial educational policies such as that of Orientalist and the Evangelist and why the British officers desired to educate Indian society. As aforementioned above, in this period not only in England but also in the other British colonies there was no official educational policy and as early as 1780 the British officers imposed some provisions for the promotion of native education. In this context the study focuses on the British educational policies which are the result of cultural imperialism or enlightened paternalism. Additionally it observes the nature of the Orientalist-Evangelist controversy; what were the intentions of the both parties, what were the controversial matters, what were the commonalities, and what was the position in terms of the medium of instruction in education. Lastly this study is to also discuss the role of Lord Babington Macaulay in the Indian Education history. Is he a hero in this controversy or is he just a small aspect of this narrative?

Methodology: Sources

Concerning the Orientalist-Evangelist controversy so much academic and popular study has been written in the world. Before a brief review of secondary sources, it is important to give details regarding the primary sources, such as notes or treaties of the Company servants who were involved in the debates between 1780-1835. The first and

³¹ Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India*, USA: Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 2-3.

outstanding study is written by the Charles Grant (1746-1823) a member of the evangelical Clapham sect and a director of the British East India Company in this period. His study *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain* was a pioneering evangelical study in India. In this study, Grant primarily advocated that English education should be studied as a medium instruction in India. *Observations* were chiefly penned in 1792 to support the evangelical fervour. More importantly it was reproduced by the members of the sect in Parliament and inserted into the clauses within the Charter Act in 1812-1813.

Another critical treaty was written by Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan (1807-1876) entitled *On the Education of The People of India* (1838). Trevelyan was in the civil service of the Company from 1826 until 1865. Particularly between 1833-1838, he was a member of the General Committee of Public Instructions and one of the pioneer adherents of the Evangelist zeal in India. He seriously encouraged the introduction of the English language as a medium of instruction. He was also a brother-in-law of Lord Babington Macaulay. *The Application of the Roman Alphabet to all the Oriental Languages* (1836) was also an important study of Trevelyan and it includes letters between Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan and one of the pioneer supporters of Orientalist policy. They mainly discussed topics such as: promotion of education, medium of instruction, and the position of classical languages. B. D. Basu, who wrote *History of Education under the Rule of East Indian Company* (1867) was also an important work to give a picture about the Orientalist policy of the British East India Company.

The life and letters of Lord Macaulay (1876) was also another source which was written by Lord Macaulay's nephew, G. Otto Trevelyan, and included a biography of Lord Macaulay, important letters and his efforts in India pertaining to education. Concerning Lord Macaulay, another important source is *The Miscellaneous Writings and Speeches of Lord Macaulay* (Thomas Babbington Macaulay) edited by Jim Manis which consisted of four volumes. This consisted of the most important speeches of Lord Macaulay referring not only to Indian affairs but also his political life in England.

Considering the secondary sources about the controversy, many studies have been written, but among this list, a few will be mentioned. Especially in this period, the role

of Lord Babington Macaulay is an important question in the mind of historians and has been evaluated in several books. In this sense, John Clive's work *Macaulay: The Shaping of the Historian* is the best study to examine Macaulay's life, career and efforts regarding the educational history of India. In this book, after narrating Macaulay's family, education, and political life both in India and England, he investigates the Indian education questions pertaining to Indian education particularly after 1823 and indicates Macaulay's relations, the background of his Minute on Indian education in 1835. Lastly, it includes his thoughts about classical education. Furthermore, *Critical and Historical Essays*, which was edited by his sister Lady Trevelyan, includes three separate volumes and these studies also contain the significant speeches of Lord Macaulay's political life. Finally the *Letters of Thomas Babington Macaulay* which was edited by Thomas Pinney, is also another main study.

The Orientalist party and policy is the significant side of this controversy and in this aspect, David Kopf's work *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The Dynamics of Indian Modernization, 1773-1835* is the most comprehensive study concerning the history of Orientalist policy. In this, the author describes the Orientalist policy from the early time until the Minute of Lord Macaulay.

On the other hand missionaries and their activities were the significant causes and part of the Orientalist-Evangelist controversy. Especially with the inception of the Orientalist policy, missionary activities were banned by the Company due the fragile bases of British power in India. Therefore, Julius Richter's *A History of Mission in India* (1908) was a crucial piece of work not only by narrating the history of European missionaries in India, but also the Company's anti-missionary policy during the 1780-1813. Concerning the history of mission in India another important work was penned by M. A. Sherring, (1884) *Protestant Missions in India*.

The history of Indian education during the British period had been written in different studies edited by Nurullah Syed and J. P. Naik, entitled *A History of Indian Education. (During the British Period)*. (1951) In this study, the authors examine Indian education in six parts from 1780 until 1947. The second book, *A History of English Education in*

India, was written by Syed Mahmood in 1895. In Mahmood's work, he describes Indian education history between the years of 1781-1893.

In addition to studies which focus on the history of Indian education during the British period, there are some significant books concerning the promotion of Muslim, Hindu and Missionary education in India. Correspondingly, Narendra Nath Law's, *Promotion of Learning in India by Early European Settlers up to about 1800 A.D.* (1915) and *Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule* (1916) are pioneering examinations concerning the history of education in the Indian subcontinent. The first study mainly focuses on the early efforts of the British East India Company and missionaries regarding education. The second one concentrates on the promotion of Muslim learning in India from the advent of Sultan Mahmud until the decline of the Mughal authority. Concerning the rise of Muslim education in India another important book is written S. M. Jaffar's, *Education in Muslim India* (1971) Kuldip Kaur's *Madrasa Education in India (A Study of Its Past and Present)* was written in 1991 and this book also gives an important picture about Indian education. In this book, Kaur narrates the history of Muslim education in the medieval and colonial periods. This book also gives important information about the curriculum of the madrasas during the medieval and modern period and it also present the list of the Muslim madrasas in India. Concerning the history of education in India, the most comprehensive book was written by Suresh Chandra Ghosh, *History of Education in India* (2007). In this study, the author chronicles the history of education from the earliest time of the subcontinent until the present era. Another important study of Ghosh is *History of Education in Medieval India, (1192-1757)*, (2001).

Concerning the Orientalist-Evangelist controversy, the most crucial study was edited by Lynn Zastoupil and Martin Moir, *The Great Indian Education Debate Documents Relating to the Orientalist-Anglicist Controversy, 1781-1843*. In this investigation, after a long and detailed introduction concerning the history of the Orientalist-Evangelist Controversy, the book contains thirty remarkable and landmark official documents regarding the Controversy. Particularly, The *Minute* by Warren Hastings in 1781 is a manifestation of the Orientalist Policy, The British East India Company Charter Act of

1813, section 43, and the “famous” Minute by Lord Macaulay in 1835 are among the spectacular sections of this study.

Additionally, there are some major evaluations referring to the British colonial education as part of cultural imperialism. In this, the study of Gauri Viswanathan’s, Ph.D. thesis; *The Ideology of Literacy Education in British India 1813-1880*, (1985) which was then published as a book under the name *Masks of Conquest; Literary Study and British Rule in India*, is appreciated. Gauri investigates the roots and causes of British colonial education in India, and according to the author, the educational policies of the British power in India is the “masks of conquest”. Likewise Bernard S. Cohn’s, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge; the British India*, (1996) examines the instruments of cultural imperialism such as language, clothes, art, and law. The second chapter in this work is important in terms of shedding light on the colonial education policy between 1781-1835. Robert Phillipson’s *Linguistic Imperialism*, particularly in chapter five and Alastair Pennycook’s *English and the Discourse of Colonialism*, in chapter three “Anglicism, Orientalism and colonial language policy” are also crucial investigations.

Structure

My study consists of four chapters, which will cover mainly the roots of British colonial educational policies in the light the of Orientalist-Evangelist controversy. This study focuses why the education was noteworthy for the British officers and why the need to educate Indian society.

The introduction presents an overview about the rise of British power in India. The first contacts of British merchants, the establishment of the British East India Company and the transformation of the British East Company as a political power in Indian internal affairs are the sections of the introduction.

The first chapter contains two parts. The first part pertains to the history of Muslim education in India from the advent of Arab conquests until the decline of the Mughal power. The second part evaluates the early efforts of the servants of the Company for the “promotion” of missionary education in India.

The second chapter investigates the Orientalist policy as formerly imposed by the Minute of Governor-General of Bengal Warren Hastings in 1781 upon the petition of some Muslims. This was to promote traditional education and roots of the anti-missionary aspect of this policy. This chapter also deals with the opposition group, the Evangelists, and their efforts to change the Company policy against missionaries. Then this part examines the first British official educational policy in India and the provisions of the Charter Act for the promotion of native education.

The final chapter primarily focuses on the condition of the first British educational policy throughout 1813-1830. This section includes the Orientalist policy between 1820 and 1830. Lastly this chapter aims to assess the beginning of the Orientalist and Evangelist controversy of a medium of instruction and the “famous” Minute of Lord Macaulay, Resolution of Governor-General Lord Bentick, the reactions against the new educational policy.

Objectives and Conclusion

This study presents a detailed analysis on and possible interpretation of the causes and Orientalist-Evangelist Controversy on the medium of instruction. During this period British educational policies attempted to use as an instrument for consolidation and legitimization of British hegemony in the light of knowledge is power.

CHAPTER I: THE PROMOTION OF EDUCATION IN MUSLIM INDIA

In Islamic culture, imparting education and supporting the scholars is an indication of high degree and the importance of education came from the verses from the Quran and the hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad. In Surah-I Iqra and Al-Alaq, the Quran orders all Muslim that reading and writing is a religious duty. In addition to these verses, the Prophet Muhammad stresses “the seeking of knowledge is a must for every Muslim man and woman.” In this context, during the longest history of Islam, the adherents of the religion had followed the traces and the orders of the Quran and the traditions of the Prophet to seek the truth. Furthermore, education in various parts of the Islamic world had been seen as a powerful instrument for not only bringing social equality, but also putting an end to ignorance and superstitions. Therefore the practice and institution of Islamic learning had been adopted in Andalusia, India, North Africa and Central Asia.

1.1.The Introduction of Islamic Learning in India

Since the earliest days of the Prophet Muhammad, Islamic learning had no formal system; the mosque is the main center of education. As a result of the growth of the borders of the Islamic Empire, the practice of Islamic learning extended in the newly conquered territories under the Arab conquerors. In this context the history of Islamic education in the Indian subcontinent can be traced back to the first contacts of Arabs in India.³² The Arabs, under the command of Muhammad b. Kasim moved into Indian from Sind and defeated the Brahmana king, Dahir. Then the army captured the rich seaports of Northwest India in 712.³³ Eventually, with the conquest, the method of Islamic education and tradition commenced in India. Moreover, the mosques which had been erected after a short time from the conquest, were as a main center of education in

³² Kuldip Kaur, **Madrasa Education in India A: Study of Its Past and Present**, Chandigarh: Centre for Research in Rural Industrial Development, 1990, p.17.

³³ Suresh Chandra Ghosh, **History of Education in Medieval India, (1192-1757)**, New Delhi: Originals, 2001, p.7., Suresh Chandra Ghosh, **History of Education in India**, Jaipur, Rawat Publications, reprinted 2011, p. 143.

India. In the mosques, Halqahs³⁴ became not only an education method in India, but also provided a suitable base for expressing Islam to non-Muslims. In addition to the efforts for imparting education, the Arabs also translated very valuable scientific treaties into Arabic.³⁵ Therefore, as result of the Arab conquest' Sind, Debal, Mansura and Multan developed as cultural cities in India.³⁶

1.2.The Advancement of Muslim Education Rule of Turkish Dynasties

After the first Arab interactions in India, as a result of the expeditions of Sultan Mahmud a new period began in the history of India. In the wake of his seventeen campaigns to India the hegemony of Ghaznavids was partly established. In addition to the success of Sultan Mahmud, in terms of politics and military expeditions, this era was also very important for imparting learning and Islamization to some parts of India. In history, the Sultan had tremendous prestige with campaigns to India and great military skills. He was also known for his generosity for supporting the learning class. One of the famous historians of this period, Ferishta, stated that “no king had ever had more learned men at his Court than Sultan Mahmud.”³⁷

Throughout his campaigns, the establishment of permanent rule in India was not the ambition of Sultan Mahmud, so in this period there was not a madrasa or education center in India. However, according to the chronicles, the Sultan bestowed “the princely sum of 400.000 dinar for the encouragement of learning elite.”³⁸ In this period his capital city, Ghazni, developed as a cultural center and “the city rose to be as famous as Bologna or Padua of Medieval Europe.”³⁹ In his reign, public buildings, private palaces, mosques, porches, fountains, aqueducts, and baths had been erected, even so the most remarkable progress was the construction of a madrasa in the capital city, Ghazni as

³⁴ Learning circles

³⁵ Abdülhamit Birışık, , Hint Alt Kıtasında Medrese, **İslam Ansiklopedisi**, Vol. 28, Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2003, p. 333.

³⁶ Kaur, p. 17.

³⁷ Narendra Nath Law, **Promotion of Learning in India During Muammadan Rule**, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1916, p. 11.

³⁸ Law, p. 4.

³⁹ Law, p.6.

stated by Elliot and John Dowson, “he founded a madrasa at Ghazni and supplied it with a vast collection of curious books in various languages.”⁴⁰”

Sultan Mahmud’s heir and son Sultan Masud followed his father’s traditions and showed great importance for imparting learning as much as his father. In the course of his period, Muslim learning centers were formed in different parts of India. What’s more, as well as the foundation of the education centers, Sultan Masud provided provisions to supply the financial necessities of the education centers from the rich and adequate endowments.⁴¹ Notwithstanding, the Sultan Masud’s attempt for the promotion of learning in India, a remarkable advancement was implemented in terms of a “translation movement.” During this epoch, Sanskrit and Greek literature influenced Arabic and Persian literature. Finally, Indian mathematics and astronomy, astrology, philosophy, medicine, pharmacology became the most beloved subjects for Muslim scholars.⁴²

Following the period of Ghaznavids, the dynasty of Ghur emerged in India as a political actor by the twelfth century. The Sultan Muhammad Ghur transferred the capital city of the dynasty from Ghazni to Lahore which was to become the new cultural and learning center.⁴³ However, the political seat of the new Sultanate changed again in the middle of the thirteen century from Lahore to Delhi. Thus, later in this century Delhi had become one the great traditional centers in the Islamic world like Cairo and Baghdad.

Traditional Muslim learning was also followed by the Ghur dynasty like the previous rulers. Throughout their period, madrasa education had been developed and systematized.⁴⁴ Another main development in the Ghur period was implemented during the conquest of the city of Ajmer in 1192. When Muhammad Ghur captured the city, he also constructed madrasas in this city.⁴⁵ To Kuldip Kaur, these madrasas were the first

⁴⁰ H. M. Elliot and John Dowson, (ed.) **History of India as told by its own Historians**, Vol. III, Delhi, Low Price Publication, 1990, p. 63, Kaur, p.18.

⁴¹ Kaur, p. 18.

⁴² Law, p.13.

⁴³ Kaur, p.18.

⁴⁴ Birışık, p. 333.

⁴⁵ F. A. Keay, **Ancient Indian Education: An Inquiry into its Origin Development, and Ideals**, New York: Oxford University Press, 1918, p. 115.

of their kind in India.⁴⁶ In the opinion of S. M. Jaffar, Muhammad Ghur was the first Muslim King of India who considered imparting education as a duty in India.⁴⁷

Following the Ghur dynasty, the period of slave dynasties was initiated under the Delhi Sultanate. Like previous sultans, they pursued the traditions concerning the promotion of education. The first sultan of the Ilbarite Sultans of Delhi (1206-1290), Qutbuddin Aibak, founded many mosques in various parts of the county and he appreciated imparting education and foundation of madrasas. Furthermore, during the period of Qutbuddin Aibak, secular learning went hand in hand with religious education in mosques.⁴⁸ In addition to the contribution of the first Sultan Aibak, was also known for his proficiency in Arabic and Persian.⁴⁹ In addition to the Muhammad Ghur, one of his commanders, Bukhtiyar Khalji constructed various mosques and madrasahs in different parts of Bengal and Bihar.⁵⁰ After his death in 1210, Iltutmish came to throne and he was famous for his generosity for learning centers. Initially in his period, Madrasa-i Muizzi was established by Iltutmish's daughter, Raziyya.⁵¹ in Delhi. Later, Madrasa-i Fîrûzî (1227) and Madrasa-i Nâsiriyye (1237) were also other important education centers which were founded by Iltutmish.⁵² Following Iltutmish, in the period of his successor, there were no important developments in terms of the promotion of education; however, the encouragement of Minhaj-i Siraj, the author of the *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, might be considered an important event in this period. Afterward Minhaj-i Siraj was appointed as a scholar in Madrasa-i Nâsiriyye.⁵³ Furthermore, another important feature of this period was the abundance of literary societies in Delhi. Finally, due to the Mongol invasion, so many scholars escaped and refuged to India. Especially in the period of Balban, Delhi became a famous center for approving the scholars.

As a result of the fall of the Ilbarites dynasty, the Khaljis rule (1290-1320) had been established and they also supported the promotion of education like the previous Sultan. The first Sultan of the Khaljis, Jahangir was a great lover of learning and he invited many scholars to his palace.

⁴⁶ Kaur, p.18.

⁴⁷ S. M. Jaffar, **Education in Muslim India**, Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delhi, 1972, 38.

⁴⁸ Jaffar, p.40.; Law, p.19.

⁴⁹ Ghosh, *History of Education in Medieval...*, p.33.

⁵⁰ Ghosh, *Education in India...*, 176.

⁵¹ Ghosh, *Education in India...*, 176

⁵² Birişik, p.333.

⁵³ Law, p. 22.; Ghosh, *History of Education in Medieval...*, p.33.

After Jahangir, his successor, Ala-ud-din also supported the promotion of education as the historian Ferishta depicted in his period:

“...palaces, mosques, universities, baths, mausoleum, forts and all kinds of public and private buildings seemed to rise as if by magic. Neither did there in any age, appear such a concourse of learned men from all parts. Forty-five doctors, skilled in the sciences, were professors in the universities.”⁵⁴

Under the Tughluq Monarchs (1320-1414), Muslim education in India seemed to have made remarkable progress and was encouraged by the first Sultan, Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq. Yet in the period of his successor, Muhammad Tughluq, the literary sphere was in a decline due to causes such as the political troubles of the Khaljis Period and the project of the Sultan for changing the capital city from Delhi to Deccan, Daulatabad. The plan had an effect on the greatest centre of Muslim learning in India for a short time. In 1341, the famous traveler Ibn Batuta, who visited India said Delhi was “one of the most magnificent cities in the world.”⁵⁵ Despite the problems, as mentioned above, the royal court continued to support the educated and learning societies. However, the most remarkable advancement was implemented by Firuz Shah who was Muhammad’s successor. One of the most vital activities of the new sultan for the promotion of education was that the foundation of the most greatest madrasa in his period under the title of his name in his capital, Firuzabad near Delhi (1352)⁵⁶. Concerning the madrasah Barni gave important information:

“This madrasah was a commodious building, situated in an extensive and well-planned garden, with an adjacent reservoir which mirrored in its shiny and placid breast the high and massive house of study standing on its brink. As the students and the teachers resided in the campus, there was constant intellectual communion between them. It had separate apartments for the reception and accommodation of the travellers who, attracted by its reputation, visited it from distant countries. It also take care of the spiritual needs of its residents by providing within its campus a big mosque where the five compulsory and the extra prayers were regularly said, the former being performed it gatherings conducted by the Sufis...”⁵⁷

Apart from the madrasa, the period of the Firuz Shah was so vital in terms of the public improvements, as stated by the sources the Sultan erected in this period:

⁵⁴ Law, p.35.

⁵⁵ Law, p.47.

⁵⁶ Ghosh, History of Education in Medieval..., p. 43.

⁵⁷ Ghosh, Education in India, 178.

Table 1:

The Number of Public Constructions During The Period of Firuz Shah⁵⁸

Dams across rivers to promote irrigation	50
Mosques	40
Colleges, with mosques attached	30
Palaces	20
Caravansaries	100
Towns	200
Reservoirs	30
Hospitals	100
Mausoleum	5
Public baths	100
Monumental Pillars	10
Public Wells	10
Bridges	150

Concerning the construction of public buildings under Firuz Shah, Shahi stated in his book, *Futuh-at-i Firuz*:

“He gifts which God bestowed upon me, His humble servant, was a desire to erect public buildings. So I built many mosques, colleges, and monasteries, that the learned and the elders, the devout and the holy, might worship in these edifices, and aid the kind builder with their prayers...Again by the guidance of God, I was led to repair and rebuild the edifices and structures of former kings and ancient nobles...The Jami’ Mascid of old Delhi, which was built by Sultan Mu’izzuddin Sam, had fallen into decay from old age and needed repair and restoration...The Madrasah (college) of Altamash had been destroyed. I rebuilt it and furnished...”⁵⁹

In shortly, the period of the Tughluq Dynasty and particularly the reign of Firuz Shah, was one of the main turning points in the history of Muslim education history in India. Not only by the foundation of many public buildings in various parts of India, but also the encouragement by the scholars who paved the way for increasing the reputation of

⁵⁸ Law, pp. 56-57.

⁵⁹ Law, pp. 57-58.; Ghosh, p.42.

Delhi as a cultural and educational center. Finally, in the era of the Tughluq Dynasty, some Sanskrit works were translated into the Persian language.

The invasion of Timur (1398) produced a set-back not only in the political life of India, but also in educational matters. After the interregnum period, the era of the Saiyids (1414-1451) and Lodis (1451-1526) opened in India. Through the first sultans of the Saiyids such as Khizr Khan, Mubarak Shah and Saiyid Alauddin, they maintained the encouragement of the promotion of education. In this period, Badaun and Katehar⁶⁰ developed as cultural centers like Delhi and Firuzabad. The Saiyids, like the previous dynasties, erected mosques and madrasas in the new city centers. After a short time, the era of Saiyids ended and was succeeded by the Lodis. The founder of the new dynasty, Sultan Bahlul, was an enlightened patron of letters.⁶¹ In the period of Bahlul's son Sikandar Lodi, the most significant development was that the foundation of a new city, Agra, to exercise more effective control over the rebellions.⁶² He made serious efforts in order to vanish the destruction of Timur and he constructed madrasas, makhtabs and mosques in his new city. Sikandar Lodi contributed to the importance for the promotion of education and was already an enlightened person and a poet. He composed verses under the pen-name "Gulrukh" and his diwan was made up of eight or nine thousand couplets.⁶³ In this period, Agra became a new cultural center in India.⁶⁴

The most remarkable aspect of his period was the beginning of the relationships between the Hindus and Muslims. During the era of Turkish Dynasties, Arabic was the sacred language of Islam and Persian was a judicial language of the Turkish conquerors and in this period the Hindus first applied themselves to the study of Persian. According to sources, in the period of Firuz Shah, who appointed two Hindus to a responsible post in his administration yet in the period of Sikandar Lodi, the movement developed greatly.⁶⁵ Furthermore, as indicated by law, the origin of the Urdu or Hindi language, which dates from this period, is due the association of the two communities.⁶⁶ Another

⁶⁰ Unlike Law and Kaur, Suresh Chandra Ghosh stresses out that the name of city, Katehar as Cuttair. Ghosh, p.45.

⁶¹ Kaur, p. 23.

⁶² Ghosh, p.46.

⁶³ Law, p.73.

⁶⁴ Ghosh, p.45.

⁶⁵ Keay, p. 118.

⁶⁶ Law, p.76, Kaur, p.24

interesting and important feature of this period was that the Sultan insisted on compulsory education for his military officers.⁶⁷

In addition to the efforts of the Turkish dynasties for promotion of education, there were some provincial kingdoms which arose after the disintegration of the Delhi Sultanate. Within the independent provincial kingdom, they also paid crucial attention to the promotion of education. The Bahmani Kingdom was one of these and they reigned in the south of India, near Deccan. During their ascendancy, several madrasas were founded in various place of in Deccan and they organized regular madrasa education. During the reign of Sultan Mahmud Gawan, his minister Muhammad Shah, built a Madrasa in Deccan for the education of orphans in 1378.⁶⁸ In this period, the patronage of Bahmani Sultans for the promotion of education was also appreciated by the Europeans:

“If we cannot compare the Bahmani kings with their European contemporaries from Edward III to Henry VIII, yet there can be no doubt that high civilization according to standard of Muhammadanism existed...Education in Persian and Arabic literature was extended as much as possible by village schools, which were attended to mosques and endowed with lands sufficient for their maintenance...The system tended as well to the spread of literature as of the faith of ruling power, and its effects are still distinctly traceable throughout the wide extent of their dominion.”⁶⁹

Following the period of the Bahmani Kingdoms, education was also encouraged and several madrasas were founded in Bijapur, Golkondo, Malwa, Khandesh, Jaunpur, Multan and Bengal. Adil Shah in Bijapur, Ahmad Nizam Shah in Ahmadnagar, Muhammad Quli, Qutb Shah in Gulkandah, Mahmud Khliji in Malwa, Nasir Khan in Khandish, and Ibrahim Sharqi in Jaunpur, were very important figures in Medieval India for the promotion of education in India.⁷⁰

To sum up, the period from the advent of Ghaznavids, till the foundation of Babar's dynasty, the political figures of India played a remarkable role in the history of the territory. As much as the political and military efforts, the Sultans made serious effort to disseminate Muslim learning and the message of Islam.

⁶⁷ Ghosh, p.46.

⁶⁸ Law, p.82.

⁶⁹ Law, p. 91.

⁷⁰ Law, pp. 80-114, Jaffar, pp. 59-75.

1.3. The Mughal Empire: The Advancement of Muslim Education in India

In the middle of the sixteenth century, the political history of India witnessed a remarkable turning point and the Sultan of Fergana, Sultan Babar, defeated the Lodis in Northern India. Thus, his dynasty was founded after the slave dynasties in 1526. Similar to previous Muslim rulers, Sultan Babar and his descendant also showed a great interest for the promotion of education and encouragement of the learning man. It should be kept in mind that the first ruler of the dynasty, Babar, was very famous regarding his literary accomplishments. He was a great scholar in Arabic, Persian and Turkish and he composed a collection of Turkish poems which was called “Mufassal.”⁷¹ The Sultan also wrote his memories and he was called as the “prince of autobiographers.”⁷² In 1504, Babar initiated a kind of handwriting entitled “*Babari*” which he wrote a Quran and sent it to Mecca.⁷³

Babar died in December 1530 and was succeeded by his son, Humayun. He was also a great scholar like his father. In the first years, Humayun dealt with political quarrels against his internal and external rivals. After a short period, Humayun was defeated by Sher Shah in the battle of Kanauj. After the battle, Shah grasped Humayun’s librarian, Nizam, and some of his favorite books.⁷⁴ After the interregnum period, Humayun return to India. During the period of the second sultanate, he followed his father’s tradition pertaining to the promotion of learning. He loved to study astronomy and geography and wrote dissertations on the nature of the elements.⁷⁵ In the period of Humayun, a madrasa was built in Delhi and Sheikh Husain became professor in this madrasa.⁷⁶ Another important madrasa in this period was erected by Sheikh Zain-ud-din in Agra.⁷⁷

The succession of Akbar the Great was the beginning of new period, not only for the political future of India, but also for the advancement of imparting education both in maktabas and madrasas. Akbar was also the first emperor in India who encouraged

⁷¹ Ghosh, p.49.

⁷² Kaur, p.32.

⁷³ Law, p.123, Kaur 32. Ghosh, p.49.

⁷⁴ Ghosh, p.50.

⁷⁵ Law, p.127, Kaur, p.32.

⁷⁶ Law, p.333.

⁷⁷ Kaur, p.32. Birışık p.333.

imparting education for the Hindus and Muslims alike.⁷⁸ In this period, Muslims and the Hindus were studying in the same madrasas and makhtabs. Furthermore, Akbar introduced some important changes in the modes of study and curriculum.

In addition to imposing some guidelines on madrasas and makhtabs, Akbar the Great also increased the number of educational institutions in India. In this period, palaces, madrasas and mosques were erected in different parts of India. The chief advisor for Akbar, Abu Fazl, founded a madrasa at Fatehpur Sikri in the name of *Madrasa-i-Abu Fazl*.⁷⁹ His reign was also remarkable in terms of the growth of Agra as an educational center and several scholars came from Iran.

On the other hand, during the age of Akbar the Great, many important works in Turkish and Arabic were translated into Persian under Akbar's patronage encouragement. Among them, the most important one was the translation of Babar's memoirs from Turkish to Persian. Furthermore, astronomical tables of Ulugh Beg were translated from Turkish into Persian.⁸⁰ In this period, in addition to the translation of Turkish and Arabic treaties, some Sanskrit works were also translated into Persian. For this issue, Akbar took the help of Hindu scholars for the translation of Sanskrit works: *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana* and the *Simhasans Battisti*.⁸¹

Like the previous Mughal Sultan, Jahangir also encouraged the promotion of learning and was a patronize learned man in his reign. In this period, Agra was still a famous learning city.⁸² After Jahangir, Shah Jahan came to power and the new the sultan maintained the support of educational institutions. One of the main progresses of his reign was the foundation of a madrasa in Delhi, Jama Masjid. In this period, Dar-ul-Baqa was another madrasa which was founded by Shah Jahan in 1650.⁸³

In the history of the Mughals, Aurangzeb had a special importance, not only his success on political issues, but also the promotion of learning in India. In this period, many madrasas were founded, the scholars and learned men were encouraged, and the level of education was promoted. He provided also a great contribution concerning the diffusion

⁷⁸ Law, p.160, Kaur, p.33.

⁷⁹ Kaur p.34, Law, p.162.

⁸⁰ Ghosh, p.54.

⁸¹ Ghosh, p.54.

⁸² Kaur, p.35.

⁸³ Birışık, p.334.

of Islamic learning in his empire. For the education of Muslim youths, he appointed scholars and learned men in different parts of the empire. Aurangzeb also gave stipends to students for their advance in education.

In addition to regulations and improvements for the promotion of learning, many madrasas were founded by the Sultan. The one with a very unique reputation was Firangi Mahal.⁸⁴ It was established by Mulla Qutub al-Din at the heart of Lucknow, UP in 1691. The most significant character of Firangi Mahal came from the creation of the *dars-i nizami* syllabus.⁸⁵ The syllabus included the study of logic, philosophy, theology, tafsir, hadith, fiqh (jurisprudence) and it was a key component of instruction in the Madrasa until the early 19th century. Owing to its importance, Firangi Mahall was called “Hamare Hindustan ka Kembridge, Our Hindustan’s Cambridge.”⁸⁶

Table 2:

The Syllabus of Dars-i Nizami⁸⁷

Courses	Reading Materials
Sarf	Mizan, Munshab, Sarf-i-Mir, Panj-Ganj, Zubda, Fusul-i-Akbar, Shafia
Nahv	Nahv-i-Mir, Sharh-i-Miat-i-Amil, Hidayat-un-Nahv, Kafia, Sharh-i-Jami
Mantiq	Sughra, Kubra, Isaghoji, Tahdhib, Sharh-i-Tahdhib, Qutbi, Mir, Sullam-ul-Ulum
Hikmat	Maibadhi, Sadra, Shams-i-Bazigha.
Riyadi	Khulasat-ul-Hisab, Tahrir-i-Uqlaidas, Maqala-i-Ula, Tashrik-ul-Aflak, Risala-i-Qaushjiyyia, Sharh-Chaghmani, Bab-i-Awwal
Balaghat	Makhtasar-ul-Maani, Mutawwal upto Ma-Ana-Qultu
Fiqh	Sharh Wiqay-i-Awwalin, Hidayat-i-Akharin
Usul-i-Fiqh	Nur-ul-Anwar, Taudih, Talvih, Musallamas Subut

⁸⁴ The term Firangi-Frankish refers to the school which was founded in the home of French government servant who had left it to the Mughal empire. For a comprehensive study on Firangi Mahal see; Francis Robinson, **The ‘Ulama of Firangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asica**, London: C. Hurst, 2001.

⁸⁵ Azmi Özcan, Firangi Mahall, **İslam Ansiklopedisi**, Ankara, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi Yayınları, 132-133, Francis Robinson Encyloepdia of Islam, Suppl., p. 292-294

⁸⁶ Robinson, p.130.

⁸⁷ Kaur, p.110.

Kalam	Sharh-i-Aqaid-i-Nasafi, Sharh-i-Aqaid-I Jalali, Mir Zahid, Sharh-i-Mawaqif
Tafsir	Jalalain, Baizawi
Hadis	Mishkat-ul-Masabih

To sum up, from the early Arab conquerors until the decline of Mughals, the promotion of learning and patronization of the learned men and scholars had become the most important duty of the rulers in India. During the long period, for imparting education in different parts of the vast country, the monarchs founded madrasas, maktabas, and khanqahs for the promotion of native education and diffusion of Islamic learning. In this period, maktabas developed as the center of elementary education and madrasas emerged as the center of higher education. In the subcontinent, the madrasa and maktab tradition was being maintained all the time. However with the advent of the European powers and particularly the consolidation of British power in India this caused not only decline in regards to political stability in the subcontinent, but also the decay of the madrasa education. With the decline of Mughal power in India, the patronization system was also terminated and Muslim society began to lose their previous status in education. As we will see in the next chapter the British East India Company made some efforts for the promotion of native education but the introducing of English education and Western knowledge caused a reaction in Muslim society. For the madrasa education, the decline of Mughal power and the Munity in 1857 was considered as an interregnum period even so after the 1857 the Muslim society made serious effort to maintain the traditional education. To this end many madrasa was founded in the various parts of India. It should be noted that the madrasa which was established after the munity not only played an important role in terms of the promotion of learning but also their students and scholars formed a resistance against the British colonial policy and practice in India.

1.4. The British East India Company and Missionary Education

In addition to the contribution of the dynasties for the promotion of native education in India, there were some efforts by the British East India Company for the advancement of learning. This section particularly focuses on the early policies of the Company's "educational policies" and investigates the nature of them.

As for stated, the purpose of the Company was the commercial activities in India and there was no expectation from the Company to promote native education. As indicated by Narendra Nath Law, in *Promotion of Learning in India by Early European Settlers*, (1916)

"In the early history of the East India Company it would be futile to search for evidences of any direct efforts on their part for promotion of learning among the people of India or even among the Europeans born its place. It should be born in mind that the first efforts of the Company to diffuse education were prompted by religious motive, viz. the evangelization of Indians and the removal of apprehended trouble owing to the preponderance of Roman Catholics among the inhabitants of the places where they had settled."⁸⁸

Like Narendra Nath Law, J. W. Kaye also claimed,

"...It is only within a comparatively recent period that the education of the people has taken any substantial shape in the administration of the British Government in the East. There was a shot of dim recognition, in some of the early charters, of the Christian duty of instructing the Gentoos, but it was not until the year 1813 that there was anything like a decide manifestation of the will of the Government in connexion of this great subject."⁸⁹

As stated by both Law and Kaye, there was no direct effort of the British East India Company for the promotion of education or learning of natives in this period. But, the Company made efforts for the evangelization of the inhabitants. Concerning the early efforts of the Company, some historians have claimed that the first attempts of the Company can be considered a "first step" for the promotion of education among the

⁸⁸ Narendra Nath Law, *Promotion of Learning in India by Early European Settlers up to about 1800 A.D.*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., p. 5

⁸⁹ J.W. Kaye, *Administration of the East India Company: A History of Indian Progress*, London: Richard Bentley, 1853, p. 589.

natives. Nevertheless, as mentioned by Law and Kaye, the spreading of Christian doctrines was the primary concern of some of the Company's officers.

To this end, as early as 1614, steps were taken for the "*recruitment of Indians for the propagation of the Gospel among their countryman and for imparting to these missionaries such education at the Company's expense as would enable them to carry out effectively the purposes for which they were enlisted.*"⁹⁰ Furthermore, concerning the early efforts of the Company, as indicated by Narendra Nath Law, an Indian youth, christened Peter by King James I, taken to England for education about the Christian doctrine, yet there was no further information about his life.⁹¹ Moreover, in 1659, the Court of Directors of the Company allowed the missionaries to embark on ships.⁹² With this decision, the Directors officially declared that the diffusion of Christianity among the natives was one of the primary concerns of the Company in the subcontinent.

1.4.1. Critics for the Company's Missionary Education

When the Company began to make attempts for missionary activities, some critiques were directed toward the policy of the Company. One of the crucial criticisms were directed by Dr. Prideaux, Dean of Norwich, in 1695. In his report, Dr. Prideaux criticized the policy and efforts of the Company. To Prideaux "the Dutch had lately erected a college or university in Ceylon...The English East India Company are in this matter negligent."⁹³ In his report, Dr. Prideaux also presented recommendations about the education of the inhabitants. In accordance to his schemes, the Company should have erected the schools in Madras, Bombay, and Fort St. David.

The report and recommendations of Dr. Prideaux were important in relation with two points: the first indicated that some of the British servants were concerned about the education for the inhabitants, and the second was the sign of the competition among the European colonial powers in India both commercially and religiously. Apart from the commercial and political competition in India, there was a race about the "education" yet the content of this "education" shall be regarded as missionary activity.

⁹⁰ Law, **Early European Settlers**, p. 7

⁹¹ Law, **Early European Settlers**, p.7

⁹² Syed Nurullah and J. P. NAIk (ed.), **A History of Education in India (During the British Period)**, Calcutta: Macmillan & CO. LTD., p.52.

⁹³ Law, **Early European Settlers**, p.17.

1.4.2. The Charter of 1698; Missionary Clause

Besides the regulation, as previously mentioned, the directors made sizable effort in order to insert a clause concerning the evangelization and spreading of Christianity in the Charter of 1698. The Charter made the following provisions:

“All Ministers shall be obliged to learn within one year after their arrival the Portuguese language and shall apply themselves to learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct to Gentoos that shall be the servants or the slaves of the company, or of their agents in the Protestant Religion”

“We further will and direct that the Company shall provide schoolmasters in all the said garrisons and superior factories where they shall be found necessary”

“Schoolmasters shall be attached to every ship over 500 tones burthen.”⁹⁴

Until this period there were some missionary activities in India, but the renewal of the Charter and “missionary clause” was to pave the way for the missionaries as an official ground. From the renewal of the Charter until the Orientalist Policy, the Company officially was to provide protection and support for the missionaries. In this sense, the Company also was to provide financial support to erect missionary schools in different parts of the subcontinent.

As indicated above, the British merchants were not the first European powers in India. Before them, the Portuguese and the Dutch also came to the port of the subcontinent for commercial activities. Apart from their commercial efforts, they also attempted to spread Catholic zeal among the Indian inhabitants. The Portuguese especially made serious effort for missionary activities and as indicated by many historians, the Portuguese’s efforts paved the way for the rapid decline of Portuguese power in India. As stated by J.W. Kaye “It is clear to me the errors of the Portuguese wrought mightily

⁹⁴ Law, **Early European Settlers**, p.19

to our advantage.⁹⁵” For this, the previous efforts were a kind of example for the Company and they also tried to continue the spreading of the Gospel:

“The evangelization of Indians and the removal of apprehended trouble owing to the preponderance of Roman Catholics among the inhabitants of the places where they settled”⁹⁶

But in this point the emphasis of the Charter concerning the Protestant religion was important to show competition between the Catholic and Protestant zeal and with the Portuguese and British powers.

On the other hand, what was the nature of the Company’s policies? Was there any education system or method in this period? Pertaining to the Charter of 1698’s was the missionary clause the first official education enterprise of the Company? In this sense one of the significant purposes of the Company was the spreading of the Christian order among the natives. Apart from it, the Charter of 1698 and the missionary clause was a kind of measure of the Company to educate the children of the Company servants. For after the establishment of the Company on Indian soil, many British soldiers, servants, and merchants married with Indian woman and the education of their children which had been called “Anglo-Indians,” became the duty of the Company as a result of the Charter.⁹⁷ Eventually the Charter of 1698, and the efforts of the British East India Company, was not for the education of the natives and there was no method or system. With the previous efforts and the Charter, it has been shown that there were two significant issues for the Directors of Company; first the education of Anglo-Indian’s and, second, the spreading the Christianity, especially in Protestantism, among the natives.

Following the Charter, the Chaplains of the Company immediately started to put into practice the provisions. Initially, the Portuguese language was adopted as a medium of instruction by the Company servants and the Chaplains because as indicated by Law, “the Portuguese was the lingua franca of the European settlement in India” in the

⁹⁵ Kaye, p.59

⁹⁶ Law, **Early European Settlers**, p.5

⁹⁷ As a result of marriages so many children was born and this children has been named as half-breed, Chici, East Indian, Indo-European, Indo-Britain and lastly Anglo-Indian. See; Marc Ferro, **Sömürgelik Tarihi**, Ankara İmge Kitabevi, 2002, p.203

sixteenth century.⁹⁸ Despite the provisions, the medium of instruction was changed after a short time because Portuguese was a *patois-combination of several languages and English became the new medium of learning.*⁹⁹ Apart from the question of the medium of instruction vernacular languages were also important to communicate for the inhabitants. In order to promote vernacular languages, the Charter of 1698 stated that; “To study the vernacular languages, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos...”¹⁰⁰

In accordance with the Charter of 1698, the Company made an effort to establish schools in India. The oldest charity school was founded in 1715 under the name of St. Mary’s Charity School by W. Stevenson.¹⁰¹ The financial necessities were provided by the Company from legacies, donations, and occasional grants.¹⁰² After a short time, there was an establishment of the new charity school, another which was founded by Richard Cobbe in 1719 in Bombay, Chaplain Bellamy of Calcutta also founded a charity school in Calcutta between the years 1720-1731.¹⁰³ In 1787, a *Female Orphan Asylum* was founded in Madras and after the name of the school was changed by Lady Campbell, by request of the Governor.¹⁰⁴ In the same year, a *Male Asylum* was founded in Madras by the Chaplain, Dr. Andrew Bell.¹⁰⁵

Conclusion

To sum up, following the first Arab conquest, the Muslim madrasa education began to spread in the Indian subcontinent. With the rise of Turkish dynasties, the condition, method and content of the madrasa education also developed. As a result of the establishment of Mughal power, Muslim learning had been expanded in various parts of the subcontinent. Throughout the period of Turkish dynasties, some cities in India developed as cultural centers and pulled together famous scholar from the different parts of Islamic world. Moreover, in this period, one of the most noteworthy advancement

⁹⁸ Law, **Early European Settlers**, p.10

⁹⁹ Law, **Early European Settlers**, p.10.

¹⁰⁰ Kaye, p.589

¹⁰¹ Law, **Early European Settlers**, p.16.

¹⁰² Nurullah and Naik (ed.), p.55

¹⁰³ Nurullah and Naik (ed.), p.55

¹⁰⁴ Nurullah and Naik (ed.), p.55

¹⁰⁵ Nurullah and Naik (ed.), p.55

was the formulation of *Dars-i Nizami* syllabus and it became the main syllabus over all Indian syllabi's throughout centuries.

Finally as early as the seventeenth century the British officers made efforts for the spreading of Christianity and the provision of the Charter Act of 1698 officially acknowledged the efforts of missionaries activity. Until 1792, missionaries expanded in India and missionary schools were established for Indian society and the Company's children.

CHAPTER 2: THE EDUCATION UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY: THE ORIENTALIST POLICY

Every accumulation of knowledge and especially such as is obtained by social communication with people over whom we exercise dominion founded on the right of conquest, is useful to the state...It attracts and conciliates distant affections; it lessens the weight of the chain by which the natives are held in the subjection; and it imprints on the hearts of the our countryman the sense of obligation and benevolence...Every insistence which brings their real character (i.e. that of the Indians) home to observations will impress us with a more generous sense of feeling for their natural rights, and teach us to estimate them by the measure of our own. But such instances can only be obtained in their writings: and these will survive when the British dominion in India shall have long ceased to exist, and when the sources which once yielded of wealth and power are lost remembrance.¹⁰⁶

2.1. The Orientalist Policy

Warren Hastings (1773-1785)¹⁰⁷, the first governor-general of Bengal stated this short passage above after three years in his Minute which was about the promotion of native education in India dated 17 April 1781. In this text, Governor-General Warren Hastings had explained for Nathamel Smith, chairman of the Court of Directors, the relation of knowledge to power in the establishment of British rule in India.¹⁰⁸ According to him for the consolidation and stabilization of British power, not only political and military measures but also “accumulation of knowledge” and “social communication” were very critical instruments for conquest. This short quotation also informs us about the causes of the Orientalist policy to promote native education in India. In this sense this

¹⁰⁶ Cohn, p.45, David Kopf, **British Orientalism and Bengal Renaissance: The Dynamic of Indian Modernization 1773-1835**, London: Cambridge University Press, 1969, p.18.

¹⁰⁷ “Warren Hastings educated at Westminster School, joined the East India Company’s civil service in Bengal, 1750; a member of the council at Kasimbazar, 1755, and resident at Murshidabad, 1757; a member of the Bengal council at Calcutta, 1761-4; returned to England, 1764; second member of council at Madras, 1769-71; governor of Bengal, 1772-4, and governor-general of Bengal (under the Regulating Act of 1773), 1784-85; returned to England, 1785; impeached in the House of Lords for maladministration, 1787, but acquitted on all charges in 1795; made a privy councillor, 1814.” See; Lynn Zastoupil and Martin Moir (ed.), **The Great Indian Education Debate: Documents Relating to the Orientalist-Anglicist Controversy, 1781-1843**, London: Curzon, 1999, pp. 338-339.

¹⁰⁸ Cohn, p.45.

part mainly investigates the roots of and results of the Orientalist policy throughout 1780 and 1820's.

2.1.1. The Foundation of Calcutta Madrassa

The first British engagement with Indian educational tradition began with the first governor-general Warren Hasting who established Orientalism as the official policy of and unofficial mood of British India until the arrival of William Bentinck (1828-1835).¹⁰⁹ The first official sign of this policy was declared by the governor-general Hastings in his Minute. According to the governor-general, in September 1780, a delegation of Calcutta Muslim presented petitions to him to establish a madrassa for the instruction of young Muslim and use his influence to convince a learned man, Muiz-ud-din to become the head of the madrassa.¹¹⁰ Upon the petition and the demands of considerable number of Muslim, Hastings decided to establish a madrassa in Calcutta under the direction of Muiz-ud-din.¹¹¹ He also personally purchased land in Calcutta and the madrassa was built like a the traditional madrassa in India. To this end he requested a permanent endowment to the madrassa from the Court of Directors.¹¹²

After the establishment of the Calcutta Madrassa under the control of the Maulavi Muiz-ud-din launched education with ninety students. As stated by Warren Hastings in his Minute, the students had come from as far away as Kashmir, Gujarat and Karnataka to attend this school.¹¹³ And a stipend was granted for the ninety pupils. The curriculum included natural philosophy, theology, law, religion, astronomy, geometry, arithmetic, logic, rhetoric, and grammar and the course extended to seven years.¹¹⁴ In addition to the director of the madrassa, three under teachers were also appointed in the madrassa. The salary of the director was Rs. 450 per month and for under teachers the salary was Rs. 76 per month.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁹ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p.2.

¹¹⁰ Ruth Gabriel, "Learned Communities and British Educational Experiments in North India: 1780-1830," **Ph.D. Dissertation**, University of Virginia, 1979, p. 109.

¹¹¹ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 2.

¹¹² Gabriel, p.110

¹¹³ Zastoupil and Moir, p. 74.

¹¹⁴ Nurullah and Naik (ed.) p. 58.

¹¹⁵ Gabriel, p.110

However, following the foundation of the madrassa, a disagreement appeared between the director of the madrassa and the government. Therefore the head of madrasa, Muiz-ud-din was dismissed. The director “was accused of mishandling Company funds, favouritism in appointments, and losing control over students.¹¹⁶” Upon the decision of the government and dismissal of the director, a regulation was imposed and a “Committee for the Superintendence of the Madrassa or Musalman College at Calcutta” was formed to supervise the administration of the college.¹¹⁷ After this date the organization of the Madrassa was entrusted the servants of the Company but the curriculum remained and continued in Islamic way.¹¹⁸

2.1.2. The Benares Sanskrit College

The foundation of the Sanskrit College in Benares was another important advancement in terms of the legitimization of the Orientalist Policy. The college was inaugurated by the initiative of Jonathan Duncan.¹¹⁹ In this period Jonathan Duncan¹²⁰ was the Resident at Benares. Like Warren Hastings, Jonathan Duncan explained the details of the foundation of the Sanskrit College in his letter to Earl Cornwallis¹²¹ dated 1st January 1792. The College was able to open early but due to military needs, the foundation was postponed. However with the initiative efforts of Jonathan Duncan, the College was opened in 28th October 1791.¹²² After a short time the opening of the College, Jonathan Duncan visited the College with Ali Ibrahim Khan, the Judge and Magistrate of the city and he presented some gift to the pundits such as khil’ats and robes of honour.¹²³ Jonathan Duncan also determined the curriculum of the College, according to his syllabus: “Vedas, Ayurveda, Gandharvaveda (music, lyrics, and dramatics), Vyakaran (grammar), Jyotish (Astrology and astronomy), Nyaya, Prana (history, ethics, and

¹¹⁶ Cohn, p.47.

¹¹⁷ Gabriel, p. 112, Cohn, p.47.

¹¹⁸ Cohn, p. 47.

¹¹⁹ Kopf, p.30, Gabriel, p.120.

¹²⁰ “Jonathan Duncan (1756-1811) joined the East India Company’s civil service as a writer in Bengal, 1772; served in various capacities in the Bengal judicial, revenue and public branches before being appointed resident in Benares, 1787; temporarily seconded to Malabar as a commissioner for the territories ceded by Tipu Sultan, 1792; assumed office of governor of Bombay in 1795, which held till his death in 1811. While in Bengal he translated the Code of Judicial Regulations into Bengali (1783) and was a founder member of the Bengal Asiatic Society.” See; Lynn Zastoupil and Martin Moir (ed.), p. 338.

¹²¹ Earl Cornwallis governor-general in council of Fort William in Bengal.

¹²² Gabriel, p. 120.

¹²³ Gabriel, p.121.

heroic poetry) were the course.¹²⁴ As the Calcutta Madrassa, the college granted the stipends for pundits. He was also organized the administration of the college and the Governor-General was to be the visitor of the college and the resident was to be Deputy Visitor.¹²⁵

2.1.3. A Colonial Project: The Orientalist Policy

It should be remembered that, in this period, the consolidation and the stability of British power in India could not be totally established. The Governor-General Warren Hastings was aware of the fragile bases of British power in India and as indicated above “accumulation knowledge” and “social communication” was useful to the stated. Moreover such kind of attitudes such as the promotion of education and the encouragement of the learned elites “conciliates distant affections” in the society. It shows that the declaration of the Orientalist policy was not only imposing the promotion of education it was also regarding the eradication of prejudices against the British dominion in India.

In this sense the promotion of education and the upbringing officers from the Muslim and Hindu society through the Madrasa and College was to play considerable role to conciliate them in the British raj, as stated by Hasting as follows:

“...to conciliate the Mohammedan of Calcutta...to qualify the sons of Mahomedan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the State, and the produce competent officers for Courts of Justice to which students of the Madrassa on the production of certificates of qualifications were to be drafted as vacancies occurred...¹²⁶”

Like Warren Hastings, Jonathan Duncan had also some concerns about the future of British dominion in India. As stated by Hastings to save British power in India the conciliation of the Hindu society was the significant solution;

“Two important advantages seemed derivable from such an Establishment, the first to the British name and nation, in its Tendency towards endearing our Government to the native Hindoos, by our exceeding in our attention toward them & their Systems, the Care shewn even by their own native

¹²⁴ Gabriel, p.121.

¹²⁵ Gabriel, p.121.

¹²⁶ Nurullah and Naik (ed.), p.56.

Princes; for altho' Learning has ever been Cultivated at Benares, in numerous private Seminaries...The 2d principal advantage that may be derived from this Institutions will be felt in its effects, more immediately, by the natives, tho'not without being participated in by the British subjects, who are the rule over them, by preserving and disseminating a knowledge of the Hindoo Law, and proving a Nursery of future Doctors and Expounders thereof to assist the European Judge in the due regular, and uniform administration of its genuine Letter and Spirit to the body of the people.¹²⁷,

Secondly another important part of this project was that producing of English elite corps. As stated by David Kopf, in *British Orientalism and Bengal Renaissance*, Warren Hastings believed that the effective governance depended on the presence of an elite corps in India.¹²⁸ To reconcile Indian society and secure the British power Hastings asserts that: "Indians were to be reconciled to Indians through a true understanding of Indian law, religion, and institutions."¹²⁹ To this end apart from the Calcutta Madrassa and the Sanskrit College, the Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded by the Governor-General, Warren Hastings in 1784. The society was very significant for the creation of acculturated elite corps for the government posts. The studies on classical language and sacred literature of India increased the knowledge of the officers about the society. As a result after a short period from the Minute, Warren Hastings actualized the Orientalist policy partly.¹³⁰ However in accordance with the Orientalist policy, another crucial advance was carried out by the successor of Warren Hastings, Governor-General Wellesley. In his period, the most important event was the foundation of Fort William College 1800. The College was the first and most critical centre which trained the employees for the Company according to the provisions of the Policy. It should also be note that the graduates of the Fort William College were to become a vital part of the educational debate after 1813 and they were to play a considerable role in the British educational policy in India.

Thirdly as mentioned above the foundation of the Calcutta Madrassa and Sanskrit College was the result of Hasting's project to save the British's presence and Hastings supposed that the British were to secure their power by trying to act like Indian

¹²⁷ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p.78.

¹²⁸Stephen Evans, "The Introduction and Spread of English-education in Hong Kong: A Study of language policies and practices in British colonial education (1843-1914), **Ph.D. Dissertation** The University of Edinburg, 2003, 48, Kopf, pp. 22-24.

¹²⁹ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 4.

¹³⁰ Kopf, p. 20.

rulers.¹³¹ Which means not only traditional education but also old-fashioned administrative method of the Mughal was the strategic factor for the legitimization of the British raj. In this sense, as stated above, Jonathan Duncan had visited Sanskrit College and in his visit, some gifts were presented to pundits such as khil'ats and robes of honour. In the Islamic tradition especially khil'ats has a special meaning in terms of a symbol of legitimization. In this sense, the gifts of Duncan, considered as how the Orientalist policy was an example of the previous rulers in India. With these gifts, the founder of the of school stressed not only the new-owner of India but also the aims for following the traditional and classical education. Furthermore Hastings was personally sympathetic to Indian culture and he had special interest in interest Islamic culture and literature. To this end Hastings founded the Persian professorship at Oxford, the translations of Arabic and Sanskrit legal text into Persian, English and the preparation of a Bengali grammar.¹³²

Eventually the Orientalist policy consisted of three main intentions: the first conciliation of both Hindu and Muslim society in British raj, secondly creating an elite corps who acculturated Indian institutions, laws and customs and finally the consolidation of British power and secure it in India.

2.2. The Opposition: The Emergence of Evangelist Party

At the beginning, the British East India Company and the Court of Directors in London had supported missionary activities in India. As mentioned in the previous chapter the Charter of 1689 was a very important step in terms of the introduction of missionary activities in India officially. However with the inauguration of the Orientalist Policy in India, the relation of the Company and missionaries began to change due the nature and purpose of Hastings' policy.

First of all it should be stressed that the most significant aspect of the policy was that it was an opponent either towards governmental or missionary agencies in India for

¹³¹ Lynn Zastoupil and Martin Moir (ed.), p. 2.

¹³² Lynn Zastoupil and Martin Moir, (ed.), p. 3.

neither the missionary activities nor the introduction of English or Western education.¹³³ Because the diffusion of Western knowledge and ideas or Christianity could be seen as subversive from Indian society and as mentioned above the consolidation and security of the British presence in India was the main point of the policy. For this reason, these kinds of attitudes and efforts were not only dangerous in terms of the benefits and interests of the Company in India, but also in terms of the future of the Orientalist Policy.

Eventually acquisition of sovereignty over parts of India made the Company conscious for the future of the British in India and they began to ban the missionary activities in India as result of religious neutrality. As stated by Julius Richter in *A History of Missions in India*, “No preaching of the gospel was to be permitted in the Company’s territories.¹³⁴” Further in this period, to prevent the missionary activities, some missionaries were expelled from India due to their preaching, such as John Chamberlain a Baptist missionary. Therefore in this period the number of missionaries was only fifty.¹³⁵ To understand better the Company’s policy against the missionaries:

“...even amongst many of most enlightened British officials in the country, that there could be no more dangerous means of estranging the hearts of the people from the government, and no surer way of endangering the stability of the English rule, than by attempting to meddle with the religious concerns of the Hindus...”¹³⁶

On account of the Orientalist Policy in India, hostility emerged between the Company and the missionaries and the members of Evangelist sect, Clapham. Following this period, there was to be a serious struggle between them both in India and England in the last decades of the nineteenth century. For this reason, some members of the Company came forward against the Company’s Policy in order to change their actions against the missionaries and their activities. Including Charles Grant¹³⁷, William Wilberforce and Zachary Macaulay, who seriously criticized and attacked against the Company’s policy.

¹³³ Evans, p. 47.

¹³⁴ Julius Richter, *A History of Missions in India*, New York, Chicago, Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908, p.131

¹³⁵ Richter, p.131.

¹³⁶ Richter, p.131.

¹³⁷ Charles (1746-1823), Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. 22; available [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Grant,_Charles_\(1746-1823\)_%28DNB00%29](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Grant,_Charles_(1746-1823)_%28DNB00%29), (access 15.09.2013), Nurullah and Naik (ed.), pp. 69-70., see also for Charles Grant’s life and career; Thomas Embree Ainslee, *Charles Grant and British Rule in India*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1962.

2.2.1. The First Battle: The Orientalist-Evangelist Controversy and Charles Grant

As mentioned above William Wilberforce, Charles Grant and Zachary Macaulay were the most influential peoples who criticized and attacked the Orientalist Policy. However among them Charles Grant, as expressed by Gauri Viswanathan in his book *Masks of Conquest*; “An officer of the East India Company, Grant was one of the first Englishmen to urge the promotion of both Western literature and Christianity in India.¹³⁸” Apart from his efforts and activities against the Company’s policy, another important contribution of Grant was that his treaty. Grant mainly penned (1792) his observations on Indian society in the name of *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain* which was written to support the Evangelical campaign to persuade Parliament.¹³⁹ In his book, Grant clearly explained the aims and thought of the Evangelist zeal and why they opposed the Orientalist policy. In this sense his book and his effort might be considered as the first round of the Orientalist-Evangelist controversy in India.

In his *Observations*, Grant described the darkest picture of Indian society and according to him the society consisted of these kind of negative attitudes such as; betrayal of confidence, corruption, perjury, avarice, selfishness robberies, thefts, cruelty, lack of benevolent, cunning, hypocrisy, obsequiousness, malice, and calumnies. Apart from these attitudes, Charles Grant stress out that Indian people had no lack of patriotism:

“...A similar disposition to cruelty is likewise shown in their treatment of vanquished enemies. And in general a want of sensibility for other is very eminent characteristic of this people. The apathy with which a Hindoo views all persons and interests unconnected with himself, is such as excites the indignation of Europeans. At any rate, his regards extend but to a very narrow circle. Patriotism is absolutely unknown in Hindoostan...”¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Viswanathan, p. 71.

¹³⁹ Nurullah and Naik (ed.), p.51.

¹⁴⁰ Charles Grant, **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**, written chiefly 1792, pp. 49-50.

Moreover Grant stated out that ignorance and religion were the most important factors which paved the way for a morally decadent society. In this point Grant asked very important questions:

“Are we bound for ever to preserve all the enormous in the Hindoo system? Have we become the guardians of every monstrous principle and practice which it contains? Are we pledged to support, for all generations, by the authority of our government and the power of our arms, the miseries which ignorance and knavery so long entailed upon a large portion of the human race? Is this the part which a free, a humane, and an enlightened nation, a nation itself professing principles diametrically opposite to those in question, has engaged to act towards its own act?”¹⁴¹

In fact Grant’s question resembles Warren Hastings efforts and the Orientalist Policy because as indicated above the Orientalist Policy aimed to the promotion of previous education systems, training the officers concerning the sacred literature and classical languages. In short the Orientalist Policy was the preservation of old system to secure the British power but Charles Grant and the Evangelists was the supporter of terminating the old system and “modernization” of Indian society. In this sense to Grant the solution was that to “modernize” and “transform” Indian society:

“The true cure of darkness is the introduction of light. The Hindoos err, because they are ignorant; and their errors have never fairly been laid before them. The communication of our light and knowledge to them, would prove the best remedy for their disorders; and this remedy is proposed, from all conviction, that if judicially and patiently applied, it would have great and happy effects upon them, effects honorable and advantageous for us.”¹⁴²

In addition to the solution Grant recommended the method how they actualized their aims. To Charles Grant, there was only one way for communication between the British Raj and Indian society: English. With the introduction of English as the medium of instruction it would be “a key which will open to them a world of new ideas.”¹⁴³ Thus English as the medium of instruction paved the way for the total consolidation of the British Raj and to prove his proposal and method Grant indicated the Mughal Empire as an example;

¹⁴¹ Grant, pp. 146-147.

¹⁴² Grant, p. 148.

¹⁴³ Grant, p. 150.

“To introduce the language of the conquerors seems to be an obvious mean of assimilating the conquered people to them. The Mahomedans, from the beginning of their power, employed the Persian language in the affairs of government, and in the public departments. This practice aided them in maintaining their superiority, and enabled them, instead of depending blindly on native agents, to look into the conduct and details of public business, as well as to keep intelligible registers of the income and expenditure of the state...¹⁴⁴”

As a result, after beginning of the Orientalist Policy, Charles Grant was the first Company’s officer who opposed the Company’s policy. Grant and his friend made serious effort in order to change not only the Policy but also imposed the introduction of English language and imposition of Western ideas to modernize Indian society. Shortly with the emergence of Charles Grant, the Orientalist-Evangelist controversy launched and the first serious struggle was experienced in the renewal of the Charter.

2.2.2. The Charter Act of 1793: Rejection of “Pious Clause”

To change the policy of the Company, William Wilberforce, Charles Grant and their followers found opportunity as early as 1793 when the Charter of the Company came up for renewal in Parliament. William Wilberforce and his friends attempted to have included in the Charter the following clause in favour of missionary presence and the introduction of English language in India:

“It is the opinion of this House that it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the British Legislature to promote by all just and prudent means the interest and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that for these ends such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge and to their religious and moral improvement.¹⁴⁵”

Furthermore, William Wilberforce proposed that the following clause be inserted into the Charter of the Company to alter the Policy:

¹⁴⁴ Grant, p.150.

¹⁴⁵ Richter, p.149., Anima Bose, “American Missionaries Involvement in Higher Education in India in the Nineteenth Century”, **Ph.D. Dissertation.**, The University of Kansas, 1992, p. 12., Nurullah and Naik (ed.), p. 67.

“Resolved, that the Court of Directors of the Company shall be empowered and commissioned to nominate and send out from time to time a sufficient number of skilled and suitable persons, who shall attain the aforesaid object by serving as schoolmasters, missionaries, or otherwise.”¹⁴⁶

Despite the efforts of the Evangelists both in India and London, the Directors of the Company absolutely opposed the “pious clauses”. As mentioned above the missionary activities were very dangerous in terms of the consolidation and stability of the British presence in India. Eventually the resolution was rejected in Parliament and it seriously influenced the position of the missionaries in India.

On this point the stance of British Parliament was very important in terms of illustrating the political state of the British presence in India because at this time the British army was making serious efforts to control most part of the country. Therefore missionary activity could have jeopardized not only the Orientalist Policy but also the political stability. The rejection of the resolution signaled a setback for missionaries and until the Charter of 1813 and throughout the period 1792-1813, they were not able to make any progress and some of them were expelled from India.

With the serious defeat of the Evangelist both in England and India, the members of the opposition group began to severely criticize not only the Company’s economic and political activities but also the employees’ private lives.¹⁴⁷ To the Evangelists:

“The English officials had, almost without exception, abandoned the principles of Christian morality. Even a Governor-General like Warren Hastings and his inconvenient rival, Philip Francis, were not ashamed to live open adultery. Their sole connection with the Church was that once a year, at Christmas or at Easter, they attended divine service in great state.”¹⁴⁸

After this period the Orientalist-Evangelist controversy was not ended, both continued their efforts in India and London. Despite the setback of the missionaries in India, Charles Grant and his followers continued agitating to change the Company’s Policy in India.¹⁴⁹ By the way in India some Company’s officers tried to expand the Orientalist policy. According to some officer the Calcutta Madrasa and Sanskrit College was not enough for the consolidation of the Orientalist policy. For this reasons some of the

¹⁴⁶ Richter, p. 149., Bose, p. 12.

¹⁴⁷ Bose, p. 12.

¹⁴⁸ Richter, p. 132, Bose, p. 12.

¹⁴⁹ Nurullah and Naik (ed.), p.79.

Company officers asked for larger fund to revive and support the classical languages and sacred literature.¹⁵⁰ In this sense the Minute of governor-general Lord Minto was very important to show both the condition of native education and the demand of the Company's officers. In his Minute, dated 6th March 1811:

“It is a common remark that science and literature are in a progressive state of decay among the natives of India. From every inquiry which I have been enabled to make on this interesting subject, that remark appears to me but too well founded. The number of the learned is not only diminished, but the circle of learning, even among those who still devote themselves to it, appears to be considerably contracted. The abstract sciences are abandoned, polite literature neglected, and no branch of learning cultivated but what is connected with peculiar religious doctrines of the people. The immediate consequence of this state of things is the disuse, and even actual loss, of many valuable books; and it is to be apprehended that, unless Government interfere with a fostering hand, the revival of letters may shortly become hopeless from a want of books, or of persons capable of explaining them.¹⁵¹”

2.3. The First Official Educational Policy in India: The Charter Act of 1813

Aforementioned above there were some complaints and criticisms about the promotion of education and medium of instruction in India. Like Munro, the Orientalist desired to support of the government for the advancement of traditional learning even so the Evangelists such as Charles Grant and William Wilberforce stringently advocated the introduction of English language and the diffusion of Western knowledge in India. For instance after the defeat of the Evangelist party in India, William Wilberforce explained in February 1797, their aim in this way:

“Considerable probability of our being permitted to send the East Indies a certain number of persons, I presume we shall want ten or twelve, for the purpose of instructing the natives in the English language, and in the

¹⁵⁰ Nurullah and Naik (ed.), p.79.

¹⁵¹ Nurullah and Naik, (ed.), p.79., Syed Mahmmod, **A History of English Education in India, 1781-1893**, Aligarh: M. A. -O. College, p. 1895, 19.

principles of Christianity...When I return to town, we shall hold a council on the business. Henry Thornton, Grant, and myself are the junto.^{152,}

In this sense the Evangelists made serious effort led by Charles Grant in Parliament to rescind the Company's anti-missionary regulations and put an end to Hasting's educational policy.¹⁵³ Before one year the renewal of the Charter of 1813 Charles Grant, William Wilberforce, and Zachary Macaulay presented a proposal to Lord Perceval, Prime Minister. These recommendations was as follows:

- 1) India must be opened to Christian missionaries;
- 2) India must receive an ecclesiastical establishment of the Church of England;
- 3) The East India Company must provide an educational program to improve the moral status of the natives.¹⁵⁴

Moreover the member of the Evangelist party made considerable efforts in the House of Commons in May 20 and June 12, 1812 and Wilberforce made his speech based on the Observation of Charles Grant.¹⁵⁵

On the other hand in this period public opinion in England concerning the religion and education was towards Evangelist and the House of Commons received some eight to nine hundred petitions favoring the introduction of Christianity into India.¹⁵⁶ Furthermore there were serious critiques against both the anti-missionary policy of the Company and the special life of the Company servants in India. Charles Grant's Observations was republished and distributed in 1812-1813. And in this period Grant came to an important position as a member of the committee by the Company's Court of Directors and in this period he most probably made serious effort in order to influence the cabinet with his observations.¹⁵⁷ To Grant, "The true cure of darkness, is the introduction of light" and the English language was the first step for reaching light. With the diffusion of the English language which pave the suitable way for direct access to the superior ideas of western literature and science and it naturally emerged rational,

¹⁵² Elmer H. Cutts, "The Background of Macaulay's Minute", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 58, No. 4, July 1953, p. 841.

¹⁵³ Cutts, p.835.

¹⁵⁴ Cutts, p.844.

¹⁵⁵ Cutts, p.844.

¹⁵⁶ Nancy L. Adams and Dennis M. Adams, "An Examination of Some Forces Affecting English Educational Policies in India: 1780-1850", *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol.11, No 2, Summer 1971, p. 163.

¹⁵⁷ Adams and Adams, p. 161., Lynn Zastoupil and Martin Moir, (ed.), p. 6.

scientific and Christian perspective on the mind of Indian society.¹⁵⁸ In order to prove his theory, Grant shows the Mughals as an example. During the long of period of Mughals, Persian was the language of government and not only Muslim society but Hindu society adopted Persian language in every way of life. So like the previous rule, they also used English as an instrument.

In 1813, The Government and the Directors of the Company began to discuss for the provision of the new Charter yet the negotiation ended in failure.¹⁵⁹ Despite the lac of success of this debate, Lord Castlereagh submitted thirteen resolutions to House of Commons in 22 March 1813 to embody the new charter.¹⁶⁰ The Charter of the Company was renewed for another period of twenty years in 10 April 1813.¹⁶¹

2.3.1. The End of Anti-Missionary Policy of the Company

The Charter Act of 1813 contained two main points: The first one was the end of the Company policies against the missionaries and their activities in India. As indicated by Julies Richter, the 13th Resolution of the Charter Act of 1813 which run as follows:

“Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee that it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and moral improvement. That in furtherance of the above objects sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to person desirous of going to, or remaining in, India for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs.¹⁶²”

Thus with the resolution in the charter, the doors of India were opened to missionaries and it can be regarded as the legitimization of missionary activities. On the other hand, the members of the Clapham sect and Grant had failed to insert the “pious clause” in the renewal of last Charter but it was the first and official “victory” of the Evangelist

¹⁵⁸ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 6.

¹⁵⁹ Mahmood, p. 21

¹⁶⁰ Mahmood, p. 21

¹⁶¹ Mahmood, p. 21

¹⁶² Richter, pp. 150-1.

against the Orientalist. Lastly, owing to the efforts of Charles Grant who has been regarded as “father of modern education” in India.¹⁶³

2.3.2. The Section 43: Beginnings of Company Educational Policy

The most vital point in the Charter was the section 43. The section portrayed the future of Indian education as following:

“And be it further enacted, that it shall be lawful for the Governor-general in Council to direct...a sum of not less than one lack rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India; and that any schools, public lectures, or the institutions, for the purposes aforesaid, which shall be founded at the Presidencies of Fort William, Fort Saint George, or Bombay, or in any other parts of the British territories in India, in virtue of this Act, shall be governed by such regulations as may from time to time be made by the said Governed-general in Council; subject nevertheless to such powers as are herein vested in the said Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, respecting colleges and seminaries: provided always, that all appointments to offices in such schools, lectureship and other institutions, shall be made by or under the authority of the governments within which same shall be situated.¹⁶⁴”

Section 43 presented basically two objectives that were:

- 1) The revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India;
- 2) The introduction and promotion of knowledge of sciences among the inhabitants of British territories in India.¹⁶⁵

One of the important results of the Charter Act of 1813 was that the government saw the pressure of the Orientalist and Evangelist and in order to conciliate both parties they not only supported the revival and improvement of literature and encouragement of learned

¹⁶³ Suresh Ghosh, “Bentinck, Macaulay and the introduction of English Education in India,” **History of Education**, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1995, p. 8.

¹⁶⁴ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 90., Mahmood, p. 21., Nurullah and. Naik (ed.), p. 82.

*One lac of rupees was equivalent to 10,000 pounds at the time.

¹⁶⁵ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 90.

natives but also they endorsed the introduction and promotion of knowledge and science among the inhabitants upon the request of the Evangelists.

Secondly the Charter Act of 1813 was the beginning of intervention of London in Indian education. But despite the provisions of the Charter regarding the promotion of education and encouragement of learned natives, there was no any direct reference for the method of education. In this sense two kinds of problems appeared after the renewal of the Charter. First, what should be the form of education and secondly what should be imparted as medium of instruction and it paved the way for the great education debate between the Orientalists and the Evangelist in India next two decades.

Thirdly it should be remembered that there were some other reasons that caused the changing attitudes in London in terms of the position of the Company in India in terms of economics and administratively. In this period, due to wars and famine in India, the Company was in tremendous debt and it was seriously criticized by the political figure in London.¹⁶⁶ Consequently owing the financial position of the Company, the Charter Act terminated the monopoly of the Company in India.¹⁶⁷

On the other hand with the provisions of the Charter, the British East India Company was nominated in charge of public education in India. But interesting point in this period there was no official educational policy in England.¹⁶⁸ Most probably the Evangelist influence on the cabinet was the crucial cause of it.

2.3.3. The First Educational Dispatch in India

Upon the renewal of the Charter Act of 1813, the Company's directors sent the first educational dispatch that provided a general guidance to the Bengal government on the 3rd June 1814. In the dispatch, the directors proposed to encourage the promotion of education for natives and knowledge of science among the Indian people.¹⁶⁹ According to the dispatch:

¹⁶⁶ Adams and Adams, p. 161.

¹⁶⁷ Philips, pp. 170-210.

¹⁶⁸ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 7.

¹⁶⁹ Nurullah and Naik (ed.), pp. 87-88., Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 93, Mahmood, pp. 92-93.

“In our Letter of 6th September last in the Public Department, we directed your attention generally to the 43d Clause in the Act of the 53d of the King, by which our Governor-general in Council is empowered to direct that a sum of not less than one of lac of rupees out of any surplus revenues that may remain shall be annually applied to the revival and improvement literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India. We propose in this dispatch to convey to you our sentiments as to the mode in which it will be advisable you should proceed, and the measures it may be proper you should adopt with reference to that subject.

In the consideration of it, we have kept in view those peculiar circumstances of our political relation with India which, having necessarily transferred all power and pre-eminence from native to European agency, have rendered incumbent upon us, from motives of policy as well as from a principle of justice, to consult feelings, and even yield to the prejudices, of the natives, whenever it can be done with safety out dominions...

We are inclined to think that the mode by which the learned Hindoos might be disposed to concur with us in prosecuting those objects would be by our leaving them to practice of an usage, long established among them, of giving instruction at their own houses, and by encouraging them in the exercise and cultivation of their talents, by the stimulus of honorary marks of distinction, and in some instances, by grants of pecuniary assistance...

We are informed that there are in Sanskrit Language...treatises on Astronomy and Mathematics, including Geometry and Algebra which, though they may not add new lights to European science, might be made to form links of communication between the natives and the gentlemen in our service, who are attached to the Observatory and to the department of engineers, and by such intercourse the natives might gradually be led to adopt the modern improvements in those and other science...

With a view to the these several objects, we have determined that due encouragement should be given to such of our servants in any of those departments as may be disposed to apply themselves to the study of the Sanskrit language, and we desire that the teachers who may be employed for this purpose may be selected from those amongst the natives who may have made some proficiency in the science in question, and that their recompense should be liberal.¹⁷⁰,

The first educational dispatch, which was sent by Court of Director's to Bengal as indicated above was a kind of general guidance for promotion of education. It may be noted that promotion of classical education and knowledge of science were the main points in the Charter Act, section 43, yet the dispatch emphasized the importance of

¹⁷⁰ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 96., Nurullah and Naik (ed.), p. 88., Mahmood, p. 25.

promotion of classical language through the Orientalist policy. It means the Company's traditional practice was to keep alive in India despite the Evangelist efforts.

On the other hand, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the East India Company and the adherent of the Oriental policy was aware of the fragile bases of the British power in India. As indicated above the Court of Directors had also some anxiety about the political stability and they emphasized it "to consult the feelings, and even yield to the prejudices of the natives." Another important indication concerning the preservation of Orientalist policy was the recommendation of the Court of Directors such as "gradation of honorary distinction as the reward of merit, either by the public presentation of ornaments of dress, in conformity with the usage of the East, or by conferring titles, or by both, as may be deemed most grateful to the natives, who should be invited to communicate their ideas to you upon points so much connected with their feelings."¹⁷¹ The guidance of the Court of Directors was not only maintenance of the Orientalist policy but also it was the pursuit of the patronage of the Mughal tradition.

Conclusion

The last quarter of the 18th century was one of the most important turning point in Indian education history. In this period, the Governor-General, Warren Hastings declared the Orientalist policy with the foundation of the Calcutta Madrasa and Sanskrit College as higher education centers. With this policy Hastings believed that the policy was the factor for the conciliation of the Muslim and Hindu society in terms of the future of British's presence. Moreover the establishment of Asiatic Society and Fort William College was to produce a British servant who was to acquire Indian culture and literature. With this method, the existence of British power was to be long. However the Evangelists were against the policy because according to them both for the securing of British power and the transformation of Hindu society, the solution was that the introduction of English education and the diffusion of Western knowledge not the classical languages. In this sense both party made serious efforts to insert their ideas the on Charter Act in Parliament. Eventually the Charter Act of 1813 passed in the Parliament and the provisions was so crucial not only the future of the Orientalist party but also the Anglicist zeal in India. However the Charter did not produce any solution

¹⁷¹ Zastoupil and Moir, p.9, p. 95.

for the controversy, it caused the second battle between two parties because in section 43 there weren't any method or proposal for the medium of instruction.

CHAPTER III: THE INTRODUCTION OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

3.1. The British Education Policy in India Throughout 1813-1830

The renewal of the Charter of 1813 was the beginning of the responsibility of the Company and the first dispatch determined the regulations for the encouragement of native education in June 1814. However the directives of the Company in the next period did not bring great advances for Indian education history due to the political and military position of British power.

First of all the most vital cause was that the period was conquest and consolidation of the British power in India.¹⁷² Both the attention of the Court of Directors and Parliament focused on political and military issues in India. Firstly between 1814-1816, Nepal and then the Marathas¹⁷³ was the primary concern of the government in India in this period. Marathas was defeated into the third Anglo-Maratha war of 1817-1818. In order to indicate the importance of this victory, Sir William Hunter claimed that “categorically that the British won India from the Hindus, meaning the Marathas, not from the Moguls.¹⁷⁴” Therefore in the schoolsbook of England, the date of 1818 was considered the final conquest of India.¹⁷⁵ In shortly this period was the age of treaties, wars, and struggle that seriously affected the Company’s educational policy in this period.

Another crucial feature of this period was the absence of educators. The regulations and improvements for the education were determined by the Governor-Generals, governors, military and civil servants. The officers in India had no experience about the educational matters and political concerns were key factor that influenced the promotion of education. In addition to the absence of educators, there were a few educated Indians which would play the role concerning the future of Indian education.

Finally, during this period there was a serious controversy on the form and method of education. Eventually, during the period, there was no serious effort of the Company to

¹⁷² Nurullah and Naik (ed.), p. 83.

¹⁷³ Marathas, a confederacy of powerful Indian states.

¹⁷⁴ William Hunter, **The Indian Empire: Its People, History and Products**, 2nd, 1899, p.317.

¹⁷⁵ Chamberlain, p. 49.

perform the provision of the Charter Act. Owing the causes which has been explained above in Section 43 remained inoperative until 1823.¹⁷⁶

However despite the position of the British presence in India, some officers brought forward proposals concerning the promotion of native learning. For instance, Lord Moira, the Governor-General of India (1813-1823), penned a Minute on Education on the 2nd October 1815. To the Minute for improving schools, the provisions of the Section 43 should be carried out. In addition to the proposal of Moira, two important schools were established in this period. The first was the Anglo-Indian College which was instituted in Calcutta in 1816 and the second one was the Calcutta Sanskrit College in 1821.¹⁷⁷ On the other hand, the total annual educational expenditure of the Company in this period was very small. The table shows the educational expenditure in this period:

Table 3:

The Educational Expenditures Between 1813-1830¹⁷⁸

Years	Bengal	Madras	Bombay	Total
1813	£4,207	£480	£442	£5,129
1814	£11,606	£480	£499	£12,585
1815	£4,405	£480	£537	£5,422
1816	£5,146	£480	£578	£6,204
1817	£5,177	£480	£795	£6,452
1818	£5,211	£480	£630	£6,321
1819	£7,911	£480	£1,270	£8,941
1820	£5,807	£480	£1,401	£7,688
1821	£6,882	£480	£594	£7,956
1822	£9,081	£480	£594	£10,155
1823	££6,134	£480	£594	£7,208
1824	£19,970	£480	£1,434	£21,884
1825	£57,122	£480	£8,961	£66,563

¹⁷⁶ Nurullah and Naik (ed.), p.88.

¹⁷⁷ Mahmood, pp.26-28.

¹⁷⁸ Mahmood, p. 47.

1826	£21,623	£480	£5,309	£27,412
1827	£30,077	£2,140	£13,096	£45,313
1828	£22,797	£2,980	£10,064	£35,841
1829	£24,663	£3,614	£9,799	£35,076
1830	£28,748	£2,946	£12,636	£44,330
Grand Total	2,75,847	£18,400	£69,233	£3,63,480

3.1.1. The Orientalist Policy and the Engraftment Theory

Despite the growing pressure of the Evangelist zeal in Indian education, the position of the Orientalist was still dominant in India. In addition to the fragile basis of the British power in India, most of the British officers were the adherents of the Orientalist policy in this period. For instance, Lord Moira encouraged the Orientalist policy when he was Governor-General during 1813-1823.¹⁷⁹ Moreover, the pragmatic concerns of Hastings were adopted by the officers and the first educational dispatch of 1814 was the clearest indication of it: “to consult feelings, and even yield to the prejudices, of the natives.”¹⁸⁰

Nevertheless, despite the powerful highlight to retain the Orientalist policy, the diffusion of western sciences was rarely mentioned: “the natives might gradually be led to adopt the modern improvements in the sciences.”¹⁸¹ So the policy of engraftment was born as an opinion of traditionally educated scholars and it became the key part of the Orientalist policy in 1820s.¹⁸² This can be regarded as the second phase of the Orientalist policy which had been improved by the most influential officers: Thomas Munro, John Malcolm and Mountstuart Elphinstone. They occupied high offices and played major roles in the administration of India after the “interregnum period” in Indian education.¹⁸³ Considering the presence of the British power in India during the Nepal and Maratha Wars the fragile bases of the power was still not consolidated. For this reason, the Orientalist policy was a very concerning solution to get rid of the concerns. However, despite the support of the officers for the policy, there was also

¹⁷⁹ Kopf, especially chapter 10.

¹⁸⁰ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p.9- pp. 94-96.

¹⁸¹ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p.9., pp. 95-96

¹⁸² Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 9.

¹⁸³ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p.9.

pressure for the introduction of English education and diffusion of western ideas and practice in India. That's why the policy of engraftment was adopted as a combination of the revival of traditional Indian culture and slowly and carefully introducing western ideas and practice in India not to replace Indian civilization but was to reinvigorate it.¹⁸⁴ Thus when European arts and sciences 'grafted' on the traditional Indian education for the learned elites, who would then be as cultural intermediaries between the British and the masses.¹⁸⁵

3.1.2. The Establishment of the General Committee of Public Instruction

After the decade, the British officers went into action in order to perform the provision of the Charter Act of 1813 concerning the advancement of education. To this end, one of the pioneer followers of the 'engraftment' policy, Holt Mackenzie penned a note dated 17 July 1823. In this note, Mackenzie firstly and officially legitimized the policy of 'engraftment' in India by saying 'the association of oriental learning with European sciences, and gradual introduction of the latter, without any attempt to arbitrarily to supersede the former.'¹⁸⁶ In this note, Mackenzie was also mentioned in the introduction of English education in India and he was the supporter of it. At the same time, in order to perform the provisions of the Charter Act, the General Committee of Public Instruction (after GCPI) was established in 17th July 1823 and according the resolution:

"The Governor-General in Council resolves that there shall be constituted a general Committee of public instruction for the purpose of ascertaining the state of public education in this part of India, and of the public institutions designed for its promotion, and of considering & from time to time submitting to the Government the suggestion of such measures, as it may appear expedient to adopt with a view to the better instruction of the people, to be introduction among them of useful knowledge and to the improvement of their moral character."

The Governor General in Council is also pleased to resolve that the correspondence of Government with the Committee to appointed as above, and with the other Committees, which may be maintained for the

¹⁸⁴ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p.10.

¹⁸⁵ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p.10., Evans, p. 49.

¹⁸⁶ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p.101.

management of Individual institutions, shall be henceforth conducted by the Persian Secretary¹⁸⁷ of the Government.”¹⁸⁸

Thus the GCPI was to become in charge of the promotion of education according to the provision of the Charter Act of 1813. After a short time the proposal of Mackenzie and the establishment of the GCPI introduced modern sciences and English education at the Calcutta Madrasa and the Sanskrit College. In addition to the renewal of the curriculum in the previous education centers, in 1824-1825 three colleges were founded; Sanskrit College in Calcutta and Muslim institutions at Agra and Delhi whose curricula were to blend Indian and Western learning and Horace Hayman Wilson¹⁸⁹ was largely responsible for the curriculum.¹⁹⁰

It should be indicated that the ‘engraftment’ theory was the beginning of a new period for the Orientalist policy. Until this period the ‘classical Oriental policy’, which was led by Warren Hastings mainly, focused on the education of classical languages however with ‘engraftment’ notion was the restoration of Hastings’s Orientalist policy. With the theory the intention of the British officers was not only the encouragement of the classical language but also the introduction of English language in the government’s school.

3.1.3. Reactions to the Policy of GCPI

In this manner, the foundation of GCPI and putting into practice the proposal of ‘engraftment’ the voices of protest rose against the inutility of the Oriental learning from the opposition side. Some part of Hindus¹⁹¹ were the first opponents and they

¹⁸⁷ “The post of secretary in the Persian department (formally attached to the Bengal Political Department between 1801 and 1830) was principally concerned with the conduct and translation of the governor-general’s correspondence with Indian rulers and other notables. Following the Mackenzie’s proposals, education was transferred from the Territorial Department to the Persian Department in 1823, where it remained for the next seven years. In 1830 the post of Persian secretary was abolished, and most of its traditional functions absorbed by the Political Department, although the subject of education was given to the General Department., see; Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 107.

¹⁸⁸ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), pp. 108-109

¹⁸⁹ “Horace Hayman Wilson studied medicine at St. Thomas’s Hospital in London and he joined the East India Company’s medical service as an assistant surgeon, 1808. 1811-1833 He was the secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and he appointed the post of secretary to the GCPI, 1823-1832. Then he returned to England in 1832 and appointed Boden professor of Sanskrit at Oxford University. He was the author of *A Dictionary in Sanskrit and English* (1813); *Essays on Lectures on the Religion of the Hindus* (1862); *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms* (1855)”, see; Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p.342.

¹⁹⁰ John Clive, **Macaulay: The Shaping of the Historian**, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973, p.348.

¹⁹¹ In this point it should be noted that owing to the practical causes Hindu society favoured the British administration in India. As mentioned above there was demand for the introduction of English education and diffusion of Western knowledge in India but in this period, the Muslim society mainly rejected the western education and the introduction of the English education. Among educated Muslims before 1857 see; David Lelyveld, **Aligarh’s First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India**, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978., Francis Robinson, **Separatism**

favoured British rule. By 1816 some of the leading figures from the urbanized and wealth Bengali Hindus demanded to study European literature and science.¹⁹² For this reason they established a Hindu college in 1816. The most outstanding of Hindu student in the nineteenth century was Raja Rammohun Roy¹⁹³ who was an important for supporter of the English education and he condemned the traditional educational policy in a petition to Governor-General:

“When this seminary of learning was proposed we understood that the government in England had ordered a considerable sum of money to be annually devoted to the instruction of its Indian subjects. We were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum would be laid out in employing European gentlemen of talents and education to instruct the natives of India in mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, and other useful sciences...We find that the government are establishing a Sanskrit school under Hindu pundits, to impart such knowledge as is already current in India...was know two thousand years ago...^{194,,}

As indicated by in short passage from his petition, Raja Rammohun Roy protested Lord Amherst (Governor-General, 1823-8) due to the Company’s policy of patronizing traditional Indian learning, and developing orientalist views of the newly formed GCPI.¹⁹⁵ According to Roy, the diffusion of western knowledge and practice and the introduction of English education was the best way for the transformation of Hindu society based on the European model.¹⁹⁶ Furthermore, Roy in 1815 drew up a plan for English institution in Calcutta but had to withdraw because of the opposition of the conservative group.¹⁹⁷

among Indian Muslims: The Politics of the United Provinces Muslims 1860-1923, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1993.

¹⁹² Clive, p. 349.

¹⁹³ Raja Rammohun Roy (1772-1883) was born a landowning Bengali Brahman family and Roy educated in Benares mainly the Oriental education. Roy also went on to study Buddhism and Christianity as well as English, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. In 1828 founded Brahma Samaj reform movement, and in 1830 he was elected by the Mughal emperor to represent his cause in London. He died in Bristol in 1833. During the Orientalist-Evangelist controversy he was definitely supported the introduction of English education and the diffusion of the Western education. See; Lynn Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 341.

¹⁹⁴ Printed in Charles E. Trevelyan, **On the Education of the People of India**, London: Longmans, 1838, pp. 66-67.

¹⁹⁵ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 110.

¹⁹⁶ Clive, pp. 348-350.

¹⁹⁷ Suresh Ghosh, p.20

3.1.4. James Mill and Utilitarianism¹⁹⁸ in India

On the other hand the policy of the GCPI not only challenged one of the important figures of the Hindu Society Raja Rammohun Roy but also by James Mill from the London offices of the East India Company.¹⁹⁹ According to Mill, GCPI's efforts to engraft modern science onto the traditional curricula at Sanskrit College and the Calcutta Madrasa had been a failure and it would be a waste of time.²⁰⁰ For this reason, Mill drafted a dispatch in February 1824 and according to him GCPI 'should not have been to teach Hindoo learning, or Mahomedan learning, but useful learning.'²⁰¹ But in this point it should be noted that Mill rejected the introduction of English education for the revival of Indian culture, according to him the British officers should focus their efforts on vernacular education.²⁰² To Mill rather than English learning, the GCPI should be accomplished better and more quickly by translating European texts into their own languages.²⁰³ Mill also had little faith concerning the transformative potential of education; he believed that the institution of a rational system of laws was the key factor for the improvement of Indian society.²⁰⁴

Against the critiques and proposals of Raja Rammohun Roy and James Mill, the GCPI was able to ignore the protest of Roy but they could not disregard the critical views of the Court of Directors, which had been drafted by James Mill. For this reason, the committee members made an effort to justify their efforts in the letter, which expressed in the letter dated 18th August 1824. The letter was signed by nine of the committee members and the supporter of the Orientalist and 'engraftment' policy, and H. H. Wilson and Holt Mackenzie were among them. The members, in the letter, defended their efforts, according to them, 'the useful knowledge' was also a great object for them but 'the alterations should not be introduced more rapidly than a regard to existing

¹⁹⁸ Utilitarianism; The movement of thought generally known as Utilitarianism, which had its centre in England from the seventeenth until well into the twentieth century, provided one of the the most important frames of reference in the shaping of social science theory, including sociological theory. The foundations of utilitarianism were laid above all by Hobbes and Locke, with their very different emphases; it culminating phase involved the sequence of eminent writers that extends form Adam Smith, through Bentham, Austin, Malthus, and Ricardo, to John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer. See; for Utilitarianism: David L. Sills, (ed.), "Utilitarianism", **International Encyclopaedia of the Social Science, Sociological Thought**, Vol. 16, The Macmillan Company & The Free Press, 1968, pp, 224-236

¹⁹⁹ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p.21.

²⁰⁰ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p.21.

²⁰¹ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p.116., Clive, p.347.

²⁰² Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 22.

²⁰³ Clive, p.352.

²⁰⁴ Clive, p.352.

interest and feeling will dictate.²⁰⁵ Because ‘they are aware of the necessity of ‘employing Mohammadan and Hindu media, and of consulting the biases of the Mohammadans and Hindus.’²⁰⁶ As indicated by the members, one of the important concerns was the shaky origin of British power and the Orientalist policy was to reduce the ‘prejudices of the Mohammadan and Hindus’ British administration.²⁰⁷

On the other hand the members advocated that the purpose of the establishment of Calcutta Madrasa and Sanskrit College in Benares was teaching Muhammadan and Hindu literature and law but there was no great desire to learn. Moreover to communicate with Muslims and Hindus, the Oriental studies was ‘a case of necessity’ and the English education could have been given ‘on the most limited scale because there were not enough English teachers and books for this education.’²⁰⁸

3.2. The Resistance against the Orientalist Policy: The Evangelists in India

So far the supporter of the Orientalist policy made serious effort in order to keep their position and they advocated their policy against the opposition groups both in London and India. However, by 1830 the balance between the Orientalist-Evangelist controversy changed due to several important changes. But before explaining the variations, it should be noted that in 1828 Lord William Bentinck became Governor-General and he had much sympathy with the Utilitarian views.

On the other hand after the first quarter of the nineteenth century, especially in the main cities of British India such as Bengal, Agra, Calcutta and Bombay, there was a demand for English education from some part of Hindu society. In this point it should be remembered that the demand for the introduction of English language and western education was mainly worldly consideration and some merchant class in Bombay and Bengal were the pioneer groups for it. Even the increasing popularity of English education would change the views of some of the Orientalist concerning the education question in India. As early indicated above Raja Rammohun Roy was the most strongest

²⁰⁵ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 119.

²⁰⁶ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 119.

²⁰⁷ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 119.

²⁰⁸ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 120.

of this manner and the demand for English and western education seriously increased by 1830.²⁰⁹

Secondly, Alexander Duff, a Scottish missionary arrived in Bengal in 1830 and made a serious effort concerning education field. He developed a new English-language curriculum and imparting only English and western education.²¹⁰ As stated above there was demand from Hindu society but there weren't any official efforts to meet the pressure. So after a short time Duff with the help of Raja Rammohun Roy founded an English school in Bengal. As a result of cooperation of Duff and Roy, new English schools were opened in Calcutta in 1832 and 1835.²¹¹

On the other hand any important event was actualized in 1833 and one of the most significant supporter of the Orientalist policy and the member of GCPI, H. H. Wilson retired to England. After the retirement of H. H. Wilson, the Governor-General Lord Bentinck appointed Charles E. Trevelyan²¹² to replace him. In addition to Trevelyan, the Governor-General had selected the other members of GCPI from the reformers such as Bird, Bushby, Colvin, and Saunders.²¹³ However the appointment of Trevelyan was very important substitution because he was to become one of excited adherent of the Evangelist fervour in this period. Like Charles Grant, Trevelyan also believed that for the transformation of India, the introduction of English education and the diffusion of western education were necessary as indicated in his book, *The Education of the People of India*:

“The existing connection between two such distant countries as England and India, cannot, in the nature of things be permanent: no effort of policy can prevent the natives from ultimately regaining their independence. But there

²⁰⁹The pressure of some part of Hindu society for the introduction of English language; see; Salahuddin Ahmed, *Social Ideas and Social Change in Bengal*, 1818-1835, Leiden, 1965.

²¹⁰ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 25.

²¹¹ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 26.

²¹² “Charles Edward Trevelyan (1870-1876) educated at Charterhouse and Haileybury College. After his education he joined East India Company's civil service as a writer in Bengal, 1826. During the years of the Company Trevelyan served in various post in the Company but most important of them; assistant resident at Delhi, 1826-1831; deputy secretary in the General and Financial Department and the Secret and Political Department. After these services, Trevelyan appointed as a member of the GCPI during the years 1831-1838. He returned to England in 1838 and joined some post there. Trevelyan's treatises: *Treaties on the Means of Communicating the Learning and Civilisation of Europe* (1834), *The Application of the Roman Alphabet to All the Oriental Languages* (1836); *On the Education of the People of India* (1838); co-author Report on the *Organization of the Permanent Civil Service* (1854).” See; Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 342, J. F. Hilliker “Charles Edward Trevelyan as an Educational Reformer in India 1827-1838,” *Canadian Journal of History*, 9, 1974, pp. 275-91.

²¹³ Cutts, p. 851.

are two ways of arriving at this point. One of these is through the medium of revolution; the other, through of reform.²¹⁴”

Another important sign of Trevelyan’s evangelical zeal appeared in his letter, which was sent to Lord Bentinck in 1834:

“The abolition of the exclusive privileges which the Persian languages has in the courts and offices of government will form the crowning stroke which will shake Hindooism and Mahomedanism to their centre and firmly establish our language our learning and ultimately our religion in India...²¹⁵”

Shortly by 1830 some factors began to effect the position of the British educational policy. The worldly needs of Hindu society, the efforts of missionary and the appointment of reformers or Evangelists in GCPI especially Charles Trevelyan provoked the Controversy. As have seen Charles Trevelyan would play considerable role in this “battle.”

3.2.1. The Beginning of the Controversy

By the way the medium of instruction in the Indian educational system was the biggest cause of the controversy and it came to a head in the late 1834. Trevelyan and his reformer followers in GCPI made some efforts concerning the introduction of English language in some important educational centers. Once Trevelyan appointed by the Governor-General in place of Wilson, began to attack the Oriental colleges, which, he described as ‘sleepy, sluggish, inanimate machines.’²¹⁶ For this reason they pushed GCPI for reforming the curriculum at Sanskrit College, introducing English at the Calcutta Madrasa, ceasing publication of Hindu texts and recommended replacing Sanskrit and Arabic studies with English language instruction in Agra College.²¹⁷ Naturally the Orientalist party seriously reacted against these proposals. In this period the Committee was equally divided and unable implement even ordinary business and “Half of the members were in favour of Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit learning the other

²¹⁴ Chamberlain, p.72.

²¹⁵ K. A. Ballhatchet, “The Home Government and Bentinck’s Educational Policy”, **Cambridge Historical Journal**, Vol. 10, No, 2, 1951, p. 228.

²¹⁶ Hilliker, p. 282.

²¹⁷ Evans, p. 60.

half of English and vernacular.²¹⁸”Concerning the question they could not reach an agreement and they sent the question to the Governor-General with two letters, which was written by the GCPI secretary, J. C. C. Sutherland.

In the first letter, Sutherland expressed the position and demand of the Evangelist or reformers in 21st January 1835.²¹⁹ To Evangelists western knowledge should be imparted through the medium of English language to create intellectual class who engage in a direct dialogue with Europeans. It should be noted that the primary aim of their education policy was for the creation of the influential classes rather than masses. Thus the influential class would be the agency for the cultivation of Indian vernaculars as indicated by their letter:

“...On the subject of the second of the objections, it most fully admitted that the great body of the people must be enlightened through the medium of their own languages and that to enrich and improve these, so as to render them the efficient depositaries of all thoughts and knowledge, is an object of the first importance.²²⁰”

The following day, 22nd January 1835 the Orientalists presented the views of the policy and advocated the success of the engraftment policy to conciliate Indian society with British Raj.²²¹ 1813 Charter Act’s provisions concerning the revival and improvement of Indian learning was the base of the Orientalists and they evaluated the Evangelist’s view as betrayal of the Indian scholars who supported before by the Company.²²²

Shortly the nature of the controversy was regarding the medium of instruction; should be English or Classical languages, Arabic and Sanskrit. Although both sides sharply sponsored different opinions for the future of the Indian education, there were some issues between the Orientalist and Evangelist were in broad agreement.²²³ Firstly both groups agreed on the introduction and the diffusion of European literature and science. Secondly according to both parties the primary object of British policy should be development of vernacular education for the masses when the vernacular languages

²¹⁸ G. O. Trevelyan, M. P., **The Competition of Wallah**, 2d ed. London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co., 1866, p. 318.

²¹⁹ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), pp. 130-146.

²²⁰ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), pp. 140-141.

²²¹ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), pp. 147-160.

²²² Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 147.

²²³ Evans, p.62.

enriched by the infusion of Western knowledge and ideas.²²⁴ Furthermore both of them believed that vernacular languages could not be used as medium of instruction in the present time owing to their capacity for teaching of modern subjects.²²⁵ And lastly both group agreed on the superiority of European knowledge.

3.2.2. The Macaulay's 'Famous' Minute

Lord Babington Macaulay had arrived Madrasa in June 1834 as the legal member²²⁶ of the Governor of General's council but he also appointed the presidency of the GCPI by the Governor-General. After a short period from his arrival the Governor-General, Bentinck consulted to Lord Macaulay the letters of both side as a result of the deadlock on the GCPI.

With the arrival of Macaulay the condition in the GCPI was altered again because before his advent there was a balance between the numbers of the Orientalists (Shakespear, MacNaughten, Sutherland, J.P. Prinsep and H. T. Prinsep) and the Evangelists (Bird, Bushby, Colvin, Saunders, and Trevelyan) party in Committee. Before Macaulay appointment, Bentinck also commissioned Prinsep to three years duty in Tasmania.²²⁷ Thus Bentinck damaged the power of the Orientalist party in GCPI. At first as the President of the GCPI, Macaulay did not interfere in the debate but Bentinck referred to the question to Macaulay and he recorded on the 2nd February 1835 his 'famous' Minute and strongly stated that the medium of instruction should be English as expressed in his Minute:²²⁸

“What then shall that language be (?) One-half of the Committee maintain that it should be the English. The other halves strongly recommend the Arabic and Sanskrit. The whole question seems to me to be – which language is the best worth knowing (?)

I have no knowledge of either Sanskrit or Arabic. But I have done what I could to form a correct estimate of their value. I have read translations of the most celebrated Arabic and Sanskrit works...I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was

²²⁴ Evans, p.62.

²²⁵ Evans, p.62.

²²⁶The Charter Act of 1833 had provided for the establishment of the Indian law commission and Macaulay was the first the legal member between 1835-1837.

²²⁷ Cutts, p. 851.

²²⁸Suresh Ghosh, p. 21.

worth the whole native literature of India and Arabic. The intrinsic superiority of the western literature is indeed fully admitted by those Members of the Committee who support the Oriental plan of education.²²⁹”

In the Minute, Macaulay not only recommended the introduction of English education but also he clarified that the necessity of English language. According to him ‘the languages of Western Europe civilized Russia. I cannot doubt that they will do for the Hindoo what they have done for the Tatar.’²³⁰

Furthermore as mentioned in the previous chapter like Charles Grant, Lord Macaulay also believed that the introduction of English was the key factor to civilize Indian society. Macaulay had some doubts about the education of masses but he insisted that English language should be studied in all higher education to create loyal Indians to British rule:

“I feel...that is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern—a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. To the class we may leave it to...convey knowledge to the great mass of population.²³¹”

3.2.3. The Resolution of Lord Bentinck: English Official Language in India

Macaulay quickly and directly presented his Minute to Bentinck without first consulting the Committee.²³² Upon the Minute of Macaulay, after just one month Lord Bentinck issued the following order on the subject in 7 March 1835:

“The Governor-General of India in Council has attentively considered the two letters from the Secretary of the Committee of Public Instruction dated 21st and 22nd January last, and the papers referred to in them.

His lordship in Council is of opinion that the Great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the

²²⁹ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 165.

²³⁰ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 167.

²³¹ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 171.

²³² Cutts, p. 852.

purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone.²³³”

Thus with the force of Macaulay’s Minute, Bentinck issued the resolution and according to his decision the promotion of English learning and the English language would be the main purpose of British education policy and it was the end of the Orientalist educational policy of India. On the other hand with the resolution, the English education would be official instruction in Indian schools.

3.2.4. The Role of Macaulay Minute in Indian Education

As indicated above, as a result of Macaulay’s Minute and Bentinck’s resolution English education officially permitted as medium of instruction and put an end to the Orientalist education policy. However concerning position of Macaulay there are some divergent interpretations and according to some the Company’s servant and scholars had been stated that the role of Macaulay’s Minute was just the formulation of Bentinck’s intentions and Trevelyan ideas. For instance John Clive in his book, on Macaulay, in the *Shaping of the Historian* (1973) assert “such as Trevelyan’s influence that the “battle” between the Evangelist and Orientalist had largely been ‘fought’ and ‘won’ before Macaulay set foot India.²³⁴”

John Clive also stated that Bentinck had given his decision about education or language policy several months before Macaulay’s arrival. According to Clive, the letter of Macaulay to his sister Margaret was the important evidence of it on December 7th, 1834:

“...I joined him, threw all my influence into his scale, brought over Lord William, --or rather induced Lord William to declare himself, --and thus I have, I hope, been means of effecting some real good. The question was whether the twenty thousand pounds a year which Government appropriates to native education should be employed in teaching natives Sanskrit and Arabic, as heretofore, or in teaching them English and thus opening them the whole knowledge of the Western world. You will no doubt on which side Trevelyan and I were found. We now consider the victory as gained. Lord William has made me President of the Education Committee, and intends, very speedily, to pronounce a decision in our favour of the points at issue.²³⁵”

²³³ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 195.

²³⁴ Evans, p.348.

²³⁵ Clive, p.365.

Eventually according to the letter of Macaulay to his sister Margaret, the “victory” against the Orientalist party was won before by his Minute and English would be the medium of instruction.

Regarding Macaulay’s role for instance, Arthur Mayhew, a senior educational administrator in India stated that;

“Macaulay by his eloquence and wealth of superlatives has often been made solely responsible for cutting of Indian education from the roots of national life. Let it be remembered here that he was not the prime mover, that his intervention was late and that the forces which he represented would probably have been successful without his singularly tactless and blundering championship.²³⁶”

Like Mayhew, Percival Spear in his article *Bentinck and Education* (1938) reflected the same opinions:

“Macaulay has been too much praised and too much blamed; his contribution was like the lightening flash which vividly illumines the storm and reveals the landscape, albeit in fantastic proportions and bewildering lights, but which directs its course nor ordains its conclusion.²³⁷”

Concerning the role of Macaulay, another important contribution was stated by Robert Philipson in *Linguistic Imperialism*, (1992). To Philipson “Macaulay’s apparently instrumental role in the promotion of English-language education in India” and his formulation regarding the British education policy in his Minute put an end the long-standing controversy between the Evangelist and Orientalists.²³⁸ However he added that;

“Macaulay’s role in the elaboration of educational policy has tended to be exaggerated and misunderstood...Macaulay enunciated was a fait accompli by the time Macaulay reached India and never fully implemented. The famous Minute was written only a few months after his arrival. Macaulay’s contribution was the actual formulation of the Anglicist argument in a Minute in which his propensity for bombastic rhetoric led gratuitous rudeness about Indian culture...²³⁹”

More importantly R. Frykenberg in his article, “*The myth of English as a “colonialist” imposition upon India: A reappraisal with special reference to India to South India*”

²³⁶ Evans, p. 261

²³⁷ Percival Spear, “Bentinck and Education,” *Cambridge Historical Journal*, Vol. 6, No., 1, 1938, p. 83.

²³⁸ Robert Philipson, *Linguistic Imperialism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, p. 110.

²³⁹ Philipson, pp.133-134.

suggest that ‘is seems clear from all records and sources of data so far uncovered, that the Minute made virtually no impact in the south.’²⁴⁰

Recent scholar have also tended to downplay Macaulay’s influence, for instance Suresh Ghosh, in “*Bentinck, Macaulay and and the Introduction of English Education in India,*” (1995) stated “Bentinck had been steadily pursuing a policy of gradual introduction of English education in India since 1829.²⁴¹” According to Ghosh, Bentinck was one of the important supporters of Utilitarian principles. He had said to James Mill: “I am going to British India but I shall not be Governor-General. It is you that will be Governor-General.”²⁴²

Another important note regarding Macaulay’s role, Zastoupil Lynn and Martin Moir has asserted that in the *Great Indian Education Debate*, according the Brain Hodgson²⁴³ (in *Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. II, p. 256) ‘Mr. Macaulay’s Minute is but a second edition of Mr. Trevelyan’s Treatise.’²⁴⁴ If comparing the two text Macaulay used some of Trevelyan’s general arguments, especially for his historical analogies with renaissance on England and modern Russia and his comments on Indian law.²⁴⁵

Eventually regarding the role of Lord Macaulay and his Minute, some scholars claim that his role was overstated and blessed the ‘victory’ of the Evangelist party. In contrast to theses opinions, some scholars advocated and stated that Macaulay Minute played a very important role in this process. Before his arrival to India, his famous speech on the India bill was the important sign of it, in Parliament in 1833;

“It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity better government; that, having become instructed in European knowledge, that may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whether it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history. To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths

²⁴⁰ R. Frykenberg, “The myth of English as a “colonialist” imposition upon India”: A reappraisal with special reference to India to South India, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 2, 1988, pp. 305-315.

²⁴¹ Suresh Ghosh, p. 17.

²⁴² Suresh Ghosh, p. 22.

²⁴³ Hodgson was a Bengal civilian, contemporary to Macaulay and Trevelyan.

²⁴⁴ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 173.

²⁴⁵ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p. 173.

of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the...²⁴⁶”

As indicated in his speech Macaulay mentioned his dream for India: for the transformation of Indian society the British system was necessary and one day it would be carried out with European knowledge and European institutions. So with this way, the educated Indians by the British education policy would be mediator of the British Raj.

In addition to Macaulay’s speech in parliament about the education, there were some claims about the family roots and personal background. As indicated in the last chapter Charles Grant was the first formulator of the English education as a medium of instruction in India and he made serious effort with William Wilberforce and Zachary Macaulay to insert the evangelical ideas into the Charter Act 1813 against the Hastings’ Orientalist policy. They partly became successful in this period through the Charter Act of 1813. In this sense it should be noted that Lord Macaulay, the author of Minute in 1835 was the son of earliest Evangelist, Zachary Macaulay. Further Lord Macaulay was reared in Clapham, one of the two strongest evangelical centers in England.²⁴⁷ The relation of Lord Macaulay with the Grant family continued as Grant’s son, Charles Grant Jr. was one of the closest friends of him in parliament.²⁴⁸ Even though during his education in Trinity College, Macaulay’s evangelical ideas moved toward Utilitarianism, Macaulay supported his closest friends, Charles and Robert Grant and fought for the evangelical clause inserted in the Company’s charter 1833.²⁴⁹ Furthermore, Robert Grant proposed the Resolution concerning the ‘promoting the moral and religious improvement of the people of India and the proposal was accepted.²⁵⁰’

On the other hand concerning the relation of Macaulay with the Grant family Suresh Chandra Ghosh stated that in his article *Bentinck, Macaulay and the introduction of English education in India* (1995) “we do not have any direct evidence on the basis of which we can assert that Macaulay was fully conversant with them” that is with Charles

²⁴⁶ Sirkin and Sirkin, “The Battle of Indian Education Macaulay’s Opening Salvo Newly Discovered”, **Victorian Studies**, Vol. 14, No. 4, June 1971, p . 418

²⁴⁷ Cutts, p. 831.

²⁴⁸ Cutts, p.831.

²⁴⁹ Cutts, p.832.

²⁵⁰ **Taunton Courier**, “East India Question”, 26 June 1833; see appendices 8,

Grant. On the contrary, Elmer H. Cutts, in *the Background of Macaulay's Minute*, assert that to rescind the Company's anti missionary policy and terminated the Orientalist policy, as mentioned earlier; he prepared his primary literary work, *Observations*.²⁵¹ The document was never published for general reading and before the Minute it was the pioneer disquisition concerning English education.²⁵² However the Observations was published in full text among the parliamentary paper for the Charters of 1813 and 1833. When Macaulay fought for the Charter of 1833, "this document was written by the father of Macaulay's 'honoured friend in parliament' it is reasonable to suppose that Macaulay read it."²⁵³

Consequently there are different interpretations about Macaulay's role in Indian education history and the formulation of English education in India. According to some historians Macaulay had a small influence on Bentinck for changing the Orientalist policy but some of them claimed that Macaulay was the most decisive factor in Indian education history. To understand the effective factor on the policy we need to look at the relation of Bentinck, Macaulay and Trevelyan.

Firstly one of the important points was the first meeting of Macaulay and Bentinck in India. Macaulay had arrived in Madras in June 1834 but he moved to Ootacamund.²⁵⁴ Due to some health problems Lord William Bentinck take up his residence in Ootacamund and holding also his Council there.²⁵⁵ After the short time the arrival, Macaulay joined him with the request of Lord Bentinck. In Ootacamund, Macaulay lived for some mounts with Bentinck and so a friendship sprang up.²⁵⁶ There were some common features of Macaulay and Bentinck such as both of them liberal, reforming zeal and the desire for the introduction of English education in India. Most probably, in this meeting, between Macaulay and Bentinck the educational matters had been discussed. And after that due to Macaulay's opinions about the Indian education, he was appointed the President of the GCPI.²⁵⁷

²⁵¹ Cutts, p.836.

²⁵² Cutts, p.836.

²⁵³ Cutts, p.836.

²⁵⁴ Ootacamund called later by British officials as "Ooty."

²⁵⁵ Clive, p. 292.

²⁵⁶ Spear, p. 6.

²⁵⁷ Suresh Ghosh, p. 23.

Secondly, it should be kept in mind Macaulay disembarked at Madras his sister, Hannah More Macaulay to meet her fiancé, Charles E. Trevelyan. In December 1834, he became Macaulay's brother-in-law.²⁵⁸ Also about Trevelyan, Macaulay wrote that:

“I can truly say that if I had to search India for a husband for her, I could have found no man to whom I could with equal confidence have intrusted her happiness.²⁵⁹”

With the marriage two crucial and nervous member of the Evangelist party get closer and it shows that there was former relationship between Macaulay and Trevelyan.

Thirdly Charles Trevelyan was just a secretariat young civilian in Calcutta, but Bentinck had noticed him from his report and though only a secretary, it was known that Bentinck pay attention his opinion about the educational matters.²⁶⁰

Lastly the Bentinck's background was also a significant factor in this process. Clearly, as early as Bentinck as a governor of Madras in 1806 he had accepted a plan for free English schools in the Madras presidency and the proposal was presented by a missionary named Kerr of the London Missionary Society.²⁶¹ However the proposition could not be implemented because Bentinck was recalled from London for military service against Napoleon.²⁶² It shows that as early as in 1806 Bentinck had a plan for English education in India.

After two decades Lord William Bentinck was appointed as Governor-General in 1828 and the most important duty was cutting administrative cost of India. The renewal of the Charter Act in 1833²⁶³ was the first indication of this policy.²⁶⁴ Lord Bentinck changed the nature of the British administration and replaced British officers with cheaper Indian functionaries in the judicial and administrative branches of government.²⁶⁵ For this reason, Bentinck was to insert the clause in the 1833 Charter Act opening up of all government posts to qualified person 'irrespective of religion, birth, descent, or

²⁵⁸ Cutts, pp. 830-831; **Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette**, 11 June 1815.

²⁵⁹ Cutts, p. 831,

²⁶⁰ Spear, p.83.

²⁶¹ Cutts, p. 829.

²⁶² Cutts, p. 829.

²⁶³ When the renewal of the Charter of Company came to in Parliament which was doubtful about the renewal of Charter again. Because of the Burmese Wars and increases in Indian civil and military expenses, the East India Company was about £40,000,00 in debt. The Charter was finally passed, but the Company's role and power was terminated and the Company' monopoly was destroyed. See; Philips, pp. 276-298.

²⁶⁴ Evans, p.59

²⁶⁵ Evans, p.59.

colour.²⁶⁶ It indicated that there was pressure for the Company to reduce expenditure of the Indian government's organization and to this end the introduction of English education was the best way to bring up qualified person in India.

It should be also kept in mind that Lord Bentinck was appointed as a Governor-General in 1828 and he waited until February 1835. What was the cause of his cessation? As we know after a short time after his appointment, Bentinck launched an attack against the "social evils" of India. Bentinck outlawed Sute²⁶⁷, took some measure for control of Thugi and the practice of ritual murders.²⁶⁸ In his letter to Metcalf in September 1829 Bentinck asserted that English was the key factors for all improvements.²⁶⁹ Why Bentinck waited until 1835 and he did not attack the Orientalist policy like the other 'errs' of Indian society? By 1830 despite some factor, the Orientalist party was still powerful and most probably Bentinck needed the officers like Macaulay and Trevelyan who seriously supported the introduction policy in India. Eventually Macaulay cannot be regarded as a decisive factor but his contribution also cannot be denied. In this sense there were several causes in the background of the controversy such as political, financial and religion. But it should also keep in mind Macaulay, Trevelyan and Lord Bentinck were the most important figure to actualize the causes.

3.3. The Reactions against the New Education Policy

The first reaction came from Muslim society but not after the Resolution before it. There were some rumours about the new educational policy and according to the rumours the proposal would abolish the Calcutta Madrasa and Sanskrit College which caused the reaction against them. Concerning the rumours, Prinsep visited by the head of the madrasa and rejected the claims for the new education policy.²⁷⁰ The Muslim petition defended the preservation of the Madrasa and the petitions was signed and sealed by over 8,312 persons.²⁷¹

²⁶⁶ Evans, pp.59-60

²⁶⁷ A tradition in India, the burning of widows after the death of their husband.

²⁶⁸ Suresh Ghosh, p. 22

²⁶⁹ Suresh Ghosh, p. 22

²⁷⁰ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p.189.

²⁷¹ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p.190.

After the Resolution of the Minute, the Orientalists seriously condemned the new policy. As indicated above neither Macaulay nor Bentinck did not consult the Minute and Resolution in the GCPI. One of the most significant members of H. T. Prinsep presented his Note dated 15 February 1835. In this note, Prinsep clearly attacked on the new educational policy and the most important bases of his Note was the Charter Act of 1813. Prinsep asked the Governor-General the legal problem of the Minute and Resolution because the Charter's provision stated that "the revival and promotion of literature and the encouragement of learned natives."²⁷² The regulations of the new policy were against the provision of the Charter.

On the other hand the students of Sanskrit College also objected the abolition of their College for this reason twenty-six students of the College led by Shibakrishna Shamman (all apparently Brahmans) signed a petition and send to Bentinck dated 19 March 1835. Like Muslims, the Hindu students of the College desired the preservation of previous rights such as allowances and stipends.²⁷³ In reply to these students Henry Torrens, secretary in general department, issued the Government response. According to the response, the government refused to reinstate the allowances.²⁷⁴

However except the students of Sanskrit College, there was demand from the some part of Hindu society. As we have seen, since 1816 some leading members made serious efforts for the introduction of English education. In this sense the table shows the numbers of publishing book in between 1834-1835 as the sign of demand:

Table 4:

Publishing Books 1834-1835²⁷⁵

Publishing Books	Numbers
English Books	31, 649
Anglo-Asiatic (Books partly in English and partly in some Eastern languages)	4,525
Bengalee	5,754

²⁷² Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p.174.

²⁷³ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p.197.

²⁷⁴ Zastoupil and Moir (ed.), p.197

²⁷⁵ Nurullah and Naik (ed.), p. 52.

Hinduee	4,171
Hindusthane	3,384
Persian	1,454
Uriya	834
Arabic	36
Sanskirt	16

The number of publishing books was the strongest base of the Evangelist's claim. As indicated in the table there was huge difference between English book and the classical books. Despite the students of the Sanskrit College and the Calcutta Madrasa, there was serious demand for the introduction of English education but as indicated above it was only worldly considerations. Especially with the renewal of Charter Act of 1833, the Charter opened the all administrative positions to Hindu society.

3.4. The Colonial Discourse: Orientalist and Evangelist Education Policy

So far the study mainly tries to indicate the first British educational policies and the great debate between the Orientalist and Evangelist parties concerning the method of education in India during the last quarter of 18th century and the first part of 19th century. But in this point the most outstanding question is why educate? What are the causes of the British officers for providing education in India? Concerning the question two opposite perspective have appeared: cultural imperialism and enlightened paternalism. To some scholars colonial education policies and schooling has been considered as a vehicle for cultural imperialism and the transmission of Western knowledge through the medium of English is the imposition of alien knowledge, beliefs and values on the indigenous people. For instance Carnoy M. in his book *Education as Cultural Imperialism* (1974) stated that the purpose of colonial policies and practice is maintaining the political, economic and cultural hegemony of the European colonisers.²⁷⁶ Like Carnoy, Alastair Pennycook in his book, *English and the Discourse of Colonialism*, (2002) claimed "education was seen as a means to enlighten the Indian population and to make them aware of the system and benefits of colonial rule. It was a means to produces a well-ordered, docile and co-operative population, but it was also a

²⁷⁶Evans, p.2.

moral and imperial duty to bring to the Indian population the benefits of European knowledge.²⁷⁷”

On the contrary Clive Whitehead (1988) evaluated the British policy as a strong sense of enlightened paternalism.²⁷⁸ To Whitehead the colonial policies and practices were the result of the demand and experience of British’s subject. Further he added not only socio-economic advancement, but also intellectual and political liberation were the result of the imparting English education.²⁷⁹ However as indicated above the students of the Calcutta Madrasa and Sanskrit College was against the introduction of English education and the decline of traditional education. This shows that not all-Indian society demands the reform, and imposition of Western knowledge. Shortly the British educational policy was the instrument of British political and military concerns. To perpetuate the benefits and interest of the British power.

On the other hand some scholars have considered the Orientalism as a disciplinary activity and the aim of returning Edward Said, his famous book, *Orientalism* (1978);

“Orientalism can be discussed and analysed as the corporate institutions for dealing with Orient—dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views about it, describing it, by teaching it settling it, ruling over it; in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.²⁸⁰”

Like Edward Said, Bernard S. Chon, in *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, (1996) asserted that:

“British studies of Indian languages, literature, science and thought produced three major projects. The first involved the objectification and use of Indian languages as instruments of rule to understand better the “peculiar” manners, customs, and prejudices and control of the peoples of India.”²⁸¹

To sum up, considering the Orientalist and Evangelist position, indeed, there isn’t any controversy, battle and victory. The Evangelist shared many similarities with the some members of the Orientalist party such as the superiority of Western world and the inadequate of vernacular languages. In this sense as expressed by Loh Fook Seng

²⁷⁷ Alastair Pennycook, *English and the Discourses of Colonialism*, London and New York, Routledge, 1998, p. 75.

²⁷⁸ Evans, p.2

²⁷⁹ Evans, p.2

²⁸⁰ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, London, Penguin, 1977, p. 3.

²⁸¹ Cohn, p. 46.

(1970) Macaulay was not member of opposition against the Anglicist: “They are but two sides of the same colonial coin sharing the same rationale, to bring light into the native darkness as well as facilitate the exigencies of trade and government.”²⁸² Similarly Viswanathan (1989) argues that the two parties should be seen “not as polar opposites but as points along a continuum of attitudes toward the manner and form of colonial governance.”²⁸³ And he indicated the most important point; “both the Anglicist and the Orientalist factions were equally complicit with the project of domination.”²⁸⁴

²⁸² Pennycook, p. 84.

²⁸³ Viswanathan, p. 30

²⁸⁴ Viswanathan, p. 167.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the Orientalist-Evangelist controversy, the medium of instruction and the curriculum of the colleges and madrassas were the important issues among the members of both sides and they discussed seriously on this matters. However they agreed on the superiority of Western world, inadequacy of vernacular languages, and the fragile bases of the British Raj in India. In this context, this study offers that despite the considerable discussion about the future of Indian education history, there was a remarkable consensus among the British officers concerning the ‘modernization’ of Indian society and the creation of loyal colony under the rule of the British Empire.

On the other hand in the Orientalist-Evangelist controversy, Lord Babington Macaulay played important role but he was not the decisive factor in this period. Until this period, Lord Macaulay has been called the *father* of modern education in India and his role was exaggerated. This study offers that Lord Macaulay was also part of the controversy and Charles Trevelyan and Lord William Bentinck were also critical factors in the ‘victory’ of the Evangelists. Apart from this, I came up with the idea that Charles Grant was the first formulator of English education as a medium of instruction and he was also pioneering figure in the emergence of the Evangelist party before the advent of Macaulay, Trevelyan, and Bentinck. Before the advent of Macaulay and Trevelyan, Grant and his followers fought against the Company’s educational and the anti-missionary policy in the first part of the ‘battle’ between the Orientalist-Evangelist.

In the first chapter, this study tries to provide a background which is permitting to the promotion of Muslim education in India. During the reign of the Sultans, the education was supported and promoted and there was no official policy in this manner. Apart from this, the section was also important because the Orientalists and the Evangelist emphasized the position and the importance of native education throughout the Mughal period. According to them it was the main cause the preservation of Mughal authority in India. This chapter also dealt with the early efforts of the British East India Company and these attempts was not for the promotion of native education; it provided suitable bases for the missionary activities.

In the second chapter, the intentions and nature of the Orientalist policy are discussed and tries to investigate the real cause of the policy. As indicated in the second chapter, Warren Hastings noticed the fragile basis of British power and he imposed the policy of not only the promotion of education, but also to vanish the prejudices against the British Raj in the Indian society. With this policy, the governor made considerable effort to act like the previous Muslim Sultans such as the establishment of the Calcutta Madrassa. Apart from this, this section also investigates the emergence of an opposition party, the Evangelists. Lead by Charles Grant, the Evangelists desired to alter the Company's policy. To Grant and his followers, the policy was not the solution for the modernization of the Indian society, the introduction of English education and diffusion of Western knowledge was the only and foremost way to create loyal colony under the rule of the British raj.

In the last chapter a remarkable landmark in the Indian education history is discussed. It primarily focuses on the affect of the Charter Act of 1813, the first official intervention of the British government in the Indian education. Then it investigates the born of the second part of the controversy in India. In this period, what was the role of Charles Trevelyan, Lord Macaulay, and Lord Bentinck and why the Orientalist lost their superiority against the Evangelist. Finally this chapter made effort to evaluate the Orientalist and Evangelist educational policy as a colonial construction and emphasizes on the common ground between both sides.

As it stated earlier in this study, the introduction of English language as medium of instruction in 1835 was a remarkable landmark in India. However it should again be remembered that there was no official educational policy in England and India was the first colony of the British Empire, which imposed educational reforms. In this context, as a first educational policy paved the way for crucial developments not only in India, but also other territories of the British Empire such as Egypt, Africa, Cyprus, and Hong Kong and etc.

On the other hand, since the first Arab conquest, the Muslims had a special place in Indian history but with the advent of the British power they lost their status. As it mentioned above, Muslims rejected the introduction of English education and Western

knowledge in the Indian education system. In this context, what was the influence of the British educational policies on Muslim society was also the other crucial question.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ARNOLD, T. W. and MUJEEB, M. "Hindistan", **MEB İslam Ansiklopedisi**, V. 5, İstanbul, 1964, pp. 518-521.
- BAYUR, Hikmet. **Hindistan Tarihi**, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara, 1987.
- BİRİŞİK, Abdülhamit. "Medrese: Hint Alt kıtasında Medrese", **TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi**, Vol.28, Ankara 2003, pp. 333-338.
- Charles Grant. [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Grant,_Charles_\(1746-1823\)_\(DNB00\)](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Grant,_Charles_(1746-1823)_(DNB00)), (access 15.09.2013)
- CHAUHAN, C.P.S. **Modern Indian Education: Policies, Progress and Problems**. New Delhi: Kanishka Publications, 2005.
- COHN, Bernard S. **Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge; The British India**. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- DODWELL, H. H. (ed.), **Cambridge History of India**. Vol. V: (British India 1497-1858), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929.
- EMBREE, Ainslee Thomas. **Charles Grant and British Rule in India**. New York: Columbia University Press, 1962.
- ERİNÇ, Sırrı, S. Maqbul Ahmed, ÖZCAN, Azmi. K. A. Nizâmî, Kürşat Demirci ve Abdülhamit Birişik. "Hindistan" Maddesi, **TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi**, V.18, İstanbul, 1998, pp. 69-101.
- FERRO, Marc. **Sömürgelik Tarihi**. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2002.
- GHOSH, Suresh Chandra. **History of Education in India**, New Delhi: Rawat Publication, 2007.
- GHOSH, Suresh Chandra. **History of Education in Medieval India, (1192-1757)**. New Delhi: Originals, 2001.
- GRANT, Charles. **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**. Chiefly written 1792.
- HARDY, P. **The Muslim of British India**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.
- Hermann, Kulke. and Rothermund, Dietmar. **Hindistan Tarihi**, (tran.) Müfit Günay, Ankara: İmge Yayınları, 2001.
- HILLIKER, J. F. "Charles Edward Trevelyan as an Educational Reformer in India 1827-1838." **Canadian Journal of History**, 9, 1974, pp. 275-291.

- HOLT, M., LAMBTON, K.S. Ann, and LEWIS, Bernard. (Ed.), **The Cambridge History of Islam**, 2A, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- HUNTER, William. **The Indian Empire: Its People, History and Products**. 2nd, 1899.
- HUQUE, M. Azizul. **History and Problems of Moslem Education in Bengal**. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1917.
- JAFFAR, S. M. **Education in Muslim India**. Delhi: Idarah-1 Adabiyat-1 Delli, 1979
- KAUR, Kuldip. **Madrassa Education in India (A Study of Its Past and Present)**. Chandigarh: Centre for Research in Rural & Industrial Development, 1990.
- KOPF, David. **British Orientalism and Bengal Renaissance: The Dynamic of Indian Modernization 1773-1835**. London: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- LAPIDUS, Ira. **A History of Islamic Societies**. Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- LAW, Narendra Nath. **Promotion of Learning in India by Early European Settlers (Up to About 1800 AD.)**. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1915.
- LAW, Narendra Nath. **Promotion of Learning in India During Muammadan Rule**. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1916.
- MACAULAY, Thomas Babington. **Critical and Historical Essays**. 3 vols. London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1843.
- MAHMMOD, Syed. **A History of English Education in India 1781-1893**, Aligarh: M. A. -O. College, 1897.
- NURULLAH, Syed and NAIK, J. P. **A History of Education in India (During the British Period)**, Calcutta: Macmillan & CO. LTD., 1951.
- PENNYCOOK, Alastair. **English and the Discourses of Colonialism**. London and New York: Routledge, 1998.
- PHILIPS, C. H. **The East India Company 1784-1834**. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968.
- Philipson, Robert. **Linguistic Imperialism**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- PINNEY, Thomas, (Ed.) **The Letters of Thomas Babington Macaulay**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- RICHTER, Julius. **A History of Missions in India**. New York, Chicago, and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908.
- ROBINSON, Francis. **The 'Ulama of Firangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia**, London: C. Hurst, 2001.

- ROBINSON, Francis. (Ed.), **The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of India; Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bahutan and The Maldives**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1989.
- SAID, Edward, **Orientalism**. London: Penguin, 1977.
- SEED, Geoffrey. "Lord William Bentinck and the Reform of Education," **Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland**, 1952, pp. 66-77.
- SHARMA, R.N., R.K. **History of Education in India**. New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 2004.
- SHERRING, M. A. **The History of Protestant Missions in India**. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1884.
- SPEAR, Percival. "Bentinck and Education," **Cambridge Historical Journal**, VI, 1938, pp. 78-101.
- THIESSEN, Jacob. Anglo-Indian Vested Interest and Civil Service Education, 1800-1858: Indications of an East India Company Line, **Journal of World History**, Vol 5, No. 1, Spring 1994, pp. 26-27.
- TREVELYAN, Charles Edward. **On the Education of the People of India**, London: Longmans, 1838.
- TREVELYAN, Charles Edward. **The Application of the Roman Alphabet to All the Oriental Languages**, The Serampore Press, 1834.
- TREVELYAN, G. O. **The Competition of Wallah**. 2 ed. London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co., 1866.
- TREVELYAN, George Otto. **The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay**. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1876.
- VISWANATHAN, Gauri. **Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India**. USA: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- WILLIAMS, Matthew. Imperial Venture: The Evolution of the British East India Company 1763-1813. **MA Thesis**, The Florida State University, 2011.
- ZASTOUPIL, Lynn and MOIR, Martin. (Ed.) **The Great Indian Education Debate: Documents Relating to the Orientalist-Anglicist Controversy, 1781-1843**, London: Curzon Press, 1999.

Newspaper

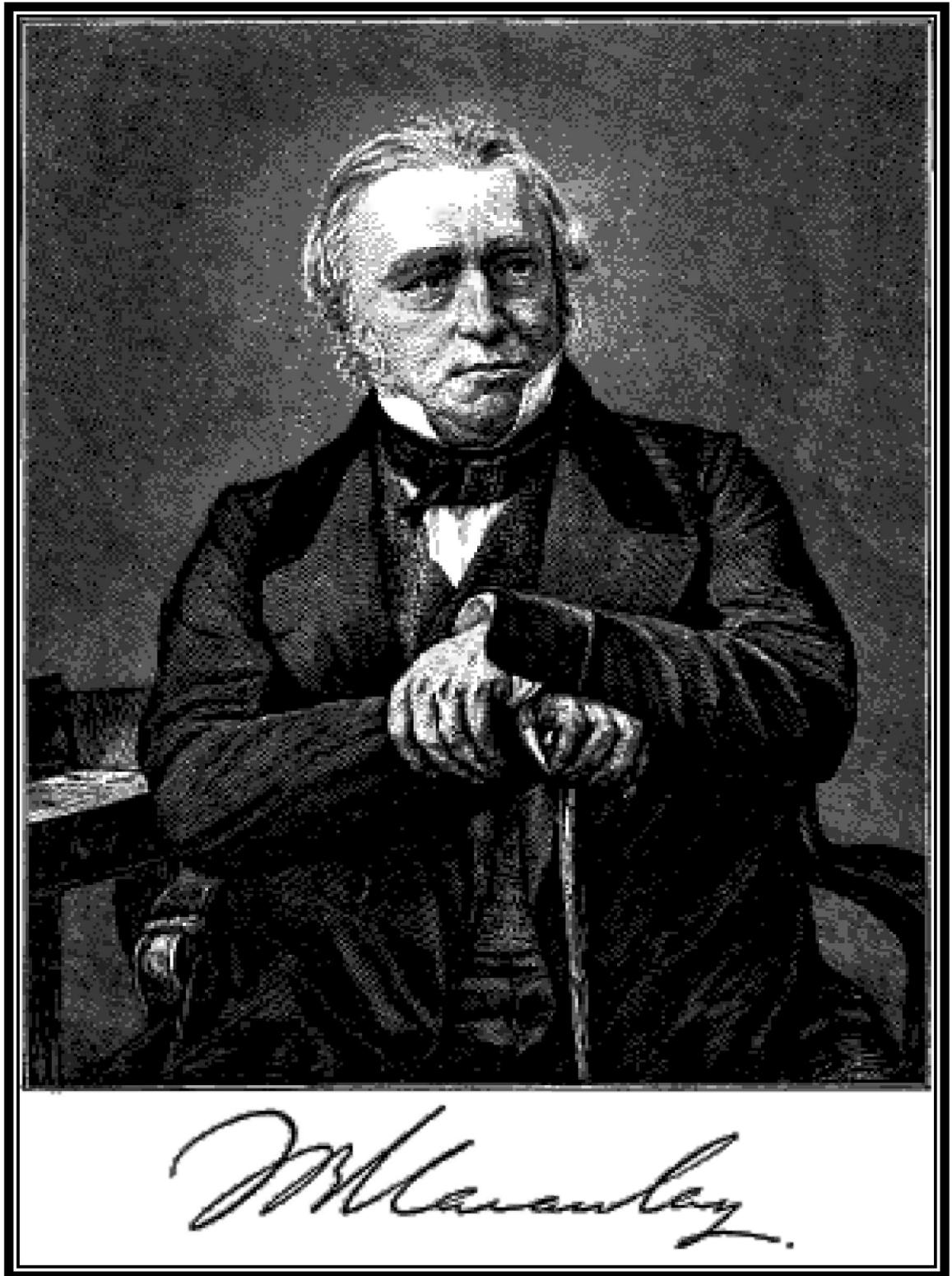
Leeds Times, “The Departure of Macaulay”, 22 February 1834

Taunton Couier “East India Question”, 26 June 1833

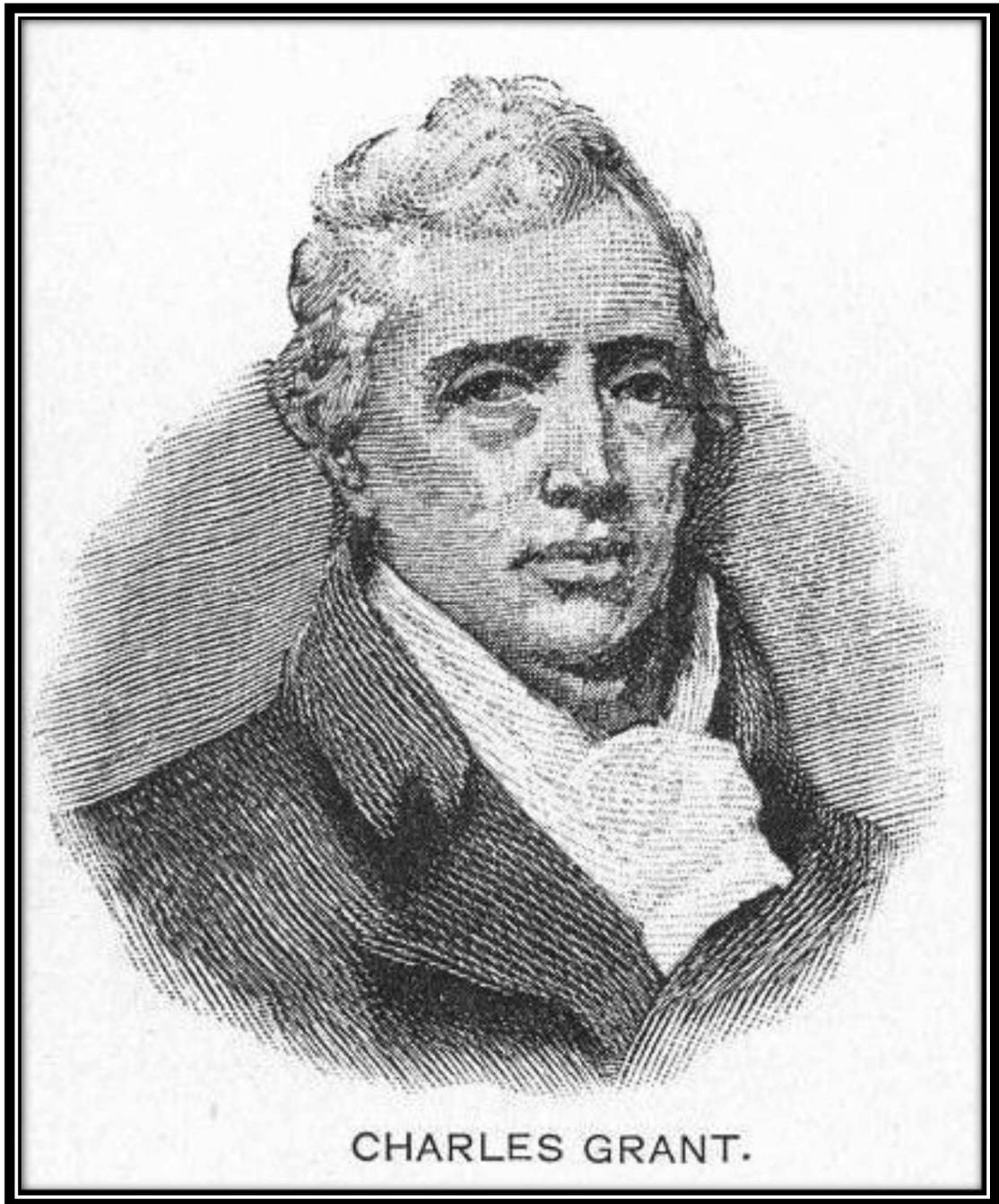
Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette “Charles Edward Trevelyan married Hannah More Macaulay,” 11 June 1815

APPENDICES

APPENDICE 1: Lord Babington Macaulay



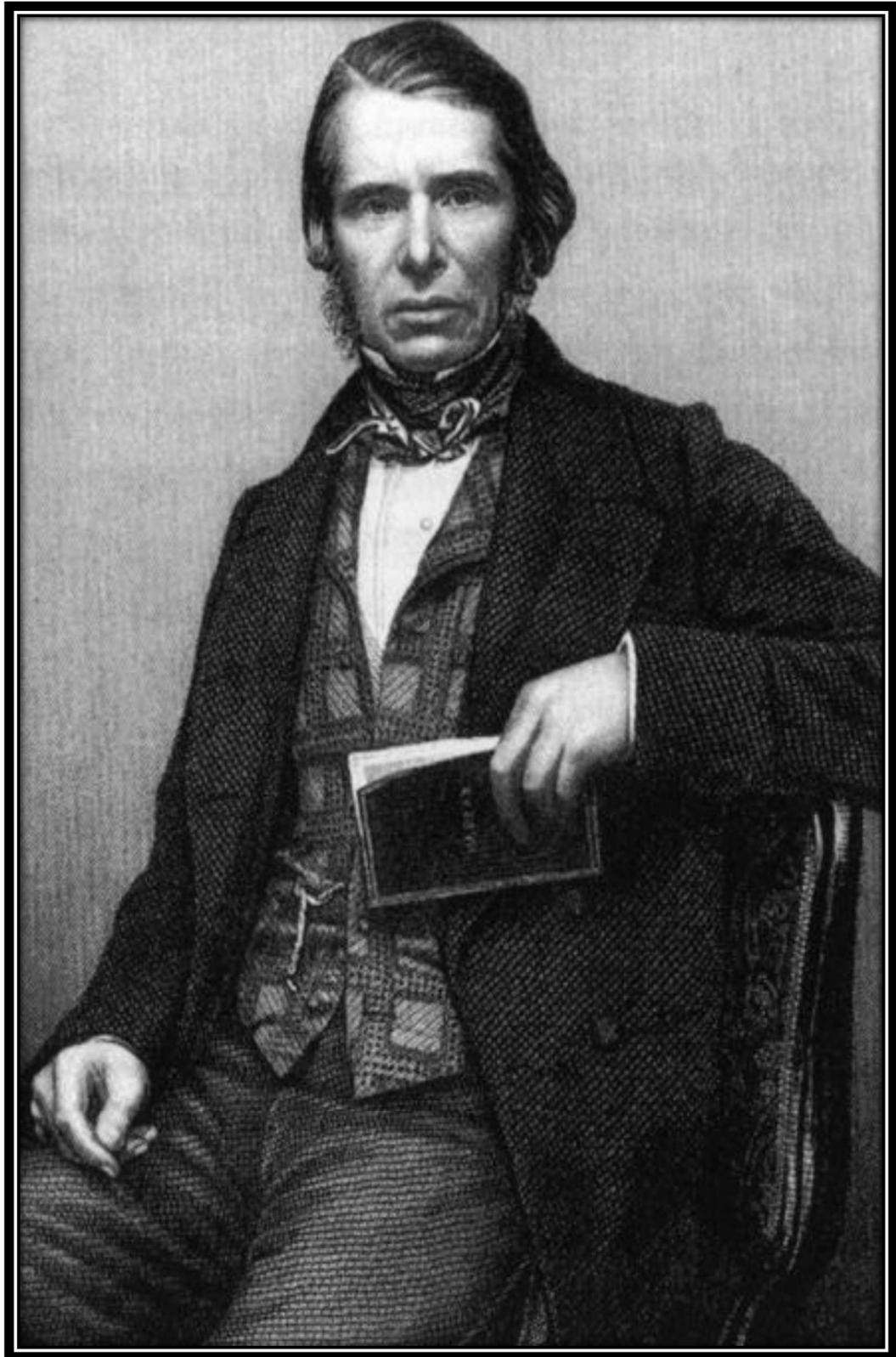
APPANDICE 2: Charles Grant



APPANDICE 3: Warren Hastings



APPANDICE 4: Charles Edward Trevelyan



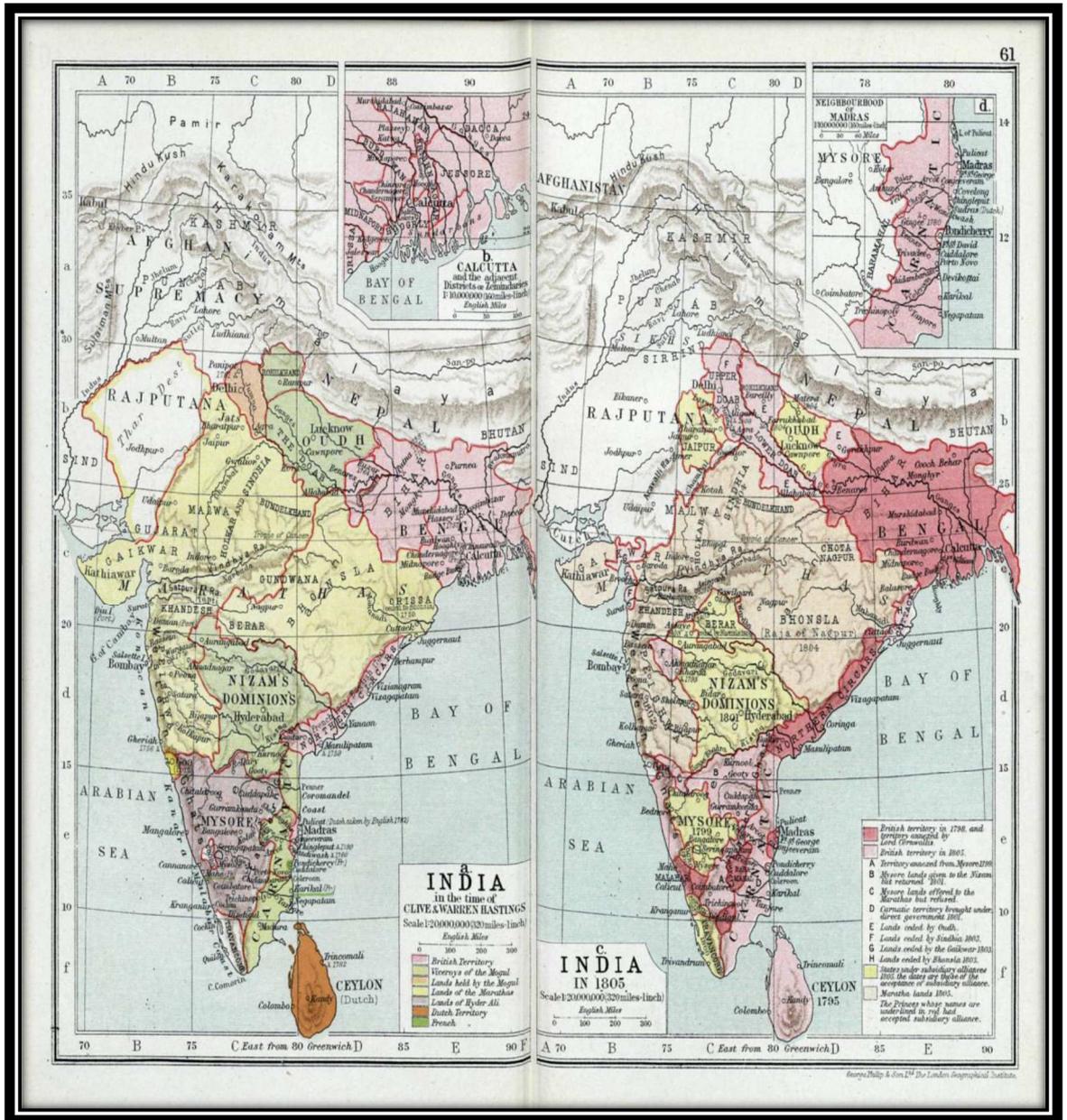
APPANDICE 5: Lord William Bentick



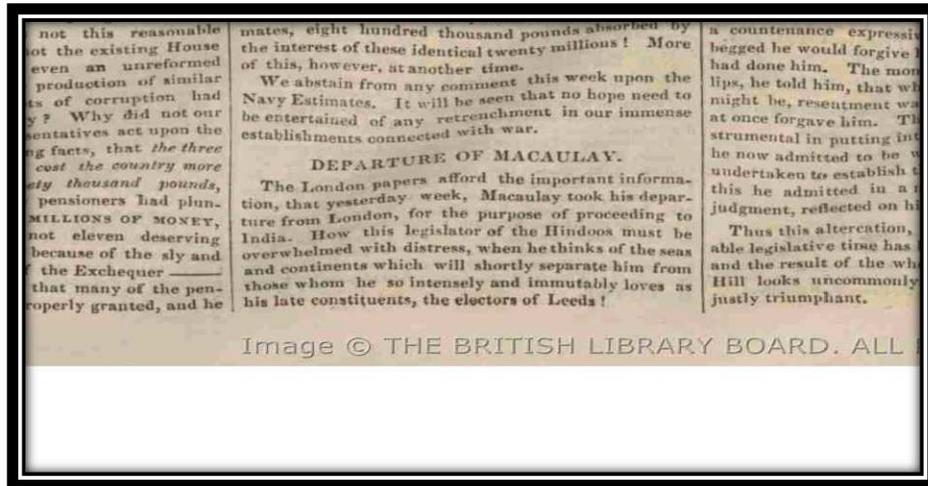
APPANDICES 6: British India in 1858



APPANDICES 7: British India in 1805



**APPENDICES 8: The Departure of Lord Macaulay from London in Leeds Times,
22 February 1834**



APPENDICES 9: The Proposal of Charles Grant for “promoting the moral and religious improvement of the people of India”: Taunton Couier 26 June 1833

In black satin breeches, to COURT !!.

EAST INDIA QUESTION.

The following are the Resolutions proposed by Mr. Grant, as they appear in the “Votes and Proceedings” of the House of Commons:—

1. That it is expedient that all his Majesty’s subjects should be at liberty to repair to the ports of the empire of China, and to trade in tea, and in all other productions of the said empire, subject to such regulations as Parliament shall enact for the protection of the commercial and political interest of this country.
2. That it is expedient that, in case the East India Company shall transfer to the Crown, on behalf of the Indian territory, all asserts and claims of every description belonging to the said Company, the Crown, on behalf of the Indian territory, shall take on itself all the obligations of the said Company, of whatever description; and that the said Company shall receive from the revenues of the said territory such a sum, and paid in such manner, and under such regulations, as Parliament shall enact.
3. That it is expedient that the Government of the British possessions in India be intrusted to the said Company, under such conditions and regulations as Parliament shall enact, for the purpose of extending the commerce of this country, and of securing the good government, and promoting the moral and religious improvement of the people of India.

Resolutions agreed to.

Ordered that the said resolutions be communicated to the Lords of the Conference, and their concurrence desired thereto.

Ordered that a Conference be desired with the Lords upon a subject of the highest importance to the prosperity of the British possessions in India, and to the commerce and revenue of his Majesty’s dominions.

Bill or Bills ordered to be brought in upon the said resolutions by Mr. Charles Grant, Lord Viscount Althorp, Mr. Robert Grant, Mr. Robert Gordon, Mr. Stewart Mackenzie, Mr. Macaulay, and Mr. Attorney-General.

whos
“ wa
Some
take
25
the R
East
merit
into
annu
to as
26
Mary
pomp
were
ward

Th
maki
yet i
made
turni
kingd
prop
Supp
gant
the in
neath
so pre
them
be aff
their
most
leave
ing at
by no
day, a
cut th
also s
after,
which
hoes

APPENDICES 10: “Charles Edward Trevelyan married Hannah More Macaulay,” Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette, 11 June 1815:

MARRIED. Dec. 23, at Calcutta, Charles Edward Trevelyan, esq; to Hannah More Macaulay, daughter of Zachary Macaulay, esq; and sister to the Right Hon. Thomas Babington Macaulay, fourth member of the Supreme Council of India.

BIOGRAPHY

Mahmut Cihat İzgi was born in Istanbul, in 1986. He graduated from the Fatih University, department of History and Sociology. He started Master in Fatih University and then he began to work in Sakarya University, history department being as a research assistant since 2011. In 2012, he became researcher in the Centre for Islamic Studies and he has been studying on Indian education history since then. He is working still in Sakarya University, history department. Also he is student in Istanbul University, department of Urdu Language and Literature. He married and had a child.