Cross-cultural Educational Ethics: How the State Made and Unmade Education in the Raj, 1800-1919[1]

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A broad survey of European-led education in the raj between 1800-1919 suggests a limited and stereotyped survey exercise that has been already mapped by others. However, this paper attempts something different. It locates the State as its centre-piece but in terms of the ethical alignments it constructed for its agents on the spot. In turn, the concern of the paper is how the actions of the agents on the spot shaped the broader mentalities of the state. A good analysis of the actions and thoughts of such agents, both male and female, is badly needed because they have been largely ignored. Postcolonial research into Indian education mostly has concerned the business of statecraft and policy analysis whilst the subalternist historians have, more recently, taken the European out of the story. Thus European agents on the spot, who sometimes spent a lifetime in the field, have been often ignored as a community of thinkers, theorists and practitioners. Their lengthy personal stories on the lonely stone memorials in the remaining churches in India and Pakistan, their only scripted legacy. Past research has tended to unwittingly de-intellectualise them and ascribe to them few discretionary possibilities.

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These omissions are partly explained by the difficulties of systemising their actions into a conceptual framework that also allows for solid theorisation. To attempt to get over this hurdle, and to begin looking at new approach, this paper has been influenced by the work of actor network theorists who have been active in other fields in the early 1990s. The paper also divides the discussion into set periods. This is necessary because each period is nuanced with different ethical problematics in play. Broadly speaking, the paper argues that as the nineteenth century progressed the increasingly active hand of the state in education was responsible for its own disengagement with the broader Indian population.

Paradoxically, what is significant with this modelling is the role of the State. It is posited as not just concerned with the shaping of the conduct of others where the focus is only on institutions. It can also be seen as being variably influenced by the actions and thoughts of its agents in the field. Actor network theory speaks strongly here. This theory is also known as the Sociology of Translation and has been used by Callon, Osborne and Law amongst others.[2] These theorists construct the state in more complex ways, especially when governing at a distance. They recast the relationship between government and the individual in more intimate terms where the practices of rule invoke moral and ethical responses that shape, in turn, the broader mentalities of government. The Westerner, rather than ‘policy maker’, is better cast as an agent immersed in a multi-layered process where his/her sense of ethics in ‘policy’ implementation is variably influenced the broader mentalities of the state. As far as India was concerned another consideration can also be added. This is the degree to which indigenous reactivity was shaped at different times by the changing relationship between the state and its agents on the spot. This paper considers how networks of interest and their ethical underpinnings were constituted by the state and how practices on the spot influenced policy making in London.

That the raj offered a powerful context for the formation of ethical responses to educational matters is hardly surprising. The Education Service in India and its mission allies numbered over 500 Europeans in the middle of the nineteenth century with many thousands of indigenous collaborators. Apart from the complex interchange of ideas between each level of raj governance, after 1860 each provincial government was required to publish an annual education report with a formal Indian Civil Service (ICS) readership of 400. There were also many other stakeholders both in the raj and in Great Britain who read these reports. The scale of the polemic dwarfed Kay-Shuttleworth’s Education Department in England (not established until 1839) whose operatives numbered only 50 people in the middle of the 19th century.[3] In the raj education was also shaped by two juxtaposed but changing imperatives. These were the tightly controlled protocols of government reporting and the possibility of greater localised experimentation in the field. All this meant that, at least until the1870s, India was a rich stamping ground for agents of the state to think about and form ethical positions in relation to education.

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[2] M. Callon ‘Some Elements of a Sociology of Translation: Domestification of the Scallops and the Fishermen of St Brieuc Bay’ in J. Law (ed.) *Power, Action and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge?* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986); T. Osborne ‘Bureaucracy as a

Finally, it may well be asked what exactly do I mean by 'ethics' in this context. This is a key concept for actor network theorists who use it principally to mean 'moral and technical practices.' Thomas Osborne is the actor network theorist who has most touched upon the colonial project. My research in the coming year will also explore 'right moral conduct', a more conventional sense of the term 'ethics'. I intend to explore how both senses of ethics changed over time, for the state and for the actors in the field, using the problematics in each time period that I will briefly outline in this paper. As well, the use of language will be examined as facilitating certain ethical modes of thought, whilst excluding others, and how these exclusions and inclusions established an education order separate from the way formal administrative structures did. However, such definitions are still fluid in this preliminary stage of my research. Locating and developing these definitions within the time periods I hope to analyse, will be as much part of my subsequent research as will be the identification of the networking, experimentation and thought processes of the bevy of educators on the spot and their immediate superiors. It may suffice to say here that changes to ethical signifiers both in state governance, and in the thoughts of its agents in the field, were interdependent. As well, the state itself was to undergo at least one metamorphosis with the formal transfer of power from the Company to the Crown in 1858. Just how significant this metamorphosis was is even more stark when the actor-network approach is applied to the middle of the nineteenth century.

Early Orientalist Interactions with the State: Symbiotic Ethical Alliances, 1795-1830

At the beginning of the nineteenth century there was a distinct difference in England, compared with colonial India, in the way the state connected with education. In England the story was still one of disconnection. The first translation of Rousseau's *Emile* (1762) and, later, uncertain adaptations of Rousseau's ideas like Thomas Day's influential *Sandford and Merton* (1783-9), had set radical intellectual circles alight about the prospect of preserving the prefect nature of the

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Vocation: Governmentality and Administration in Nineteenth Century Britain' in *Journal of Historical Sociology* 7:3 (Sept., 1994).

[3] R. Johnson 'Administrators in Education Before 1870: Patronage, Social Position and Role' in

child by carefully controlling his or her education and environment. The writings of Joseph Priestly, Mary Wollstonecraft and experimenters like Robert Owen, which developed Rousseau's ideas further, were also contested by the traditional Public School and University classics dominated curriculum that was still determined to beat the 'sin' out of the innately wicked schoolboy. But there was little role seen in this debate for pre-1832 Reform Act Westminster politicians.

However, in India, the state alignment with education was more deliberate and was part of a broader strategy of reconciliation driven by raj insecurities about its powerbase on the subcontinent. The state began to intervene in East India Company affairs with a succession of amendments, over a thirty-year period, to the younger Pitt's 1874 India Act. Mastering the complex information order that Chris Bayly has talked about, as well as interacting with clever men like Ram Mohan Roy and Ram Camul Sen, were part of the wider strategy of the period.[4] However, of greater immediacy was the legacy of Warren Hastings official policy of 'orientalism' that fused this perceptive political strategy with a genuine fascination for Eastern learning. The sympathetic environment created by the state and its East India Company, empowered orientalists such as H. H. Wilson, H. T. Prinsep and J. C. Sutherland to recognise the intellectual integrity and communal significance of education traditions that were a cohesive force in indigenous communities. There was also the support given to institutions like the College of Fort William and the Calcutta Madrassa that became centres of orientalist learning and teaching.

The orientalist creed at this time did not have a Saidian coherence in India.[5] It was fractured and contested. But state governance, via the Company, was sufficiently plural and unselfconscious in this early period to engender an ethic of educational experimentation amongst its European agents on the spot. This was an ethic these agents believed they could use to shape, in turn, the way the state approached education in the raj.

The official Charter Act of 1813 gave credence to the belief when it embraced state-sponsored education in India by devoting Rs100,000 to the:

> improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India…and that any schools, public lectures, or other institutions, for the purposes aforesaid…shall

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G. Sutherland (ed.) *Studies in the Growth of Nineteenth-Century Government* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972) pp. 111-4.

[4] C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information* (Cambridge, CUP, 1997) passim.

[5] E. Said, *Orientalism* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1985).

> be governed by …the said Governor-general in Council…provided that all appointments to offices in such schools, lectureships and other institutions, shall be made by…the governments with which the same shall be situated.’[6]

Here the relations between the state and its agents in the field could be said to be symbiotic as the work of British men on the spot seemed to push the state towards a mentality of the benefits of institutional schooling. As the utilitarians found in other fields in India, this pre-dated similar moves at the metropolis.[7] The esoterics of Eastern learning, that was partly built on language, and the dispersed nature of its ‘native’ custodians, forced the State to permit its agents the discretion they needed to seek out and shape this knowledge. Thus the relationship remained loose as the these agents, by their particular experiments, felt empowered to influence just what the state intended as part of future policy for educating India. William Adam’s extensive village school surveys were initially carried out in this cooperative spirit. The ethical confluence also defined the patronage offered by ‘high’ company officials, namely Thomas Munro, Mounstuart Elphinstone and John Malcolm, as they encouraged Native Education Societies set in Madras and Bombay. These societies aimed to construct new ways of knowing using text by building dictionaries and publishing cross-translated Eastern and Western scholarship.[8] Irschick’s model of a ‘dialogic’ process of imperial policy being shaped jointly by ‘rulers’ and ‘the ruled’ is useful here, but the intermediary British agent was also at his most empowered in this period.[9] This was especially so in an age of relatively low Indian literacy and considerable indigenous regional and communal segmentation.

In the very early part of the story this ethical symbiosis also brought a quirky but powerful voice concerning Eurasian children. This was Andrew Bell and his monitorial school at Madras. The school was designed to corral soldier illegitimates, to prevent the unsavoury display of the vagrant ‘orphan’ of European blood on the streets of the raj. It also merged citizenship with schooling as these ‘orphans’ were required to work in the government printery to pay for their keep. Much has been made by scholars of this experiment and the controversy with Joseph Lancaster’s like model in England. Neither scheme was original and shrill arguments about child ‘reward’ and ‘promotion’ were proffered by both camps. This was to an audience yet uninformed on the problematics of the ‘adolescent’ and on modern understandings of child pedagogy. However, for Bell, the Indian provenance and its powerful context of state-sanctioned schooling experimentation legitimated his claim to innovation. That the youngest children learnt literacy via the sandbox, thus imitating Indian indigenous teaching methods, was enough to incline Jeremy Bentham to invoke his ‘Psammographic principle’ and to support the credentials of Bell’s ‘Madras system’ of pupil monitors.[10]

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[6] East India Company Charter Act of 1813, section 43 (53 Geo. III, C. 155, s. 43).

[7] E. Stokes, *The Utilitarians in India* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1959) passim; T. R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (New Delhi, CUP, 1998) passim.

[8] ‘Native Education Papers’ Elphinstone Papers MSSEur F.87/109.

[9] F. E. Irschick *Dialogue and History: Constructing South India, 1795-1895* (Berkerley, University of California Press, 1994) passim.

The Imposition of the State classroom and the Deepening of the Orientalist Language Ethic, 1835-1849

The period of ethical symbiosis ended with the Anglicist/Orientalist controversy of 1835. The details of this controversy have been well traced by others and most recently by Zastoupil and Moir.[11] The debate is complex. For example, leading Anglicists were also supporters of the classical languages of Persian, Sanscrit and Arabic.[12] What are less mapped are the unofficial reactions of the orientalists to Macaulay’s Minute and William Adam’s rejection in the latter 1830s and especially in the1840s. The Western constructed ‘classroom’, and the teaching of English within it, began to unwind the earlier subtle and informal education alignment between the orientalists and the Company. Oriental notions of shaping future educational innovation, that might even anticipate what was happening at the metropolis, were wound back in the face of the powerful new symbol of state ‘imposition’ as represented by the Minute.

Macaulay’s Minute and Bentinck’s resolution that followed it, embraced a new goal for education on the subcontinent which now formally enshrined ‘the promotion of European literature and science amongst the natives of India’ and government funds raised for education be spent ‘…on English instruction alone.’[13] These were powerful words to two generations of educators in India. Most especially, they cut directly across the strongly held orientalist ethic of the need to 'engraft' Western knowledge onto indigenous stock and not just to superimpose it. At this stage the indigenous response to Macaulay was not uniform. Strategic but limited sections of the indigenous population were already selectively engaging with Western educators. The bhadralok of Bengal and the Parsis of Bombay supported Western knowledge taught in English as a means of access to the jobs and commerce of the new colonial rulers. This also explained high indigenous enrolments and financial support for newly opened English schools in Bengal.

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[10] J. Bentham, ‘Chrestomathia’ in W. H. Burston and M. J. Smith (eds.) *The Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1983) vol. 8.

[11] Zastoupil, L. and Moir, M., (eds.) *The Great Indian Education Debate: Documents Relating to the Orientalist-Anglist Controversy, 1781-1843* (Surrey, Curzon Press, 1999).

[12] K. Prior, L. Brennan and R. Haines, ‘Bad Language: The Role of the English, Persian and other Esoteric Tongues in the Dismissal of Sir Edward Colebrook as Resident of Delhi in 1829’ in *Modern Asian Studies*, 35:1 (2000) pp. 75-112.

[13] Resolution of the Governor-General of India in Council in the General Department, no. 19 of March 7, 1835 India General Consultations P/186/88 (2).

A much more definable rift now emerged between the state and its European orientalist agents in the field. This was because they now readily self-identified with an ethical system of beliefs given new cogency by the state's sudden change of official policy; a policy that now seemed to cast adrift those who had become accustomed to the belief that they had a direct bearing on state action. The ethical divide was made clearer when Adam's final recommendations regarding village education were rejected in favour of the doctrine of downward 'filtration' which argued that education of select groups would serve as the best conduits for the diffusion of Western learning to the 'lower classes.' With the retirement of H. H. Wilson the orientalist response, led by J. C. C. Sutherland, now also directed its attentions away from Bengal to the regional centres of NWP, Bombay and Madras to escape the discipline of the Calcutta 'cantonment.'

These orientalists, and a new generation of neo-orientalists, now pursued their ideal of education, taught in the languages of the subcontinent at the 'lower' village level instead. William Adam's earlier thorough methodologies in surveying village schools in Bengal and Bihar up to 1838 were powerful exemplars because they were predicated upon his illustration of the vibrancy and variety of the thousands of indigenous schools that existed throughout India.[14] As well, in the 1830s, Lancelot Wilkinson, as assistant resident at Bhopal, had already experimented with engaging the local pandits (Hindu teachers) to combine traditional Eastern learning with that of the West.

Most significantly, Wilkinson's ideas and the ethics behind them were responsible for experimentation into affordable but complex systemic village schooling schemes teaching in the local languages in north India.[15] The orientalists, now disengaged from the Company, concentrated their efforts on exploring education in the local languages, rather than to continue to participate in the official Calcutta-driven English versus Sanscrit, Persian and Arabic polemic of the period. For the neo-orientalists, an understanding of local language became more keenly a concern of shaping oneself ethically in terms of the culture and character traits that were expressed by that language. For them, this made the transmission of knowledge possible because it was also dependent upon loose connections of Brahmin priests and Munshis who engaged the highly localised communities of India. In the 1840s the orientalist ethic of language more sharply approximated the label, ‘the vernaculars’, to local languages. Once given the pejorative label ‘moors’ earlier in the century, in deference to the three classical languages, these local languages were now focussed upon as part of the ethic of knowledge formation based on cultural and village context. It was also something that now kept them separate from the mentality of the state where instruction in English also implied a bureaucratic necessity of only a limited number of centrally located government schools.

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[14] Anathnath Basu, *Reports on the State of Education in Bengal 1835 and 1838* (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1944), xix-xxiii. Adam's report was ignored when it was published three years after the anglicist/orientalist debates of 1835. The General Committee of Public Instruction (GCPI) claimed it had encouraged learning in the local languages by extending the use of them in government offices and colleges. Sec. to the GCPI to sec. to the Government of India August 31, 1838 OIOC F/4/1846 no. 77636 pp. 61-83. For the Board's unfavourable response of Adam's third report see J. Sutherland to H. Prinsep December 4, 1838 OIOC P/186/86 no. 19 cited in Zastoupil and Moir *The Great Education Debate*, p. 57 n. 129.

[15] Rev. J. Long "Brief View of the Past and Present State of Vernacular Education in Bengal" in Rev. J. Long, *[W.] Adam's Report on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar Submitted to Government in 1835, 1836 and 1838* (Calcutta: Home Secretariat Press, 1868), 13-18; T. Allender,'William Arnold and Experimental Village Education in North India, 1855-1859: A Bureaucratic Precursor to the Development of State Education in England,' *Revue d'histoire de l'education* (Canada) 16:1, March 2004 pp. 63-83.

State Appropriation of the Neo-Orientalist Ethic of Village Experimentation and Innovation, 1853-1858

By the early 1850s, Company disenchantment with the efficacy of Western imposed ‘filtration’ theories and racially-predicated English instruction forced a new approach of ‘listening’ to the unmarshalled voice of its most talented education agents in the field who had remained wedded to the orientalist cause. English medium centralised schooling remained the main game for Calcutta and the India Office in London. But as early as 1844, Henry Hardinge, as governor-general, was to sanction the establishment of almost 100 schools in Bengal, with a curriculum of ‘vernacular reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and history of India and Bengal.’[16] This was followed by more sophisticated systemic village schooling experiments in the NWP under Henry Reid, which were cleverly worked out by an alliance of orientalists and junior officers answerable to that province’s Secretariat. These detailed findings were fed back to the India Office by the reforming Thomason and they are rich in ethical positioning that spoke only of well-grounded local language instruction that delayed teaching in both Urdu and English. The ethic was also consciously motivated by the strategy of preventing college education becoming the preserve of the wealthy as it had done in England. This was technically very difficult and the new ethical positioning was reliant on sympathetic state intervention.

In one sense Charles Wood’s Despatch of 1854 answered the call. There is little doubt that the NWP village schooling findings greatly influenced Charles Wood’s decision to embrace schooling for ‘the masses.’ However, of greater significance was that it was a state signifier that the voice of the agent in the field was once again shaping state education policy in India. This was a difficult thing to bring off because the missionary lobby had grown strong at Westminster and this lobby favoured English instruction as an expeditious pathway to Christian conversion. For this reason Wood privately acknowledged his dispatch needed to have several levels of meaning so to embrace European stakeholders.[17] It was also officially the voice of Westminster liberals, and it contained little more than an unsystematic collation of policy ideas of the past. However, the process that led to its creation is of greater significance. As if to underscore a realignment with orientalist India, Wood conducted formal correspondence with returning and serving education officers from the provinces where orientalist village schooling work had been most active since 1835, namely in Madras, Bombay and the NWP. This was whilst the governor general Lord Dalhousie, was kept in the dark until the despatch was formally published.

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[16] Kazi Shahidullah, *Pathshalas into Schools* (Calcutta: OUP, 1987) pp. 15, 25, 29, 33.

State Overgovernance: The Withering Away of Educational Ethics in the Field, 1860-1875

Wood's dispatch gave rise to an impressive bureaucratic regulatory model of systemic state schooling in each province. This partly anticipated Forster's Education Act (1870) in England by 15 years and its modelling was also drawn upon by architects of the same in the Australian colonies.[18] This was even though educators in England, like Matthew Arnold, did not think to give India any credit for shaping educational developments in England even when writing to his educationalist friends still resident in the raj.

Unfortunately, this official sanction for a pressing out to the mofussil (periphery), to educate 'the masses', was given just before the shock of the Mutiny of 1857. This latter event counselled retreat to frightened ICS (Indian Civil Service) officers. The newly established and provincially based departments had their own education service personnel. However, the post-Mutiny state, after the dissolution of the Company, placed them under the administrative control of ICS. The ethic of these ICS officers was now predicated in a much more systematic manner upon the reforms of the Northcote-Trevelyan report (1854) that fabricated administration as an autonomous ethos, separated from political patronage and from narrow specialised expertise.[19] This also built upon the earlier neutral and technocratic administrative approach of the Utilitarians in India. ICS ethical motivations were therefore not sympathetic to the building of a specialised understanding of indigenous schooling like the orientalists of a generation earlier. As well, the subservient and provincially-based education officers, were now judged by the state using uniform and codified standards of 'efficiency' that focussed upon enrolment numbers rather than on pedagogy and language sensitivity. This new ethical alignment, between the state and its agents in the field, resulted in the marginalisation of the thousands of language and religious-specific indigenous schools in the 1850s and 1860s that collectively represented a deep and irreplaceable indigenous educational heritage. Liberal thought, and its ethic of over-governance, via the agency of the provincial education department of the 1860s, now disrupted the more sensitive orientalist discourse of the 1820s and 1830s.[20] As Bayly asserts, in more general terms of the period, while the expatriate society in India became more hierarchical and government more a matter of routine, the earlier deeper social knowledge withered away.[21]

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[17] Charles Wood Collection OIOC MSS Eur.F.78/111.

[18] T. Allender, 'William Arnold and Experimental Education in North India, 1855-1859: An Innovative Model of State Schooling' in *Revue d'histoire de l'education* (Canada) 16:1, (Spring, 2004).

The State Educational Alliance with ICS Ethics, 1870-1882

By the late 1860s the state, in a new ethical alliance this time with its powerful ICS agents, had become an unintentional agency for a more permanent disengagement with the broader Indian population. Indigenous observers such as Radhakant Deb had anticipated the phenomenon as early as 1851. The unforeseen workings of systemic education also shifted the dynamic of Western experimentation from the village to the more easily controlled urban centres, benefiting those elites who had become beneficiaries of raj commerce and patronage. Standardised knowledge via the textbook cut off the *qasbahs* (town market places) from their earlier tentative connectedness with Western intellectuals. As well, the pivotal role of the teacher, long-esteemed by traditional cultures on the subcontinent, was ignored by a latent and ill-informed government inspectorate. Access to European-led schooling became more restricted, although female education and female teacher training flourished in several mission centres, stimulated by the influence of the Unitarian Mary Carpenter and others at the highest levels of government in Calcutta. As in England, the ‘professional’ Western bureaucrat was now marshalled by the state as it accepted a direct role in education funding and governance. As Rajchman argues such professionalism grasps its actuaries 'from within' programming certain ethical types as subjects with the moral authority to rule.[22] In India the administrative ethos of such bureaucrats replaced the early orientalist ethic of seeking universal truths and values.

As a result of these ethical realignments, inappropriate attempts were now made to impose wholly Western constructed education strategies on the subcontinent in the 1870s. These included Payment by Results, Pupil Teachers and the Middle School via the powerful bureaucratic structures set up twenty years earlier. As well, Calcutta was now using

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[19] T. Osborne op. cit. p. 60.
[20] ibid p. 63.
[21] C. Bayly, op. cit. p. 365.
[22] J. Rajchman, *Truth and Eros* (London, Routledge, 1991) p. 70.

administrative fiat to ‘decentralise’ its general administration throughout the raj in 1871 to save money. This required justifications for a limited transfer of rule to indigenous intermediaries, particularly in the lower law courts. To facilitate this, the state now directly encouraged complex and culturally seamless civic duty values in the central schools. These later influenced those values formally taught in schools at the metropolis and in the empire. But the new ethical alignment of raj agents in the field also meant the state was now fatally separated from the indigenous base; a base using, by this time, British communications and print culture to coordinate its own ethical educational responses.

State Formation of a Reactive Indigenous Educational Ethic 1882-1886

To indigenous intellectuals, and to their countrymen generally, such stark interventions must have appeared naïve and illustrative of the bareness of the Western education project by the late 1870s. Silenced by the now tightly controlled protocols of formal raj reporting, many indigenous petitioners only found an effective voice at the extensive Hunter Commission hearings of 1882. This was even though they had used the raj's communications and ideologies independently of it, or even against it, well before this time. By the 1880s nearly all indigenous stakeholders were stridently opposed to departmental-led education. Their usually intelligent and strategic responses indicated a collective willingness to embrace important global imperatives including Western literacy, numeracy and technical education of the kind already imperfectly imported by the raj. The production of ‘new knowledge’ by indigenous intellectual communities grew out of the Western educator’s ethic of ‘literacy.’[23] For example, emergent *Pandha* and *Mahajani* schools offered commercial training to the sons of traders and shopkeepers. A few Muslim schools even mimicked the government lower school curriculum. Many educated Muslims viewed government schools as inferior to their own, even when teaching European sponsored subjects. Better adapted indigenous schools began to do more to assimilate the technical and basic literacy skilling of the kind that most agricultural parents wanted for their children.[24] These partly anticipated Gandhi’s Wardha scheme. The voluminous Hunter Commission provincial hearing records demonstrate indigenous arguments did not embody a paradigm shift in reference to the earlier thought processes established by the British. There was no new script. As Corrigan and Sayer suggest, the machinery of government in the late nineteenth century functioned to embody moral and ethical forms for those who ruled as much as for those who were subject to rule. The peeling off and shaping of indigenous thought on education was part of the dynamic created by the raj. This helped position Indian nationalists and their acolytes to take up the mantle of self-government forty years later.

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[23] B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (Mass., Cambridge, 1993) passim.

Patronage Imported and Institutionally-based Western Academic Ethics, 1885-1919

This latter period was marked by the assertion of individualised ethics of the men and women of the Education service. The ICS bureaucrats, who had so strongly influenced the Secretariat decisions in each province in the 1860s and 1870s, had lost faith by the 1880s in ever being able to reach broad sections of the population. However, , a new generation of patronage appointed educators, driven by the professional training they had already achieved in England, Australia or Canada began to work independently of the departments to which they were newly appointed, to bring about educational reform. Although their influence was limited to the individual city-based schools in which they taught, their ethic, at least initially, was directly linked to the academic patron and his/her educational thought. Sometimes even before similar innovations were tried in the West, the unique cultural background of the raj seemed to offer felicitous outcomes when these Europeans attempted educational reform. Here, looking at the ethical educational influences of key patrons like Sir Joshua Fitch (Chief Inspector of Teacher Training Colleges in England) or Professor Lawry (Moray College, Edinburgh) on the candidates they won jobs for in India is very useful.[25]

However, the broader system in which they now worked was fatally weakened. In 1901, the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, believed he faced the problem of an overly ‘decentralised’ system that had permanently unhitched ‘the masses’ from the raj education agenda. However, the cleavage was more the result of another kind of state intervention. This intervention concerned the critical and period-specific realignments the state had brought about in the ethical considerations of its agents in the field and, consequently, in the indigenous ‘other’ they interacted with. Ultimately, it was to be the state that was to retreat from the collaboration begun so effectively with its men and women on the spot, in the 1820s and 1830s, when it ‘Indianised’ the Education Service in 1919.[26] Whilst probably not true of other areas of raj endeavour, particularly its economic pursuits, these ethical realignments were crucial in the failure of Western-led education, well before the Khalifat and Non-Cooperation movements took credit for the denouement.

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[24] *Hunter Commission Provincial Hearings, 1882* (Punjab).

[25] Histories of Service OIOC V12 series, OIOC Provincial Education Proceedings P&J series, OIOC Provincial Education Reports V/24 series all cover these issues and need to be explored.

[26] (OIOC 1902 University Commission, OIOC Curzon Papers MSS.Eur.111/251; M. Sadler (1917). *Calcutta University Commission*; Imperial Education Conference Papers 1907 and 1911, PRO CO1045).

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