

**THE ROLE OF PRINT CULTURE IN THE SPREAD OF  
EDUCATION IN THE BOMBAY-PUNE REGION  
(1818-1857)**

*Dissertation Submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the award of the degree of*

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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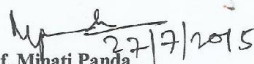
**DECLARATION**

I, Torane Shalaka Arun, declare that the dissertation entitled “**The Role of Print Culture in the Spread of Education in the Bombay-Pune Region (1818-1857)**” is submitted in partial fulfilment for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University. This dissertation has not been previously submitted for any degree of this or any other University and is my original work.


Torane Shalaka Arun

**CERTIFICATE**

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for the award of the degree of Masters of Philosophy in this University.

  
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## INTRODUCTION

### PRINT OR THE HUMAN HAND?

In his *Instauratio magna*, Francis Bacon had declared that the invention of the printing press along with the nautical compass and gunpowder was nothing less than a revolution. As the technology of print developed and the use of printed texts increased, a culture of print evolved which transformed human life in unique ways. Thus, the study of print culture has engaged many scholars and intellectuals around the world. One of the earliest and path-breaking researches on the topic was by Elizabeth L. Eisenstein who like Bacon believes in the revolutionary significance of print. In her major works, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, compiled in two volumes and *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, she describes how the advent and development of the printing press triggered a huge transformation in Early Modern Europe.<sup>1</sup> In both works, her underlying argument is that the shift from a scribal culture to print culture was responsible for ushering Europe into the modern era from a medieval age. This transition from the medieval age to the modern period demands a careful analysis of Early Modern Europe by studying the period's significant aspects such as the Italian Renaissance, the Protestant Reformation, the Catholic Resurrection and the development of modern science. She supports the argument about the revolutionary transformation in Europe through three changes print culture accomplished: standardization, dissemination and fixity. According to her, print brought about the standardization of the text as well as local customs, laws,

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<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, (Volumes 1 and 2 in one), Cambridge University Press, 1980 and Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge University Press, 2005.

languages and costumes.<sup>2</sup> Thus, standardization referred to the ability of authors to access libraries of information which allowed knowledge to be standardized across different regions. Dissemination, according to her, means the movement of select information, old and new, throughout Europe. As preservation of texts became easier because of print, it granted fixity to the text unlike the days when the text could be easily manipulated or corrupted by the scribe. Thus, she contends that the transformations taking place in Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were due to the changes in knowledge production which had been brought about by the technology of print. In contrast to her analysis of print culture, Adrian Johns, in his work on Britain, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* argues that rather than the printing press bringing in a revolution, human beings brought about changes in the society by putting the printing press to use.<sup>3</sup> He notes that the very identity of print itself has had to be *made*<sup>4</sup> (italics original). Thus, according to him, humans have had an upper hand in the making of print culture than becoming the object of these changes that produced the printing press. He also, discusses the role of textual piracy in the Americas where pirates printed pornographic material providing a challenge to the mainstream hegemonic and monopolistic cultures.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, it can be said that print did not fulfill only the aspirations of the hegemonic ideas of culture but also of marginal cultures in the form of piracy around the world. Through these arguments he also contests the claim that the scientific revolution rested on the

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<sup>2</sup> Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, pp. 83, 84

<sup>3</sup> Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*, The University of Chicago Press, London, 1998.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, pp. 2

<sup>5</sup> Adrian Johns, *Piracy: The Intellectual Property Wars from Gutenberg to Gates*, The University of Chicago Press: London, 2009.

printing revolution. Thus, he raises grave doubts over whether the coming of print was even a revolution.<sup>6</sup>

These arguments found expression in *The American Historical Review*, where both the viewpoints have assembled on one platform. In her article, in the volume, Eisenstein defends her position by stressing the importance of the developments that took place after the advent of print like the enlargement of libraries, the burgeoning of book fairs, and the developments of technologies - literary and social, which enabled individuals to gain access to more paper tools and visual aids.<sup>7</sup> She tries to dismantle Johns' arguments by bringing out the significance of print in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries rather than ascribing its significance in the eighteenth century. According to her, since its inception, print had in itself revolutionary characteristics in contrast to the view that it slowly gained significance. Johns' reply to Eisenstein<sup>8</sup> is based on the view that it is important to understand the development and consequences of print in terms of how various communities involved with the book as producers, distributors, regulators, and readers actually put the press and its products to use.<sup>9</sup> In order to do so, he insists on an analysis of the local perspectives, which according to him can prove to be useful in understanding how local communities related to print. Thus, in our study of colonial society, Johns' suggestion of analyzing the relations between the local communities and print and the different ways in which the literate communities engaged with print is of prime importance. Johns' arguments confer agency on the people whereas Eisenstein confers it on things. For the development of a print culture, it can be argued that active agency of the people is required not things, as

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<sup>6</sup>Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, pp. 378.

<sup>7</sup>Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, 'An Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 107, No. 1 (February 2002), pp. 87-105.

<sup>8</sup>Adrian Johns, 'How To Acknowledge A Revolution', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 107, No. 1 (February 2002), pp. 106-125

<sup>9</sup>Ibid, pp. 124



after all cultures develop due to human efforts not mere things.<sup>10</sup> How people interacted with print when they came into contact with it and, the role they played in its establishment and development, in a particular society is of prime importance for our study. Also, Johns' arguments imply that the development of print did not follow the same trajectory everywhere. Instead print developed differently in different societies because of which multiple print cultures different from each other can be seen across the world. Therefore, a study of the engagement of different societies and cultures with print and its development in specific socio-cultural situations is significant for the analysis of print cultures.

## **THE HISTORY OF THE BOOK**

More insights can be attained in the study of print culture by contemplating the work carried out by historians of the book. Robert Darnton explains how the production of the book involves not only printing but also a whole series of processes such as writing, publishing, shipping, sales and so on. In his article, '*What is the History of Books?*' he explains these processes in terms of changes in production and social relations through his communications circuit.<sup>11</sup> The communications circuit includes the author, the publisher, the printer, the shipper, the bookseller, and the reader in a cyclical relationship with all factors having their own significance. Each of these factors is tied to a process such as authorship, publishing, printing, shipping, and sales respectively. According to him, book history covers each phase of this process and the process as a whole, in

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<sup>10</sup>There is a strong critique of this position from the work of Bruno Latour, who resolves the distinction between human agents and non-human agents by blurring the boundary between the two. Some of his important works are Bruno Latour, 'When Things Strike Back: A Possible Contribution of Science Studies to the Social Sciences', *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 51, No. 1, 2000. Pp.107–123; Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory*, OUP: New York, 2005.

<sup>11</sup> Robert Darnton, '*What is the History of Books?*', *Daedalus*, 111 (3), pp.65-83.

all its variations over space and time and in all its relations with other systems, economic, social, political, and cultural in the surrounding environment.<sup>12</sup> This has important implications for our study because it highlights the importance of these processes in the making of print culture. Though the idea of communications circuit is now dated as many new factors figure in the discussion such as distribution, advertising etc., it still marks a shift in the way we had traditionally looked at books. In his systematic study of the Encyclopedia in the backdrop of the Enlightenment in pre-modern Europe, Darnton has elicited the relation between the great intellectual movement and the material culture of book publishing.<sup>13</sup> For the first time, a difference between printing and publishing is brought out here and demonstrated that they are indeed two processes. Thus, the connection between the printed word, its production process, social movements, and technology involved is crucial to any discussion on the development of print cultures.

Roger Chartier adds another dimension to this triangular relationship by including the study of reading practices prevalent in the society in the discourse. Through an analysis of the early modern French society<sup>14</sup>, he describes the relations between print and the different classes of the people in French society and explains how these relations were different in each case. Since the impact of print was felt differently by different people the text conveyed different meanings to different readers. For the first time in the study of print, the discussion on the text is brought in, which gives the text an identity of its own. In his article, *Texts*,

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid, pp. 67

<sup>13</sup> Robert Darnton, *The Business of Enlightenment: A Publishing History of the Encyclopedie, 1775-1800*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987.

<sup>14</sup> Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, translated by Lydia G. Cochrane, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988.

*Printing, Readings*,<sup>15</sup> he opens another new chapter in the analysis of print culture by discussing the varied meanings of the text and exploring the relationship between print and the text. Furthermore, he elicits the relationship between the different forms of the book that developed over the years (*volumen* to the *codex*) and the reading practices. His argument draws on cultural history finds at the crossroads of textual criticism, the history of the book, and cultural sociology.<sup>16</sup> Further, in another of his works<sup>17</sup>, he highlights the indissoluble connection between an object (the book), a text, and an author.<sup>18</sup> According to him, two of these three systems i.e. the book and the author try to establish an order either through the production process of the book or the wishes of the author. But the readers rebel for they possess the freedom of interpreting the meaning of the text. In fact, he considers reading itself as an act of rebellion. Thus, he highlights these continuous tensions in the socio-cultural arena of print through his study of Europe between the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Furthermore, he includes an examination of libraries in the context of its aspirations, successes and failures. These components as identified in Roger Chartier's work are crucial to the study of print culture for three reasons. Firstly, because the shift from manuscripts to print needs a study of the changes coming with print through its elements such as technology, the author, the text, the readers and the library in connection with the afore mentioned elements. Secondly, all of these elements are not passive but become actively involved in the process gaining an agency and individual identity but yet work in collaboration. And lastly, all these elements are situated against the backdrop of a cultural phenomenon such as the Renaissance,

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<sup>15</sup> Roger Chartier, 'Texts, Printing, Readings', in Lynn Hunt (ed.), *The New Cultural History*, University of California Press, California, 1989. Pp. 154

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, pp.175

<sup>17</sup> Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, translated by Lydia G. Cochrane, Stanford University Press: California, 1992.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, pp.vii

Enlightenment etc. which gives us a broad picture of the intellectual processes active in society. This work too, adopts a comprehensive yet broad view as Chartier's, to conduct a study of print culture in the Indian society during the early years of colonial rule.

### **PRINT CULTURE IN INDIA**

No doubt, there is a huge corpus of studies on European societies, but it is also quite exciting to find an ever increasing number of researches on colonial societies in recent times. Let us begin with the debate between Benedict Anderson and Partha Chatterjee on the historiography of print cultures in colonial society. Anderson, in his *Imagined Communities* talks about how print culture shaped identities of nationalism especially in colonial societies.<sup>19</sup> The idea of nationalism, according to him, is a social construction which crystallized through 'print capitalism' - a term which he invented to elicit the role of capitalism in the formation of national identities through print. He also includes vernacular languages into the discussion for they were the most devout users of print technology in order to gain popularity among the masses. However, according to Chatterjee, if nationalisms in the rest of the world have to choose their imagined community from certain "modular" forms already made available to them by Europe, and the Americas, what do they have left to imagine?<sup>20</sup> In his major work, *The Nation and Its Fragments*, he argues that the development of nationalism as well as modernity in different parts of the world was varied. A universal nationalist or linguistic formula borrowed from the West cannot be

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<sup>19</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso, London: 2006. First Published: Verso, 1983

<sup>20</sup> Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1993, pp. 5.

applied to the rest of the world. Thus, he infers that even our imaginations must remain forever colonized.<sup>21</sup> Chatterjee's stand highlights the state of studies concerning colonial societies which according to his argument do not consider the nuances of colonial societies and their specificities, often extending to them theories of Europe. Dipesh Chakrabarty too, in his own stimulating style, talks about the subalternity of Indian history. In his article, *Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History*, he describes how non-western, third-world histories are often written under the shadows of European histories.<sup>22</sup> To quote him,

"Third-world historians feel a need to refer to works in European history; historians of Europe do not feel any need to reciprocate. Whether it is an Edward Thompson, a Le Roy La- durie, a George Duby, a Carlo Ginzberg, a Lawrence Stone, a Robert Darnton, or a Natalie Davis-to take but a few names at random from our contemporary world-the "greats" and the models of the historian's enterprise are always at least culturally "European." "They" produce their work in relative ignorance of non- Western histories, and this does not seem to affect the quality of their work. This is a gesture, however, that "we" cannot return. We cannot even afford an equality or symmetry of ignorance at this level without taking the risk of appearing "old- fashioned" or "outdated.""<sup>23</sup>

Therefore, it is necessary to locate studies of print culture in the specific Indian context highlighting the specificities of a colonial society. In his edited volume, *Texts of Power*, Partha Chatterjee explores new ways of looking at texts produced in colonial societies.<sup>24</sup> By looking at texts from Bengal in the nineteenth and twentieth century, the various authors in the volume try to understand these

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Dipesh Chakrabarty, 'Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for "Indian" Pasts?', *Representations*, No. 37, Special Issue: Imperial Fantasies and Postcolonial Histories (Winter, 1992), pp. 1-26

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, pp.3. Emphasis original

<sup>24</sup> Partha Chatterjee (ed.), *Texts of Power: Emerging Disciplines in Colonial Bengal*, University of Minnesota Press, Minnesota: 1995.

vernacular texts not in a nationalist sense or as marginal subliteratures but as texts worthy of scholarly attention for producing a different modernity.<sup>25</sup> This leads us towards the discourse on modernity in colonial societies. Modernity is understood here in the sense of an experience, an experience which, according to Appadurai and Breckenridge, is global in character.<sup>26</sup> According to them, all societies possess their own local production of modernity and thus, there is no justification for regarding the modernities of the world as pale reflections of an Euro-American original, or of looking at them for enactments of a recipe we have lived through (or past) already.<sup>27</sup> Thus, even though the Indian Subcontinent came in close contact with modernity through their interaction with the British, they had their own agency in developing its own unique type of modernity. My work tries to study the process through which such a specific type of Indian modernity developed in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Based on these premises, a number of studies of the Indian milieu have been conducted over the years. Francis Robinson analyzes the impact of print on Islam in South Asia.<sup>28</sup> This article, in the first place, explores the nature of the Islamic world and its preference for oral traditions in the transmission of knowledge, as against the written word and thus, against print as well. Therefore, knowledge forms which developed under these conditions was characterized by learning and memorizing the texts, the absence of an author, transmitting knowledge from one person to another through a chain of teacher and pupil and, the development of authoritative knowledge in the process. Secondly, he argues that under such circumstances if Muslims made the use of print, it was in a situation of utmost

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid, pp. 27

<sup>26</sup> Arjun Appadurai and Carol Breckenridge in Carol Breckenridge (ed.), *Consuming Modernity: Public Culture in a South Asian World*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1995.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, pp.1, 2

<sup>28</sup> Francis Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the Impact of Print", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 1, Special Issue: How Social, Political and Cultural Information Is Collected, Defined, Used and Analyzed (Feb., 1993), pp. 229-251.

necessity or when Islam itself was in crisis. Such a situation was felt in South India, where Muslims realized they were in a minority and had to deal with the changing conditions ushered by British colonialism. Therefore, they made use of print as a tool in order to cope with the circumstances. Thirdly, he explains how the spread of print in the nineteenth and twentieth century brought about revolutionary changes in the Islamic world in South Asia. And finally, he contends that even though print was responsible for such a transformation, still the situation was completely different from the European world. Thus, he highlights the uniqueness of the development of print culture in the Indian Islamic context. This work stands out significantly because it elicits the relationship between religion, print and knowledge forms specific to the Indian context and, opens up the relationship between the use of print and the public sphere that it shapes.

## **THE PUBLIC SPHERE IN INDIA**

The public sphere, a concept developed by Jurgen Habermas, was an outcome of the reflection on the development of print which made communication easier leading to the formation of public opinion. This public opinion which developed over a period of time through an engagement of the people with matters of significance to the society facilitated the creation of the public sphere.<sup>29</sup> Exploring the relationship between print and the public sphere is also one of the concerns of my work. This connection between print and public sphere has been the subject of many studies covering a wide range of discourses. For example, Tanika Sarkar has articulated the processes through which women in colonial Bengal voiced

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<sup>29</sup> Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into the Category of Bourgeois Society*, Translated by Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence, MIT Press, US:1991.

their opinions through print and thereby able to rally public opinion around women's issues about citizenship wherein women gained an autonomous identity in the late nineteenth century.<sup>30</sup> The fashioning of the public sphere is also determined by the linguistic specificities of the society. These areas are explored in the work of Francesca Orsini and Vasudha Dalmia through their analysis of the Hindi cultural world. In her article, *What Did They Mean By Public?*, Orsini looks at some of the texts of Hindi literati writing in the nineteenth century to expound the dual processes through which language shaped the public sphere and the public sphere in turn was able to influence language.<sup>31</sup> Vasudha Dalmia, instead focuses only on Bharatendu Harishchandra, who is called the father of Hindi modern literature, to understand the way writers at that time were aware of the power print possessed and therefore, made use of it to promote their nationalistic agendas which shaped the modern Hindi public sphere.<sup>32</sup> Veena Naregal traces the relation between language, power, the public sphere and print in western India in her book *Language Politics, Elites, and the Public Sphere*.<sup>33</sup> In this work, she demonstrates how the use of print by elites in the nineteenth century created power structures and struggles within these structures. Language in this scenario became an effective backdrop against which these power struggles operated. However, this study is limited to understanding the elite public sphere whereas according to some studies, print also made its mark among the non-privileged sections of society. Anindita Ghosh explores these areas of print through her studies on colonial Bengal. Much of her work is dedicated to analyzing how the

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<sup>30</sup> Tanika Sarkar, *Enfranchised Selves: Women, Culture and Rights in Nineteenth Century Bengal*, *Gender and History*, Vol.13, No. 3, pp.546-565, Nov. 2001.

<sup>31</sup> Francesca Orsini, *What Did They Mean By the Public? Language, Literature and the Politics of Nationalism*, *EPW*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 7, Feb 13, 1999. Pp. 409-416

<sup>32</sup> Vasudha Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions: Bharatendu Harishchandra and Nineteenth Century Banaras*, Oxford University Press, Delhi:1997. Her arguments regarding print are closer to those of Anderson.

<sup>33</sup> Veena Naregal, *Language Politics, Elites, and the Public Sphere: Western India Under Colonialism*, Permanent Black: New Delhi, 2001.



dominance of 'high print' did limit, but was not successful in eliminating the low-life print which was cheap and it afforded a space to the less-privileged sections of Bengali society.<sup>34</sup> The literature emanating from the cheap printing presses were considered "bad" but still formed a part of the print culture creating a public sphere however marginal it seemed. Similarly, A. R. Venkatachalapathy, in his doctoral thesis, explores the world of publishing in colonial Tamilnadu and traces the development of popular publishing, also known as *gujilee*, and its relationship with the elite public sphere.<sup>35</sup> Rochelle Pinto's book<sup>36</sup> about print in the Goan society situates print against the backdrop of Portuguese colonialism and the power structures created by this unique type of colonialism which was considered subaltern. This study also looks closely at the linguistic conflicts in the arena of print to reveal the positions of the vernaculars, - Marathi and Konkani. From these discussions, it is clear that the study of print culture is closely connected to the discussion on the public sphere, language and also the nature of print in relation to the socio-economic aspects of print as well as the people involved in it.

## PRINT AND EDUCATION

In the studies mentioned on the advent and development of print in the Indian society provide a significant understanding of the cultural and intellectual aspects of colonial societies. Through such an understanding it is also possible to trace the relationship between print and knowledge production and dissemination during

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<sup>34</sup> Anindita Ghosh, "Cheap Books,'Bad'Books: Contesting Print-Cultures in Colonial Bengal." *South Asia Research* 18.2 (1998): 173-194; "Revisiting the'Bengal Renaissance': Literary Bengali and Low-Life Print in Colonial Calcutta." *Economic and Political Weekly* (2002): 4329-4338; "Valorising the'vulgar': Nationalist appropriations of colloquial Bengali traditions, c. 1870-1905." *Indian Economic & Social History Review* 37.2 (2000): 151-183.

<sup>35</sup> A. R. Venkatachalapathy, '*A Social History of Tamil Book-Publishing : circa 1850-1938*', unpublished thesis, submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1994.

<sup>36</sup>Rochelle Pinto, "*Between Empires: Print and Politics in Goa*", SOAS Studies on South Asia, OUP: New Delhi, 2007.

the colonial times. According to Adrian Johns, knowledge can be described as *natural* knowledge – knowledge of Creation and of humanity’s place within it, bringing the study closer to the history of science. However, that does not mean the study is restricted to science alone but it treats science as just one among a range of activities characterized by the use and creation of knowledge.<sup>37</sup> This study too perceives knowledge in the same sense and tries to analyze the impact of print culture on the discourses of knowledge. For this purpose it is necessary to understand the educational system of the nineteenth century. The three entities involved in education during this period were - firstly the ‘traditional systems of learning’ which existed prior to and continued into the colonial period; secondly, the missionaries, who were driven by proselytizing motives but still had much to offer in the field of education; and lastly the East India Company Government, for whom the primary objective in the nineteenth century was political control. Krishna Kumar argues that colonial education in the Indian Subcontinent had a specific political agenda.<sup>38</sup> Firstly, it was meant for the elites and not for all, creating a class of people who were meant to serve the interests of the colonial government. Secondly, though the objective of this education was progress, progress itself meant different things to colonizers and the colonized. For the colonizers it was part of their great civilizing mission, for the colonized it was the path of social reform and liberation and later it developed into a discourse for independence. Lastly, his work highlights how colonial education reflected its agenda in the curriculum as well as the pedagogic practices and how they haunt our schools to this day. On the other hand, Aparna Basu argues that Indian higher education that developed in the nineteenth century was not influenced by British

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<sup>37</sup> Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*, pp. 6

<sup>38</sup> Krishna Kumar, *The Political Agenda of Education: A Study of Colonialist and Nationalist Ideas*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1991

models. In one of her articles,<sup>39</sup> she claims that because the conditions in India were very different from Great Britain, the latter's educational models could not be replicated in Indian society. Therefore, Indian higher education developed peculiar features of its own.<sup>40</sup> Her argument further goes on to explain how elite Indians themselves wanted this new kind of education that could provide them with jobs. Thus, her argument contradicts Kumar's argument which shows that there was a definite political agenda behind colonial education that shaped Indian education. Instead, she contends that the kind of education that developed during the colonial period was a product of Indian conditions itself. Thus, Basu's argument becomes valuable to our discussion as the colonized had been engaging themselves with the education that was developing during the nineteenth century. This education had not been one-sidedly imposed by the Government, with the 'natives' behaving as passive victims. An education system based on Western notions had indeed been introduced by the British, but it did not burgeon as a replica of it, instead developed unique characteristics. However, Dhruv Raina, in one of his articles,<sup>41</sup> takes a position across these dichotomies highlighting the entangled nature of the debate between Kumar and Basu. He reiterates Eric Ashby's arguments of domestication of the institutional structures patterned on Western institutions established during and after the period of colonial rule in order to understand the nature of educational institutions like the universities, in India.<sup>42</sup> Thus, the educational system in India was neither the replica of British institutions nor did it develop in a completely unique fashion. Instead, the Indian

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<sup>39</sup> Aparna Basu, 'Indian Higher Education: Colonialism and Beyond', Ph.G. Altbach & V. Selvaratnam (eds.), *From Dependence to Autonomy: The Development of Asian Universities*, Kluwer Academic Publishers: The Netherlands, 1989, pp. 167-186.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, pp.167

<sup>41</sup> Dhruv Raina, 'Institutions and Knowledge: Framing the Translation of Science in Colonial South Asia', *Asiatische Studien/ Études Asiatiques*, LXV, 4, pp.945-967.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, pp. 948

educational system, even though influenced by Western notions, is domesticated to Indian conditions.

Further, it is worthwhile to consider Margrit Pernau's position in one of her essays on the first full-fledged newspaper in Urdu, the *Delhi Urdu Akhbar*.<sup>43</sup> In this essay, she tries to locate the *Akhbar* at the confluence of the traditional Mughal institutions and the newly introduced British models.<sup>44</sup> According to her, some strands of present-day historiography tend to see the colonial state, the colonial institutions and, above all, the colonial construction of knowledge as the prime moving forces of nineteenth-century India. However she argues that without at all denying the importance of the study of power-relations and the pervading influence of the colonial power on all walks of life, it is interesting to focus on the lines of continuity bridging the precolonial and the colonial world, thus opening a third space beyond hegemony and resistance.<sup>45</sup> She uses Jamal Malik's concept of "mutual encounters"<sup>46</sup> to explain how the boundaries between different cultural systems become, if not fluid, at least permeable in both directions.<sup>47</sup> Also, she cites C. A. Bayly to describe how traditions were not so much displaced as renegotiated and adapted to new circumstances—both by the colonizer and the colonized.<sup>48</sup> Thus, I intend to explore this third space of contact between the colonizer and the colonized, as suggested by Pernau in the field of education by analyzing the way it was influenced by print culture that emerged in the first half of the nineteenth century in Western India.

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<sup>43</sup> Margrit Pernau, 'The Delhi Urdu Akhbar Between Persian Akhbarat and English Newspapers', *Annual of Urdu Studies* 18 (2003): 105-131.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, pp. 105

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, pp. 106

<sup>46</sup> Empasis original. For more on 'mutual encounters' see Jamal Malik, ed., *Perspectives of Mutual Encounters in South Asian History, 1760-1860*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000

<sup>47</sup> Ibid. pp, 106.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid. pp, 106 For more on this see C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

## **THE SOURCES**

Western India came under the control of the East India Company in 1818 and they overcame the Empire of the Marathas to found the Bombay Presidency. Thus, the period under consideration in this work begins from 1818. It ends in 1857, when universities were established in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay Presidency. This development brought about changes in structures of education in colonial India. This work intends to study the structures of education in a pre-university set-up. Also, this period coincides with the duration of the rule of Company Government which was replaced by the British Government in 1858. Thus, the historical sources relevant to this period are employed. Among the many changes brought about by the beginning of colonialism were changes related to the world of knowledge production and dissemination because of the development of a print culture. For this purpose, some of the Company Government's documents that highlight the policies that were inaugurated in the field of education have been analyzed. These include the Charter Act of 1813, Macaulay Minute of 1835, English Education Act of 1835, etc. Secondly, as the Government set forth to implement its policies, they established schools and various institutions which prepared textbooks and other books for teaching. These books were prepared by colonial officials as well as Indians educated in these schools set up by the Government. These colonial officials and the Indians were also collaborators in the development of vernaculars such as Marathi and Gujarati in Bombay Presidency. Thus, a variety of works including grammars, dictionaries and translations came to be published in this period with the support of the Government. Some of these texts have been closely examined. Finally, the Indians educated in the government and missionary schools, and working in various educational institutions soon after started publishing newspapers, journals

and books with the support of like-minded Indians. A commercial market of these journals and newspapers also expanded during this period and some of these texts have been analyzed to understand the reading practices of the time. These publications are quite significant to our understanding of the development of a vibrant print culture in colonial societies and therefore, they are subject to a thorough investigation.

## **THE CHAPTERS**

Although the printing press had reached the Indian Subcontinent as early as the sixteenth century, with the Portuguese,<sup>49</sup> but it was during the nineteenth century that the printing press acquired increasing significance. In 1818, when the East India Company government took over control from the Peshwas, a transformation occurred that was never experienced before. The repercussions of this transformation were felt in all spheres of society which came to be identified as a colonial society. The manuscript culture that existed prior to the coming of the Company Government was abandoned for a culture created by print. This print culture was shaped by the specific circumstances present in Western India. And the way the impact of this specific kind of print culture on processes of knowledge production and dissemination, in the first half of the nineteenth century, is the primary focus of this study. Thus, the next chapter tries to understand the specificities of print culture which developed in Western India. To achieve this, the chapter traces the journey from a manuscript to print culture that occurred with the shift from Peshwa rule to the Company Government rule.

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<sup>49</sup>An article in *The Hindu*, by Babu K. Verghese titled '*From Palm Leaves to the Printed World*', (April 1, 2007) traces the history of printing in India to the sixteenth century when the Portuguese missionaries as a part of their proselytizing mission started it. The first press was set up in the College of St. Paul in Goa and the first literature produced here was evangelical in nature.

The discussions about language were deemed less important frequently before the arrival of postcolonial studies. One of the significant aspects of postcolonial studies that developed during the course of the latter half of the twentieth century is the expansion of the scope of languages in different disciplines. Linguistic discourses gained significance especially in the arena of cultural studies as language was perceived to possess cultural value. It was no longer seen in the narrow context of a means of communication or for commercial usage. In such a situation, the connection between language and the discourses of knowledge became imminent as language itself can be seen as a storehouse of knowledge. Not only does education express itself through the medium of language but it can also be described as an important part of the educational process in the development and progress of human beings. Thus, an investigation into the educational institutions and processes of the period demands a closer look at the linguistic aspects of education. Therefore, the third chapter tries to analyze the linguistic aspects of colonial education in nineteenth century western India. After the advent of print in India, various changes occurred in the sphere of languages. These changes can be studied in two dimensions: changes in structures of languages, and a shift towards the vernacular. Both these changes in the linguistic sphere opened up new discussions on translations occurring during this period. Thus, the study of translations is another facet of this chapter. Another important characteristic of the linguistic arena is the change in the techniques of teaching languages in the educational institutions of the time. Thus, through the study of various pedagogical practices, the chapter tries to explore the ways in which languages shaped educational discourses.

The final chapter deals with the individuals involved in the processes of bringing about a transformation in the educational sphere. Such people were many, but this chapter focuses on the role of colonial officers, and the Indian literati. However,

the Indian literati were bifurcated into two by the distinction of caste. Among these, one group consisted of traditionally dominant Brahmins, especially *Chitpavan* Brahmins. The other group comprised individuals belonging to other traditionally dominant castes who were sidelined by *Chitpavans* during Peshwa period. Thus, the nature of these dichotomies among the Indian literati and the internal conflicts of the colonial society are highlighted by this chapter. Furthermore, some individuals among the Indian literati were also involved in the publication of journals and newspapers that were part of the newly constituted public sphere. These people had studied in government or missionary schools or were educationists who were actively publishing literature to educate the people. Thus, this chapter also engages with the work of these literati and critically analyzes the nature of the public sphere as it evolved at that time.

A brief conclusion provides a summary of the entire work and highlights some basic issues connected to print and education.



## 1. FROM MANUSCRIPT TO PRINT CULTURE

### INTRODUCTION

In a fascinating article by A. R. Venkatachalapathy on coffee, he describes in detail the process through which coffee came to occupy a significant position in the late colonial Tamil society.<sup>50</sup> The consumption of coffee, the way it was prepared and consumed, and an engagement in the discussions around coffee became a symbol of being modern. Further, the consumption of coffee was even able to determine the social position of the individual associated with it. It came to be increasingly the cultural marker of the Tamil, especially Brahmin, middle class<sup>51</sup> while other beverages such as tea came to be related with the working class or Muslim households<sup>52</sup> during the course of the nineteenth century. Gradually, life without coffee became unimaginable and people were habituated to it in such a way that its denial caused withdrawal symptoms like headaches.<sup>53</sup> This journey from ‘no coffee’ to ‘not without coffee’ however, was not an easy one and it initially encountered fierce opposition from the conservative sections of Tamil society. These sections initially considered coffee to be a threat to tradition as well as health. This transition can be understood by examining the ways through which people engaged with coffee. As in the case of coffee, in the case of print too, a similar trajectory can be seen. Though the printing press reached the shores of the Indian Subcontinent with the Portuguese during the sixteenth century, it remained more or less unnoticed. It was used by the missionaries to print some of the Jesuit religious texts. But in the nineteenth century, when the

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<sup>50</sup> A. R. Venkatachalapathy, ‘In Those Days There Was No Coffee: Coffee-Drinking and Middle Class Culture In Colonial Tamilnadu’, in *In Those Days There Was No Coffee : Writings In Cultural History*, Yoda Press, New Delhi : 2006, pp. 10-31.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, pp. 25

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, pp. 25, 27

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, pp. 20

British gained political power in India, and introduced the printing press, print developed rapidly and from then, there was no looking back. Ever growing numbers of people and sections of society got involved in different ways with print and many identities came to be connected with it in the nineteenth century, leading eventually to the development of a print culture in India. This chapter tries to analyze the process through which a print culture developed in the early years of colonial rule in the Bombay Presidency. This process involves not only the increasing use of printed texts, but also how recently colonized communities engaged with it and how they perceived it against the backdrop of the colonial rule.

Anindita Ghosh talks about the nature of the transformation from a manuscript culture to a culture of print in one of her articles<sup>54</sup> on the history of the book in colonial Bengal. In the article, firstly, she describes how print developed in the nineteenth century followed by the emergence of commercial publishing in Bengali society. Secondly, she elaborates on the preprint reading and writing culture which involved a very active scribal culture as well as collective reading practices such as *kathakatas*. Thirdly, she narrates how with the coming of print the local practices and traditions did not change much but instead they absorbed print within their ambit. According to her, far from displacing earlier traditions and freezing writing habits into standardized norms and predictable genres, print actually equipped them with more enduring and resilient technologies.<sup>55</sup> And finally, she argues that print in the nineteenth century was not dominated by powerful groups alone but was effectively used by marginal groups to challenge dominant ideas. However, in the case of Western India, a distinct analysis has been offered. According to Veena Naregal, the introduction of print as part of the

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<sup>54</sup> Anindita Ghosh, 'An Uncertain Coming of the Book: Early Print Cultures in Colonial India', *Book History*, Vol. 6, 2003, pp. 23-55.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*, pp.48

colonial encounter led to complex shifts in existing ideological norms and structures.<sup>56</sup> In the late eighteenth century, British presence was steadily increasing in this region as the Marathas were involved in various struggles with the EIC. The use of print commenced in the late eighteenth century in several pockets of the newly emerging city of Bombay and along the Konkan coast. The earliest known specimen of print in Bombay was an English calendar that was printed in 1780 by Rustom Cursetjee in the *Buzzer*.<sup>57</sup> A press was functional around 1790-1 known as the Bombay Courier Press, which published English newspapers such as *The Bombay Courier* and the *Bombay Gazette*. They were the earliest newspapers published from Bombay. With the advent of the nineteenth century, the Peshwa rule was eclipsed by Company rule in the region. Finally, in 1818 the Company Government took over power from them and introduced a whole new series of laws and institutions for facilitating their control over Western India. The use of print and printed texts increased and there emerged commercial printing avenues in the first half of the nineteenth century. In the latter half of the century, commercial publishing increased by leaps and bounds. These printing endeavors developed so rapidly that within a decade of the Company Government coming into power in Bombay, laws to regulate the presses in Bombay were formulated in the form of the Bombay Press Regulation Acts of 1825 and 1827. Gradually, a wide variety of literature in the vernaculars, Marathi and Gujarati came to be published from Bombay and Pune. Naregal argues that the impact of print was tremendous. It not only altered political structures but also shaped ideas and the ways of being an intellectual. At the cultural level, print introduced radical shifts in assumptions about language, literacy and the 'literary'.<sup>58</sup> Through an analysis of James Mackintosh's policies

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<sup>56</sup> Naregal, *Language Politics*, pp. 146

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, pp.161

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 146

for the development of the Bombay Literary Society, she contends that print helped colonial power define links with a new intelligentsia and, through them, with the rest of the native society.<sup>59</sup> Thus, contrary to Ghosh's arguments about the agency of marginal communities, Naregal stresses on the role of the elite literate communities in negotiating their space against the backdrop of powerful colonial structures.

This chapter intends to highlight that print culture which developed during the first half of the nineteenth century, not only manifested the ideas of the powerful elites, but also of other not so powerful communities. The elite world that existed during this period was not monolithic but was made up of several different communities. The elites in western India consisted of four groups. Firstly, British colonial officials and an entourage for managing the empire; secondly, the Brahmins especially *Chitpavan* Brahmins who had gained power during the Peshwa period; thirdly, the other high castes such as the *Prabhus*, *Sonars*, and *Bhandaris*, who were entitled to education; and finally, the Parsis who were basically traders. Print was not taken up solely by the elites but also by other less-powerful communities. As a result we have a situation, where these different communities came to shape a public sphere of assent and dissent. Further, these were not only communities of commercial entrepreneurs but included those who worked in educational institutions or had been studying in the schools and the other educational institutions of the government. Therefore, to examine their role in the world of print, an understanding of their connection with the educational institutions of that time becomes necessary. The relation between print and education manifests itself in more than one sphere.

This chapter focuses on the shift from a manuscript culture that existed during the period of Peshwa rule in the urban areas of Bombay and Pune, to a print culture

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid, pp. 150

that developed during the rule of the Company Government. For that purpose it firstly, takes a closer look at the traditional system of learning, reading and writing that existed during the Peshwa regime. Secondly, it identifies the changes that came about in the first half of the nineteenth century and tries to analyze the nature of these changes in the domains of knowledge production and dissemination. Thirdly, it tries to argue that the changes that occurred in the world of print not only displayed a hegemonic set of ideas but also the ideas of less dominant communities. Finally, it tries to identify the implications of these changes in the field of education and the nature of education under these conditions.

### **LEARNING, READING, AND WRITING IN THE PESHWA PERIOD**

The period of Peshwa rule was shaped by unique cultural developments that can be understood against the backdrop of political and socio-economic conditions of the eighteenth century. Stewart Gordon, in his seminal work on the history of the Marathas, documents the socio-economic and the political situation of the time.<sup>60</sup> Throughout his work, he criticizes the view of those historians who have described the Maratha period as signifying ‘chaos and anarchy’ and instead argues that the period was marked by the implementation of a sophisticated system of administration and military expertise. Generally speaking, the Maratha period begins in the seventeenth century when a military hero, Shivaji formed an independent kingdom in Western India. The Deccan at that time was under the control of many Sultanates such as that of Bijapur under whom Shivaji was a

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<sup>60</sup> Stewart Gordon, ‘*The Marathas: 1600-1818*’, The New Cambridge History of India, Vol. 4. Cambridge University Press: New York, 1993. This study is significant for understanding Maratha history for a balanced view of the subject because it is not influenced by hero worship of Shivaji as in the case of historians writing during the colonial period of immediately after independence and colonial officers’ stipulated biases.

feudal lord. The Deccan was quite unstable at that time due to power struggles, among the different Sultanates and, between the Sultanates and the Mughals. But in the 1650s, under the leadership of Shivaji, a military hero, the Marathas broke away from the Sultanate and the Maratha state was born. After the death of Shivaji, the state fell into disarray as the power struggles continued. Shivaji's elder son Sambhaji succeeded him but was involved in a power struggle with his younger brother Rajaram. This struggle did not last long as the Mughals tried to destroy the Maratha kingdom by executing Sambhaji, and his son Shahu was taken into captivity. But Rajaram and after him his widow, Tarabai continued the struggle against the Mughals until the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. This struggle involved not just direct confrontation but also intense diplomacy in which the support of the Maratha chiefs was significant. Meanwhile, Shahu returned from Mughal captivity in 1707 and continued the struggle with Tarabai. He was able to gain the support of many Maratha chiefs and influential Brahmin families for his rule from Satara.<sup>61</sup> Losing significance to a greater degree, however Tarabai ruled from Kolhapur. In the court of Shahu, Balaji Vishwanath, a *Chitpavan* Brahmin secured the position of the *Peshwa* or the prime minister. Under his leadership the Brahmins became powerful and as such the Maratha state was strengthened. Gradually, the position of the *Peshwa* became hereditary as Bajirao I, Balaji's son was appointed the next *Peshwa*. The power of the Peshwas grew day-by-day and they became de-facto rulers of the Maratha state. The capital of the state was shifted to Pune around this time. Further, their expansion into central and northern India commenced. As Maratha power expanded, new principalities were established in northern and central parts of the Indian Subcontinent. The Maratha Empire in the eighteenth century, thus, consisted of principalities in the north and central India, and of course the Deccan. These principalities were ruled by sturdy

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid, pp.103.

clans such as the Shindes, the Holkars and the Gaekwars. Their relationship with the Peshwas was highly complex, but still the Maratha Empire continued to expand since they got involved into the politics of Delhi and even overpowered the Mughals. The complex relationship between the principalities and the Peshwas was aggravated by the intense internal power struggles which at times turned nasty. These rivalries persisted from the higher to the lowest ranks of the Maratha polity and society. The quarrels among the Peshwas too, were quite frequent. Raghunathrao, one of the sons of Bajirao I, was perpetually in conflict with his nephew, the Peshwa, Madhavrao I over the throne. Narayanrao, brother of Madhavrao was murdered at the instigation of his own uncle, Raghunathrao. He even sought the involvement of the East India Company in Maratha politics when he approached them for help. The Marathas fought three successive wars against the East India Company which greatly weakened the Maratha state. In 1818, the British completely wiped off the Marathas from western India and gained complete control over the area.

Clearly, as the territories under Peshwa dominance expanded the structures of power did not remain centralized. This was accompanied by a strengthening and growth of the economy. In another work<sup>62</sup>, Gordon argues that the displacement of Mughal influence over parts of central and western India saw a shift in revenue and credit flows away from northern financial centers like Agra towards Pune, and even Bombay.<sup>63</sup> Pune and Bombay began to develop as major commercial centers and a number of markets were established during this time especially in Pune. It is in these urban pockets that people, especially the Brahmins began to settle. The *Chitpavan* Brahmins came to be the most powerful among the Brahmins. Veena Naregal discusses how the decentralized power structures of the

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<sup>62</sup> Stewart Gordon, *Marathas, Marauders and State Formation*, OUP, 1998.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid*, pp.61

Maratha state and the expansion in commercial activity led to the heightened dependence of the political elite on blessed men and Brahmins.<sup>64</sup> The tradition of charities and endowments to these communities in the form of *Dakshina* system, which had been used to encourage learning among the Brahmins, greatly enhanced their position. The triangular relationship between the decentralized power structures, increase in commercial activities, and the enhanced position of the Brahmins paved the way for a unique social development. There was an upsurge of conservatism during Peshwa rule, especially after the mid-eighteenth century. Religious rituals gained added importance and influenced society in much larger ways. Casteism reached its zenith and caste hierarchies reasserted themselves. According to Rosalind O'Hanlon, western India under Peshwa rule did represent, in religious terms, a relatively 'closed' society compared with that which developed under East India Company rule.<sup>65</sup> She also, describes how Peshwa society was characterized by upward social mobility in which not only individuals but whole castes improved their position in socio-economic terms. This mobility often led to the process of 'Sanskritization' in which the castes gaining upward social mobility pursued a higher ritual status by following the religious and social practices of the castes located higher to them in this caste hierarchy.<sup>66</sup> Further she even draws our attention to the Maratha state's active support of Hindu religious values, by acting as the executive power of Brahman religious authority.<sup>67</sup> The Brahmins from time immemorial have considered themselves the vectors of knowledge and during this period too, they were completely in control of the resources of knowledge. In such a situation, it is certain that the skills of reading and writing were restricted to the 'higher' castes

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<sup>64</sup> Veena Naregal, *Language Politics, Elites and the Public Sphere*, pp. 23.

<sup>65</sup> Rosalind O'Hanlon, *Caste, Conflict, and Ideology: Mahatma Jotirao Phule and Low Caste Protest in Nineteenth-Century Western India*, Cambridge University Press, 1985. Pp. 4.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*, pp.4

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 5, 6



only in this social hierarchy. Whatever texts were produced at that time, undoubtedly, reflect these social and cultural circumstances.

A wide range of literature in multiple languages was produced during the Peshwa period which developed in a manuscript culture. According to Naregal, from the time of Shivaji a substantial quantum of heavily Sankritised vernacular (Marathi) literature was produced such as the verse compositions called *prasastis*, praising Shivaji and *bakhars*<sup>68</sup> or historical ballads. Royal patronage was granted to literature created in subjects such as statecraft, administration and ethics.<sup>69</sup> However, during the Peshwa rule, as the state expanded Persian came to be used more frequently. In the Mughal Empire, Persian was used not only for administrative purposes but also as a cultural marker. Therefore, a knowledge of Persian was considered important even during the sunset of the Mughal Empire and continued until the Company government intervened. The political elite during this period used a Persianized Hindustani as the medium of formal exchange.<sup>70</sup> Further, vernacular Marathi came to be used in a different format which was less Persianized but closer to *Puneri* Marathi.<sup>71</sup> The Peshwa period is also known for the collection and reproduction of Sanskrit manuscripts and various books known as *pothis*.<sup>72</sup> The modes of reading and the circulation of texts in society were limited to these scholarly communities as was true of a manuscript culture. This manuscript culture entailed practices that involved the copying of texts as well as procuring different texts for building collections which were many a times individual ones. Such activities began to be encouraged in the

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<sup>68</sup> For more on *bakhars*, see Prachi Deshpande, *Creative Pasts*, 'Bakhar Historiography', pp. 19-39. Bakhars were traditionally seen as unimportant as historical sources due to its unique style of writing. However, Deshpande criticizes this approach towards them and views them in a new light analyzing the social milieu in which they were created.

<sup>69</sup> Veena Naregal, *Language Politics*, pp.25,26

<sup>70</sup> Ibid, pp.26

<sup>71</sup> Ibid, pp.27

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, pp.28

Maratha state during the time of Shahu, Shivaji's grandson and continued in the Peshwa period. There was a scribal workshop known as *pustakanchya kaarkhana*, active at one of the Peshwa palaces at Anandvalli. But mostly, these aristocratic communities preferred patronizing the copying of manuscripts by employing scribes or buying books from copyists who worked independently.<sup>73</sup> Sanskrit texts were mostly copied but at times even vernacular texts were commissioned to be copied. These manuscripts were even lent for reading or copying for a mutually agreed upon time and payment. As manuscripts were scarce, they would be over long distances and sharing amongst communities was common. In the case of reading, a practice of performative reading and listening were preferred as a means of transmission. However, reading in this period meant listening to the texts being read out or having the assistance of a *pandit* or a *puranik* for understanding the rhetorical, semantic, or moral significance of the text.<sup>74</sup> Memorizing the text was an integral part of the activity of reading. Furthermore, the Peshwas did maintain a royal library, but it was looked upon as a part of the treasury rather than a public library as perceived today.<sup>75</sup> During the Peshwa period literary traditions did expand within a manuscript culture. But there is a great deal of written material to be found in the letters that circulated during the time as well as various records maintained at the Peshwa *daftars* or offices. But in the case of knowledge production and dissemination, the period consisted of the copying and reading of manuscripts and, the production of treatises such as *Kekavali* (Cries of the Peacock) by a famous writer, *Moropant* and composing *bakhars*, such as *Sabhasadi bakhari*, based on the life of Shivaji, composed in 1697.<sup>76</sup> But this manuscript culture was limited to the elites. The non-elite cultural spheres were characterized by oral traditions such as *powadas*, or singing of

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid, pp.33

<sup>75</sup> Ibid. pp.32

<sup>76</sup> Ibid, pp.36

ballads which described the heroic achievements of Maratha *sardars* or *kirtans* for the more devotional ones.

## **THE COMING OF PRINT**

The nineteenth century began with the demise of the Maratha Empire in 1818 and the formation of the East India Company Government in Western India. After the appropriation of administrative power by the Company Government, a new system of governance was established replacing the earlier one. This new system was inaugurated with the consolidation of different parts of Western India which came to be known as the Bombay Presidency. The new system was fundamentally based on the principle of centralization unlike the Maratha system of de-centered rule. A uniform code of law as well as a bureaucratic system of administration was introduced, styled like the British system. Further, the so-called “natives” were subjected to the ryotwari system of land revenue settlement wherein the peasants paid revenue directly to the Government. The transfer of power set into motion several processes of transformation in the society as happens with changing regimes. But these processes that came with British rule were of an altogether different nature that had never been experienced in the Indian Subcontinent. British rule was legitimated through the core notions of the ‘civilizing’ agenda and that of modernization. With the establishment of the Company Government, it can be said that society did not immediately become colonial or modern. Colonization and modernization are to be understood as processes inaugurated in 1818 and continued throughout the nineteenth century. This study intends to analyze the initial stages of these processes from the first half of the nineteenth century. The processes of colonization and modernization have been examined through many lenses in the cultural arena of which, one of

the prominent would be through the study of print. The technology of print by the nineteenth century was already being used on a wider scale in Europe. It was introduced in India by the British in an altogether new manner than was the case in the sixteenth century with the Portuguese. The work of Miles Ogborn, '*Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company*', evaluates the process of expansion of the East India Company against the backdrop of the technologies of script and print from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries.<sup>77</sup> According to him, the Company's world was one made on paper as well as on land and sea.<sup>78</sup> His work insists that print played a significant role in the making of East India Company Empire in India.

By the late eighteenth century, printing initiated by the British had already begun in Bombay. The first vernacular language text to appear in print was Gujarati. Later other vernaculars such as Malayalam and then from the beginning of the nineteenth century, Marathi began to appear in print.<sup>79</sup> With this, printing gained momentum in Bombay and rapidly spread to other places including Pune. One of the most important printing endeavors in the vernacular was taken up by the Serampore Mission Press in Bengal which was initiated through the efforts of William Carey, a British Baptist missionary in 1800. He learnt many vernaculars and was in favor of imparting education to the "natives" in these languages. He and the Serampore Press were responsible for printing a vast number of texts including school textbooks, government publications and, evangelical literature. Carey was also fluent in Marathi and he taught it in Fort William College at Calcutta. He published some Marathi texts from the Serampore Press including a dictionary of Marathi-English, *Marathi-Ingrezi Kosh* and translations of the

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<sup>77</sup> Miles Ogborn, '*Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company*', The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2007.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid, xvii

<sup>79</sup> Naregal, *Language Politics*, pp.161, 162

*Panchatantra*, the *Hitopadesh* and many more texts. The script that was used for printing in Marathi was *Balbodh* which is similar to *Devnagari*. This was the first instance of Marathi being printed in this particular script. Before that, Marathi had appeared in print in Bombay, but it was in the *Modi* script which was commonly used in the late eighteenth century.<sup>80</sup> In Bombay, the American Mission Press began publishing religious texts as well as school textbooks in Marathi by 1819. The Bombay Government too, considered it important to produce textbooks for schools in Marathi and Gujarati as it engaged with education. The Native School and School Book Society in Bombay was set up in 1821 to prepare different textbooks in vernaculars for the use of schools. This was a period of printing and publishing through different institutions specifically created for these purposes. A large number of books, dictionaries and grammar treatises were produced by these institutions and societies. Apart from the printing endeavors of missionaries and the Government, commercial printing too found its way during this period. Such initiatives were taken up initially by the Gujarati community in Bombay. Later, Western educated Indians especially those belonging to the Brahmin communities started planning commercial printing. The earliest of such an endeavour began with the publication of the bilingual weekly, *The Bombay Durpan* in 1832, by Balshastri Jambhekar. This was a bilingual newspaper as it was published both in English and Marathi. But it was the first newspaper to appear in Marathi. The other castes such as the *sonars* and the *prabhus* came to be in the forefront of entrepreneurship in the printing business and overcame several hardships for establishing vernacular presses at the time. The Government did not support private publishing in any way and there was opposition from the orthodox Brahmins of Pune. But the arrival of commercial printing was imminent. The first

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<sup>80</sup> According to Naregal, the first instance of Marathi print from Bombay appeared in an advertisement in the *Bombay Courier* of 17 July 1802. She provides us with a detailed list of the earliest publications from Bombay in various languages such as English, Gujarati, Malayalam, and Marathi. Ibid pp.162

native commercial printer-publisher in Marathi was Ganpat Krishnaji, a member of the *koli bhandari* caste which is not a 'higher' caste as against the Brahmins. His printing press published several books and newspapers such as Jambhekar's *Digdarshan* which appeared in 1840. He published a periodical which was more of a revivalist nature unlike *Durpan* which was reformist, known as *Dynanchandrodaya*.<sup>81</sup> Journals like *Dynanprakash* (1849) came to be published from Pune. The spread of print was in many ways facilitated by the Indians themselves.

## **EDUCATION, PRINT AND, CHANGE**

One of the reasons for the Company government's interest in education in India was to enhance their own knowledge resources. Since the European Renaissance, a propensity for gathering information and keeping a record of the information gathered was an important aspect of knowledge production in Europe. In the eighteenth century, the British worked within the existing information order which consisted of newsletters and writers for information-gathering. But in the nineteenth century, they found this system flawed and they began viewing the tendencies of the system of recording and narrating anecdotes and exaggeration with increasing suspicion.<sup>82</sup> These systems were not able to produce networks of information which were in tune with the requirements of the British. Therefore, after usurping power, the first step was to conduct surveys and analyses of the newly conquered lands and produce an array of detailed reports that contained loads of information that suited their needs. This involved abandoning the earlier systems of revenue collection, administration etc. and replace them with their

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid, pp.182, 183

<sup>82</sup> C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

own.<sup>83</sup> Secondly, they started establishing various educational institutions in India that among other things created resources of information. Apart from that, educating Indians and involving them in the process of knowledge production and dissemination based on a model of the West continued throughout the nineteenth century. In the first half of the nineteenth century, this tendency of information-gathering and recording was at its zenith. This was the period when Orientalist ideas still exercised influence on policy makers. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the first Governor of Bombay, was deeply influenced by the efforts of Orientalist researchers working in Calcutta and soon set up institutions like the Bombay Asiatic Society and the Bombay Literary Society based on the lines of the Calcutta Institutes. Like Carey, he too believed in educating the “natives” in their own languages. Institutions such as the Bombay Native School and School Book Society were established for the production of school textbooks in Marathi and Gujarati. One of the important aspects of colonial policy towards education was the introduction of science education. Though Elphinstone was highly enthusiastic about science being introduced in the colony, he was not very hopeful about its future. Driven by the ideas of James Mill and Utilitarianism, he preferred the medical sciences be introduced to the “natives”. Rather than a full fledged science education being introduced as in the case of Bengal, the people in western India had to settle with Utilitarian sciences, like the medical sciences.

The Minute on Education of 1824, by Mountstuart Elphinstone, contains his ideology and vision for education in western India.<sup>84</sup> Elphinstone believed that without the assistance of the Government not much progress could be made in the field of education.<sup>85</sup> Therefore, he wanted the Government in Bombay to actively

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<sup>83</sup> Prachi Deshpande, *Creative Pasts*, pp.73.

<sup>84</sup> George W. Forest (ed.), *Selections from the Minutes and Other Official Writings of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone*, London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1884, pp.79-116.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*, pp.79

facilitate the spread of education. Among the various measures he proposed for the diffusion of education, was the establishment schools for the “natives” and to increase their numbers.<sup>86</sup> He also, laid emphasis on the publication of textbooks for schools and that the textbooks, especially the physical and moral sciences, to be prepared in the vernaculars.<sup>87</sup> Further, he advised the schools to publish tracts containing rules for the use of teachers in vernaculars as well as in English. These tracts, apart from providing guidelines regarding the management of schools in a modern way were also meant for keeping a record of various activities of the school such as notifications about the people from whom the school-books were procured, and the manner in which prizes might be awarded to those were qualified for various educational endeavors.<sup>88</sup> The expenses of printing of the school books were to be borne by the Government but the duty of supervision of printing and distribution was left to the Educational Society.<sup>89</sup> This Native Educational Society of Bombay was established with the assistance of the Bombay Government to specifically look into matters pertaining to school education. Initially, the books prepared under the guidance of the Company Government consisted of bilingual grammars, dictionaries, translations and various textbooks in different subjects. The Bombay Native School Book and School Society championed the production of these books. The Society initially published school books which consisted of some short sentences and a selection of fables in Gujarati and Marathi.<sup>90</sup> After William Carey’s *A Grammar of the Maratha Language*, many scholars such as Jambhekar and Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadkar prepared grammatical texts in Marathi. Dictionaries were produced through the efforts of Capt. Molesworth who prepared an English-Marathi

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid. pp. 80

<sup>87</sup> Ibid, pp.80

<sup>88</sup> Ibid. pp. 80

<sup>89</sup> Ibid. pp.83. The name of the society was changed to the Bombay Native Education Society in 1827.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, pp.164



Dictionary as well as Thomas Candy. Candy was also considered a remarkable translator and scholar of the Marathi language. Captain George Jervis compiled many Marathi textbooks on mathematics. Jambhekar also prepared many different textbooks including one on geography and history. These textbooks were basically informative and contained guidelines for the teachers on how to use these books and conduct the classes.

## **CONCLUSION**

The transition from the manuscript world to a print culture coincided with a change in regime. In fact, it was facilitated by the change in regime. Due to this change, the Company Government was able to introduce the modern printing press in India. But it cannot be said that it was a one-sided affair, in which the colonizers imposed the technology of print and with it the system of Western education on the “natives”. The transition was definitely inaugurated by the government, but it developed through the active involvement of the colonial people who studied and worked in various educational institutions of the government. That is why Western education spread in India through the means of print. However, education did not remain Western forever. As it involved many Indians and developed in a socio-cultural milieu that differed from the West, it developed particular characteristics of its own as suggested by scholars.<sup>91</sup> Print culture in translation developed unique characteristics which differed from the print cultures that developed in the West. These specificities can be highlighted through an analysis of the changes occurring in the state of languages, the role of

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<sup>91</sup> Such as Aparna Basu (1974), Zaheer Baber (2002), Gyan Prakash (1999), Dhruv Raina and Irfan S. Habib (2004), Peter van der Veer (1996) etc.

the communities involved in these processes and the institutions that developed during this period.

## 2. THE TRANSFORMATION OF LANGUAGE

### INTRODUCTION

The transition from the use of manuscripts to the rise of a print culture had important implications in various areas. As discussed earlier, in western India, this transition began in the late eighteenth century, when British presence increased considerably as a result of their ongoing struggle with the Marathas. As the British captured power in 1818, this transition gained momentum and throughout the century British power came to be firmly established in society. This transition brought about a number of changes in colonial society of which the changes occurring in the linguistic sphere are the focus of this chapter. In this chapter, the changes occurring in the world of languages are analyzed through three dimensions viz. a transition in the structures of language, transition in the way people perceived different languages, and transition in the pedagogy of language. These stages mark the various developments occurring in the linguistic arena during the first phase of British rule in India i.e. the rule of the Company government.

As printing acquired spread in India through British initiatives, many texts began to be printed in the local languages. To reconfigure these languages to suit the requirements of print, numerous changes were made in their structures. These structural changes are discussed in the chapter. Secondly, as the structures of these languages underwent a number of changes, these languages began to be interpreted in an altogether different manner, fashioned through the lenses of orientalism, utilitarianism, liberalism, etc. and the conflicts and contestations occurring between them especially till the mid-nineteenth century. In the second half of the nineteenth century, nationalist discourses came to be linked with the

linguistic sphere. With the coming of the twentieth century, linguistic identities became the basis for a new kind of politics at the conjuncture of nationalism, religion and even regional identities. Thus, a study of the changes in the way the local languages were perceived during the first half of the nineteenth century becomes imperative in order to understand the changing forms of languages.

One more significant transformation in the linguistic sphere occurred in the process of translation. The world of translation acquired a new meaning during this period of mutual encounters,<sup>92</sup> since a whole series of texts in different languages including school textbooks were translated. Thus, the new formats of translation and how they affected the making of textbooks that form a significant part of the educational sphere are dealt with in this chapter. Further, the pedagogy of language teaching took a very different turn in the colonial period. Earlier, spoken languages had never been considered very important in pedagogical practice. However, in the scholarly world of the Peshwas, languages such as Sanskrit and Persian were regarded significant. Their significance altered during the colonial period where nearly all languages entered the system of education. As a result, a set of pedagogical practices for different languages developed. This chapter analyzes the vernacular pedagogical practices that shaped the linguistic discourses during this period.

The introduction of print was one of the many reasons that brought about changes in the linguistic arena. The changes directly affecting language are many, such as the policies of the government, the role of intellectuals especially who worked in the educational arena, the different institutions that worked for bringing about

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<sup>92</sup> Jamal Malik (ed.), *Perspectives of Mutual Encounters in South Asian History, 1760-1860*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2000. Through this work, Malik argues that the colonial encounter that occurred in nineteenth century India was not a one sided affair because of which the colonial space was marked with mutual encounters. This includes both the colonizer and the colonized on an equal footing.

these changes in languages, and so on. However, these factors do not work in isolation rather they are closely tied to each other in bringing about a transition in the linguistic sphere. Therefore, even though the focus of this chapter is to study the changes occurring in the field of languages due to the coming of print the other factors cannot be overlooked.<sup>93</sup> However, they are mostly relegated to the background keeping the focus intact on the role of print. Veena Naregal discusses these factors that contributed to the transformation of languages, in her work on western India.<sup>94</sup> However, her work focuses on understanding the political aspects of language by analyzing the cultural changes introduced through colonial rule in the nineteenth century. Her central concern is to explore the options available to the native intelligentsia within the political domain.<sup>95</sup> This chapter on the other hand, is centrally concerned about understanding the nature of the changes brought about by print in the educational sphere as language is one of the significant parts of the process of education. The chapter closely scrutinizes the transformations in the world of language based on the idea that a multiplicity of factors functioned simultaneously to affect transitions in the linguistic domain.

## **TRANSITION IN THE STRUCTURES OF LANGUAGE**

At the time of the arrival of the British, numerous languages had been in use in the Indian Subcontinent. Marathi with its variants and dialects had been a prominent language that was spoken in various parts of western India, especially those areas that formed the state of Maharashtra in the post-independence period.

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<sup>93</sup> Bhavani Raman, *Document Raj: Writing and Scribes in Early Colonial South India*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 2012. She analyzes the textual practices in colonial administration in the Tamil speaking regions of South India stressing on the development of a 'paper reality' during this period.

<sup>94</sup> Veena Naregal, *Language Politics, Elites, and the Public Sphere: Western India Under Colonialism*, Permanent Black: New Delhi, 2001.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid, pp.5

Its rise is traced to the eleventh century when the saints of the Mahanubhava sect used it extensively to establish connections with the common people. The Bhakti saints promoted it to such levels where it prospered and reached towering heights. With the influence of Persian and Arabic in the seventeenth century it underwent further transformation, later becoming increasingly Sanskritized under the Peshwa rule. The earliest textual evidence of the use of Marathi can be traced to the last decade of the thirteenth century when the Yadavas ruled from Deogiri (at present near Aurangabad) and were subsequently overthrown by the Tughlaqs.<sup>96</sup> Marathi was used in the written format in the *Modi* script which was said to be invented by Hemadri, a prominent minister in the Yadava Court.<sup>97</sup> During the Maratha period, Marathi came to be used frequently in administrative and political matters. Especially during the reign of Shivaji, a number of literary works came to be created in Marathi with state patronage such as the *Rajvyavaharkosh*, a dictionary of administrative terms. He was an ardent supporter of the use of the Marathi language and promoted Marathi literature thriving in his times. One more literary form developed during this period called the *bakhar* which was a narration of important events of the time.<sup>98</sup> Marathi also, exhibited a strong oral tradition which left its signature in numerous art forms. These oral traditions were often included in the religious as well as popular art forms of the period. The *powada* was a form of art that can be categorized as the recitation of ballads with a chorus that celebrated the war narratives of the Maratha sardars and kings. The *lavani* was a popular art dance form supported by singing that sometimes consisted of erotic themes. The art forms such as *abhanga* and *kirtan* were of a devotional nature and they were composed by various saint poets associated with the *bhakti*

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid, pp.13

<sup>97</sup> G. S. Sardesai, *A New History of the Marathas 1606-1707*, Bombay, 1946, pp. 23. For more on a background of textual development of Marathi see Naregal, *Language Politics*, pp. 13-22.

<sup>98</sup> Prachi Deshpande in her work, *Creative Pasts*, views *bakhars* as historical narratives in the construction of the past and in the process undertakes a detailed description of the cultural and social aspects of this literary form.

movement. Further, during the period of the Peshwas, Marathi came to be 'refined' and an even more Sanskritized version known as *Puneri* Marathi or the Pune version of Marathi came to be used in conversations in the royal household and during the late eighteenth century framed the forms of letter writing within the Peshwa territory.<sup>99</sup> The Peshwas provided much patronage to literary activities in Marathi. According to Naregal, in this period, Marathi literature exhibits a slowly expanding audience for vernacular texts, the emergence of secular tendencies within vernacular expression, a personalized and individuated authorial voice, and an increasing interpenetration between elite and non-elite literary idioms.<sup>100</sup> Further, during the nineteenth century, a different kind of transition occurred in Marathi. Bhaskar Lakshman Bhole talks about three kinds of literature produced during that time viz. administrative, non-administrative and missionary literatures.<sup>101</sup> This division primarily marks the goals defining a specific kind of literature, recognizing the fact that one single person is capable of writing for different purposes. The first category of administrative literature consists of literature exclusively used for law, administrative and educative purposes which included governmental records and documents as well as school books and textbooks. The Company government in collaboration with Indian scholars had established several institutions for research in various fields which can also be classified as administrative literature. These institutions were official institutions created with some set objectives. The non-administrative literature included newspapers, journals and other publications of a private 'native' entrepreneurship. This led to the growth of modern journalism in the Marathi literate society was and became one of the most important pillars for the creation

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<sup>99</sup> Naregal, pp. 27

<sup>100</sup> Ibid, pp. 37

<sup>101</sup> Bhaskar Lakshman Bhole, *Ekonisavya Shatkatil Marathi Gadya*, Vol. 1 and 2, Sahitya Akademi, 2006, pp. xxi (Marathi).

of a highly political public sphere from the second half of the nineteenth century. The missionary literature was mainly concerned with proselytization, employing a simple version of Marathi that could be easily followed by the common people to propagate religious literature. Nevertheless, this literature was also of educational value.

Apart from Marathi, other vernaculars were also used. An increasing number of Parsi and Gujarati merchants and traders had started migrating to some pockets of the city of Bombay during the late eighteenth century. As the city of Bombay developed during the nineteenth century, many caste-based communities entered into the trades and services. Gujarati, in speech and writing, began to be used in these pockets of Bombay which later spread to nearby areas as well. According to one scholar, modern Gujarati culture developed in Bombay due to the efforts of these migrant communities and this culture spread throughout Gujarat, reshaping and unifying all aspects of social life.<sup>102</sup> Gujarati became the first native language to appear in print from Bombay in 1797, when an advertisement in Gujarati characters appeared in the *Bombay Courier*.<sup>103</sup> The first Gujarati newspaper, the *Mumbai Samachar* was launched from Bombay by Fardunji Marzbanji in July 1822.<sup>104</sup> It can be argued that Gujarati became closely connected with Bombay city during this period. Konkani was also, spoken along the western coast but most commonly in Goa. Rochelle Pinto, in her work on print and politics in Goa, discusses several aspects related to Konkani.<sup>105</sup> She points out that Konkani was spoken from Daman in the northern Konkan, along the coast, then up over the Ghats to Goa in the south. Some scholars have argued that it was a corrupt form

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<sup>102</sup> R. L. Raval, 'Some Aspects of the British Impact on Religion, Culture and Literature in Gujarat during the Nineteenth Century', in N. R. Ray (ed.), *Western Colonial Policy: A Study of its Impact on Indian Society*, (Vol. 1.), Institute of Historical Studies: Calcutta, 1981. Pp.364

<sup>103</sup> Naregal, *Language Politics*, pp. 162

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 365

<sup>105</sup> Rochelle Pinto, *Between Empires: Print and Politics in Goa*, OUP: New Delhi, 2007.



of Marathi, and thus, it had been considered insignificant for a very long time. However, today Konkani has been accepted as a separate language with a well-defined grammar.<sup>106</sup> There is a scarcity of historical resources on Gujarati and Konkani in Bombay and Pune as compared to Marathi because these were not used widely in these areas in the first half of the nineteenth century. Therefore, not much attention is given in this chapter to the developments in these languages. In analyzing the vernacular sphere in Bombay and Pune, the focus remains on Marathi.

Apart from these vernaculars, languages like Sanskrit and Persian had been in usage for a very long time in western India. Sanskrit had always been considered a language of high status in the Indian society and only the 'upper' castes had been allowed to learn it. During the reign of the Marathas too, it was considered as such and assigned a high literary as well as religious value. According to Sheldon Pollock, Sanskrit was significant not only to poets, scholars, and their patrons throughout Asia, but also in the constitution of cosmopolitan and later vernacular orders of culture and power.<sup>107</sup> During the Peshwa period, Sanskrit had exerted a kind of normative influence on the vernaculars wherein it maintained its higher status.<sup>108</sup> The manuscript collections of the Peshwas consisted of a huge number of texts being produced in Sanskrit. They even extended considerable financial support to Brahmins for the propagation of Sanskrit scholarship. There was the tradition of distributing *dakshina* in which the Peshwa distributed specific monetary resources to the Brahmins annually. In the year, 1770 alone the Peshwa distributed *dakshina* in Pune to 39,912 Brahmins who had come from all parts of

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid, pp. 106, 107

<sup>107</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture and Power In Premodern India*, University of California Press: California, 2006. Pp. 164. Pollock describes the various changes in the linguistic sphere through the processes of vernacularization and cosmopolitanism which will be discussed further in detail in this chapter but in relationship to the vernacular, Marathi.

<sup>108</sup> Naregal, *Language Politics*, pp.21

India.<sup>109</sup> The British too, looked upon Sanskrit as a language of high learning. They not only conducted various researches on Sanskrit scholarship but also, started teaching Sanskrit in educational institutions of the government. According to Sir William Jones:

‘The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologist could examine them all three without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists.’<sup>110</sup>

Moreover, Elphinstone even continued the practice of distributing *dakshina*, however the amount to be distributed was drastically reduced. Persian, on the other hand, was used for communication between the different provinces of the Marathas as well as other regions in the north in written as well as the spoken form before British rule. Muzaffar Alam describes the journey of Persian in South Asia between the twelfth and the nineteenth century.<sup>111</sup> The Peshwa administration used Persian for various official purposes like keeping records. A whole series of records can be found in Persian in the Peshwa *Daftars* situated mostly in Pune city. The Brahmin scholars had been using Persian for quite a long time and throughout the Maratha period, as they could secure jobs in the courts of the different Sultanates. In the Peshwa period it became commonplace to have an adequate knowledge of Persian. According to Naregal, even Persian had its

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<sup>109</sup> Madhav. M. Deshpande, ‘Pandit and Professor: Transformations in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Maharashtra’, in Axel Michaels (ed.), *The Pandit: Traditional Scholarship in India*, Manohar: New Delhi, 2001. Pp.121

<sup>110</sup> Quoted in S. N. Mukherjee, *Sir William Jones: A Study in Eighteenth-Century British Attitudes to India*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1968. Pp. 95

<sup>111</sup> Muzaffar Alam, ‘The Culture and Politics of Persian in Precolonial Hindustan’, in Sheldon Pollock, *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, University of California Press: Berkeley, 2003. Pp. 131-198

influences on the vernaculars and new kinds of linguistic trends such as Persianised Hindustani began to be the medium of formal exchange among the political elite.<sup>112</sup> Thus, it can be said that numerous languages were being used on the eve of the introduction of print. Further, different processes characterize different periods of time in the linguistic sphere in every society and western India is no different. The difference lies in the nature of these processes. In the nineteenth century, forces of colonialism, modernity, globalization etc. affected the discourses of language in South Asia. The transitions occurring in the linguistic sphere were part of these larger discourses of language in South Asia. Some of these transitions in the structures of these languages are discussed below.

### *The Introduction of English*

Printing in English in the Indian Subcontinent commenced during the late eighteenth century when *Hicky's Bengal Gazette* was published in 1780 in Calcutta. Numerous newspapers came to be subsequently published from Calcutta, Madras and later Bombay. The *Bombay Herald* began to be published from Bombay in 1789 which in 1791 came to be known as the *Bombay Gazette*. The readership of these English newspapers remained predominantly British. But with the shift of power, English came to be gradually introduced among the local population through education. This process was enabled by the Charter Act of 1813, due to which the EIC was obliged to get involved in the education of the natives. According to Gauri Viswanathan, the two most important changes brought about by this act were the assumption of a new responsibility toward native education and a relaxation of controls over missionary activity in India.<sup>113</sup> With these changes, English became one of the languages that came to be taught

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<sup>112</sup> Naregal, *Language Politics*, pp. 26

<sup>113</sup> Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India*, Columbia University Press: New York, 1989. Pp. 23

in schools and other educational institutions. Numerous textbooks and other books required for these schools were translated into the vernacular languages from English. Some English books were even used for instruction in English. Besides the vernaculars, English also found a space of increasing importance in the educational sphere. Translations from and into English expanded the scope of the use of English. However, the first half of the nineteenth century educational policy was guided by the Orientalists, due to which education in the vernacular was given priority over education in English. But there was also an expansion in Anglicist thought, during this period pressing for education in English. The period came to be characterized by the imminent debates between the Orientalists and the Anglicists.

In 1835, Macaulay's Minute clearly indicated that English was to be the medium of instruction in Indian education. William Bentinck, the then Governor-General of India passed the English Education Act in the same year making instruction in English mandatory. Vishwanathan argues that even before these steps were taken, there was already a local demand for English education. She notes that the Calcutta Hindus seemed on the whole more eager for English than the Muslims and, some Englishmen believed, were so much easier to instruct. A more likely explanation was that they were fonder of gain and other lucrative employment that required knowledge of English.<sup>114</sup> Viswanathan contends that English had achieved a hegemonic position in society and it is because of this linguistic hegemony, the British were able to gain dominance in forwarding the colonial agenda. Ranajit Guha on the other hand claims that Britain ruled over India through dominance without hegemony. In his work, he makes a difference between the metropolitan state ruling over Great Britain and the colonial state in India. According to him, the metropolitan state was characteristically hegemonic

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid, pp. 43, 44

but as a colonial state it was not hegemonic as coercion was paramount in its structure.<sup>115</sup> In her work, Naregal argues that the introduction of English did not create any hegemony or dominance but was responsible for the creation of a bilingual public sphere in western India. This colonial bilingualism<sup>116</sup> was responsible for the creation of the differences of ‘high’ and ‘low’ in the linguistic sphere wherein English became a ‘high’ language. This greatly undermined the position of the vernaculars vis-à-vis English and thus, many of the natives actively supported education in English. The natives became active agents in the creation of this linguistic sphere that developed during the period. Through this sphere, they tried to find a position for themselves and in turn assert their own dominance in society. The introduction of English cannot be understood in the limited sense of being a hegemonic instrument but rather as a process that was triggered through the involvement of colonial policies and the interests of local communities.

### Colonial Bilingualism

The existence of more than one language in a society is not a unique phenomenon. The introduction of English and the manner of its introduction gave rise to a public sphere that turned out to be bilingual, where English on the one hand, and the vernacular Marathi on the other formed the two axes of this linguistic sphere. This bilingualism is fundamental to Naregal’s analysis of the language politics of nineteenth century western India, for it developed not only due to the Government’s policies but also through the active involvement of

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<sup>115</sup> Ranajit Guha, *Dominance Without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India*, Harvard University Press: US, 1997

<sup>116</sup> Naregal, *Language Politics*, pp. 4, 5

Indian literati. Naregal describes how the bilingual public sphere was created through specific pedagogic practices and translations.<sup>117</sup>

Colonial education too, in the process became bilingual. These factors were responsible for the creation of structural hierarchies in the linguistic arena wherein English gained a dominant position vis-à-vis the vernacular. This hierarchical colonial bilingualism influenced the vernacular. The influence of English on Marathi has been the focus of study of Bhalchandra Nemade's socio-linguistic analysis.<sup>118</sup> He analyzes the influence of English on Marathi prose in three different phases categorized by time. The first phase, according to him, lasted from 1818 to 1847, during which the first generation of prose writers enabled the transition from the oral to the written and from manuscript to print culture. The second phase from 1847 to 1874 was marked by the specialization of the features of the written language and the emergence of a new standard. Finally, in the third phase that commenced in 1874 and ended in 1890 is marked by the consolidation of the standard and the completion of the transition from Sanskrit bilingualism to English bilingualism of the Marathi writers.<sup>119</sup> Nemade argues that the Indian literati were already used to bilingualism, as in the Peshwa period, and so Marathi came to be heavily influenced by Sanskrit. As English gradually gained a dominant position in society, Marathi came under its influence in this new bilingual situation. Both modernists as well as reformists amongst the nineteenth century literati in western India never fully opposed the spread of English and English education and as such were not opposed to the idea of a bilingual public sphere.

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid, pp. 106-112

<sup>118</sup> Bhalchandra Nemade, *The Influence of English on Marathi: A Sociolinguistic and Stylistic Study*, Popular Prakashan: Mumbai, 2014. First published - Rajhauns Publications: Panaji, 1990

<sup>119</sup> Ibid, pp. 5

### Standardization

As the vernaculars began to appear in print, the text of these vernaculars had to be adjusted into a format that was printable. A letter from Mr. J. Taylor, one of the officials of the Company government who had been entrusted the task of printing books to Elphinstone, mentions the difficulties of printing in Marathi. In the letter Taylor states,

“Balbodha or Devanagari which is the character in which almost all Mahratta books are written, is the one which, I am decidedly of the opinion, ought to be used for printing Mahratta. The type at present in use is the Morhi (Modi) which is the character universally used in the Mahratta business and is of a running nature somewhat like our writing. It is admirably fitted for business, but is by no means so neat and intelligible as the firm square devanagari, which is the reason that I so decidedly prefer the latter for printing.”<sup>120</sup>

Thus, Marathi came to be printed in the *balbodh* script. However, this was only the beginning.

Standardization meant that by adopting the dominant language as a benchmark, the vernacular had to be restructured in a way, that it would be rendered commensurate with the structures of the dominant language. Marathi in this bilingual situation had to be standardized by the formats of English printing. This process too, was facilitated by colonial officials as well as the native intelligentsia. The making of various dictionaries and grammars during this period was one way of standardizing the language. The grammatical systems of English and Sanskrit had to be incorporated in creating the standard format. Further, the use of print rendered the written format more significant than the oral one which

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<sup>120</sup> Quoted in *Mountstuart Elphinstone in Maharashtra (1801-1827): A Study of the Territories Conquered from the Peshwas*, K P Bagchi & Co.: New Delhi, 1981. Pp. 231

in turn created the need of a standard form of Marathi. Nemade notes that the standard type of Marathi in the socio-linguistic realm developed six phases. Firstly, Marathi was spoken in different versions throughout western India. However, *Puneri* Marathi or the Pune-variety of Marathi was superposed on the others making this version the standard one. Secondly, the emergence of this standard Marathi can be attributed to the educational system of the period as it is here it was being used as a medium of discourse. Thirdly, from the educational system this Marathi flowed in to the public sphere and turned into the voice of the entire speech community. Fourthly, as the levels of literacy in society increased standard Marathi spread due to its use by more and more people. In the fifth place, standard Marathi was used by mainly literate bilinguals, who mostly used it in writing but throughout the century. Gradually this version became standardized in the spoken form. Finally, it developed under the influence of English and the intermixture of other dialects was minimized to a large extent.<sup>121</sup> Marathi's fate was no different from the other languages in the subcontinent.

### **TRANSITION IN THE PERCEPTION ABOUT LANGUAGE**

Major discourses about language emerged in the nineteenth century as the educational system in India engaged with different languages in different ways. At the same time, new discourses about language were emerging in Europe. The two influenced each other. Frames of interpretation and ideological orientations such as such as orientalism, liberalism, utilitarianism etc. had a profound influence on the development of the discourses about language. The interpretations of different languages and the formation of various discourses were fundamental features of this period. The response the native intelligentsia to

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid, pp.99



these developments is also significant. In fact, this intelligentsia helped in the shaping these discourses. As discussed earlier, the bilingual sphere of this period developed in the interaction between Marathi and English. The use of Persian came to be severely restricted as Company officials began to restructure society in western India and the influence of Sanskrit and English increased. Thee attention in the linguistic sphere shifted to English and Marathi. This change can be analyzed by understanding the processes of vernacularization and the way languages were classified during this period.

### Vernacularization

The process of vernacularization has been studied by Sheldon Pollock in his work concerning language and literary histories around the world. He describes this process by tracing its roots to what he calls the vernacular millennium.<sup>122</sup> In this period, the universalistic orders, formations, and practices of the preceding millennium were supplanted and gradually replaced by localized forms.<sup>123</sup> This process has similar parallels in a later period that is the beginning of the early modern period, wherein a new type of vernacularization was brought about consciously by writers who communicated through the medium of a language that had social and political connotations. This process had different consequences in different places – in Western Europe it led to the rise of nation-states whereas in South Asia, a new vernacular polity developed.<sup>124</sup> This led to the development of a different kind of modernity in South Asia.

Geographically, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the focus shifted to Marathi in Bombay and Pune, Marathi became the instrument of the new

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<sup>122</sup> Sheldon Pollock, 'India in the vernacular millennium: Literary culture and polity, 1000-1500.' *Daedalus* (1998): 41-74.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 41

<sup>124</sup> Sheldon Pollock, 'Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History.' *Public culture*, Vol. 12, No.3, 2000. Pp.591-625.

vernacular polity. Vishnushastri Chiplunkar (1850-82), one of the prominent scholars of the period, in article published in his renowned journal *Nibandhmala*, which began publication in 1874, compares the position of Marathi with English and argues that Marathi was reduced to a subordinate position due to the high-handedness of English which had become dominant.<sup>125</sup> He can be considered the first scholar of the Marathi language, who had connected its destiny to the larger political discourse of the period. According to V. G. Lele, three ideological currents were active during this period in Maharashtra. The first was the extremist school celebrating India's past achievements, the second was of the ideology of liberalism which was later adopted by the moderates in Indian politics, and third was that of militant nationalism that believed in an armed rebellion against the British government.<sup>126</sup> Lele argues that Chiplunkar was the founder of the extremist school and attacked the evils of foreign rule through his literary prose in Marathi. However, Chiplunkar's major contribution was in highlighting the relationship between the vernacular and the political discourse, which acquired a nationalistic fervor in the period to follow. This reaffirms Pollock's thesis regarding the relationship between the process of vernacularization and the vernacular polity.

### *Classification of Languages*

The discourse about language in Europe was shaped by ideas that developed over centuries. During the Middle Ages, a distinction came to be made between classical languages like Greek and Latin while other languages which were spoken on a wider scale were deemed as vernaculars. These vernaculars over a period of years developed to be the modern European languages of Europe. When

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<sup>125</sup> Vishnushastri Chiplunkar, *Nibandhmala* Vol I, Varada Publications: Pune, 1992. (A compilation of essays published in the *Nibandhmala*.)

<sup>126</sup> V. G. Lele, 'British Rule and the Rise of Nationalism in Maharashtra (1818-1920)', in N. R. Ray (ed.), *Western Colonial Policy*, Vol. 1. Institute of Historical Studies: Calcutta, 1981. Pp. 214

the Europeans started colonizing regions around the globe they came into contact with a plethora of languages. The study of these languages revealed that almost all languages are in some way connected to each other. This realization paved the way for the classification of languages. Indian languages too were studied in the nineteenth century, and a family of these languages came to be classified as the Indo-European languages. Sanskrit along with some other Indian languages gained the status of a classical language as its links with Greek and Latin came to be established. The other languages were called vernaculars and William Jones even argued that all Indian languages were offshoots of Sanskrit. However, this view was challenged by Robert Caldwell in his *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Family of Languages* (1856). He introduced the concept of the Dravidian languages which meant that the north Indian languages were classified as Aryan languages and both developed to be an antithesis to each other during this time.<sup>127</sup> A system of classification of Indian languages emerged that created the possibility of linking language with identity. According to Bernard Cohn, not only were British systems of thought and technique disseminated in India but some of the ideas developed in India by the British were also applied in Great Britain,<sup>128</sup> highlighting the important role played by mutual encounters. Cohn describes this process in the concept of investigative modality which included the definition of a body of information that is needed, the procedures by which appropriate knowledge is gathered, its ordering and classification, and its transformation into usable forms such as published reports, statistical returns, histories, gazetteers, legal codes, and encyclopedias.<sup>129</sup> In order to develop the different investigative modalities, the first step was to learn the native languages

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<sup>127</sup> Thomas R. Trautmann, *Languages and Nations: the Dravidian Proof in Colonial Madras*, Yoda Press: New Delhi, 2006.

<sup>128</sup> Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*, Princeton University Press: Princeton, New Jersey, 1996. Pp. 3, 4

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 5

which would further help in different kinds of classifications and categorizations so that the colonial society could be controlled.<sup>130</sup> During the early phase of colonialism, the classification of languages can be seen as a part of this larger process of colonial control.

### THE WORLD OF TRANSLATIONS

Translations have been always fundamental in establishing communication between two different cultures. But during the nineteenth century, translations acquired a new significance in colonial societies like India. Many scholars such as Bernard Cohn have described the process of translation during this period as a mechanism through which colonialism functioned. According to him, the codification of South Asian languages during the late eighteenth and the nineteenth century was responsible for the conversion of indigenous forms of textualized knowledge into instruments of colonial rule.<sup>131</sup> Translations formed a part of the instruments of colonialism, for as Cohn argues that the conquest of India was a conquest of knowledge.<sup>132</sup> He looks at the technology of translation manifested in the grammars and dictionaries of the vernaculars prepared during as a means of decreasing the dependence on native interlocutors for understanding different aspects of society as well as securing a command over the natives through the use of the native languages. This seminal work is quite significant for understanding the nature of translations during the period under consideration as it highlights the nature of epistemic violence of the colonial state. Some of the perceptions of linguistic translations occurring in this period are seen as acts of

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<sup>130</sup> Ibid, pp 4, 5

<sup>131</sup> Bernard Cohn, 'The Command of Language and the Language of Command', in *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, Oxford University Press: New Delhi, 1997.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid, pp. 16

cultural translation.<sup>133</sup> Francesca Orsini, too, through her analysis of the detective novel highlights the process of translation as a cultural enterprise in nineteenth century India.<sup>134</sup> According to her, the detective novel was a literary genre that was introduced in India through its translation into the vernacular. Through a study of the novel in the Bengali and Urdu public spheres, she discusses how the translations of these novels replicated novelty in a familiar setting<sup>135</sup> by their exposition in the arena of commercial publishing. The translations into the vernaculars in this literary realm reflected the different ways through which Indians adopted different literary traditions of their colonial masters. This analysis also, highlights the role of various printing technologies and publishing enterprises in shaping these discourses of translation. This discussion about the effects of print on the development of language provides a substantial view of the complex affairs of translation in the educational framework.

However, the translations encountered in the field of education during the early decades of colonial rule reflect not only the need to restructure the vernaculars for generating a hierarchical linguistic system but also to recreate them in order to propagate colonial dominance in education. Michael S. Dodson focuses on this aspect of translations into the vernaculars by demonstrating how the process of translation facilitated colonialism in India. The analysis of translations by Michael S. Dodson in mid- nineteenth century north India transports the study of translations to a new realm. Dodson regards the translation process of this period as an evolving discipline.<sup>136</sup> The main focus of his article is to understand the

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<sup>133</sup> For instance, Tejaswini Niranjana, *Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context*, Berkeley: University of California Press: 1991

<sup>134</sup> Francesca Orsini, 'Detective Novels' in Stuart H. Blackburn, Vasudha Dalmia (ed.), *India's Literary History: Essays on the Nineteenth Century*, Permanent Black: New Delhi, 2004

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 457

<sup>136</sup> Michael S. Dodson, 'Translating Science, Translating Empire: The Power of Language in Colonial North India', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (Oct., 2005), pp. 810

changes occurring in Indian languages brought about by colonial governmental educational institutes in north India through an analysis of the translational activities occurring during that period. The translation employed led to the creation of the ‘modern’ languages and the development of national or communal identities around these languages.<sup>137</sup> Dodson’s analysis of the government sponsored process of translation in the field of the sciences reflects the ways in which languages were constructed in adopting British conceptual frameworks. This became possible because of the imperial project of imposing ‘civilizational advancement’ upon the non-West through education.<sup>138</sup> Therefore, his work focuses on the different ways through which various texts in English were translated into Indian languages. This work tries to trace the process of translations occurring in the first half of the nineteenth century in western India according to Dodson’s analysis of translations.

In western India, as the East India Company government got involved in the education sphere, the need for translations was felt like never before. In such a situation, the government required learned natives who could help and even work with them in the endeavors of translation. Many attempts such as the idea of engraftment<sup>139</sup> were introduced to engage the natives in colonial education. Not only were many institutions such as Vernacular Translation Societies and Native School Book Societies set up to facilitate translational activities but also, various monetary inducements were granted to the natives. In a pamphlet published in 1825, the secretary of the Bombay Native School Society (BNES), Captain George Jervis announced monetary rewards to persons interested in and capable of translating a number of texts into Marathi and Gujarati which included school

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid, pp. 810, 811

<sup>138</sup> Ibid, 810. Emphasis original.

<sup>139</sup> Michael S. Dodson, ‘Orientalism and Archaeology: Writing the History of South Asia, 1600–1800’, in Sudeshna Guha (ed.) *The Marshall Albums. Photography and Archaeology*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2010. Pp. 75

textbooks, texts on astronomy, law, politics, the sciences and so on.<sup>140</sup> The translations of small books were to be rewarded in amounts ranging from a hundred to four hundred rupees and the translation of manuscripts would be compensated to the tune of two thousand to five thousand rupees.<sup>141</sup>

The Report of the Board of Education for the years 1840-41, mentions that one of the defects in the education of the BNES was the lack of a well-defined relation between the vernacular and the English branches.<sup>142</sup> This problem could be solved through the use of translations that would ease the relationship between the vernaculars and English by bridging the gaps between these languages. Therefore, the government was trying to attract translators in the new educational institutions. The need for translations was not only felt by the government but also the native intelligentsia as many of them who were associated with education during this period felt that Marathi was yet to develop into a modern language as compared to the European languages. Veena Naregal documents some of these perceptions of the intelligentsia wherein a renowned translator and scholar, Sadashiv Kashinath Chhatre, better known as Bapu Chhatre, who worked with the BNES, laments the inadequacies of Marathi. He describes Marathi as a language in which no one has composed grammars or dictionaries, in which no great scholars had taken interest, whose vocabulary was limited and its spoken style had not matured either.<sup>143</sup> The need for restructuring Marathi through various translations from English and Sanskrit came to acquire significance during this period. The missionaries too were also involved in the educational sphere and had translated religious literature into the vernacular for the speedy proliferation of

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<sup>140</sup> Pamphlet (Marathi) dated 8 April 1825, published by Captain George Jervis, Secretary of the Bombay Native School and School Book Society. Reproduced in Bhole, *Ekonisavya Shatkatil Marathi Gadya*, Vol.1. Pp. 3-9

<sup>141</sup> Ibid, pp. 3

<sup>142</sup> Report of the Board of Education for the years 1840-41 No.1., American Mission Press: Bombay, 1842. Pp. 3. For more on the Board of Education see Chapter 5.

<sup>143</sup> Naregal, pp. 126, 127

their ideas. Their role in the translations in the area of education arena was quite significant.

The translations into Marathi can be seen in published texts containing European ideas and theories about a range of topics. One of the most prominent translations into Marathi, during this period was of school textbooks. The Company Government had been establishing schools that required textbooks for instruction and guidance. A number of institutions were established for the specific purposes of producing school textbooks. The Bombay Native School Book and School Society was one such organization which began in 1822 and renamed the Bombay Native Education Society in 1827. It had originally begun as a committee for the publishing of textbooks in Marathi, Gujarati and English. The members of this committee were prominent translators and educators who wanted that educational instruction should be imparted to the natives in the native languages. The Society developed into a major organization establishing different schools, libraries, printing presses and other educational institutions. The translation activities of this organization were vital as it was central to the publication of school textbooks. An amount of Rs. 12,720 was estimated in 1832 to be annually allotted from the revenues to the Bombay Native School Book and School Society for the support of native schools and the production of textbooks.<sup>144</sup>

From their inception, there were a large number of problems of translatability encountered for almost every subject and each subject had its own specific problems. Without getting into the details of each and every subject, some general problems of translatability are considered here. Firstly, textbooks were required to promote education which would provide rational, systematic and moral

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<sup>144</sup> Great Britain, Parliament, Joint Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, *Report... Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index*. HM Stationery Office, 1832. Digital version, pp. 433, 434



instruction to the natives that would improve their educational situation,<sup>145</sup> there were certain obligations which the textbook had to fulfill. Frequently, these attributes of the West contrasted sharply with Indian ideas and traditions and thus, the translators often faced the dilemmas of finding parallels between the two cultures. This led to several inconsistencies in the textbooks regarding the meanings and forms of different things. The policies of the government directed the translators to make use of terms that were used in Marathi and if no terms were found, they had to be borrowed either from Sanskrit or at the most from English.<sup>146</sup> But no amount of control over the translators could dissuade them from using terms at their own discretion leading to some kind of relaxation in this norm. Here too, a number of inconsistencies could be seen in the vocabulary. Like everywhere else, the nature of these translations depended to a large extent on the capabilities of the translators. Further, another motive behind the creation of textbooks was to inculcate reading practices in the vernacular. So, textbooks incorporated fables, anecdotes, extracts from natural history, moral sentences and so on.<sup>147</sup> The translations from English books and treatises that were included in the textbook were sometimes without proper contextualization which rendered the process of translation even more tedious.

## **TRANSITION IN THE PEDAGOGY OF LANGUAGE**

The pedagogical practices of the Peshwa period were of an altogether different nature. Almost all those engaged in educational and literary activities were predominantly high caste. The structures of education and their relationship with

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<sup>145</sup>R. V. Parulekar (ed.), *Selections from Educational Records (Bombay)*, Part II 1815-1840, Indian Institute of Education, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1958. Pp. 214

<sup>146</sup> Ibid, pp. 51

<sup>147</sup> Ibid, pp. 55

each other were also quite different. The institutional set-up of these structures was not like those in colonial society. The student-teacher relationship was the foundation of this institution and the curriculum consisted of the learning of the Vedas and *shastras*. Sanskrit had to be learnt as most of the ancient knowledge demanded a complete command over it. The knowledge of Persian was also considered important as that could fetch jobs in the royal courts and offices. The ruling classes too were mostly quite adept at both these languages. The vernacular languages were never taught as such as their use was related mostly to conversation both in speech and writing. Marathi was never really taught but was acquired by transmission over the generations. Due to the shift toward the vernacular in the nineteenth century, Marathi for the first time entered the colonial pedagogic framework. The first step towards adapting Marathi in this framework was one of the most significant aspects of the vernacular pedagogy involving the introduction of a number of innovations in Marathi both in speech and script. Conscious efforts were made to teach the vernaculars with an order and perspicuous arrangement not to be met with in the old systems of the natives.<sup>148</sup>

The missionaries were also, deeply involved in education and even they expounded the teaching of the vernacular in their schools in order to propagate religious literature. The government schools were to a large extent influenced by the pedagogic practices of the missionaries as some of the people connected with government education were also part of these missions. The pedagogy of the vernaculars was influenced by the textbooks as well as the curriculum that were specifically meant to provide instruction to the students. With the aid of these, the students would be provided a more grammatical and thorough acquaintance with

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<sup>148</sup> Ibid, pp. 76

Marathi and Gujarati.<sup>149</sup> The pedagogic practices of the vernaculars influenced the construction of the vernacular sphere to a very large extent.

As, these textbooks and the curriculum were created to disseminate ideas and theories from the West they helped to further hierarchies emerging from colonialism in the educational sphere. This shaped the pedagogical practices in such a way that they too reflected the characteristics of colonial dominance. Krishna Kumar describes the pedagogical practices in India through the means of a 'textbook culture' in which teachers are tied to the textbook and are provided very little freedom in instruction.<sup>150</sup> He traces this practice to the colonial period and demonstrates that pedagogical processes that developed in colonial India are responsible for it. In her analysis of the Hindi public sphere, Orsini argues that the educational structures of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century provided little scope for the development of critical attitudes among the students.<sup>151</sup> She too, blames the pedagogical practices of the vernaculars of this period. In colonial western India, until the establishment of the university system pedagogical practices of the vernaculars focused more on inculcating reading habits in the students for fluency. Teachers had to be proficient in different languages. The focus of reading led to the extensive use of textbooks which were structured in a narrative form. Reading in the vernacular was considered a sign of progress and achievement and even reading examinations were conducted for testing the reading capacities of the students. According to one of the reports of the BNES on the condition of education in schools, some of the students who at the time of admission had come with a simple knowledge of reading, excelled over those of

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid

<sup>150</sup> Krishna Kumar, 'Origins of India's "Textbook Culture,"' *Comparative Education Review*, 1988. Pp.452-464

<sup>151</sup> Francesca Orsini, 'Language and Literary Sphere', in *The Hindi Public Sphere 1920-1940: Language and Literature in the Age of Nationalism*, OUP: New Delhi, 2002. Pp.15-124

the first class especially in reading.<sup>152</sup> As a result, the practice of memorization became a part of this design of education. Memorization gradually became an important part of learning vernaculars where not only poetry but some versions of prose were also subject to memory. This method of rote learning was already a part of the education system it was incorporated easily into the colonial educational structure. Later, as English began to take roots among the native population the pedagogy of the vernaculars began to be influenced by the pedagogy of English. As such both the languages developed in the colonial educational set-up simultaneously and many students began to take up bilingual education. In such a situation they came face to face with two languages, their vernacular which was constantly undergoing changes while English was thought to have well-defined structures.<sup>153</sup> Through pedagogical practices employed to teach both these languages a system of hierarchy developed in which English began to have an upper hand. Thus, through the study of the pedagogic practices, one can understand the linguistic predicaments of colonial education.

## CONCLUSION

The discourses of language until the mid-nineteenth century were shaped by the debates between the Orientalists and the Anglicists. The Orientalist ideas were based on a perception of the world as a platform wherein there are many avenues of exploration and innovation. Their ideas about education were shaped by the motives of creating a class of educated elites who reflected modern values. These new elites were elite before as they always had access to education. The creation of these elites was through instruction in their own languages, i.e. the vernaculars.

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<sup>152</sup> *Selections from Educational Records*, pp.88

<sup>153</sup> This has been highly contested from several corners.

Further, through these elites the colonial administration wished to reach the masses in India. According to one scholar, this strategy would co-opt the traditional elite into the colonial project, help them partially retain their control over education and avoid a major social disruption.<sup>154</sup>

On the other hand, the Anglicists believed in educating a small population of the natives in English who as a part of the education system would educate the others in the vernaculars. This strategy would create a new elite, who would be loyal to the colonial government and would be the mediators between it and its subjects. By keeping the educated population small, the demand for jobs in the government would be under control and, consequently, social unrest arising out of the inability to acquire white-collar jobs after an English education would be kept in check.<sup>155</sup> These two positions were in constant conflict with each other. Even though, William Bentinck made the Anglicist standpoint the official policy of the government in 1835 owing, these debates did not end. The supporters of these two positions, which included colonizers as well as the native intelligentsia still held sway over the many educational institutions of the period. These ideas also influenced the public sphere in shaping the discourses on education. Gradually during the course of the nineteenth century, the Orientalist influence began to fade. But in the first half of the nineteenth century, both the positions were quite significant in shaping the educational policy as well as the public sphere in the linguistic discourse. However, as these positions were constantly in conflict with each other, their influence can be estimated by analyzing them in conflict rather than as individual ideas. The debates are crucial for understanding the linguistic sphere until the mid-nineteenth century.

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<sup>154</sup> E. Annamalai, 'Nation-building in a Globalised World: Language Choice and Education in India', in Angel Lin and Peter W. Martin (eds.), *Decolonisation, Globalisation: Language in Education Policy and Practice*, Vol. 3. Multilingual Matters, 2005. Pp. 21

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid*, pp.21

One more important factor of this period and the focus of this chapter is the shift toward the vernaculars. This shift as discussed earlier was brought about by many factors, facilitated in different ways and had a multitude of consequences. Locating this shift in a bilingual sphere of education and society is important because the attention that the vernaculars gained during the period cannot be said to have created any progressive change. The modernization of the vernaculars was one of the processes in the linguistic sphere that occurred under the auspices of colonial domination. In the bilingual set-up, vernaculars were constantly struggling to keep up with the demands of a colonial society and education. However, they were fighting a losing battle as English was constantly gaining an upper hand in education as well as the public sphere. This struggle has continued into our times as there is fear of the extinction of vernaculars and the cultures they accommodate. The shift to the vernacular, in restructuring and recreating them, in a way led to their steady decline. According to Pollock,

‘In fact, literary-language loss is often viewed as part of a more general reduction of cultural diversity, one considered as dangerous as the reduction of biological diversity to which it is often compared. The homogenization of culture today, of which language loss is one aspect, seems without precedent in human history, at least for the scope, speed, and manner in which changes are taking place.’<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Pollock, ‘Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History’, pp.209

### 3. EDUCATIONISTS, PRINT, AND TRANSFORMATION

#### INTRODUCTION

Without undermining the significance of many other factors in bringing about a transformation in the educational sphere of colonial India during the nineteenth century, the contributions of individuals is also of significance. These individuals in their various roles as educationists, printers, publishers, teachers, professors, pundits, translators, intellectuals, scholars etc. were able to influence educational discourses developing during the period. Madhav Deshpande locates some of these individuals in nineteenth century Maharashtra, in their transformation of their persona from the pandit to professor marking transformations occurring in the social and cultural sphere.<sup>157</sup> He focuses on the accomplishments of individuals who share the common characteristics of being Sanskrit scholars and connects them to the larger discourses of the on-going tension between different traditions of Sanskrit education in modern India.<sup>158</sup> Michael S. Dodson instead focuses on certain aspects of a single personality who represents a group while trying to locate them in the historical process of the period under consideration.<sup>159</sup> In this article, Dodson uses the analysis of Ballantyne's educational project as a basis upon which he begins to develop a parallel, though perhaps not complimentary, history of the pandits of Benares College during the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>160</sup> Veena Naregal, in her analysis of the politics of language in nineteenth century western India, focuses on the native intelligentsia and the ways

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<sup>157</sup> Madhav M. Deshpande, 'Pandit and Professor: Transformations in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Maharashtra', in Axel Michaels (ed.), *The Pandit: Traditional Scholarship in India*, Manohar: New Delhi, 2001. Pp. 120-153

<sup>158</sup> Ibid, pp. 149

<sup>159</sup> Michael S. Dodson, 'Re-Presented for the Pandits: James Ballantyne, 'Useful Knowledge,' and Sanskrit Scholarship in Benares College during the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 2, May 2002. Pp. 257-298

<sup>160</sup> Ibid, pp. 259

in which they tried to realise their hegemonic aspirations within the sphere of colonial literate politics.<sup>161</sup> Her contribution in understanding individual achievements against the backdrop of powerful overarching structures of colonial domination and the different power structures within the native communities cannot be overlooked. Further, Brian A. Hatcher attempts to investigate the transformations occurring over time in the activities, experiences, and social location of pandits in colonial Bengal.<sup>162</sup> These studies analyse the role of different individuals connected in some form or the other to the different educational processes occurring in colonial India. They try to address different issues of the construction of colonial education and stress the capacities of negotiation of these individuals in shaping the discourses of colonialism.

This chapter too, tries to understand the role of different individuals engaged in shaping the educational sphere in the Bombay-Pune region, until the mid-nineteenth century. As it became mandatory for the Company Government to assume the responsibility of educating the natives following the Charter Act of 1813, the British adopted several measures to introduce Western education. Establishing educational institutes was one of the several measures of the government in this direction. Running these institutions was impossible without the support of the natives and learned individuals were recruited in these institutions. Some Company officials took a keen interest in the education of the natives, though with a completely distinct mindset. However, most of the studies of colonial officials in Western India focus on documenting the lives of high ranking officials only.

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<sup>161</sup> Naregal, *Language Politics*, pp. 5

<sup>162</sup> Brian A. Hatcher, 'What's Become of the Pandit? Rethinking the History of Sanskrit Scholars in Colonial Bengal', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 3, Jul., 2005, pp. 683-72



This chapter analyzes the role of relatively lesser known individuals of the colonial period but their accomplishments in their respective fields were substantial. These individuals can be organized in several groups such as – the colonial officers, the Brahmins of the Bombay-Pune region especially the *Chitpavan* Brahmins, the individuals belonging to the other ‘high’ caste communities, the Parsis and other Gujarati merchants who were steadily migrating to the city of Bombay, and the missionaries. The *Chitpavan* Brahmins, who became powerful during the Peshwa period, enjoyed a position of dominance in the social and cultural arena since then. These predominantly traditional elites<sup>163</sup> were mostly, well-versed in languages such as Sanskrit and Persian as well as experts in many other fields of knowledge. As the Peshwas themselves belonged to this caste, the royal court employed them in large numbers. They flocked around the city of Pune throughout the Peshwa period. Even during the colonial period, Pune city was hugely under the influence of their cultural dominance. The other traditional elites, who were ‘high’ caste, but were sidelined due to the dominance of the *Chitpavans*, were *the Prabhus, Sonars, Bhandaris* etc. Some other Brahmin castes such as the *Deshathas* etc. fall into this category as even they were often sidelined and denied their social positions during the Peshwa rule. The *Chitpavans* always have had a powerful position in the Bombay-Pune region.

Further, the merchant communities from Gujarat such as the Parsis, Marwaris and other traders formed the fourth category of individuals shaping the educational sphere. These merchants had steadily migrated to Bombay during the end of the eighteenth century and the development of Bombay city owes a lot to these communities. Most of them were from a high socio-economic background and

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<sup>163</sup> Their elite status was maintained from generations and sanctioned through traditions. Therefore, they are predominantly traditional elites.

possessed a strong entrepreneurial proficiency. The Parsis however, were involved in colonial education since its inception and contributed significantly in this arena. Finally, the Christian missionaries had been in Western India for long, and even they played a significant role in shaping the educational discourses of the period. But due to the lack of any support from the Bombay Government, missionary activities in the Bombay-Pune region were limited even when their presence in the area was quite substantial.<sup>164</sup> These missionaries were also involved in the printing and the publishing of various texts. Presses such as The American Mission Press in Bombay even published some school textbooks as well as other educational texts. From these groups arose the first generation of Western-styled intellectuals who formed the foundations of colonial education in Western India.

This chapter tries to trace the work of these individuals within a print culture developing in the mid-nineteenth century in the construction of colonial education. In the process, the chapter also tries to understand the nature of the complex relationship between the different communities while working in a colonial structure such as education. The missionaries and Gujarati communities in the first phase of colonial rule had not yet made any significant impact on the educational processes. It is in the late nineteenth century that they become a part of significant discourses on education. Even though their presence is acknowledged, this chapter does not examine their contributions.

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<sup>164</sup> Though Elphinstone, the first Governor of Bombay, believed in the doctrines of Christianity, he did not approve of their excessive zeal as well as their interference in the Indian religious practices. He believed in the gradual change of heart of the natives. For more details see, Sushma Varma, *Mountstuart Elphinstone in Maharashtra (1801-1827): A Study of the Territories Conquered from the Peshwas*. 1981. Pp. 226. Even after his retirement, the colonial policies towards the missionaries did not change much during the period under consideration. The Government attitudes towards missionaries at best can be described as skeptical.

## THE COLONIAL OFFICERS

During the eighteenth and nineteenth century, scholars suggest that Europeans traveled to India for a variety of reasons such as to make money, for adventure, to climb the social ladder in Britain, and also with a missionary zeal to shape the future of India.<sup>165</sup> Most of the officers of the East India Company were not very enthusiastic about proselytization and more than often it was their military expertise that was needed for the overseas campaigns of the Company. Though the primary motive of the Company was trade and profit, due to colonial expansion they were entrusted with the additional responsibilities of governing the colonies. Their engagement in the colonies was further necessitated by the demands of Empire in engaging in different spheres of colonial society. Colonial officials employed for these purposes were well acquainted with the culture and the tradition of the natives and were entrusted tasks in the sphere of education heralding a phase a new modality of interaction between these colonial officials and the natives. According to one historian J. R. Seeley (1834-1895), “The British seem, as it were, to have conquered and peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind.”<sup>166</sup> This statement suggests the absence of grand plans behind the actions of the colonizers. Other scholars argue that the paramount was the building of a colonial empire. The anti-imperialist, Marxist and various other schools of thought have sought to disclose these agendas. However, without getting into the intricacies of these debates, it is important to understand that even though the impact of colonial domination was devastating, the encounters between the peoples of the two civilizations were quite varied and complex.

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<sup>165</sup> S. N. Mukherjee, *Sir William Jones: A Study in Eighteenth Century British Attitudes to India*, Cambridge University Press: New York, 1968. Pp. 2

<sup>166</sup> Quoted in Susie L. Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Culture and Society in the Nineteenth Century Britain*, Routledge: New York, 2012. Pp. 60

Mountstuart Elphinstone (1779-1851)

Mounstuart Elphinstone, the first governor of Bombay Presidency was deeply interested in the education of the natives and undertook many measures for the same. He was associated with the East India Company from the age of seventeen and had at that time been posted to Calcutta.<sup>167</sup> He came to Pune in 1801 when he was appointed as the assistant of Lord Wellesley, as an expert in Marathi and Persian, and also knew many other languages. He played a major role in the struggles of the Company with the Marathas. Apart from his excellence in administrative capacities, his most notable contributions are in the field of education, introducing measures for the diffusion of Western education in the Bombay Presidency. In his Minutes on Education, he highlighted the different ways through for promoting education.<sup>168</sup> As the founder of vernacular education in Western India he promoted the development of the vernaculars Marathi and Gujarati by supporting translation activity during this period. He also encouraged the publication of school textbooks and educational material. Since the allocation for education was scarce there was little support from the Home Government or the members of his Executive Council. As a result he played a role in founding a private organization, the Bombay Education Society which was an institution that was involved in the education of poor European children in Bombay.<sup>169</sup> This institution slowly turned its attention towards the natives and later many native intellectuals became members. The Bombay Native School and School Book Society was established to produce textbooks. He became the President of this organization and actively worked for its development. Over the years he earned the status of a highly respected figure in intellectual circles in India and after his

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<sup>167</sup> T. E. Colebrooke, *Life of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone*, Vol.1. London, 1884.

<sup>168</sup> Elphinstone's Minute on Education, 1824 in G. W. Forrest (ed.), *Official Writings of Mountstuart Elphinstone*, London, 1884

<sup>169</sup> Sushma Varma, *Mountstuart Elphinstone in Maharashtra (1801-1827): A Study of the Territories Conquered from the Peshwas*. 1981. Pp.235

retirement in 1827 a college was established in his honour known as the Elphinstone College which is actively functional to this day. Furthermore, he authored many books and reports such as *A Report on the Territories Conquered from the Peshwas* and *History of India* (1841), and *Rise of the British Power in the East* (1887), and encouraged Grant Duff in writing the history of the Marathas.

Captain George Jervis (1794-1851)

George Ritso Jervis was one of the prominent personalities in the construction of early mathematical knowledge in the nineteenth century. In 1811, he completed his education from one of the East India Company's military seminary and travelled to India. He took part in the Third Anglo-Maratha War of 1818 and was appointed Assistant Chief Engineer of the Bombay Government. Later he worked as the Inspecting Engineer of the Pune Division of the Bombay Presidency, and later as the Superintending Engineer of the Southern and Northern Divisions of the Bombay Presidency. But his contribution to the field of education commences with his association with the Bombay Government. According to the Tenth Annual Report of the Bombay Education Society, he was appointed to carry out the construction of two school buildings of the Society, at Bycullah in Bombay city.<sup>170</sup> He served as the Secretary of the Bombay Native Education Society till 1830 during which time he was involved in printing school textbooks in the vernaculars, Marathi and Gujarati. He also administered the printing activities of the Government Press during his tenure as the secretary. In 1826, the first lithographed mathematical text in India, *Ganitmarg* (Ways of Mathematics) in Marathi was published. Jervis was involved in the publication of a large number of books and textbooks in Marathi for schools and other higher educational

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<sup>170</sup> The Tenth Annual Report of the Bombay Education Society, Bombay. Printed for the Society, Courier Press, No.1, 1825. Pp. 18, 19

institutes of the period. Some of these books were *Maharashtra Bhashecha Kosh* which was a dictionary of mathematical terms in Marathi, *Ankaganitachi Mulpithika* (1850) which was a treatise on algebra, *Adikaran Bhumiti* (1849) and *Kartavyabhumi* (1826) were both translations of works on geometry, and *Beejganit* (1843) and *Beejganit Mulpithika* (1848) were two works on arithmetic one being a translated work while the other being a treatise.<sup>171</sup> He also founded an institution for the training of engineers in 1833 known as the Engineer Institution at Girgaum in Bombay city. This institution was separated into two and one of the arms became the Government Institute of Engineering in 1830.<sup>172</sup> His work proves to be significant not only in the field of mathematical education in India but also the different avenues of publishing in the Company Government in Western India.

Major Thomas Candy (1806-1877)

Thomas Candy was recruited by the East India Company and arrived in India in Bombay in 1822. He was among the eminent educationists of his time, a reputation acquired due to his efforts in the field of vernacular education and his contributions towards the Marathi language. He began his career with assisting Captain Molesworth in the creation of *A Dictionary: Marathi and English* during 1832-35. Later, he produced *A Dictionary: English and Marathi* during 1851-55. During this period, he also worked as the principal of the Poona Pathshala and worked with many organizations such as the *Deccan Vernacular Translation Society*. In 1855, he was appointed as the Chief Translator in Marathi in the educational department of the Bombay Government. During this period he

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<sup>171</sup> Most of the details of Jervis's work are to be found in a compiled volume by Jaya Dadkar, Prabha Ganorkar, Vasant Ambaji Dahake, Sadanand Bhatkal, *Sankshipta Marathi Vangmaykosh*. Vol. I. G. R. Bhatkal Foundation, Mumbai, 1998. Pp. 214

<sup>172</sup> From the Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China and Australia, Vol. II, New Series, 1830, London. Pp 78

published many index-books for the government in Marathi and English for official use with the help of a native scholar, Parshuramtatya Godbole. He even worked as the Chairperson for the Dakshina Prize Committee for some time. In this position, he edited various works of different scholars in Marathi and a series of good Marathi books came to be published under his supervision. Further, he translated important works in Marathi such as the *Indian Penal Code*, *Civil Procedural Code*, and the *Criminal Procedural Code* for the Government, and thus excelled in the technical translation arenas as well. He invented several terms in Marathi in the translations of these works, thus adding to the vocabulary. The other published works<sup>173</sup> include, *Niti Dnyayanachi Paribhasha* (1847) and *Kartavyakarmacha Vichar* (1851), and *Hindustanche Varnan* (1860) and *Bhugolache Varnan* (1863). He also prepared a text on the punctuation marks in Marathi called the *Viramchinnhanchi Paribhasha* (The Terminology of Punctuation Marks) which proved to be a path-breaking work in linguistic and stylistic studies of Marathi. His work led to systematization and standardization of Marathi language to a large extent.

*Captain James Thomas Molesworth* (1795-1871)

Molesworth is well-known for his Marathi-English Dictionary which he prepared with great pain and was finally published in 1831 as '*A Dictionary: Murathee & English*' which was compiled for the Government of Bombay. He travelled to India in 1818 under the employment of East India Company and started making a compilation of different words in Marathi which resulted eventually in the Marathi-English dictionary. With the assistance of Major Candy and his brother George Candy he commenced work on this dictionary. This dictionary was the first comprehensive dictionary of modern Marathi and is a milestone in the compilation of dictionaries in colonial western India. But this dictionary had to be

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<sup>173</sup> *Sankshipta Marathi Vangmaykosh*. pp. 84, 85

updated and with the help of Baba Padmanjee, an Indian scholar, he compiled a second edition of this dictionary in 1857. The production of this dictionary was an important contribution in the construction of Marathi in the nineteenth century and proved to be useful in the educational, linguistic and administrative domains, entering administrative departments and the bureaucratic structures of the period.

Thus, the Company officials were involved in education at different levels.

### **THE TRADITIONAL LITERATI**

There are a lot of studies of the traditional literati and scholarly communities from South Asia which locate them in the matrix of the dichotomies between the modern and non-modern. Many studies focus attention on Sanskrit scholars and their role in the colonial educational and socio-cultural set-up. However, this chapter concentrates on these individuals as the harbingers of changes in the educational sphere in the nineteenth century. As members of the structures of colonial education they play a significant role in furthering the cause of colonial education and facilitating the spread of print culture in western India.

#### *Balshastri Jambhekar* (1810-1846)

Bal Gangadhar Shastri Jambhekar was born in a poor family in 1810 in the village of Pormburle in Konkan. As his father was a learned priest, he studied Sanskrit poetry.<sup>174</sup> He rose to prominence when he started his career as a teacher and a translator of English books into Marathi. With the help of a senior family friend, Sadashiv Kashinath Chhatre, also known as Bapu Chhatre, he learnt English and acquired the position of the Native Secretary at the Native School Book and School Society. In this position, he participated in the production of school

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<sup>174</sup> Deshpande, *Pandit and Professor*, pp.124



textbooks and authored many textbooks on mathematics, history and geography in the vernacular. Soon after, he was selected as the Native Secretary to the Oriental Translation Committee of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society. It was the encouragement he received which led him to establish the first Anglo-vernacular weekly in western India, *The Bombay Durpan* in 1832.<sup>175</sup> This weekly was published for eight and a half years under his editorship until its incorporation with the *United Service Gazette and Literary Chronicle* from 1<sup>st</sup> July, 1840. He was also involved in the establishment of another journal called *Digdarshan*. Jambhekar also encouraged the publication of newspapers such as the *Prabhakar* and *Upadese-Chandrika*. No doubt, he is considered the father of Marathi Journalism and the promoter of the Marathi Press. Besides this, he was an expert in Sanskrit logic and grammar and was well versed in many languages such as English, Latin, Hindustani, Gujarati, Bengali, Kannada, and Persian. He held the position of assistant professor at Elphinstone College, Bombay teaching mathematics and astronomy from 1834, belonging to the vanguard of colonial education in western India that believed in the transformation of the society through education.

*Sadashiv Kashinath Chhatre*<sup>176</sup> (1788-1830)

Better known as Bapu Chhatre, he was born in Walkeshwar in Bombay and began working as a scribe in the Engineering Office where met Captain Jervis. Due to his interest in the educational activities of the Company, Jervis requested him to work in the Bombay Native School Book and School Society, where he gradually assumed the responsibility of the Native Secretary in 1823. He was involved in

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<sup>175</sup>N. R. Inamdar, 'Political Thought of Balshastrri Jambhekar (1812-1846): The Pioneer of Renaissance in Maharashtra', *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol.21, No.4, 1960. Pp.321.

<sup>176</sup>Most of the information about Chhatre is constructed from D. V. Potdar, *Marathi Gadyacha Ingrazi Avatar*, Venus Prakashan: Pune. 1992. Pp. 28, 29. Also see Naregal, *Language Politics*, pp. 172, 173

the production of textbooks and managing the affairs of the schools. One of his most significant contributions was to involve intellectuals in the activities of the society, who then went on to become the most revered scholars in western India. His students included Balshastri Jambhekar and Bhau Mahajan, who contributed to the propagation of education. He was also known for his work in assembling the grammar of Marathi and the invention of an eloquent prose style in Marathi. His work regarding the syntax of Marathi was appreciated in all intellectual circles while his writings in English were valuable and but the translations into Marathi and Marathi prose were used in schools for a very long time. Chhatre wished to publish private newspapers and journals, but could not do so owing to ill health which finally led to his death in 1830. *Krushnashastri Chiplunkar* (1824-1878)

Chiplunkar was the father of the illustrious Vishnushastri Chiplunkar who had produced path-breaking literature in Marathi. In 1824, Krushnashastri was born in Pune. Till the age of fourteen he studied the recitation of Vedas and then studied at the Poona Hindu College which was established by Elphinstone in 1821. Here he learnt Sanskrit poetry, logic and the *dharmashastras*. Later at the age of 25twenty five he started studying English and soon acquired proficiency in it, whence commenced his career as a translator and later started teaching Marathi at the Poona College.<sup>177</sup> Later in life, he became a staunch rationalist and gave up his belief in religion. His prominent works in Marathi include *Vicharlahri* (1852), *Socratesche Charitra* (1852), *Arthashastra Paribhasha* (1855) and *Sanskrut Bhasheche Laghu Vyakaran* (1859), *Padyaratnavali* (1865), and *Arbi Bhashetil Suras Va Chamatkarik Goshti* (1961). He also translated Kalidas's *Meghadoot* in Marathi. He was among the radicals who abandoned their belief system completely and became strong critics of religion when most others were grappling

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<sup>177</sup> Information constructed from Deshpande, *Pandit and Professor*, pp.125, 126

with the ideas of the Hindu religion in the colonial context. He could be counted among the most radical educationists of this time.

Gopal Hari Deshmukh (1823-1892)

Deshmukh was popularly known as *Lokahitavadi*, which was his pen name, and became one of the inaugurators of social reform in Maharashtra. He was born in Pune in an orthodox Brahmin family and began his education quite early. Employed as a translator by the government, he came to be embedded in the educational discourse and structures of the period. At the age of 25, he started writing essays focusing on the need for social reform in the society. These essays were compiled as *Shatapatre* (A Hundred Letters) and were published in a weekly newspaper, *Prabhakar* which was established by Bhau Mahajan, an associate of Jambhekar, in 1841. These essays critiqued the Hindu customs such as child marriage, caste differences, and religious orthodoxy. He even advocated reform for women's education and widow remarriage. In the field of education, he established a library in Pune with the help of the government and was a keen supporter of education. His translations into Marathi and Gujarati are tremendous and the books he authored in these languages are numerous. He was also engaged in the publication of journals such as *Dnyan Prakash*, *Indu Prakash* (1861) and *Lokahitwadi* (1882-84) in Marathi and *Hittechhu* in Gujarati and English.

This section of the Marathi literati who supported reform and education were quite influential in shaping the modern discourses of education. However, there was a large and strong section of orthodox Brahmins, mostly in Pune who opposed reform of any kind. They felt that their positions in the society had been challenged because of colonial rule and staunchly opposed the work of these reformers. These orthodox sections did study in the educational institutions of the period but with the objective of securing jobs in the different government

avenues. In such a situation of criticism, the contributions of the reformers who advocated of colonial education were quite remarkable.

### **THE ‘OTHER’ TRADITIONAL LITERATI**

In the early nineteenth century ‘other’ upper caste communities were also taking to a modern education. In the Peshwa period, these communities had descended in the social order with the ascent of the *Chitpavans*. With the coming of British rule, the Peshwa dominance was terminated and new avenues of upward social mobility of the other castes opened up.<sup>178</sup> Naregal points out this internal tension in society resulting in social dissension.<sup>179</sup> Most of these communities like the *shenvis, prabhus, sonars, bhandaris, saraswat Brahmins* etc. made ample use of the opportunities created through the change in regime. They entered the occupations as educationists, undertook many business ventures including that of printing and publishing. Ganpat Krishnaji<sup>180</sup> and later Javaji Dadaji were such men who were successful print-entrepreneurs and even introduced innovations in print technology.<sup>181</sup> Naregal argues that these individuals did not identify themselves as reformists and supported various religious movements. As a result they used their skills for different purposes than for the purposes they were in the first place introduced in the Indian society. However, some of the intellectuals of these communities differed from these ‘unreformed’ sections. These individuals supported reform through education and recognized the disastrous consequences

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<sup>178</sup> As demonstrated by Rosalind O’ Hanlon. See Chapter 2.

<sup>179</sup> Naregal, *Language Politics*, pp.168-189

<sup>180</sup> Ganpat Krishnaji was from the *Bhandari* caste, and he started working in the American Mission Press in Bombay where he learnt the techniques of printing. Later he established his own private press and began printing several texts during the period. However, his most significant contributions during this period were the printing of religious literatures in Marathi and Gujarati and other religious calendars. Thus, his was a classic example of the technology of print being used to revive native religious traditions.

<sup>181</sup> Naregal, pp. 180

of caste hierarchies and dominance. Having faced discrimination at various levels, they became highly critical of all forms of dominance including colonial dominance. Thus, their work stresses the reform of society.

*Bhaskar Pandurang Tarkhadkar* (1816-1841)

He descended from the illustrious family of the Tarkhadkars and he completed his education from the Elphinstone Institute in 1831. He was a voracious reader and acquired considerable command over the English language,<sup>182</sup> authoring a series of eight long letters to the *Bombay Gazette* from 30 July to 27 October 1841 under the pen name of 'A Hindoo'. In these letters, he severely criticized British rule and was probably among the first to do publicly at that time, laying the foundations for an anti-imperialistic discourse that developed during the course of the second half of the nineteenth century. The letters criticise the government's political, economic, and socio-cultural policies.<sup>183</sup> His critical judgment of the educational policies of government had considerable influence over the discourses of education. He died early at the age of thirty-one but his contributions towards the development of a critical attitude to government policies of the period are quite valuable.

*Bhau Mahajan* (1815-90)

Bhau Mahajan, also known as Govind Vitthal Kunte was a contemporary of Jambhekar and from his early days was known for being a courageous and independent intellectual. He studied at the Elphinstone Institute and was known as an avid and receptive student who did not follow most of the rules and regulations

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<sup>182</sup> A. R. Kulkarni, M.A. Nayeem, T. R. de Souza, et. al. *Mediaeval Deccan History: Commemoration Volume in the Memory of P. M. Joshi*, Popular Prakashan: Bombay, 1996. Pp.242, 243

<sup>183</sup> All the charges that Tarkhadkar laid against the government are listed in J. V. Naik, 'The Seed Period of Bombay's Intellectual life, 1822-1857', in Sujata Patel, Alice Thorner (eds.), *Bombay: Mosaic of Modern Culture*, OUP: Bombay, 1995. Pp.66

of the institution which he found regressive. He deliberately stayed away from government service and for the first time became a professional journalist in Marathi. He became the editor of three journals, *Prabhakar* (1841), *Dhumketu* (1853), *Dyanadarshan* (1854).<sup>184</sup> These journals were known for being staunchly critical of the government. Mahajan was an astute editor and due to his strong stand against the government faced constant criticism from many quarters. His contribution to the field of education is not direct but through his journals he tried to inculcate a critical attitude.

*Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadkar* (1814-1882)

Born in Bombay, he was better known as Dadoba Tarkhadkar. He was the elder brother of Bhaskar Pandurang Tarkhadkar. After completing his education, he joined the Elphinstone Institute as a teacher and was associated in various capacities with government educational institutions. He was also appointed as the Deputy Collector in Bombay. With a knowledge of Sanskrit, English and Marathi, he embarked on several translation projects and acquired the reputation of the Panini of Marathi grammar - he also wrote several works on Marathi grammar and syntax. His views on religion were shaped by reformist ideas, seeking to cleanse religious practice of elaborate rituals. The *Paramhansa Sabha* was established in 1840 in Bombay to propagate these ideas among the people.<sup>185</sup> This organization was renamed the *Manavdharma Sabha* in 1844. His socio-religious work was inspired by Raja Ram Mohun Roy. In the recognition of his services to the government, he was given the title *Raobahadur* by the British government.

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<sup>184</sup> For more, refer to Naregal, 195, 196

<sup>185</sup> Information from Dadoba Pandurang, A. K. Priyolkar, (ed.), *Raobahadur Dadoba Pandurangyanche Atmcharitra va Charitra*, Published by Keshav Bhikaji Damle, Bombay, 1945. Also, Naregal, *Language Politics*

Bhau Daji Lad (1822-74)

Bhau Daji Lad or Ramkrishna Vithhal Lad<sup>186</sup> was born in Goa. He went studied in Bombay at the Elphinstone Institute, and then went on to study medicine at Grant Medical College in Bombay. In 1851, he began practicing medicine but with his knowledge of Sanskrit he began to explore medicine in the Sanskrit literature. This was the beginning of his career in antiquarian studies, where he contributed by deciphering ancient scripts and fixing the dates of ancient Sanskrit authors. Due to his interests in various fields, he was appointed as a member of the Board of Education, in which capacity he encouraged the education of girls. A girls-school was later named after him. He was also connected with various scientific and literary associations and societies and frequently wrote for the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society.

Individuals from 'other' communities contributed a great deal to the educational processes operating in the colonial period. Not restricted by the discrimination they faced within the society, they achieved a great deal of success in this period. This highlights the complex space between colonial dominance and caste dominance that the individuals from these communities were trying to occupy.

## CONCLUSION

Most of the times, the literati in colonial societies have been viewed as a homogenous category in terms of their relationship with the structures of colonial dominance. However, as we see in the case of Western India, within scholarly communities and the literati there are structures of hierarchical dominance. In this

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<sup>186</sup> Reference from Hugh Chisholm (ed.), 'Bhau Daji', *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed.), Cambridge University Press. 1911. Pp. 845. Also, Dhananjay Keer, 'Dr. Bhau Daji Lad', GGMC, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vol. 38, 1963, pp.1-18.

case, these hierarchical structures are created by caste differences. There are many instances when the other communities have documented caste-based discrimination in the educational arena in the Peshwa period. This led to friction between the most dominant castes of Pune and the other communities resulting in a loss of a social status for these communities. Colonial rule was a departure in more than one way as the focus of power shifted from Pune to Bombay. Though, Pune still retained its position in the field of education until the mid-nineteenth century, political power had shifted base. Due to these factors, other communities gained access to the resources which they were successful in capturing. But the orthodox Brahmins of Pune opposed any kind of reform. In a way, because of the coming of colonial rule there was a reshuffling in the societal structure and other communities had much to gain. The roots of Phule's anti-caste theory reside here. Colonial rule opened up spaces that had become watertight compartments during the Peshwa period. The British had not intended to introduce these changes. Colonial officials of the Company were also grappling with these dominant structures, though they benefitted from them though not always.



## CONCLUSION

### A BRIEF SUMMARY

The coming of the British in India heralded the commencement of a new era in the Indian Subcontinent. Their advent led to the development of a new consciousness in the minds of the colonized. This consciousness developed through mutual encounters, as discussed earlier,<sup>187</sup> which evolved due to a series of experiences between the colonized and the colonizers. This contact was facilitated, to a great extent, by the introduction of Western education in India during the nineteenth century. Many studies on nineteenth century India suggest that during the initial stages of this encounter the Indians were amazed by Western culture, science and technology, and European society. The admiration for Western culture led to a critical examination of their own cultures and traditions by the Indian literati. By viewing their situation against the backdrop of European culture, there developed a strong urge amongst these people for the restructuring of Indian society and culture. Some scholars perceive this to be the principle cause of social reform in India during the mid-nineteenth century. Voices of criticism of colonial rule stabilized during the late nineteenth century with the emergence of the ideas of nationalism. Nevertheless, voices of dissent during the first half of the nineteenth century are perceived as the earliest exponents of Indian nationalism.<sup>188</sup> A study of the initial stages of the mutual encounter between the Indians and the British imply that the inception of social reform in India evolved along a very different trajectory. As discussed in this work concerning Western India, the early period of colonial rule was marked by

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<sup>187</sup> See 'Introduction.'

<sup>188</sup> J. V. Naik, 'The First Open Letters of Revolt Against the British Colonial Policy', *Western Colonial Policy* Vol. 1., N. R. Ray, Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta, 1981. Pp. 248

the beginning of the development of a critical public sphere. This public sphere grew with the development of print culture and education. One of the factors that led to the spread of education was the use of print. Further, this public sphere was also shaped by individuals from the Marathi speaking literati. Against the backdrop of overarching colonial structures and ideas, they created a space of dissent and debate in the society, where new thinking and ideas developed. The space was not an egalitarian one as it consisted of caste hierarchies. The origins of social reform lie in this space of dissent and debate that emerged due to the influence of Western culture. Though the development of a systematic critique of colonial rule was definitely a product of the late nineteenth century, it was shaped by this space of debate and dissent. Even so, the voices of dissent during the first half of the nineteenth century were a product of this space. This work, also, elicits that the beginning of the development of a public sphere in India was enabled through the use of print and the education that developed during this period.

## **INSTITUTIONS OF CHANGE**

The discussion about education cannot ignore the process of which was a significant process of colonialism. Education in India, before the British rule, was quite different. Education meant the acquisition of a knowledge in which the emphasis was on the student-teacher relationship and the teacher was considered as the authority. According to Vina Mazumdar, the structures of education were organized differently, and even the duration of study depended on the capacities of the student.<sup>189</sup> The transmission of other skills was passed on from one generation to another through families. The establishment of different organized

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<sup>189</sup> Veena Mazumdar, *Education & Social change: Three Studies on Nineteenth Century India*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1972. Pp. 3-33

educational institutions was set in motion by colonial education that developed during this period. Janaki Bakhle, in her work, describes some of these processes of organization and systematization, in the field of music. She traces the work of two musicians in colonial India, V. N. Bhatkhande and V. D. Paluskar, through whose efforts there developed a vast network, of small training schools that allowed for the dissemination of a base-level knowledge about music, which continues to this day.<sup>190</sup> This was accomplished through a systematization and organization of musical apprenticeship on new lines.

The first educational institutions on modern lines established in India were established to instruct the British officials in the laws and customs of India. Following which institutions such as the Fort William College (established in 1800) developed which were characterized by the study of Oriental languages, literature and knowledge.<sup>191</sup> These early institutions were important for the British as they proved helpful in administration. But with the expansion of the colonial project in the nineteenth century, there arose an ardent need for more specific institutional structures. These institutions were involved in the production of school textbooks, translations, standardizing the vernaculars, promoting science and technology and so on. A Board of Education was set up to administer these different institutions. According to J.V. Naik, almost all the pioneering educational, social and political institutions which contributed to making Bombay an urban centre of enlightenment and learning were established during this period.<sup>192</sup> The creation of new organizational structures involved the participation

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<sup>190</sup> Ibid, pp.5

<sup>191</sup> Dhruv Raina, Ashok Jain, 'Big Science and the University in India' in John Krige & Dominique Pestre (eds.), *Science in the Twentieth Century*, Harwood Academic Publishers: Paris, 1997. Pp.859-877

<sup>192</sup> J.V. Naik, '*The Seed Period of Bombay's Intellectual Life, 1822-1857*', pp. 61. He provides us with a list of some of these institutions such as Bombay Native School Book and School Society (1822) renamed Bombay Native Education Society (1827); Elphinstone Institution and College

of the colonizers and the colonized. According to Zaheer Baber, in the scientific arena, even though these processes of rapid institutional and structural transformations were induced as a consequence of colonial rule, it cannot be understood as simply the displacement of an indigenous system of science by an alien one. Such an understanding would result in ignoring the complex process of negotiation, contestation, cooptation and resistance at work.<sup>193</sup> The establishment of universities in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay in 1857 heralded the beginning of a new phase in the history of education. According to Altbach, the demand for British-style higher education was growing, and private Indian interests were moving to establish colleges to meet this demand. The universities, therefore, were established to maintain control over collegiate education and insure that minimum standards were met.<sup>194</sup> The goals of university education differed from the institutions that preceded it although as institutions disseminating knowledge there would much that they would share as well. This work focuses on the period before the development of university education in order to understand the transition from one regime to another.

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(1836); Engineer Institution (1823); Bombay Medical School (1826); Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (1831); Bombay Geographical Society (1831); Free General Assembly Institution: Wilson Institution (1832); Bombay Medical and Social Society (1835); Bombay School of Industry (1835); Board of Education (1840); Native General Library (1845); Grant Medical College (1845); Bombay Mechanic's Institute: David Sassoon Library (1847); Paramhansa Sabha (1847); Students Library and Scientific Society (1848) and its two branches: Marathi and GujratiUpayuktaJnyanPrasarakSabhas (1849); Sir JamshetjeeJeejeebhoyParsi Benevolent Institution (1849); BuddhiVardhak Hindu Sabha (1851); Juvenile Improvement Library (1852); the Bombay Association (1852); Government Law School (1852); Petit Institute: The Philosophical Institute (1855); Fort Improvement Library (1856); University of Bombay, Sir. J.J. School of Art (1857).

<sup>193</sup>Zaheer Baber, *The Science of Empire: Scientific Knowledge, Civilization and Colonial Rule in India*, SUNY, 1996. Pp.251.

<sup>194</sup> Philip G. Altbach, 'Problems of University Reform in India', *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 16, No. 2, (Jun., 1972), pp. 253

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