A History of Elphinstone College,

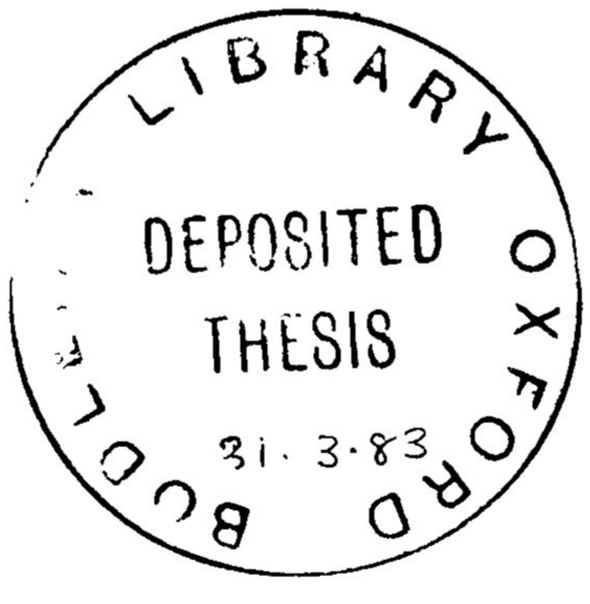
1827 - 1890 :

a case study in the early formation of an English-educated intelligentsia in Bombay.

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C O N T E N T S

Introduction.

List of Abbreviations.

Glossary.

Chronology of Elphinstone College.

I UNCERTAIN BEGINNINGS OF THE COLLEGE, 1824-40. P. 1

II SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF STUDENTS, 1834-55. P. 46

III THE REFORM OF THE COLLEGE, 1839-69. P. 66

IV THE CURRICULUM, 1850-1890. P. 99

V THE PROFESSORS, 1860-1890. P. 123

VI THE STUDENTS, 1855-1890. P. 160

VII ACADEMIC STANDARDS, EXAMINATIONS AND CAREERS OF STUDENTS. P. 181

VIII INTELLECTUAL ATTITUDES AND SOCIAL REFORM. P. 212

IX ELPHINSTONIANS AND POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS. P. 260

X CONCLUSION. P. 297

Tables.

Appendix.

Bibliography.

Introduction

The founding of English schools and universities in an Indian social setting was by any standard a fantastic experiment whose reverberations continue to the present day. Much work has been done, on the one hand on the development of English education in India in relation to the controversies that raged in the nineteenth century between the Orientalist, Utilitarian and Evangelical points of view, and on the other hand on the creation of an English educated elite. While these studies have been wide in scope, there is a curious absence of a study of any kind, general or specialised, of one of India's principal higher education institutions, the Elphinstone College in Bombay. The College is important because in its development it presents all the confusion, the improvisations and problems that plagued the introduction of English education in India. However, while the College faced, in its early history, the general educational problems of the period, it was also unique in that, unlike the Presidency Colleges of Calcutta and Madras, it was established in a predominantly commercial city, and was from its inception something of a stepchild of the city's business magnates. The Shetias were not interested in higher education, but rather in improving their commercial links with the British, and the College was a means to that end. The College's importance is also evident in the significant contribution made by its more intellectual graduates (See Appendix E) to social, religious and political ideas in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The main purpose of this thesis is to give an account of the origins and development of the Elphinstone College during the greater part of the nineteenth century. An attempt is made to analyse the social origins and subsequent careers of the students, to describe the attitudes of the teachers and examine the curriculum they taught, and to relate the education of a group of the more distinguished Elphinstonians to their roles in voluntary associations devoted to social and political reform. In this way the study hopes to provide a local case-study in the formation of an English educated intelligentsia, in terms of who they were, and what they were taught, and what they did with their education, rather than in terms of mechanistic general theories of modern elites, or the origins of Indian nationalism.

Under the influence of Dr. A. Seal and the so-called Cambridge Indian school the tendency has been to discount the influence of English education and English ideas on the emerging Indian intelligentsia in the nineteenth century. Consequently they have come to be regarded more as representatives of different social groups competing amongst themselves for position and privilege under the British Raj, rather than as a network of English educated 'Old Boys' combining on imported principles to improve Indian society and government. The competing elites theory moreover fails to take into account the intelligentsia's genuine appreciation of and trust in British rule, coming as it did after a period of Indian misrule. The intelligentsia's disillusionment with the Raj was yet to come.

The study of Elphinstone College and its students may be too narrow to shift the balance of interpretation between these two extremities, but it may be broad enough to establish an exception in the case of the Elphinstonians, by way of suggesting, albeit impressionistically that idealism inspired their activities more than the Cambridge school gives them credit for.

Much of this thesis is based on previously unused primary source material, the Elphinstone College records. Decades of neglect had reduced them to an appalling condition, and removed all traces of arrangement or order. Termites, cockroaches, silver fish and damp from a leaking roof produced further damage. Records covering the period 1824 to 1977 were neither catalogued by subject, nor were the volumes individually numbered. In order to utilise the material covering my period of research, eight months were spent in restoring the records. The disintegrating volumes were individually cleaned, disinfected and dated; some were tissued, and most of the material from 1824 to 1959 was bound. I owe the binders Messrs. Sawant, Ravang and Vararkar a great debt of gratitude, and also Mr. Keshav, a College servant, who was of immeasurable help in the actual cleaning and sorting of the records. (See Appendix B., C., and D.)

Many of the newly bound volumes were put together from loose consecutive pages or parts of disintegrated old volumes. The volumes were then arranged in decade order, with between 10 to 30 volumes for each decade. The decade is indicated on the spine of each volume or on its first blank page. Thus the volumes referred to in

this thesis can be traced by first locating the decade to which they belong; the particular volume is then identified by the date on the first and last dated pages of the volume. Unfortunately in a few cases stray sheets from one decade have been bound in the volumes of another. Where this occurs, I have specified the decade to which the volume belongs.

In the Elphinstone College records and the Maharashtra State Archives records, pagination is often erratic, and in some volumes non-existent. I have therefore referred to page numbers only when they occur in a clear and systematic form.

The Elphinstone College records, which have survived, give useful information about the character and method of functioning of the College, its teaching staff, and its students as well as the College's relations with Government. These records are much richer in detail and variety of information than the published reports of the Board of Education and the R.D.P.I., or the records of the General and Education Departments. This is evident for instance in the contrast between the extensive nature of the Principal's reports in the Elphinstone College records, and the pruned editions that appeared in the records and the published reports of the Education Department.

In conclusion, I should like to thank Professor R.E. Robinson for his patience and encouragement over the period that this thesis was written. My thanks are also due to Dr. Miss Homai Shroff, the Principal of the Elphinstone College, for the special privileges allowed to me, and also to Mr. Kharaday, Mr. Gharey and Mr. Jadhav

of the Maharashtra State Archives, and to Miss Subur Rezaqui and Dr. Asad Karim Khan.

Post script : The Elphinstone College records of 1824 to 1959 were handed over to the Maharashtra State Archives, Bombay in October, 1981.

List of Abbreviations

B.N.E.S. or N.E.S.	Bombay Native Education Society.
D. P. I.	Director of Public Instruction.
E.C.	Elphinstone College.
E.D.	Education Department, Bombay.
E.C.R.	Elphinstone College Records, Bombay.
E.I.	Elphinstone Institution.
E.N.E.I.	Elphinstone Native Educational Institution.
E.P.F.	Elphinstone Professorships Fund.
G.E.	General Department, Bombay.
G.O.I.	Government of India.
J. N. M.	Jawaharlal Nehru Museum Library, New Delhi.
Lord E. Coll.	Lord Elphinstone Collection, India Office Records, London.
M.E.Coll.	Mountstuart Elphinstone Collection, India Office Records, London.
M.S.A.	Maharashtra State Archives, Bombay.
N.A.	Indian National Archives, New Delhi.
R.D.P.I.	Report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.

S.L.S.S.	Students Literary and Scientific Society, Bombay.
S.S.I.	Secretary of State for India.
Wood Coll.	Sir Charles Wood Collection, India Office Records, London.

Glossary .

Bania	trader, merchant.
Bhansali	cultivator.
Bhatia	trader, merchant.
Bhundara	toddy tapper.
Dakshina	prestigious senior scholarship awarded to M.A. students at the Elphinstone College.
Goundee	mason.
Hawaldar	local constable.
Jagirdar	large landowner.
Jamadar	constable.
Kansara	coppersmith.
Karkun	clerk or subordinate revenue collector.
Khatri	trader.
Kotwal	inspector.
Kunbi	cultivator.
Lohana	trader, merchant.
Madarsa	indigenous school with emphasis on religious teaching.
Mamlatdar	civil officer in charge of a taluqa.
Maratha	cultivator.
Marwari	banker, merchant.
Mofussil	the rural areas of a district or region distinct from the capital.
Munshi	scribe, writer.
Munsiff	judge .

Oomedwar	literally a candidate. In the 19th century referred to a candidate who was related to the appointing official.
Pundit	brahmin priest.
Sawal	jain trader.
Shetia	leading member of Bombay's business community.
Shroff	banker, money-changer.
Shimpee	tailor.
Sonar	goldsmith.
Sudder(Dewani)Adawlut	civil appellate court.
Sudder Ameen	native civil judge.
Sutar	carpenter.
Taluqa	administrative area next in size to a district.
Vaishya	trader.
Vakeel	judicial officer.
Vania	trader.

Chronology of Elphinstone College

1822. The Bombay Native School Book and School Society, known after 1827 as the Bombay Native Education Society, established.

1827. Mountstuart Elphinstone retires as Governor of Bombay. The Elphinstone Professorships' Fund founded to honour him.

1834. Henderson and Bell arrive to teach at the B.N.E.S. Central English School in Bombay.

1834. Elphinstone College formally accepted as a concept, though as yet without Professors or buildings.

1835. Harkness and Orlebar arrive, conduct Elphinstone Professors classes at the Town Hall, Bombay.

1840. Elphinstone Professors classes amalgamated with those of the B.N.E.S. English and Vernacular Schools in Bombay city to form the Elphinstone Native Education Institution (E.N.E.I.).

1846. The Vernacular section detached from the E.N.E.I. The newly named Elphinstone Institution (E.I.) consisted only of the Lower and Upper Divisions of the English Department.

1856. E.I. divided into two separate institutions, the Elphinstone College and the Elphinstone High School.

1858. Bombay University established.

1859. First Matriculation examination of the University.

Chapter - I

UNCERTAIN BEGINNINGS OF THE COLLEGE : 1824 - 40.

The Elphinstone College of Bombay, which came to be acknowledged by the end of the nineteenth century as one of the most important institutions of higher education in India, and certainly the most important in Western India, had a muddled and confused early history. There was some uncertainty as to whether the College would survive after its first few years. With hardly any students in attendance there seemed to be little justification for the Professors who had been handpicked by Mountstuart Elphinstone, the inspiration for the College, and sent out from England in 1834. Indeed, given the College's later history, it is difficult to credit the fact of the College being such a disastrous disappointment at its inception. The causes of its near still-birth are many and varied. They lie as much in the mixed motives of the Indians who subscribed to the Elphinstone Professorships Fund, as in the contradictions within English education policy and between English aims and Indian aspirations.

Elphinstone College is best seen not in isolation but in the context of the educational structure - both indigenous and missionary - which existed at the time of its establishment. The character and aim of this education that prevailed in Western India ought to help explain why the majority of young men from the region initially stayed away from Elphinstone College.

There were, of course, no institutions of English higher education in Western India in the early nineteenth century. Nor did secular indigenous higher educational exist during this period. The indigenuous education institutions at the time were divided into two basic kinds : schools of religious learning and elementary schools. The schools of learning, called Pathshalas among the Hindus and Madrassahs among the Muslims, were flexible as to what level they would teach up to; depending usually on the demand from the students and the availability of sufficiently learned teachers. The Pathshalas and Madrassahs held their classes in the local temple or mosque and received pecuniary assistance from the local ruler and chieftains. Instruction, usually free, was given in the classical languages of Sanskrit or Persian and Arabic.[1] Scholarship was encouraged by the local ruler by the presentation of titles of honour or monetary grants.[2]

Details in any systematic form about Hindu, Muslim and Parsi educational institutions in Bombay Presidency are not available for the early nineteenth century. The Bombay Native Education Society's Reports deal exclusively with their own schools, with only stray references to schools outside their system. Nevertheless, there are

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1. S. Nurullah and J.P.Naik, A Students' History of Education in India (1800-1947), (Bombay, 1955) p. 19.

2. Ibid., p.30.

occasional Reports by Collectors and local officers about elementary school education in the mofussil, for instance those for Surat, and the Konkan. These Reports give some indication of the extent and quality of indigenous education prevalent in the 1820s , the decade of the establishment of the Elphinstone Professorships Fund. According to Mr. Anderson (the Collector of Surat):

> Of all classes that attend the schools amongst the Hindoos, the Bannias are by far the most numerous that is for any continuance, the other classes send their children whilst very young but more for the purpose of keeping them out of mischief than for the benefit of learning. In these cases the children are taken away as soon as they can be of any use to their parents in carrying on, or learning their professions, or in earning to themselves any portion of livelihood..... it would thus appear that it is only those classes whose line of life requires it, continue education to any end..... Even in these cases the education never goes beyond the first rudiments - but with all the writing classes (their education) is finished at the Houses of Shroffs and Merchants.[1]

Muslim education consisted mainly of learning by rote passages from the Koran, and it was 'only with the rich or higher ranks that education such as it is, is at all thought of. With the exception of those who study the law and qualify themselves for employment under the Government, there are very few others who can do more than read a little Persian'.[2] A pattern of education geared to job requirements is already at work. The Parsis too conformed

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1824, Vol.8/63, pp. 516-517 : Anderson to Secy. to Govt., 30 September, 1824.

2. Ibid., p.517.

to this pattern. They sent their children to Hindu schools, and as with the Hindus, a boy's education ceased as soon as he attained an age when he could work. 'There is, however, amongst the Parsis comparatively a greater number that can write, though most unintelligbly, than amongst the other classes'.[1]

In 1824, Surat had 42 Hindu schools with 2,223 students; 20 Muslim schools with 471 students (large Muslim schools being rare); 11 Parsi schools with 355 pupils.[2] These Parsi schools confined themselves to religious instruction, as Parsi children went to Hindu schools for a general education. It was calculated that the proportion of Hindu children sent to school was one in four, while for Muslims it was one in ten.[3]

The Sub-Collector at Rutnagery asserted in his study that elementary education was widespread, and that almost every village in the Konkan had schools where reading, writing and elementary mathematics were taught.[4] He, and also the Master of the English School at Poona, believed that the Government could not ever provide education as cheaply (at 2,3 or 4 annas a month per pupil) as it was available under the indigenous system.[5] Expenses were kept

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1. Ibid., p.519.
2. Ibid., pp. 510-511.
3. Ibid., p.515.
4. M.S.A., G.D., 1832, Vol.10/225, p.120 ; the Sub-Collector at Ratnagery to the Principal Collector of the Konkan, 25 July, 1832.
5. Ibid., p.120.

low because the most common method of remunerating the school teacher was to present him with a daily allowance of flour of about an eighth of a seer (a seer = 2 lbs.) or a handful from each boy. It was also a common practice for the parents of a boy to pay a small sum, about a Rupee and a half, on their son completing the first 15 lessons. And a similar amount was again given when he had mastered the alphabet.[1] In addition to the established emoluments received by the village school master, he would receive presents from the wealthier villagers on important feast days. The earnings of a school master at large town schools of 100 pupils were calculated to be Rs.150 per annum. In schools of large villages, where 40 or 50 boys attended, it was estimated to be Rs.75 per annum, and at small village schools Rs.45.[2] The Collectors of both Kaira and Broach were agreed that the position of the village school master did not belong to a particular caste by any hereditary right, though it tended to devolve to Brahmins 'who seem on the whole rather adapted to the office, the functions of which they perform apparently in a very satisfactory manner'.[3]

The method of teaching differed essentially from the European method. In the Hindu schools the older students assisted the teacher in the instruction of the younger, less

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1825, Vol.8/92, pp.94-95 : the Collector at Ahmedabad to Secy. to Govt., (?) September, 1824.

2. M.S.A., G.D., 1825, Vol.8/92, pp.164-165 : The Acting Collector at Kaira to Secy. to Govt., (?) July, 1824.

3. M.S.A., G.D., 1824, Vol.8/63, p.22 : the officiating Collector at Broach to Secy. to Govt., (?) July, 1824.

advanced children. The older and younger boys were sometimes paired to ensure a greater facility in communication but for the most part the boys sat together without any separation into classes.[1] The teacher or an older student would write out the lesson on a board covered with sand or brick dust. Each pupil in succession, would be made to trace the form of the letters and repeat, after his instructor, the various sounds and powers of each combination. This process would be repeated several times with the teacher, and then on his own until he had memorised the whole.[2] The boys were thus taught the alphabet, the 12 combinations of consonants with vowels, the numbers upto 100 and the multiplication table as far as 10 times 20. These rudiments of knowledge were known as Doolukshur or dust writing, after which pupils would proceed to writing on paper, reading and arithmetic.[3] Arithmetic involved the simple rules of addition and subtraction, multiplication and division, and the application of these rules to money, weights, and measures. 'Occasionally a better sort of instructor (would) teach them a few questions in simple interest, and in the rule of three, and in Goozerat this is common, the Marathas however never seem to have aspired to such an extent of knowledge'.[4] Indigenous education was sought for pragmatic reasons; castes which did not transact business found any additional knowledge unnecessary. This

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1824, Vol. 8/63, p.450 : Report on the State and System of Education in Western India, by the Superintendent of the Native School Society, Southern Konkan, 8 September, 1824.

2. Ibid., p.451.

3. Ibid., p.452.

4. Ibid., p.454.

attitude was to create problems for Elphinstone College at its inception.

At Muslim schools the emphasis was on religious instruction. On learning the letters of the Urdu alphabet and their combinations, boys would immediately begin reading the chapters of the Koran on Praise and Prayer, and then the rest of the book. Any other books that they would read tended to be of a religious nature. The dominance of religious and moral instruction found favour with the British. The Superintendent noted;

> The Mahomedan schools are better than the Hindoo Schools in two respects; the children by various reading, and by learning the meaning of what they read, acquire a better use of their understanding; and they do not learn things by rote so much as Hindoos, besides this they have some moral instruction, at least such as their religion enjoins, and this being the leading feature of their education, these people are found to be more religious in their ways than Hindoos and far more obedient to their laws.[1]

The Superintendent of the Native School Society, moreover, concluded that 'it would (not) be prudent or beneficial to take the management of the village schools in our own hands'.[2] He believed that not only would such a takeover be objectionable to the local population but that the entire expense of the operation could not possibly be defrayed by the Society or the Government.

The cost of education was not, however, a deterrent to the zeal of the missionary education societies active in Bombay in the early nineteenth century. The 1824 Report of the American missionaries in Bombay calculates 'the population of the Mahratta country alone, at 8,000,000 and allow(s)

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1. Ibid., p.467.
2. Ibid., p.488.

only one in eight to be of an age to require schooling, and it gives one million of children to be educated.' [1] The Report estimated that about one fourth were instructed in their own native schools and that 750,000 were left to be provided for by charity schools of other missionary organisations.[2] The American missionaries established elementary schools in 1814. In ten years they raised only Rs.500 from donations in India. Their main financial support came from friends in America. In 1824, Rs.3,550 from these American sources covered the year's expenditure of Rs.3,419 for their schools in Bombay Presidency.[3] There were 35 schools with 1,855 students and 35 teachers. [4] Of the teachers 12 were Brahmins, 1 Prabhu, 1 Shenvi, 10 Jews, 6 Cultivators, 1 Fisherman, 2 Weavers, 1 Taylor and 1 Carpenter caste.[5] These figures suggest that the Brahmins were not averse to working for a proselytizing religious group despite their own traditional status in the caste hierarchy. Taboos were put aside for the purpose of employment. However, taboos were not dismissed so easily when the benefit was not immediate. The American missionary schools at Papurdee, Thana and Mahim did not have a single

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1. Mountstuart Elphinstone Collection (henceforth M.E.Coll.), Mss. Eur. F 88/ Box 15, No.10/2B : Report of the Native Free Schools in Bombay and its Vicinity. Under the direction of the American Missionaries, Bombay 1824.

2. Ibid.

3. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 15, No.10/2 B : Second Report of the Native Free Schools in Bombay and its Vicinity. Under the direction of the American Missionaries, Bombay, 1825.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

Brahmin pupil.[1] This absence of Brahmin boys was not so much due to the use of the Bible as the principal class book,[2] but much more because Marathi was the medium of instruction at the missionary schools. The Report of 1824 describes the value the English language held, in the eyes of the Indians, as a means of securing employment:

> We do not attempt to teach the English language to any of the scholars, because we fully believe that, while it may prove advantageous to a <u>few</u>, it would prove a real injury to <u>many</u>; since the number of native youth, who, in shameful neglect of their own language, spend their time and money to acquire a smattering of English, in the hope of obtaining situations in European employ , is probably four times as great as the number of those situations.[3]

The flexibility and willingness of impoverished Brahmins 'to learn the improved mode'[4] of education in English, be it as teachers or pupils, was a consistent factor in the spread of education in Bombay. Equally consistent was the close cooperation of the Pathare Prabhu community with the British administration, but unfortunately details about this caste, in terms of education and jobs, are not available for the early 1820s. During this period, Mountstuart Elphinstone's and Sir John Malcolm's sympathy and concern for the dispossessed Brahmins of the Peshwa's territory led to an overemphasis on Brahmins. The Pathare Prabhu, in fact, gave even greater recognition through monetary support and students to English education.

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1. Ibid.
2. Op.cit., Report of 1824.
3. Ibid.
4. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 15, No.10/1A : The Principal, Poona College to M.E., 9 July, 1822.

It would be helpful at this point to examine Government involvement in education in Bombay. When Mountstuart Elphinstone became Governor of Bombay in 1819 he found that the East India Company was not involved in education, and British educational efforts were only of a non-official character through the agency of the Bombay Education Society. This Society had been established in 1815 by members of the Church of England with the object of educating Anglo-Indian and poor European children. As the Society admitted Indian children to its schools without compelling them to take religious instruction, Hindu and Parsi children attended the Society's schools.[1] By 1820 the Society had four schools. In the same year the Society appointed a Special Committee called the Native School and School Book Committee, with the first actually expressed object of establishing schools specifically for Indian children, and preparing books for them. In 1822 the Society's work had expanded so greatly that the Special Committee was detached from the parent body to form a separate educational association. Initially this was called the Bombay Native School Book and School Society, but it was known after 1827 as the Bombay Native Education Society (the B.N.E.S.).

Official Government connection with the B.N.E.S. was due essentially to Elphinstone's interest in education and its political implications. In 1822 he became the Society's

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1. S.M.Edwardes, The Gazeteer of Bombay City and Island, 3 Vols., (Bombay, 1909), Vol.3, p.101.

President, and convinced the Court of Directors to sanction a grant-in-aid to the Society as well as to accept it as the principal agency for the spread of education among the Indians.[1]

Through public subscriptions and donations as well as the Government grant-in-aid, the B.N.E.S. ran in 1824 three schools in Bombay. These schools, with instruction in English, Marathi and Gujerati, were located in central Bombay in the Fort area, and so came to be known as the Central Schools.[2] Our interest is particularly with the Central English School as its very quality was to threaten Elphinstone College. The English School's standard steadily improved. Moreover the two schoolmasters, Henderson and Bell, sent out from England in 1834, were so successful in giving the Indians a good secondary level education, which is all in fact what they wanted, that the Elphinstone Professors found themselves lecturing to nearly empty classes.

However, to understand the muddle and confusion that was to plague the early years of the College it would be pertinent to inquire into the motives of the Government, which, through the agency of the semi-autonomous body, the Bombay Native Education Society (B.N.E.S.), entered into the sphere of education. It has been noted that an

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1. Ibid., pp. 101-102.

2. Second Report of the Bombay Native School Book and School Society for 1824-25, (Bombay, 1825), App. No.6, p.29.

indigenous structure was already in existence in Western India. It was, moreover, extremely cheaply available. That it had manifold defects was generally pointed out by the British :

> The First and principal evil consists in the deplorable deficiency of Books for education and mental improvement. The Second is the want of an easy and efficacious method in imparting Instruction. The Third in the want of persons qualified to undertake the office of Instructors, as well as persons to be vested with a general Superintendence and control of the Schools. And the Fourth point, the want of necessary Funds for carrying these objects into effect.[1]

It was also pointed out that the Indian schools had neither a hierarchical structure of classes, nor a system of rewards for achievement and punishment for idleness.[2] These disadvantages, however, were more apparent and worrying to the British observer, than to the Indian who participated in the system. Nor was this concern on the part of the British the incentive for the creation of the Bombay Native Education Society and its subsequent involvement in education. George Jervis, long associated with education in Bombay Presidency and Secretary of the B.N.E.S., baldly stated the practical aim of the education institutions founded by the Society, that is the Engineer's Institution and the Central School in Bombay:

> The primary object to Government, of these institutions, was the instruction of native and half-caste youths, so as to render them competent

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1824, Vol.8/63, p.99 : the B.N.E.S.'s Report of the Special Committee appointed to examine the System of Education prevailing among the Natives, 13 September, 1823.

2. Ibid., p.103.

> to discharge subordinate duties in the Engineer and Quarter Master General's Departments, in an economical and efficient manner; thereby avoiding the necessity of having those duties performed by officers of the line, to the detriment of the Regiments to which they belonged, and at a very serious expense to the Government. 1

The demand for the services of engineers was the result of 'the late and expected accessions of territory'.[2] The Court of Directors was anxious that expenditure on administration be reduced by training and employing 'persons born in the country'.[3]

While the Directors saw education as a means to economy, Mountstuart Elphinstone in his advocacy of education for the Indians was motivated by political considerations. Elphinstone's residency at the Peshwa's court in Poona had given him personal knowledge of Indian political power, however decadent. He was therefore aware of the political compulsions that lay below the quiescent surface of Western India in 1827. And he sought through English education and the encouragement of classical Indian education traditions to draw the Indians into the warm clasp of John Company. Elphinstone's view of India, belonging as it did more to the eighteenth than the nineteenth century, had little in common with that of Macaulay. Macaulay in his famous Education Minute of 1835 saw only barbarism and

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1829, Vol. 6/183, p.13 : George Jervis to John Barr and Lieut. Col. E. Frederick, 5 December, 1828.

2. M.S.A., G.D., 1828, Vol. 8/92, p.564 : Extract of a letter from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, 13 February, 182?.

3. Ibid., p.564.

unreason in India. He therefore sought through English education to create a collaborating class, Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, opinions and morals. Elphinstone was not impelled by such moral zeal; his concern was primarily with political exigencies.

Elphinstone was conscious early, in his long career in India, that a time would come when Indians would demand first a share and eventually total control of the government of their own country.[1] He believed that there was 'no undertaking in which our duty, our interest and our honour are more immediately concerned',[2] than the provision and spread of education among the Indians. The separation between the British and Indians that existed at the time made for a 'slippery foundation of our Government'.[3] This separation between ruler and subject, according to Elphinstone, could only be reduced and the future ensured by a uniquely conceived dual process; that is, by not only educating a future Indian ruling elite in European ideas and the sciences but also in making it incumbent upon British civil servants to learn the local languages. Elphinstone suggested that the study of Gujerati and Marathi, in addition to Hindustani, should be made 'indispensable for promotion or if that be thought to be imposing too

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1. T.E.Colebrooke, Life of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, 2 Vols., (London, 1884), Vol.II, p.199.

2. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 13 B, No. 12 A : Draft Minute of the 'education of the natives', undated.

3. Ibid.

great a burden (on the junior civil servants) they might be encouraged by additional allowances or honorary awards'.[1]

The education structure, as conceived of by Elphinstone, resembled a pyramid. European education, of any Indian moneyed elite, with emphasis on the sciences, was to occupy the pinnacle of importance. The middle level was to be taken by the more advanced indigenous structures of education as found under the erstwhile Peshwa. Basic education of the masses in the vernacular was to form the widely spread base of this pyramid.

It was Elphinstone's 'first object to rouse the attention of the Higher classes by presenting the discoveries of European sciences'.[2] Indian interest was to be encouraged by offering handsome stipends and prizes for those appearing in examinations in particular branches of European knowledge. The principal prizes Elphinstone believed ought to be of 'considerable value and as they would probably not be claimed for several years they ought

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1. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 13 B, No.12 A : Minute on the Education of the Junior Civil Servants, 2 June, 1820.
   Elphinstone was only too aware of the political harm done to British rule in India by imperious administrators. In his view, learning a local language was one way of establishing a good relationship with the Indians. He noted, 'it has sometimes struck me that the fault of our younger politicians - who have never seen the Indian states in the days of their power - is a contempt for the natives, and an inclination to carry everything with a high hand'.

   Colebrooke, Vol.II, p.66 : M.E. to Sir John Malcolm, 24 May, 1829.

2. Lord Elphinstone Collection (henceforth Lord E.Coll.), Mss. Eur. F 87/Box 11 B, No.16 : M.E. to Lord E., 2 February, 1854.

to be allowed to accumulate till the amount became sufficiently dazzling to be of itself an inducement to study the elements of science'.[1] It is worth noting that the prizes were to be given not for succeeding at an examination but for being prepared to appear in one. Elphinstone had no illusions about the difficulties European education would face in Bombay. The stipends and prizes were seen as essential inducements to such an education because, as it was, there was no difficulty in young men obtaining clerical positions with a basic education at the Native Education Society's English School .

In Elphinstone's view a hierarchical system was essential. He suggested that admission to English education ought to be a reward for merit in other studies, an object of ambition.[2] Moreover, to prevent a mixture of castes which would alienate the higher castes from English education, he observed that 'no boy should be admitted until he was approved by the Committee and a preference should be given to the sons of wealthy natives and to boys that showed their particular promise of talent'.[3]

It is surprising that Elphinstone, with his knowledge of Indian society, was unaware that wealth and high caste were mutually exclusive at this time, and that it was not

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1. M.E.Coll., Mss Eur. F 88/ Box 13 B, No.12 A : Draft Minutes on the 'education of the natives'.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

the wealthy natives but the poor, higher castes which showed any interest in English education and the European sciences. What, in fact, constituted the European sciences was left somewhat vague. In Elphinstone's opinion the 'exact species of knowledge ought not at first to be too nicely insisted on but Geometry, Algebra, the higher branches of Arithmetic, Geography and the knowledge of our system of Astronomy might be among the number'.[1]

Unlike Sir Charles Wood and Macaulay some thirteen years later, Elphinstone saw some merit in the indigenous system of education that existed in Western India. He knew that it was in danger of disappearing with the defeat of the Peshwa and the subsequent absence of patronage from the local rulers. He believed that while the vast majority of people were illiterate, there was'a certain class[2], in which men capable of reading, writing, and instructing exist in much greater numbers than were required or could find employment.'[3] If this indigenous education system was to be saved, was it within the capacity of the British to finance the educational pursuits of the Brahmins ? Elphinstone, with his knowledge of Indian social structures, believed that the Funds to secure indigenous educational

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1. Ibid.

2. Bajee Rao, the last Peshwa, patronised traditional Hindu learning by the payment of the Dakshina to 50,000 Brahmins. Moreover, both he and his noblemen directly employed Brahmins, or allowed stipends and grants of land to many others whose services were not used. Elphinstone compared the Brahmin scribes to 'those monks among whom the seeds of European learning were long kept alive'.

   Education Minutes : Elphinstone, Macaulay, Wood, (Kolhapur 1940), p.36.

3. Ibid., pp. 5-6.

development were available within the local system.[1] He held that the gaum kharch (fund for village expenses) and the many wurshasans[2], naimnooks[3] and specific allowances to Fakeers[4] could be used for educational purposes.

The defeat of a Brahmin Government had complicated the educational efforts of the British. It threatened to deprive education of the services of the Brahmins who had more zeal and more traditional preoccupation with education than a British educationist in India could be expected to possess. It also made it incumbent on the British, in Western India, to tread carefully in the introduction of English education. Elphinstone was very conscious of the need for caution in handling Indian religious sensibilities, and hence he positively discouraged missionary activity in education.[5] He had no wish to prejudice Indian public opinion against British plans for education in the Presidency.

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1. M.E. Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 13 B, No. 12 A : Draft Minutes on the 'education of the natives' ; undated.
2. An annual allowance or stipend given for charitable purposes to priests, pundits etc.
3. An allowance or pension given to Government officials by the former Peshwa.
4. Mendicants attached to religious orders.
5. Op. Cit., Education Minutes, pp. 31-32.

Elphinstone wanted direct Government involvement in the extension of vernacular schools. The education of the poor was in 'great measure the charge of the Government. Even Adam Smith (the political writer, of all others, who had put the strictest limits to the interference of the Executive Government, especially in education) admits the instruction of the poor to be among the necessary expenses of the Sovereign'.[1] For Elphinstone the diffusion of knowledge among the illiterate masses was necessary for the creation of a more prosperous and stable country. What kind of knowledge was to be made available to the masses ? Elphinstone was clear about the need for a practical, basic education for the Indian poor:

> A short and clear book in a native language on the improvement of manure or of a way of making channels for watering fields so as to prevent waste by evaporation, would be more useful at present than the ablest exposition of all Comte's Philosophic Positive. This sort of education for the lower orders.....has always been a favourite plan of mine for India. 2

Sir John Malcolm who succeeded Elphinstone as Governor of Bombay also had a long acquaintance with Indian problems. Both Elphinstone and Malcolm had spent the greater part of their lives in India as Company administrators. They had had too long and intimate an association with India to have that absolute certitude

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1. Ibid., p.28.

2. Lord E. Coll., Mss. Eur. F 87/Box 11 B, No. 16 : M.E. to Lord E., 2 February, 1854.

in their political and social ideas that marked the administrators that were to come.[1] Neither Elphinstone nor Malcolm wished for drastic changes in the local social structure, rather their aim was for a gradual development with Government assistance.[2] Nor was education given the highest priority. Elphinstone believed that it was much more urgent to establish law and order, and the administration of justice, followed by a more equitable and moderate land revenue assessment.[3] Moreover, in Malcolm's judgement English education was to be very limited in its scope. He viewed favourably the Elphinstone Professorships because he hoped the Professors would instruct only a small number of Indians in the English language and the sciences. It was to Indians thus educated that he looked for 'aid in the diffusion of knowledge among their countrymen through the medium of their vernacular dialects'.[4] Malcolm firmly believed that it was only through the vernacular that education could be extended to a larger proportion of the population.

Neither Elphinstone nor Malcolm received unanimous support for their views on education from Company officials in the Presidency. Mr. Warden, the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, was particularly vociferous in his

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1. E. Stokes, The English Utilitarians and India, (Oxford, 1959), pp. 23-24.
2. Lord E. Coll., Mss. Eur. F 87/ Box 11 B, No.17 : M.E. to Lord E., 1 July, 1856.
3. M.S.A., G.D., 1825, Vol.8/92, pp. 528-529 : Minute by M.E., 30 July, 1825.
4. M.S.A., G.D., 1828, Vol.10/163 : Minute by Sir John Malcolm on Education, 4 April,1828.

opposition to both Governors. He was emphatic in his belief that it was 'better and safer to commence by giving a good deal of knowledge to a few, than a little to many'.[1] Unlike Elphinstone and Malcolm, who saw the English language as merely an intermediary to spreading a knowledge of the European sciences through the vernacular, Warden was convinced that 'the surest mode of diffusing a better system (of education) is by making the study of the English language the primary and not the merely secondary object of attention in the education of the Natives'.[2] Macaulay would have agreed with Warden in his assertion that 'the complete knowledge of our language ought to form so prominent an object, as to lay the ground for its gradually becoming at last the established Vehicle of legal and official business. The English tongue would in India, as in America, be the lasting monument of our dominion'.[3] Warden's imperial perspective was strongly coloured by Evangelical rather than Utilitarian assumptions. Yet again in opposition to Elphinstone and Malcolm, he urged that 'every encouragement'[4] should be given to Missionaries in their education effort. For if English education could 'produce a rapid change in their opinion (i.e. of the Indians) on the fallacy of their religion,

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1828, Vol.10/163, p.30 : Minute by Mr. Warden, 24 March, 1828.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p.31.

4. M.S.A., G.D., 1824, Vol.8/63 : Mr. Warden's observations Relative to Extending Education among the Natives, 29 December, 1824.

it must at least render them more honest and industrious subjects'. [1]

The controversy over education was essentially one of whether or not the Indian character and the Indian social institutions, including those of education, required to be improved through a generous injection of English culture. There were those like Mr. Chaplin, the first Superintendent of the Sanskrit College at Poona and an Oriental scholar, who questioned the widespread conviction, among the English, that the Indian was basically dishonest and immoral: 'That the Natives are much more wanting than Europeans of corresponding classes in the "knowledge of Common Honesty" is a position, in my opinion, much more universally received than well grounded'.[2] Chaplin argued that dishonesty among the Indians was not because of a moral malaise but due to the lack of opportunities of 'promotion to higher dignities',[3] under foreign rule. The Report of the B.N.E.S. Special Committee, on the other hand, was seriously concerned by the apparent weaknesses of Indian character, and it urged that the 'propensities to ignorance and vice'[4] be removed through teaching the native to judge between right and wrong.[5] The

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1. Ibid.

2. M.S.A., G.D., 1825, Vol.8/92, p.489 : Mr. Chaplin to the Secy. to Govt., 9 July 1825.

3. Ibid.

4. M.S.A., G.D., 1824, Vol.8/63, p.107 : Report of the (B.N.E.S.) Special Committee appointed to examine the system of education prevailing among the Natives, 13 September, 1823.

5. Ibid.

British in India generally believed it to be impossible that Indian philosophy and literature could give the Indian a sense of judgement and moral discrimination :

> I conceive that it is too generally known to be doubted that though many of the literary works of the Hindoos contain sublime philosophy, both natural and moral, yet I believe.....these truths are drawn either in such a mystical garb as to render their meaning obscure in the highest degree, or else are couched in such figuratively fantastic and obscene language as entirely to render unavailing the doctrine intended,.....and at all events to make it anything rather than desirable that such works in their unculled state should become the basic (sic) of Education. 1

The Court of Directors, physically distanced from India, was not involved in the controversy that raged between the different assessments of Indian character and intellectual ability. The Directors made a cool, detached appraisal of the situation and asserted in unequivocal terms that the 'great end'[2] of education in India was not to teach Hindu or Muslim learning but 'useful learning'.[3] Divergences between education policy as enunciated from London and that which was actually put into effect in Bombay were not without their influence on Elphinstone College. We shall see how the Elphinstone Professors provided not a 'useful learning'[4] but rather a gentlemen's education.

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1824, Vol.8/63, pp. 6-7 : The Collector of Thana to the Secy. to Govt., 2 December, 1823.

2. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 15, No.10/ 1 A : Extract of a letter from the Court of Directors, 11 June 1823.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

Contrary to the assumption made hitherto that Elphinstone College was the natural outcome of a public demand for English Higher Education in Bombay, the College was founded and survived despite a confusion of motives and interests, some of them mutually contradictory. Certainly, its early years were not easy in the absence of a clearly formulated plan. The College originated with the establishment of the Elphinstone Professorships. In a resolution of 28 August, 1827 the business magnates of Bombay established the Elphinstone Professorships Fund, to honour Mountstuart Elphinstone, the retiring Governor of Bombay. The magnates had no clear conception of what was to be the aim and purpose of the Elphinstone Professors, nor was the establishment of a College envisaged at this time. The farewell address to Mountstuart Elphinstone spoke of the Elphinstone Professors teaching the English language and the Arts, Sciences and Literature of Europe. This was meant by the Shetia[1] subscribers more as a personal genuflexion to Elphinstone, given his great interest in education, than an actual commitment to English education on their part. More importantly the Fund was for the Shetias an expression of their willingness, indeed eagerness to further their commercial dealings with the new rulers. This gesture of personal esteem for the retiring Governor was in fact a sound investment on the part of the Shetias for a profitable relationship with the British. That is not to say

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1. Shetias. The term is used in this thesis to refer to the leading members of the business community of Bombay.

there were no subscribers from outside Bombay City. A sizeable number of contributions came from the Rajas and jagirdars of the Mahratta country, and the Brahmins of Poona where Elphinstone had been Commissioner for the Deccan. However, the larger donations to the Fund were made by the big Bombay Shetias namely, Jagannath Shankarshet, Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Framji Cowasji, Muhammed Ali Roghay and Muhammed Ibrahim Muckba. Parsis, Banias and Bohras dominated commerce in Bombay[1] and not surprisingly most of the subscribers in Bombay came from these communities.

On the other hand, a list of subscriptions made to the Fund in Poona indicates that the majority of the donors (thirty out of the forty-six donors on that particular list) were Brahmin (Chitpavan, Saraswat and Deshasta) as befits a Brahmin-dominated city. But the upper limit of the individual Brahmin contribution was a mere Rs.300.[2] Though the Brahmin contribution was small in relation to the large sums given by the commercial castes of Bombay, their interest in education was to prove to be more real. The Bombay Shetias, while prepared to associate themselves with education through all manner of subscriptions[3] and committee memberships, were not willing to see their sons attend the Elphinstone Professors'

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1. C. Dobbin, Urban Leadership in Western India : Politics and Communities in Bombay City 1840-1885, (London, 1972), p.4.
2. Elphinstone College Records (henceforth E.C.R.), unbound, loose sheets hence no Vol. No. : the Collector, Poona to the Secy., B.N.E.S. and E.P.F., 4 June, 1829.
3. M.S.A., G.D., 1829, Vol.6/183, p.83 : List of subscriptions for the Sir Edward West Scholarships, 12 March, 1829; Bombay Courier, Vol. XXXVII, 29 September, 1827, No.1831.

lectures which in fact, they had subsidised. The empty rhetoric of their public address[1] of 1827 to Elphinstone was evident from the marked absence of wealthy students at the College for much of the nineteenth century. As late as 1861 the Director of Public Instruction bemoaned the fact that for the business community of Bombay 'Trade and money-making seem their only object of ambition'.[2] Self interest rather than an interest in education motivated the Shetias to subscribe to the Professorships Fund. They enthusiastically supported so public and grand an object as the Fund, but were conspicuous in their disinclination to support the B.N.E.S. Central School. The Central School was in urgent need of financial help almost two years after the grand gesture of 1827.[3] It is also evident that the idea of the Elphinstone Professorships Fund was originally conceived of by George Jervis, the Secretary to the B.N.E.S., who then persuaded the business community of Bombay, eager to do credit to itself by its choice of a farewell gift to Elphinstone, to accept the idea.[4]

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1. 'We are ourselves fully persuaded that no amelioration can be of more incalculable benefit to this country than the diffusion amongst our children and country men of that extensive knowledge, those noble modes of thinking... by which the British are so eminently distinguished'.

   M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 13 B, No.27 : Address to M.E. from the Native Inhabitants of Bombay, 31 October, 1827

2. R.D.P.I. for 1860-61, p.32.

3. M.S.A., G.D., 1829, Vol.6/183 : Minute by Sir John Malcolm on Education, 10 October, 1829.

4. M.S.A.,G.D.,1830, Vol.6/203, P.328 : The Members of the Native Community of Bombay to George Jervis, 10 May, 1830; M.S.A.,G.D., 1830, Vol.6/203, p.330 : Jervis to The Members of the Native Community of Bombay, 11 May, 1830.

The Government and the business community of Bombay, however, were working at cross purposes. The Government of Bombay sought not just financial support for its education plans but also looked for an active participation in these plans, through an increase in the number of students in attendance. In order to understand the difficulties in Bombay it may be useful to examine the situation in Calcutta during this period. In Bengal it was 'the native gentlemen of Calcutta' who had set the pace in the development of English education. Calcutta, unlike Bombay, was the hub of the Company's rapidly expanding territories, as also its equally rapidly expanding administrative machinery. Inevitably, the Government was a major potential employer in Calcutta. In Bombay, however, the picture was very different. Bombay's commercial houses offered more lucrative employment than the Government could hope to do. Not surprisingly it was in Bengal and not Bombay that the advantage of introducing the English language and European sciences was clearly perceived. As early as 1816, 'the native gentlemen of Calcutta' endowed a sum of Rs.113, 170 to found a seminary for the instructions of Hindus in the European languages and sciences. The Institution was called the Vidyalaya or Anglo-Indian College. The Report of 1825 gives the number of students for that year as 200, and by 1828, the figure had risen impressively to 436. [1] This was in marked contrast to the dismal scene at the Elphinstone Professors' classes in Bombay.

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1. Syed Mahmood, A History of English Education in India, 1781-1893, (Aligarh, 1895), p.26.

In Calcutta English education was given an even greater impetus by Raja Ram Mohun Roy's strong advocacy of it in 1823. As a Sanskrit scholar speaking to his fellow Hindus, Roy's views had a far more powerful appeal than the opinions of officials whose motives were generally suspect. Roy in fact went so far as to urge the Government to desist from the funding and promotion of Sanskrit learning. He recommended the employment of Europeans to instruct the Indians in 'mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, and other useful sciences'.[1] These sentiments have an echo in the address presented to Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1827. But the similarity is one of rhetoric and not of substance. The near absence of students[2] during the early years of the Elphinstone College underlines the major differences in educational development in the two Presidencies.

The Elphinstone Professorships Fund was established in 1827 'for the purpose of founding one or more professorships for teaching the languages, literature, sciences and moral

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1. Ibid., p.28.

2. The Elphinstone Professors remained practically idle for the first three years, 'there being only three students to attend their classes'.

   G.G.Jambhekar, (ed.), Memoirs and Writings of Acharya Bal Gangadhar Shastri Jambhekar (1812-1846). Pioneer of the Renaissance in Western India and Father of Modern Maharashtra, 3 Vols., (Poona, 1950), Vol.1, p.52.

philosophy of Europe'.[1] However, it was only in 1834 that a formal institution designated as 'Elphinstone College' was sanctioned by the Government and the two Professors appointed. What caused the delay in their appointment ? It was certainly not due to any lack of interest on the part of Mountstuart Elphinstone who had the selection and appointments of the first two professors in his hands.[2] Nor was there any reluctance on the part of the Committee of the Elphinstone Professorships to proceed with the establishment of the Professorships. The Secretary to the B.N.E.S. remarked in 1832 upon the anxiety of the Committee over the delay.[3] Nonetheless there was delay. The Court of Directors appears to have been the source of the delay. Its involvement in the Professorships was perhaps more because of the personal esteem of the temporary Chairman, Lock, for Elphinstone himself[4], and less due to a great commitment to an expensive venture in English collegiate education in Bombay. Elphinstone's correspondence with James Mill suggests that the Directors were inclined to see the Professorships as a B.N.E.S. project which ought not to involve the Company in any direct expense. The Court in fact absolutely declined

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1.M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 13, No.7 B : Farewell Address to Elphinstone from the Native Inhabitants of Bombay, 31 Oct., 1827.

2.M.S.A.,G.D., 1830, Vol.6/203, p.371 : The Committee of the B.N.E.S. to the Secy., B.N.E.S., 22 April, 1830.

3.M.S.A.,G.D., 1832, Vol.10/225, p.40 : Secy. B.N.E.S. to Secy. to Govt., 23 April, 1832.

4.M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 3, No.35 : E : James Mill to M.E., 14 November, 1833.

to put itself to 'any expense'[1] over Mr. Orlebar, who had been selected as an Elphinstone Professor. Before Orlebar's departure for India the Court categorically stated that the B.N.E.S. was solely responsible for his expenses. There appears to have been some irritation on the part of the Directors who took the view that while the Funds of the Professorships ought to have been for a limited purpose, they had been misapplied to a grander project:

> The intention of the subscribers to the Funds endowing the Elphinstone Professorships had, however, nothing more in view, after evidencing the regard which they felt for the distinguished individual in honor (sic) of whom the Professorships were endowed, than the provision of masters of a Superior order, for the Native Education Society's School of which, at the time when the subscription was raised, the school stood in very great need.2

The Court's letter of 1839, however, omits to mention that it had taken the most negative stance over the question of the Company subsidising the B.N.E.S. schools in Bombay.[3] And that it was, in fact, the Court's hope rather than the Indian subscribers' intention to turn the Elphinstone Professorships Fund over to the B.N.E.S. Central School. It is true that the subscribers to the

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1. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 15, No.10/2 B : A.B.Orlebar to M.E., 19 July, 1834.

2. M.S.A.,G.D., 1839, Vol.6/485, p.42 : Extract of a letter from the Hon'ble Court of Directors, 2 October, 1839.

3. 'We have heard nothing here of the Court's intentions regarding the schools. They wrote refusing any donation, about a year ago, unless we very clearly stated what were the objects of the Institution, which had been stated years ago'.

   M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 3, No.35 E : A.C.Money, Secy., B.N.E.S. to M.E., 11 May, 1831.

Fund had not clearly envisaged what was to be the eventual outcome of the subscriptions but nowhere did they express a desire to become benefactors of the B.N.E.S. schools. The failure of the Directors in London and the subscribers in Bombay to clearly state their aims and priorities created confusion. The divergence of views on education added further to the muddle and delay ; the Court of Directors showed great reluctance to involve itself in expenditure on collegiate education, but the Government in Bombay exhibited no such qualms, readily agreeing to an annual donation to the Fund of Rs.22,000. [1]

According to the formal plan of the Institution, Mountstuart Elphinstone was recognised as the 'Founder' [2] of the College, and the College was firmly placed under 'the general superintendence of Government, and its management (was to) be conducted by a Council of 9 elected annually'.[3] The Council was to consist of four Europeans and four Indians with a President at its head. [4] The President and one

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1. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 15, No.10/2B : Statement of the Annual Income of the Elphinstone College, 1 June, 1834.

2. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 15, No.10/2 B : Plan for the Institution of the Elphinstone Professorships as finally sanctioned by Government, 1 June, 1834.

3. Ibid.

4. The Council of Elphinstone College on 29 April 1834 ; President : The Chief Justice Sir Herbert Compton, Nominated Member : Mr.J.Wedderburn, Elected Members : James Farrish, W.H.Wathen, Lieut. G.Pope, Framji Cowasji, Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Jagannath Shankarshet, Muhammed Ibrahim Muckba. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 15, No.10/ 2 B : Secy., B.N.E.S. to Secy. to Govt., 29 April, 1834.

European member was to be nominated by the Government, the remaining seven members were to be elected by the B.N.E.S.; Government had a veto on the election of the European members only.[1] The Professorships Fund, contributed to by Indian subscribers and the Government, was vested in the College Council but the capital was inviolable, the interest alone being at the Council's disposal. The College's income was as follows :

The Interest on the capital of the Institution invested in the Government loan	Rupees	2,72,000
At 4 per cent, gives	Rupees	10,880
Annual donation on the part of Government	Rupees	22,000
Total income of the Institution per annum	Rupees	32,880 [2]

Annual average expenditure of the College was calculated at :

2 Professors at 1,000 (each)	2000 per mensem.
Probable average for the supply of philosophical apparatus, instruments, books	500
Salary of Secretary to the College Council	200
Stationery, writer, peons etc.	
Probable average expense on account of Passage Money, Furlough pay etc. to 2 Professors.	150
	2850
2 Fellows at Rs.50	100
4 Fellows at Rs.25	100
1st native assistant professor	150
2nd native assistant professor	100
per mensem	3300
per annum	39600 [3]

1. Op.Cit., Plan for the Institution of the Elphinstone Professorships.
2. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 15, No.10/2 B : Statement of the annual income of the Elphinstone College of Bombay, 1 June, 1834.
3. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur F 88/Box 15, No.10/28 : The Committee of Elphinstone Professorships to the Secy., to Govt., 12 April, 1834.

The Governor Lord Clare was quick to reassure the Professorships Committee that 'the Government shall dontribute whatever may be requisite to make up that amount',[1] that is, the deficit of Rs.6,720. Clearly the Government of Bombay had no doubts, at this point in time, of the success of the College. Their support was unequivocal. It could not have been otherwise, given Elphinstone's association with the project and Malcolm's commitment to honour his friend and immediate predecessor.

The Committee of the Elphinstone Professorships did not agree unanimously to all the regulations formulated by its members for the College. A majority of the European members were opposed to the clause prohibiting 'religious matters'.[2] Elphinstone, in whose name the Professorships had been endowed, had consistently opposed the introduction of religion into education. Times, however, had changed; morality in 1833 played a stronger part in the pronouncements of British officials in India. The European Committee members asserted :

> It (the restriction on religion) will operate as an injurious restrict (sic) upon the Professors in delivering Lectures upon History, the Belles Lettres, Astronomy and subjects of Moral Philosophy.....The proposed Institution will not merely provide Lectures upon branches of Natural Philosophy, but undertake the Education of the mind, and the Discipline of the Conduct of the Young Persons who must spend several hours every day with the Professors; and a great object must be the improvement of their moral principles, in reference to Truth and Falsehood, to integrity, to purity of Conduct, etc. The

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1. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 15, No.10/2 B : Secy. to Govt. to Committee of the Elphinstone Professorships, 21 April, 1834.

2. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 15, No.10/2 B : Rev. T. Carr to Lord Clare, Governor of Bombay, 18 January, 1833.

> Regulation in question will present a very undesirable restraint.[1]

However the Indian members of the Committee held their ground and the restriction on religion was included in the College's regulations.[2]

The regulations pertaining to the Professors themselves did not cause a controversy among the Committee members. The regulations were clear and specific. The Professors were expected to deliver lectures and examine students on the lectures for a given number of hours on certain days in the week. They were also to deliver public lectures, open to anyone on terms approved by the College Council. Though the restriction on religion was retained the moral tone was not to be denied; 'in conducting their lectures, the Professors shall at all times have in view to inculcate sound morality'.[3] The two Professors were to be initially appointed by Mountstuart Elphinstone, each on a salary of ₨.1,000 per month. Individuals subsequently appointed by the College Council were to be paid a lower salary, but not less than ₨.600 per month for the Professor who would live in the Astronomer's house at Colaba and ₨.700 for the other

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1. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 15, No.10/2 B : Rev. T. Carr to Lord Clare, Governor of Bombay, 18 January, 1833.

2. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/ Box 15, No.10/ 2 B : 'Bombay Education Shelf 7 No.15'. The Elphinstone Professorships Committee was originally formed in 1827 to raise subscriptions from the Indian inhabitants of the Presidency. The Indian members of the Committee were : Madhowdass Trunchodass, Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Framji Cowasji, Muhammed Ali Roghay, Bomanji Hormasji, Bavidass Hurjivandass, Dhakji Dadaji, Jagannath Shankarshet.

3. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 15, No.10/ 2 B : Plan for the Institution of the Elphinstone Professorships as finally sanctioned by Government, 1 June, 1834.

Professor.[1] Each Professor was to have an Indian assistant 'who shall attend all Lectures for the purpose of explaining difficulties, when necessary in the vernacular languages, the salary of the first to be Rupees 150 and of the second 100 per Mensem'.[2] In addition six Fellowships were to be established; four at ₨.25 per month and two at ₨.50. They were to be awarded, on an examination by the Council, to the best qualified candidates from among the students who had received the Diploma or Certificate from the College. Any student who had attended the College for three years and produced a reference from the Professors would receive a Diploma or Certificate from the College Council.[3]

While the regulations of the College were being spelt out in Bombay, Elphinstone was grappling in England with the difficulties of finding men suitable for educational service in India. He was personally involved in the search and eventual selection of not only the first two Professors but also the two school-masters for the B.N.E.S. English School in Bombay. A Colonel Sykes was sent by Elphinstone to Oxford and Cambridge in quest of candidates for the Elphinstone Professorships. Colonel Sykes quickly discovered at both these universities that candidates were not to be found so easily. Men of high reputation in science were 'too well provided for in this country'[4] to undertake an overseas

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 3 E, No.35 : Col. Sykes to M.E., 20 June, approx. 1833-34.

appointment. Moreover, those accustomed to the 'quiet and comforts of College life'[1] regarded residence in India as a 'formidable affair'.[2] In desperation Sykes suggested that if no one suitable was found in England 'might not young men be found in the Engineer or Artillery Corps in Bombay or the other Presidencies'.[3] There is reference to only one application from an Englishman in India. Mr. G. Speech, a pleader of the Sudder Dewani Adawlut of Calcutta and former headmaster of the Hindu College, Calcutta, wrote to Elphinstone for the post of Professor of History and Literature. He sent testimonials from H.H.Wilson, Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, the Secretary to the General Committee on Public Instruction, the Managers' of Hindu College, and the students of the Senior Department of the Hindu College where he had taught for two years.[4] Speech believed that his residence in India gave him an added advantage, 'my experience in this country might perhaps enable me to be of more immediate service to your valuable institution than one who is an entire stranger to its language and manners'.[5]

Elphinstone, however, appears to have been determined to adhere to the request from Bombay for the first two Professors to be sent out from England. The candidates who presented

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 15, No.10/2 B : G. Speech to M.E., 19 May, 1834.

5. Ibid.

themselves in England were few and far between, but they give some idea of what motives impelled them to apply. The Chaplain of Christ Church, Oxford, the Rev. W. Cureton's application was forwarded to Elphinstone by a Fellow of New College. [1] Then Cureton himself wrote, saying that his 'great taste for anything oriental'[2] and the desire to be 'useful'[3] had interested him in the Elphinstone Professorship, but that the great distress of his mother had forced him to relinquish the idea.[4] On the other hand, Mr.A.C.Donaldson, a teacher in Edinburgh, declined the Professorship offered to him by Elphinstone because 'I think I am entitled to something of this sort in Britain'.[5] Mr. T. Galloway (antecedents unknown) noted that 'unless a returning salary is to be given in case of ill health or a failure of the Institution, or a service of a reasonable number of years it would not be to my advantage to accept the office'.[6] For these men there were no advantages to be gained by going out to India.

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1. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 3, No.35 E : Dr. Shuttleworth to M.E., 11 May, 1834.

2. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 15, No.10/2 B : W. Cureton to M.E., 16 May, 1834.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 15, No.10/2 B : A.C. Donaldson to M.E., 9 June, 1834.

6. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 3, No.35 : E.T.Galloway to James [illegible] Mill, 5 June, 1833.

They had better expectations in England, both in terms of salary earned and position held. Elphinstone's quest was further complicated by the unsympathetic attitude of the Court of Directors to academics in general. The application of R.W.Rothman seemed to be most suitable; a lay Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, under thirty years of age, and 'a good mathematician and astronomer'[1] who had written a history of astronomy. Given his attainments it was not unreasonable that he should be reluctant to accept a teaching position without his duties being clearly defined. 'I am also anxious to state explicitly that no salary the Company could offer would be an inducement to me to accept a situation either identical with or analogous to that of a schoolmaster'.[2] He was also concerned about the payment of the expenses of his voyage to India. 'I think that it can hardly be expected (considering the amount of the salary) that I should proceed to India at my own expense; particularly if that salary is only to run from the date of my arrival in that country'.[3] The Court of Directors response to Mr. Rothman's very real worries was sharp and uncompromising. Mill wrote to Elphinstone that he did not like Rothman's letter :

> It is so like that I have seen of Professors. They are a set of men, who are oppressed with the care of their dignity - a dignity which everything hurts.....what the devil does he mean by his distinction of professor and schoolmaster ?

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1. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 3, No.35 E : Undated draft titled 'Mr. Rothman'.

2. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 3, No.35 E : R.W.Rothman to M.E., 4 December, 1833.

3. Ibid.

> Does he think he can teach Mathematical and Physical Science, to natives without teaching the elements ?

Not surprisingly Rothman's application came to nothing and Elphinstone had to begin his search for a suitable candidate all over again.

In the summer of 1834, Elphinstone succeeded in finding two academics suitable and willing to go out to Bombay as the Elphinstone Professors. Arthur B. Orlebar, a young man of twenty four, presented himself to Elphinstone. Orlebar was a graduate of Lincoln College, Oxford. He had taken a First in Mathematics and a Third in Classics and he had had 'a little experience in tuition'.[2] Orlebar provided several references to attest to his 'respectability'.[3] He also betrayed an alarming degree of missionary zeal. He noted, 'I consider the civil education of the Hindoos as a preparation of the soil, in which at a remote moral period, the seed of Christianity will be sown.'[4] In the one month of June a spate of letters was exchanged between Orlebar and Elphinstone. Elphinstone, of course, was anxious that nothing should be done to antagonise the Indians, who 'would consider it as a deception practised on them if the money which they (had) subscribed with no such understanding as to its employment were made to contribute in any way to drawing off adherents from their religion'.[5] Elphinstone succeeded

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1. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 3, No.35 E : James Mill to M.E., undated, approx. December, 1833.

2. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 3, No. 35 E : A.B.Orlebar to M.E., 20 May, 1834.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., 1 June, 1834.

5. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 3, No.35 E : M.E. to A.B. Orlebar, 7 June, 1834.

in persuading Orlebar that education at Elphinstone College was to be of a purely secular nature. Orlebar agreed not to indulge in any form of conversion. 'I do this from the conviction that our first duty is to give civil and moral and intellectual instruction to the Hindoos. I prefer this as an alternative between two evils, as (I am) aware of the delicate connexion which must subsist between a Christian Teacher and a Heathen Pupil'.[1] Orlebar was appointed senior Elphinstone Professor on 27th June, 1834. He arrived in Bombay sometime between 17 January and 13 March 1835. It has not been possible to establish the exact date of his reaching Bombay. As an Elphinstone Professor Orlebar was to receive a salary of Rs.600 a month, as well as have the use of the Astronomer's house at Colaba. Orlebar was 'to have charge of the Observatory and Instruments on his arrival in this Country with a view to add to his facility in teaching and at the same time to benefit science generally'.[2] It is worth noting here that while one Professor did not make a college, yet the idea of a college was already firmly established in Bombay; the term was being freely used by the Government of Bombay, the B.N.E.S. and the subscribers to the Fund.[3] This all too easy assumption that one or two professors constituted a college was to lead to difficulties.

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1. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 3, No.35 E : A.B.Orlebar to M.E., 11 June, 1834.

2. M.S.A.,G.D., 1835, Vol.6/321, p.99 : Memorandum of the Secy. to Govt., 13 March, 1835.

3. M.S.A.,G.D., 1835, Vol.6/321, p.103 : A.B.Orlebar to Governor in Council, 3 April, 1835; M.S.A.,G.D., 1834, Vol.8/303, p.123 : The B.N.E.S. Committee to the President and Members of the Council, 10 November, 1834.

John Harkness was the other Elphinstone Professor selected by Mountstuart Elphinstone. He had been strongly recommended by Professor Pillans, the Professor of Humanities at Edinburgh. Harkness had studied Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh until 1826.[1] He had been examined by the Presbytery of Dumferies, in Greek, Latin, Philosophy and Literature and obtained the 'unanimous approbation' and 'admiration'[2] of the Court for his intellectual attainments. In 1827, he had tutored several children in Greek and Latin. In this role he had 'distinguished himself not only by his abilities as a teacher, but by unremitting kindness and attention to his pupils'.[3] On the recommendation of Professor Pillans, Harkness had taken the position of a schoolmaster on board an English Ship of War. In this capacity he had spent three years 'on the Mediterranean Station (where he had) made himself master of several languages and seen much to enlarge his mind'.[4] This experience abroad had no doubt inclined Harkness to a teaching career in India. He speaks of only 'one ground of hesitation', that is 'the multifarious nature of the duties; and these, it is probable, may not be so arduous as they appear'.[5]

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1. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 15, No.10/2 B : Prof. Pillans to M.E., 23 July, 1834.

2. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 15, No.10/2 B : Testimonial from T. Duncan, Minister, Dumfries, 10 October, 1827.

3. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 15, No.10/28 : Testimonial, signature indecipherable, 13 October, 1827.

4. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 15, No.10/2 B : Prof. Pillans to M.E., 23 July, 1834.

5. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 15, No.10/2 B : J. Harkness to Prof. Pillans, undated.

Harkness was perhaps too sanguine in his hopes. The expectations from the Elphinstone Professors were so multifarious and contradictory that inevitably their first years of teaching in Bombay were not to be easy. A Government official warned Elphinstone that as 'scarcely any of the youth will be sufficiently advanced to be able to profit by lectures',[1] the first Elphinstone Professors 'must be prepared to undertake much of the drudgery of a Schoolmaster'.[2] Wathen suggested in a burst of Scottish chauvinism that the Professor 'should be a Scotsman of conciliatory manners, great command of Temper and of great perseverance - I do not think an Anglais would do at all'.[3] The College Council refused to be deterred by the problems that would arise from Professors having to work as schoolmasters. The Council was determined to have the prestige of learned men invited from Britain.[4]

The same contrary pulls were exercised over the choice of subjects to be taught by the first Professors. It is not surprising that the Indian Committee members of the B.N.E.S. differed with the English members on what kind of syllabus Elphinstone College ought to have. The Indian members, all of them commercial magnates, with no intention of giving their sons a collegiate education, could indulge their fancy, detached as they were from its consequences. They advocated

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1. M.E.Coll., Eur. Mss. F 88/Box 15, No.10/2 B : W.H.Wathen to M.E., 6 November, 1833.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. The Eighth Report of the B.N.E.S. for the year 1834, p.37.

the study of the English language 'as a branch of classical education to be esteemed and cultivated in this country as the classical languages of Greece and Rome are in the Universities of Europe'.[1]

They also proposed that 'the sphere of one Professor should be languages and general literature ; of another Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, including Astronomy, Elementary and Physical ; of the third (Professor) Chemistry, including Geology and Botany'.[2]

Yet in 1832, the B.N.E.S.'s proposals were of a more pragmatic nature; 'one superior Professor of Mathematics, Astronomy, and all branches of Natural Philosophy'[3] and 'an under Professor or Teacher who ought to possess a complete knowledge of the practical application of the sciences of Architecture, Hydraulics, Mechanics etc. to the useful purpose in life'.[4] Ultimately when the two Elphinstone Professors were appointed, the subjects they were to teach were more in keeping with the ideas of the Indian Committee members. Orlebar was appointed Professor of Natural Philosophy which involved the teaching of Astronomy, Mathematics and other

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1831, Vol.10/229, p.12 : Secy., B.N.E.S. to Secy. to Govt., 21 February, 1831.

2. Ibid., p.11.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

kindred arts and sciences.[1] Harkness was made Professor of General Literature which involved the teaching of Languages, Belles Lettres, Moral Philosophy, History, Geography and Chronology.[2]

However though the subjects were named there was no attempt to establish the level or standard of teaching at the Professors' classes. Nor in fact was there any discussion as to what was, meant by a College, whether it was for instance, to be an embryo university or an English type public school. Nor was there a clear idea as to where the students were to come from and what ought to be the qualifications for admission. All this may at one level appear to be extraordinary, but seen within the Indian context and specifically in relation to the indigenous schools of learning, the Pathshalas and Madrassahs, there are intriguing similarities. The Pathshalas and Madrassahs did not have a clearly defined level upto which they would teach. Given the demand from the students and the presence of sufficiently erudite teachers, the level of scholarship could be as high as anyone wished. Nor was admission to these schools of learning restricted by entrance requirements. It appears therefore that the Elphinstone College, in its very first

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1. The Eighth Report of the B. N. E. S. for the year 1834, p.38.

2. Ibid.

years, was not unlike the Indian schools of learning in certain aspects.

Chapter II

Social Background of Students, 1834-1855.

Who in fact were the students who were prepared to attend the Elphinstone Professors' classes ? As it turned out there was a marked discrepancy between the expectations of the British officials and the actual support given to English education by poor but high caste youths. Company administrators, such as Mr. Warden, expected, and indeed planned on persuading the sons of wealthy Indians to enroll in the Elphinstone Professors' classes. Warden was adamant that 'all efforts and resources should be concentrated (in Bombay).....The wealthy Inhabitants of Bombay, some of whom are members of the Bombay Native Education Society, would I am persuaded, contribute more largely to the support of such an Institution and avail themselves of it for the education of their children'. [1] Warden's expectations were of course, based on the reasoning that as the wealth of the richer Bombay merchants was made essentially from their commercial dealings with the British, so these merchants would adopt for their own families, the social mores of the rulers. In order to attract the wealthy Indian, education officials in the Presidency resorted to all manner of inducements, including such extraordinary measures as keeping a separate room with better furniture at the Poona English School.[2] But it was all to no avail. This, despite the support Warden's ideas

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1824, Vol.8/63 : Mr. Warden's Observations on Education, 29 December, 1824.

2. M.S.A., G.D., 1833, Vol.6/277, pp. 163-164 : The Committee to oversee the Poona English School, 18 April, 1833.

received from the highest quarter. The Court of Directors urged the extension of English education to the 'higher classes',[1] to 'persons possessing leisure and moral influence over the minds of their countrymen'.[2]

This was to oversimplify the social behaviour of Indians of different classes and castes. Neither the Directors in London nor Mr. Warden appeared to be aware of the difference between class and caste. Nor did they realise that those castes, (i.e. the Brahmins) which wielded traditionally the most moral authority were not the class which possessed leisure and wealth. The rich merchants of Bombay were usually from the trading castes of the Banias, the Bhatias, the Lohanas, who were mainly grain-dealers and shop-keepers, and the Bhansalis who were general traders.[3] Two other communities dominated Bombay's commercial world, the Parsis and the Muslim Bohras.[4] These trading castes and communities had neither the authority nor the interest in the 1820s and 30s to give a lead to English education in Bombay. Mountstuart Elphinstone however perceived the flaw in Warden's expectations :

> Mr. Warden's remarks on the higher orders applies exclusively to the native merchants of Bombay, and although there certainly exists among that community

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1846, Vol.31/1050, p.60 : Annual Report of the Board of Education for the year 1845.
2. Ibid.
3. C. Dobbin, Urban Leadership, p.4.
4. Ibid.

> strong instances of the effect of European Society in removing their prejudices and enlarging their views, yet I cannot think that they are ever likely to be eminent for their love of letters or that their example would be much followed even, if such a disposition were to be produced.

Elphinstone also strongly opposed Warden's plan to concentrate education in Bombay, because he believed rightly that the city had little influence on the <u>mofussil</u>. [2] He pointed out that even people from the nearest parts of the Konkan hardly visited Bombay, while with the remoter places there was little contact except through the occasional visit of a <u>Vakeel</u>, that is, a judicial officer.

> When they do meet, the people of the Presidency (Bombay City) and of the Country do not readily mix. The former have the blunt bustling manners of a Commercial Town which are of all things the most unacceptable to a native. This character extends to the upper classes, by whose example of course the diffusion of knowledge must be effected, and as these are generally men of humble origin who have raised themselves by commerce, the upper classes in the interior regard them as vulgar traders whose manners and habits it would be better to shun than imitate. This prejudice is unfounded and will wear out in time but at present it will pose an almost insurmountable barrier to the progress of improvements in education, by means of the inhabitants of the Presidency. 3

Elphinstone, for all his experience in India, was wrong in assuming that there was a clash between what he refers to as the city upper classes and the upper classes in the country. The opposition was, in fact, not a class antagonism

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1824, Vol.8/63, p.228 : Undated Minute by M.E., approx. March, 1824.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., pp. 213-214.

but rather the irreconciliable caste distinctions between the trading castes in Bombay city and the Brahmins in the interior. Elphinstone erroneously saw the Indian situation in terms of the common English dislike of 'trade', and the tensions in England, in an increasingly industrialised society between the old upper class and the parvenus.

Both Elphinstone and Sir John Malcolm were inclined to favour the Brahmins in their plans for English education in Bombay presidency. Malcolm's bias sprang from a warm sympathy for a dispossessed group of people. He believed that 'amongst all the natives of India this is the class who have suffered most from the establishment of our Dominion'.[1]

With Elphinstone, however, it was political reasoning and statesmanship which indicated the advantage of giving the Brahmins an English education. He hoped that the Brahmins would not only give a lead to the lower castes, but with their collaboration strengthen the position of the British in Western India. Elphinstone feared that if English education took root among the lower castes it would

> never spread further, and that we might find ourselves at the head of a new class superior to the rest in useful knowledge, but hated and despised by the castes to whom these new attainments would always induce us to prefer them. Such a state of things would be desirable if we were contented to rest our power on our army or on the attachment of a part of the population but is inconsistent with every attempt to found it on a more extended basis.[2]

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1828, Vol.10/163, p.47 : Minute by Sir John Malcolm, 4 April, 1828.

2. M.S.A., G.D., 1824, Vol.8/63, pp. 67-68 : Undated Minute by M.E., approx. 10 March, 1824.

Apart from the motives and expectations of the British administrators in Bombay, who, in fact, were the Indians who chose to adopt the new education ? Did the Indians who attended Elphinstone College, between 1834 and 1854 constitute a homogeneous and distinctive group of people, sharing a similar socio-economic background ? Details of the caste background of the early Elphinstone College students show that a variety of castes, some more than others, were represented. A list [1] of the students who left the higher classes of the institution between 1827-1842[2] affirms the dominance of the Pathare Prabhus among the English educated. There were 71 (47 per cent) Prabhus out of a total of 154 students, followed by 28 (18 per cent) Parsis, 16 (11 per cent) Brahmins and 12 (8 per cent) Saraswat Brahmins. The rest of the students were from the Artisan castes; Sonars (goldsmiths), Shimpees (tailors), Sutars (carpenters), Kansaras (coppersmiths), and 1 Goundee (mason) and Bhundara (toddy tapper) each. There were neither Muslims on the list nor the commercial castes of Bhatias and Banias.[3] The Muslims in Bombay during this period were Bohras, Khojas

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1. See Table 1.

2. See Chronology of Elphinstone College for the several structural mutations the institution underwent. The list of 1827-42 does not take these structural changes into consideration. Nor does the list distinguish between the students at the B.N.E.S. Central English School during the period 1827-34, and those at the school and college during 1835-42 beyond stating that the students were from the higher classes.

3. M.S.A.,G.D., 1843, Vol.24-A/749-A. Report of the Board of Education for 1842, App. A, No.XI, pp.185-91 : List of the Boys of the Higher Classes who left the English Dept. of the E.N.E.I. from 1827 to 1842.

and Memons who, with the Parsis and the Hindu trading castes, dominated commerce in Bombay, and like them were indifferent to English education.

The list indicates that, contrary to the expectations of the British, the Pathare Prabhu rather than the Brahmin gave greater recognition in the earlier years to English education. The Prabhus had, of course, the advantage of being in larger numbers in Bombay than the Brahmins. Unfortunately, more specific details giving the breakdown of population according to the different castes are not available for this period. The Prabhus, however, were known to be one of the oldest Bombay communities. They came to Bombay initially on the cession of the island to the British, and in even greater numbers on the silting up of Surat's harbour. Under the name of 'Purvoes' or 'Parus' they served the Company as clerks. Later in the eighteenth century they became rich as owners of houses and landed property in Bombay and its environs.[1] The Prabhus were unusual among the early supporters of English education in that they gave to it both financial support as well as students. This was consistent with their background of service under the British. The Brahmins, however, did not attend the Elphinstone Institution in such large numbers as was expected. The Brahmins were concentrated in Poona, and not surprisingly the taboos against travel and the mixing of castes initially limited the number of Brahmins at the Elphinstone Institution. From

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1. S.M.Edwardes , The Gazeteer of Bombay City and Island, 3 Vols., (Bombay, 1909), Vol.1, pp. 241-242.

Poona Mr. Chaplin had written to the Bombay Government anticipating just such a difficulty. Mr. Chaplin feared that 'few Brahmin Boys of respectability will be found willing to proceed as students to Bombay, where there is such a mixture of classes.....that all distinctions of caste are in a great degree compromised'.[1]

The Parsis had no such difficulties to contend with. Like the Portuguese, the French and the Dutch earlier at Surat, the English both at Surat and at Bombay had prefered to transact their business with the interior through Parsi agents and brokers. These agents not only had the advantage of knowing the local language and culture, but, as a minority, were more prepared to deal with the foreigner. Also the absence of a hierarchic structure based on hereditary occupational divisions, as existed among the Hindus, allowed the Parsis to adapt with greater ease to social changes. Nor did the Parsis have a traditional educational system, as did the Muslims, that could have been used to counter western education. The only factor that could have checked the dynamics of social change in the community was rendered ineffective through the weakness of the Parsi clergy. However, while the wealthy Parsi families gave donations for educational purposes, they allowed their sons only an occupational education within the family business. It was, above all, the middle income and poorer Parsis who turned to the new education to improve their job prospects.

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1825, Vol.8/92; Mr. Chaplin to Secy. to Govt., 9 July, 1825.

The Reports of the Board of Education for the years 1840 to 1844 [1] show that the Parsis surged to the top in numbers and replaced the Prabhus with 898 students (40 per cent) out of a total of 2,243 students for the four year period.[2] The number of Prabhu students fell to 323 (14 per cent) and the Brahmins also registered a decrease. The artisan castes, however, once again appeared in sizable numbers. But, much more significant, was the appearance for the first time in the English Department of the Elphinstone Institution of the Khatris and Trader castes. The Bhatias, Banias, Vaishyas, Marwaris, Sawak (Jain Vanias) plus the Khatris constituted 6.4 per cent of the total number of students, while in the 1827-42 list they were not represented at all. It is clear that by 1842 it was not just the artisan castes who saw in English education an opportunity to change from their traditional occupations to more profitable ones. The expansion of commerce under the British and the increasing use of English indicated to the Parsis and the Hindu commercial castes the advantages of an English education. Inevitably this awareness was at some cost to the traditional literate groups associated with learning and Government service. Thus the new education was not just a means of defending an old, established position but it was also to become for some a vital force in challenging the

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1. See Table 2.

2. The large number of students cited in the Board of Education reports is deceptive as no distinction is made between the students in the school and collegiate sections of the E.I. These figures are therefore illustrative more of interest in English education, rather than in specifically English higher education.

authority of the traditional, literary castes.[1]

It was only the cultivator castes - the Bhansali, Kunbi and Maratha - who were resistant to the pull of English education. They continued rooted in the soil; they required their children to assist in the fields and not to waste their labour in the classroom. These castes appear in very small numbers at the Elphinstone Institution. During the period 1840-1844 there were only 2 Bhansalis, 8 Kunbis and 5 Marathas. Aspirations for city jobs had not as yet disturbed the countryside.

Further information on the social background of the students is difficult to find. The Board of Education Reports give no other information than that of castes and jobs. However, two admittedly incomplete lists that were found among the Elphinstone College records give some information about parental occupation and place of origin. The two lists that have survived are for July, 1851 [2] and July, 1853. [3] The 1851 list is a Register of boys admitted to the English Department of the Institution, while the 1853 list gives the full complement of students. The total number of students on the two lists is 180. The details given in the lists tend to confirm the information gleaned from the

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1. A Seal., The Emergence of Indian Nationalism, Competition and Collaboration in the Later Nineteenth Century, (Cambridge, 1968), p.11.

2. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Principal, E.I., Vol. of 2 Jan. to 10 Dec., 1851, : Register of Boys admitted into the English Department of the E.I., 7 July, 1851.

3. E.C.R., Vol. of 10 Jan, 1853 to 26 May, 1853 : Full list of students at E.I., 1 July, 1853.

caste breakdown of the students. Here too the land-owners and cultivators are negligible; altogether 8 out of 180. Government employment was one of the main occupations, with 54 fathers holding Government jobs. The positions held were those of Clerk, Writer, Sepoy, Hawaldar (local constable), Kotwal (inspector), Munsiff (accounts clerk) and Jamadar (constable). The largest number were clerks who worked in the various government establishments; the Pay Office, the Customs House, the Dockyard Office, the Civil Auditors, the Government Treasury, the Grand Arsenal and the Mint. It appears that those who worked with the Government sought to consolidate their position and to ensure their child's future by giving him a better education. This identification of education with Government jobs and security points to the beginnings of an Indian middle class. It is also worth noting that while 42 clerks were Government employees, only 6 clerks were attached to private commercial offices - European and Indian - despite the higher wages paid by the private employers.

The next major category of parental occupations was that of merchants; 30 altogether. Of these 16 were designated simply as 'merchants', while 5 dealt in cloth, 5 in china, 1 each in opium, cotton and tobacco, and 1 was described as a 'Calcutta merchant'. The world of commerce provided a variety of jobs to fathers of the students at the Elphinstone Institution ; 16 of them were liquor sellers, 10 shop-keepers, 10 brokers, 5 shroffs or bankers, 3 contractors, 2 money-lenders and 1 wood-seller, grocer and

ghee (clarified butter) seller. The majority of the above positions were held by Parsi parents. This agrees with the evidence of the Board of Education Reports which showed a major increase in the number of Parsi students during the period from 1840 to 1844. Clearly the trend of Parsis dominating in English education was to be a permanent one.

The other occupations given in the two lists are 6 goldsmiths, 1 coppersmith, 3 carpenters, 2 jewellers, a cabinet maker, book-binder, carriage painter and coach-men. Of these occupations, the goldsmiths and coopersmiths were from the traditional artisan castes of Sonar and Kansara, but one jeweller, all the carpenters and the latter four occupations were held by Parsi parents, a fact indicative of Parsi adaptability. The lists of 1851 and 1853 also give a small number (5) of astrologers, pundits (priests) and bhikshus (holy mendicants), all from the Brahmin caste. As yet the Brahmins showed no inclination to abandon their traditional occupations of priests, scribe or writer. Of the 54 parents holding Government jobs, 11 were Prabhu, 9 Portuguese (i.e. Goan), 9 Sutar (carpenters), 8 Parsi, 7 Sonar (gold-smiths), 7 Brahmins and 3 Muslims. Clearly it was castes, like the Sonars and Sutars, with hopes of the greatest economic gains, who changed their traditional occupations and affiliated themselves with the Government through jobs and the education of their sons.

An intriguing element in the list is the number of domestic servants (12 in all) whose sons were at the Institution. Some of the servants were in the employ of well-known Shetias like Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Tyabji Bhaimeya

and Barmonji Cama. These Shetias, secure in their abundant wealth, saw no economic incentive in sending their sons to the Elphinstone Institution. But their servants, eager to improve their families' prospects, sent their sons to the Institution. The same concern seems to have motivated the merchants, the liquor sellers, the brokers, the contractors etc. They all sought through education an economic advantage whether relatively large in the case of the servants, or marginal in the case of the merchants.

Finally, what were the geographic origins of the students ? Examining the entry 'Town of which Native' in the two lists, it turns out that the vast majority of students came from Bombay island. Those who came from outside were artisans and traders (Banias, Parsis and Borahs) from Surat; Parsis from Navsari and Konkan, Brahmins (probably fleeing from Catholic persecution) from Goa. Other students from the mofussil, of whatever caste, were not represented. Physical difficulties and caste taboos continued to be serious deterrents to the extension of higher education.

What, in fact, was the aim and purpose of this higher education ? Many views were expressed and many motives were seen to be at work among the Company administrators in their advocacy of English education. Some views were more clear sighted and had more substance than others. It was asserted by some, that English education had to be linked to jobs because 'Few Hindoos are perhaps actuated by a

better Spirit than a love of Money. Anything that will tend to that object, is eagerly embraced and industriously pursued.....the pleasures to be divined from a liberal Education are seldom sought after, if unconnected with gain'.[1] Mr. Goodwin, a member of the Governor's Council took a less jaundiced view of the situation. His was a pragmatic vision; he believed that through education and Government employment, the Government would create an interest group which, in the long term, would be loyal to the British. He felt assured that such a group of people would 'cling to a Power which thus shelters and exalts them'.[2]

Elphinstone's, however, was a broader vision. In discussing the establishment of a 'Native Civil Service'[3] he pointed out that such a Service had much to recommend it as it would create 'a body of men raised above the ordinary level of the Natives by their education, and feeling as a body, and encouraged by the permanence of their service and by the nature of their rise to act with greater independence and more integrity than is usual'.[4] In this Elphinstone anticipated the esprit de corps that was to prevail amongst the Indian members of the Indian Civil Service well into the mid-twentieth century. Elphinstone

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1. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 15, No.10/2 B : Letter to M.E. on the State of Education in Bengal, signature indeciperable, 30 Jan., 1824.
2. M.S.A., G.D., 1828, Vol.10/163 : Minute by Mr. Goodwin, (?) April, 1828.
3. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 15, No. 22 E, Portfolio 2 : Minute by M.E., India Gazette, 17 Nov., 1830. in <u>The Bengal Hurkarn</u>, 21 Nov., 1846, p.577.
4. Ibid.

was also aware that if the Indians were highly educated as well as admitted to a share of the administration of the country 'they will not be content with the portion assigned to them, or will ever rest until they have made good their title to the whole'. [1] It is extraordinary that, as early as 1830, Elphinstone believed self-government to be unavoidable and that it was a lesser evil than a violent overthrown of British rule, or the subversion of a disaffected people by rival powers. [2]

Sir John Malcolm, Elphinstone's successor, also envisaged that education and employment would eventually advance the Indians so as to 'early enable us to leave individuals to their own road to preferment'. [3] There were other Company men, however, whose concern was with the immediate curtailment of Government expenditure and who saw in the English education of Indians a direct economy. As Indians were paid a lower wage it was considerably less expensive to employ Indians rather than Europeans as clerks in Government Offices. That there was some urgency to economise is borne out by a letter of A.H.Wathen, a Secretary to the Government of Bombay:

> The truth however is that the Finances of India are in such a deplorable state and so little able to meet the new demands arising out of the present charter, that no Salary is at present

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. M.S.A., G.D., 1829, Vol.6/183 : Sir John Malcolm's notes on a letter from the Assistant Collector of Poona, 29 April, 1829.

> safe and there must be a reduction of from 15 or 20 per cent upon all civil allowances throughout India to meet all demands - the system of employing Natives as already introduced has answered very well. [1]

Indians had begun to fill the lower situations in the administration as early as 1824. As English had not, at the time, become the dominant administrative language, it was possible to gain employment with a vernacular education. But there were strong complaints about the Indians employed. They were regarded as 'the least respectable and the most illiterate of the people in our public offices.....(and guilty of) speculation and crime.....this (is) sufficient argument for the education and moral improvement of the Natives'. [2] It was believed that English education and a knowledge of European literature and philosophy was the only means to the moral improvement of the Indians. While this belief gained currency with the advance of the nineteenth century, there was no dramatic switch over from the vernacular to the English language in the administration of the country. Rather the vernacular languages and English seemed to co-exist, sometimes peaceably and sometimes in contradiction to each other. Thus, while in the 1820s every European civil servant of the East India Company had to 'qualify himself for the public service, by a competent knowledge of the Persian

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1. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/ Box 3 F, No.38 : A.H.Wathen to M.E., 1 Nov., 1834.

2. M.S.A., G.D., 1824, Vol.8/63, p.477 : Superintendent of the Native School Society, Southern Konkan, 'Report of the State and System of Education', 8 Sept., 1824.

language, and of either the Hindoostanee', [1] or in Bombay Presidency, Marathi or Gujarati, it had also begun to be asserted that the English language opened 'to the various Castes the avenues to the best Native Appointments under the Government'. [2] Similarly while in the Sudder Adawlut in Bombay Presidency Hindustani, Marathi and English were used and interpreters provided, and the language in the district courts was the vernacular, there was a concerted attempt to anglicise that bastion of oriental learning, the Sanskrit College at Poona. Lord Clare, the Governor of Bombay in 1832, wished to reduce the number of Professors of Hindu literature and philosophy at the College and replace many of them with Professors of English language and literature. [3] He also emphasised that at 'every seminary supported by Government the English language should be taught'. [4]

A greater advocacy of English as an administrative language was discernible from 1831.[5] The lead was given by Lord Clare. He was entirely convinced that the employment

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1. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/ Box 15, No.10/1 A : An address to Lord Hastings from Abraham Lockett, College of Fort William, 1 May 1821 ; Minute of the Visitor of the College for Fort William, 26 July, 1826 in John Bull, 29 July, 1826, p.2.

2. M.S.A., G.D., 1825, Vol.8/92 : Judge Baillie to Secy. to Govt., 13 Nov., 1824.

3. M.S.A., G.D., 1832, Vol.10/225, pp. 60-61 : Minute by Lord Clare, 8 May, 1832.

4. Ibid., p.60

5. M.S.A., G.D., 1831, Vol. 10/229, p. 31 : Secy., B.N.E.S. to Secy. to Govt., 2 April, 1831.

of English educated Indians would 'secure to Government efficient Native Servants and would induce respectable persons to send their Sons to the Schools for education'. [1] Lord Clare subscribed to the same notion that had misled earlier Company administrators, namely that the well established Indian would give his son an English education in order to secure for him a Government job. This argument would be correct but not for another four or five decades. In the meantime various motives coincided. The Government wished to extend English education and it saw that this could best be done by linking the new education to Government employment. [2] The poorer Indian needed to earn a living and saw in Government a potential employer. And, finally the Government believed that an English-educated Indian was not only superior in moral worth as well as efficiency to a merely vernacular-educated one, but was, above all, cheaper than a European administrator. All in all, English education was deemed to bring mutual benefit to all parties concerned. There was, however, a canker in the bud. How was English education to spread if most of those thus educated were absorbed into the Government machinery rather than sent into the <u>mofussil</u> to teach the language ? It had been hoped that qualified students of the B.N.E.S. English Schools would be employed as assistant teachers in schools

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1832, Vol.10/225, p.64 : Secy. to Govt. to the Revenue Commissioner, 17 May, 1832.

2. M.S.A., G.D., 1832, Vol.10/225, p.60 : Minute by Lord Clare, 8 May, 1832 ; M.S.A., G.D., 1836, Vol.10/342, p.36 : Secy. to Govt. to Secy. B.N.E.S., 25 Sept., 1835.

in Bombay as well as the mofussil. Any loss of their services would be detrimental to the expansion of English education and would eventually lead to fewer English-educated young men being available for Government service. Here was a coil indeed and one which could not be easily resolved.

However, by the time Elphinstone College began functioning the students took the problem out of the hands of Government by showing a marked preference for Government clerical employment. A list of boys who left the higher or more advanced classes of the Elphinstone Institution between 1827 and 1844, [1] gives clear evidence of such a trend. Out of a total number of 154 students for this period the larger number, 75, took clerical jobs with the Government. In marked contrast there were only 11 students who were prepared to work as clerks in private commercial houses without the prestige of Government employment. Teaching (13 students) at educational institutions such as the Elphinstone Institution and the Free General Assembly's Institution, or in a private capacity provided a secondary alternative. Not specified in this list but frequently referred to in the Elphinstone College Records was the possibility of employment as private tutor to the young princes of the Native States. [2]

The total number of Elphinstone men, for the period 1827-44, who decided to work with city merchants in a

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1. See Table 3.

2. E.C.R., Vol. of 3 Jan. 1846 to 31 Dec. 1847 : Secy., Board of Education to Principal, E.I., undated.

commercial capacity, appears initially to be rather high with 17 students. A closer scrutiny, however, indicates that after years of indifference to jobs in trade, it was only in 1841 that suddenly 10 students are listed as working in commercial situations. This was consistent with the increasing use of English in the commercial world.

The employment statistics of the students of Elphinstone College between 1851 and 1855 [1] show teaching to be running neck to neck with Government employment. Indeed, for the four-year period 21 Elphinstone men are listed as teachers at educational institutions and 20 in Government service. The contrast between these figures and those in the 1827-42 list for the two professions is less dramatic than may at first appear to be the case. The students who appear on the 1827-42 list are those of the higher classes of the English school, which was part of the Elphinstone Institution, as well as those of the collegiate section of the Institution. It is also necessary to bear in mind that the Elphinstone Professors' classes did not commence until 1835 and the numbers at their classes were exceedingly small. Hence it appears that once Collegiate education was clearly established, by about 1851-52, there were more students sufficiently qualified to teach, whereas many of those who left the Elphinstone Institution between 1827-42 probably did so as soon as they had acquired enough English for use in Government departments as clerks and assistants. Similarly, while the 1827-42 list has not one student going on

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1. See Table 4.

to further studies, the College list for 1851-55 shows 4 who went on to study at the Grant Medical College and at the class of Surveyors and Builders at the Chief Engineer's Office. These figures suggest that as the level of education was raised and as more students followed a specific Collegiate Course there was a commensurate increase in their employment goals. There is, moreover, no denying that at every educational level, whether at the level of the higher classes of the English school or the College section of the Elphinstone Institution, English education was a means of economic and social improvement, and a step away from the traditional occupations dictated by caste or class.

Chapter III

The Reform of the College, 1839-69.

It may appear from the previous chapters that though there were myriad factors at work in the establishment of Elphinstone College, and though there were contradictions and a confusion of aims and motives, these were mere hiccups in the general development of the College. Such a conclusion would be a mistaken one. It would fail to take into account the serious danger that had existed in 1839 of the College being entirely closed down. It would also fail to record the consequent drastic restructuring of the institution that was undertaken in the hope that at some future date the College would be revived.

About four years after the Elphinstone Professors had begun their classes at the Town Hall in Bombay, the Court of Directors dropped their bomb. In a letter dated the 2nd October, 1839 the Directors summarily 'suspended' [1] the Elphinstone Professors' classes; charging that the classes were a total failure because of the 'entire absence of students. No persons have shewn themselves desirous of benefiting by even the gratuitous instruction of the Professors'. [2]

Despite an element of exaggeration, there is no doubt that the Professors' classes were very thinly attended. Nor

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1839, Vol.16/485, p.48 : Extract of a Letter from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, 2 Oct., 1839, No.27.

2. Ibid., p.41.

can it be denied that the Directors were close to the truth in their assessment that:

> The Natives of India do not yet value, because they do not want, such high proficiency, nor can they spare the time that is necessary for its attainment. Their object is to gain as much knowledge as shall be subservient to the means of subsistence, and so much, or even more they can already procure in the schools of the Native Education Society.[1]

It has already been observed, in the earlier chapter, that education was generally regarded in purely pragmatic terms, as a means to employment. Any additional educational attainments were, therefore, wasteful and unnecessary.

This belief was borne out by the great success of the B.N.E.S. English School in Bombay. The delay in the selection and despatch to Bombay of the two Elphinstone Professors had led the B.N.E.S. to send for two school masters from England for the Society's Central English School. Mountstuart Elphinstone was involved in the selection of two highly competent men; Mr. W. Henderson, a graduate of the University of Edinburgh with nine years teaching experience at the George Heriot Hospital in Edinburgh, and Mr. John Bell also a George Heriot Master.[2] They arrived in Bombay in November, 1834, several months in advance of the Elphinstone Professors. These months were to give them a crucial advantage. Henderson and Bell proved to be 'men of ability, industry, and judgement, and under their administration, the Character of the School underwent a total alteration'.[3] Instead of the instructions

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1. Ibid.
2. The Eighth Report of the B.N.E.S., for the year 1834 : Appendix G, p.10.
3. Op. Cit., Court of Directors' Letter of 2 Oct., 1839, p.42.

at the School being limited to the rudiments of the English language it had expanded its syllabus, by 1839, to include the teaching of 'Algebra and Mathematics, Physiology, Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, Commercial Transactions and Exchanges,.....the British Constitution and the British Administration in India, with other topics, relating to ancient and modern History and general Literature'. [1] Clearly the School was providing the youth of Bombay with as much knowledge as they were likely to want for some time to come. The situation, however, may yet have been turned to the advantage of education generally and of the Elphinstone Professors in particular if the Professors' services had been pressed into use at the B.N.E.S. School.

This action was not taken, mainly because of the mistaken notions regarding the appointment of the Elphinstone Professors. It was assumed by the subscribers to the Elphinstone Professorships Fund, as well as by the Government of Bombay, that the services of the Professors implied the foundation of a College, and that the latter had therefore to precede, or at least be simultaneous with the former. This assumption led to the Elphinstone College being formally accepted as a concept in April 1834. The Elphinstone Professors arrived in Bombay in early 1835 [2], and attempted to give effect to the scheme of the College by commencing lectures at the Town Hall. They met with little success as evidenced by the embarrassingly low attendance. Consequently

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1. Ibid., p.43.
2. Ibid., p.45.

the College Council attempted an arrangement by which the students of the B.N.E.S. English School would attend the Professors' classes as an addition to their school curriculum. Not surprisingly the arrangement failed as Indian students of the time had no use for a more advanced education than the one provided by the English School. Finally, in desperation the College Council formed a junior school, under its control, for the purpose of preparing candidates for admission, at a future period, to the classes of the Professors. Thus the Professors were

> transformed into the prospective Masters of a rival Seminary, instead of being at once employed in carrying forward the studies of an establishment, already flourishing and becoming efficient parts of one general and comprehensive system, under the direction and patronage of the State.[1]

The Court of Directors was not prepared to stand by and watch the possible, though never certain diminution of the B.N.E.S. School. It categorically asserted that the School 'whatever be its designation, is not a private and independent Seminary, but to all intents and purposes, a public institution'.[2]

Therein lay the nub of the matter. The Court claimed the School as one of its own; stating that while the 'Natives' contributed only Rs.3,000 a year, the Government made to it a fixed annual allowance of Rs. 20,000.[3] This monetary commitment gave the Government 'the strongest interest in the

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1. Ibid., p.46.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

prosperity of the school'. [1] It, therefore, concluded that the establishment of the Elphinstone College was 'premature and the project should be suspended', [2] and that the services of the Professors and Masters should be combined through a union of the Professorial classes and the B.N.E.S. English and Vernacular Schools in Bombay city to form the Elphinstone Native Education Institution. The Court left the details 'to be determined on the spot' [3] in Bombay.

The Directors were not unaware of the problems that would ensue from such a union. They expected the Masters to resent the loss of their best pupils to the Professors who would teach the higher classes, and the consequent loss of prestige and sense of attainment on the part of the Masters. To circumvent such ill feeling the Directors suggested that as a general rule 'a master of the school might be raised to the status of Professor, as a vacancy occured, where he had shewn his fitness for the office'. [4] The allowances of the Head Masters were also to be placed 'upon a scale, proportionate to those of the Professors, with reference to their labours and merits'. [5]

The Directors while claiming the privilege of control, arising from their aiding the School, were nonetheless

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., p.48.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.50.
5. Ibid.

determined to have the Indian public share the financial burden. They realised that a union of the Elphinstone College with the B.N.E.S. Central School would take away the special sentiment attached by the subscribers to the Elphinstone College. The Directors devised a scheme to maintain the interest of the subscribers to the Elphinstone Professorships Fund. They suggested that each subscriber, according to the amount of his subscription, should be given the privilege of recommending boys for admission.[1]

The Court's pronouncements gained a warmly sympathetic response from Sir James Rivett-Carnac, the Governor of Bombay. He supported the Court's proposals and called for the 'abolition of the College'.[2] Rivett-Carnac dismissed any notion that 'the name of a College carries weight with the Natives'.[3] He asserted that Elphinstone's name was 'unalterably associated with the Native Education Society as the founder of the whole',[4] therefore, the weight of Mountstuart Elphinstone's contribution to education could in no way be mitigated by the abolition of the College. Rivett-Carnac proposed a detailed plan to enforce the Court's wishes. According to the Plan the Elphinstone College would be abolished and the College Council would cease to exist. A newly constituted Board of Education was to be established. It would consist of six members besides a President. While

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1. Ibid., p.51.
2. M.S.A., G.D., 1840, Vol.13/530, p.57 : Minute by the Governor of Bombay, 21 Feb., 1840.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

three Indian members were to be elected by initially the B.N.E.S., and later the Committee of the amalgamated institution, the E.N.E.I. 'to represent the feelings and wishes of the Native Communities', [1] three other members were to be appointed by Government to reflect 'the will of Government'. [2] In addition the President and Secretary were to be appointed by Government. Rivett-Carnac's actions confirmed the impression that the Elphinstone College issue was being used by the Government to flex its muscles and establish its authority in the sphere of education. The position of Elphinstone College, it must be acknowledged, was unique in that a handsome public endowment had given it a degree of monetary independence from Government. As shall be seen the Government became involved in a long struggle to bring the finances of the Institution under its own control. As a beginning, the Governor in 1840 proposed that the new Board of Education would hold in trust the funds of the N.E.S. and the Elphinstone Professorships.

The members of the Governor's Council were generally in agreement with Rivett-Carnac's proposals except for one point on which they expressed some anxiety. They were loathe to see the name of Elphinstone disappear in connection with education. They suggested that the title of 'Elphinstone College' ought to be held in 'abeyance' [3] until

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1840, Vol.13/530, p.67 : Detailed Plan Proposed by the Governor of Bombay for Changes in Education, undated, approx. March/April, 1840.

2. Ibid.

3. M.S.A., G.D., 1840, Vol. 13/530, p.65 : Draft note by the Two Members of Council, undated.

such time as when the College could be revived. To their credit they asserted that it was essential to keep faith with the Indian subscribers who had raised the fund to honour Mountstuart Elphinstone. The Governor reversed his earlier position and acceded to his colleagues wishes.[1]

Meanwhile the Governor's plan contained further details which would transform not only what had been Elphinstone College but also the educational structure in the Presidency. The Committee of the N.E.S., later known as the Committee of the E.N.E.I., was to be enlarged to 33 members. In admitting a great number of Indians to participate in the Committee, the Government hoped to increase public interest and hence public contributions to education. But at the same time it had no intention of reducing its own authority and control. The Committee was to be elected at an annual meeting of all subscribers paying a minimum of ₨. 15 per annum. In addition, a member who subscribed ₨.15 was entitled to 'present one free student to the Society's English School',[2] while ₨. 30 per annum gave the subscriber the right to nominate two free students and so on in proportion to the subscription. Within fifteen days of its own election the Committee was required to elect the three Indian members of the Board of Education who would have a term of one year only.[3] The Board would not only manage the various Elphinstone College Funds but would be the supervisory authority over the Elphinstone Professors,[4] who would be appointed by the

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1. Op.Cit., Governor's Detailed Plan, p.68.
2. Ibid., p.69.
3. Ibid., p.68.
4. Op.Cit., Minute by the Governor, 21 Feb., 1840, p.59.

Government of Bombay. The Professors' primary duty would be to teach and superintend at the English Schools in Bombay. The two assistant Professors would be appointed by the Board of Education, while all teachers under Grade One (that of Professor and Assistant Professors) were to be appointed by the Board on the recommendation of the Professor in whose department they were to teach. [1]

All these far reaching reforms, contained in the Governor's Plan, were circulated to what was still the Joint Committee of the N.E.S. and the Elphinstone College Council, as well as to the Secretaries of the N.E.S. and the College Council. Suggestions and observations were invited, but this it turned out was merely a formality. The Governor, without waiting for a response, arbitrarily proceeded to appoint Sir I.W.Audrey President of the Board of Education, Messrs Bruce, Morris and Mclennan members of the Board, and the then College Council Secretary, James Bird, to be Secretary to the Board. The Governor, determined to steam roller his plan through, ordered the N.E.S. and the College Council to transfer all their funds to the control of the Board of Education. [2] The Managing Committee of the N.E.S. reacted sharply to such peremptory execution orders. While welcoming the creation of the Board of Education and the Union of the College and N.E.S. School for reasons of greater

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1. Op.Cit., Governor's Detailed Plan, p.69.

2. M.S.A., G.D., 1840, Vol.13/530, pp. 87-88 : Secy. to Govt. to Secy., N.E.S., 30 April, 1840; Secy. to Govt. to Secy., E.C.Council, 30 April, 1840.

'efficiency', [1] the Committee expressed 'the strongest objections to the proposed constitution of this Board, depriving as it does the N.E.S., by means of the preponderating influence the Government will acquire by a nomination of a majority of its Members, of that paramount power and authority which the Society has heretofore always possessed'.[2] Here it was at last in the open, that is the struggle between the Government and the Indian dominated N.E.S. for control over education. The Society realised that a Board dominated by Government nominated Englishmen would severely reduce the initiative and authority of the Indian members. In all fairness, however, it must be granted that the Native Education Society had not exercised its initiative to any credit. It had failed to resolve the rivalry that had sprung up between the N.E.S. English School and the Elphinstone College. As a result the funds of the College and the services of the Professors had been used to little purpose.

The Society argued, in a somewhat weak defence, that Elphinstone, the founder of the N.E.S., in leaving the management of Education to the N.E.S. had 'greatly strengthened the rising interest of the native community in the diffusion of sound knowledge'.[3] Unfortunately this was more a hope that a fact. The Shetia membership of the N.E.S. Committee had not lured more Indians to English education.

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1840, Vol.13/530, p.160 : Secy., N.E.S. to Secy. to Govt., 30 May, 1840.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p.161.

The Society's strongest argument was, as it were, a legal one, rather than one of practical considerations. The Society maintained:

> As Guardians to and Trustees of the large sums subscribed by the Natives for the benefit of their Countrymen, and subscribed as may reasonably be inferred upon the faith of this fundamental rule remaining inviolate, the Committee cannot voluntarily consent to relinquish that sacred trust, or silently submit to see it thus, virtually transferred to other keeping.

The appeal fell on deaf ears. 'The Governor in Council (did not) perceive the slightest violation of the rights or privileges of the Managing Committee in what has been proposed'.[2] The Committee had little choice but to acquiesce to the Government's orders and to hand over its funds and records.[3] However, in the role of guardian of the original subscriptions to the Elphinstone Professorships Fund, the Society, proposed that the title 'Elphinstone Native Educational Institution' be given to the newly amalgamated Institution. The Society was also anxious that that part of the Governor's Plan specific to the Professors' inspection of the district schools should be punctiliously carried out. Such activity, the Society hoped, would use 'a part of the College funds to the promotion of Education for the benefit of the subscribers in the mofussil, to which object it has not hitherto been in the power of the College

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1. Ibid., p.162.
2. Ibid., p.167.
3. M.S.A., G.D., 1840, Vol.13/530, p.170 : Resolutions passed by the Managing Committee of the N.E.S., 2 July, 1840.

Council to devote much attention'.[1] It is also worth noting that when the expanded Committee of the E.N.E.I. was formed it showed considerable foresight in electing to the Board of Education three eminent men, albeit Shetias, committed to the spread of education among the Indians.[2] These three men, Jagannath Shankarset, Muhamed Ibrahim Muckba and Framji Cowasji, the last was replaced in 1842 by the equally eminent Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy,[3] were for a long time to come to assert the 'Native' point of view on education in Bombay Presidency.

Meanwhile, in 1840 the E.N.E.I. rose from the ashes of Elphinstone College. The Institution, which brought under its management the B.N.E.S.'s Vernacular schools, the Central English school and the Professors' classes, consisted at the outset of three parts; the Vernacular schools,[4] and the Lower and Upper Divisions of the English Department. According to the regulations the Institution was placed under the general management of the Board of Education. Its immediate management was to be conducted by a Sub-Committee, consisting of the Professors, who were members ex-officio,

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1. Op.Cit., Secy. N.E.S. to Secy. to Govt., 30 May, 1840, p.163.
2. M.S.A. G.D., 1841, Vol.14/585, p.48 : Government Notification, 5 May, 1841.
3. M.S.A., G.D., 1842, Vol.32/657, p.9 : Secy., E.N.E.I. to Secy. to Govt., 17 Jan., 1842.
4. The Vernacular Schools of the E.N.E.I. consisted of 3 Marathi, 3 Gujerati and 1 Hindustani school. The total attendance in these Vernacular schools for 1842 was 719 pupils.
   Report of the Board of Education for 1843.

and three members nominated by the Board of Education. It was the Sub-Committee which was expected to arrange the course of instruction in the different sections of the Institution, and to secure some cooperation and unity of purpose between the different parts. The two Elphinstone Professors agreed to undertake the superintendence of both the Vernacular and English branches of the institution, and to give the pupils in the Upper Division of the English Department of the E.N.E.I. instruction in the higher branches of European literature and science.[1] The two Elphinstone Professors and the newly elevated Professors Henderson and Bell were expected to be absent, in rotation of two months annually, inspecting the mofussil schools in the 3 districts carved out by the Board.[2]

Inevitably there were difficulties. The actual conduct of the Institution turned out very differently from the rules and regulations. The Elphinstone Professors and the two English Masters 'associated together on an equal footing, and the rule and government of the Institution were left virtually in their hands'.[3] Each of the four pursued his own system of discipline and tuition. There was neither a uniform system of instruction nor a centralised authority. It was, therefore, with some relief that the Professors accepted the Board of Education's intervention. This was

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1843, Vol.24-A/749-A, p.101 : Regulations of the E.N.E.I., 1842.

2. M.S.A., G.D., 1841, Vol.14/585, p.35 : Secy., Board of Education to Secy. to Govt., 28 April, 1841.

3. M.S.A., G.D., 1846, Vol.31/1050, pp. 76-77 : Annual Report of the year 1845.

done by the Board placing the running of the Institution in the hands of a Principal, assisted by a Council of Professors.[1] The selection of the Principal was left to the Professors. In December, 1844 the Professors unanimously selected Professor Harkness as Principal.[2]

The E.N.E.I., however, proved to be something of a hydra-headed monster. Just as one problem appeared to have been resolved, another would surface. The trouble was it was just too large and unwieldy an institution involved in too many different activities. The E.N.E.I. had attached to it, in addition to the vernacular schools and the English Department, and the Book Depository which supplied text books to all Government schools, two specialised classes. One known as the Normal Class was instituted in April, 1844, and the other was the Engineering Class set up also in 1844. Both were professional training classes. The purpose of the latter class was clearly stated by the Board of Education. 'We keep carefully in sight the desires of the Government to produce a careful Class of educated Natives in this important branch'[3] of engineering. But while the Government was eager to have lower salaried surveyors and engineers for its Public Works Department, the 'Natives' were slow to to enrol in the highly specialised Engineering Class.[4]

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1. Ibid., p.79.

2. Ibid.

3. M.S.A., G.D., 1847, Vol.25, p.89 : Report of the Board of Education for 1846.

4. Ibid., pp. 89-90.

Similarly the Normal Class at the E.N.E.I. was intended to train school-masters who would be sent out to Government vernacular schools in the mofussil. The class was to consist of 15 Marathi, 15 Gujerati and 10 Canarese students who would each receive a stipend of ₨.5 a month, and would be required to follow the course of instruction for three years. The Normal Class scholar was also required, on completion of the course to serve the Board of Education as a school-master for three years. Failing which he had to refund the full stipend received during the course of study.[1] Under such unusually, for the time, stringent conditions it was hardly surprising that the E.N.E.I. faced some 'difficulty'[2] in filling the class.

The E.N.E.I. was not turning out to be such a success as had been hoped. It was time for another change. A Minute by the President of the Board of Education provided the Board with the material with which to appeal to Government to sanction such a change. The President of the Board proposed that educational institutions in Western India should be divided into two categories : those giving instruction in the vernacular languages and those whose medium of instruction was English. But, in fact, the distinction between the two categories was much more profound. The vernacular institutions were 'to diffuse as much sound primary instruction as possible'.[3] And 'all information

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1. Report of the Board of Education for 1845, p.92.

2. Report of the Board of Education for 1846, pp. 94-95.

3. M.S.A., G.D., 1846, Vol.25/1044, p.51 : Extract of a Minute by the President of the Board of Education, 31 Oct., 1845.

above that of a primary character.....must be given in the English Language'.[1] It was hoped that English medium institutions would more or less correspond to the 'Superior private schools of England, to the Burger Schuler of Germany and to the Colleges and Ecoles Royales of France'.[2] Herein lay the principle of a language hierarchy which was dominated education in India ever since. As the greater value was given to the English language the Board proposed that the Vernacular section of the E.N.E.I. should be separated and placed under a separate designation, that of Government Vernacular Schools, while the Upper and Lower divisions of the English Department specific to the teaching of the 'higher branches of Education may be appropriately called the Elphinstone Institution'.[3] The Government sanctioned the above changes without demur on 15 January, 1846.

In the establishment of the Elphinstone Institution much more than a change of title was involved. The idea of a college was, in fact, covertly reasserted. This was within six years of the amalgamation of the Elphinstone College and the N.E.S. Schools which had been effected on the grounds that a College was not in demand from the public. The public's attitude towards higher education had not become more favourable in the meantime. But those in Government who saw the educational, and ultimately moral value of English Language, Literature and Culture had

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., p.52.
3. Ibid., p.53.

evidently grown in numbers and influence. Thus, in 1856, when under pressure of space, the Upper Division of the E.I. moved into a separate building, the Government moved quickly to bring about a total separation.[1] Elphinstone College was reborn with Professor Harkness as its Principal, and the school section or Lower Division of the E.I. came to be founded as the Elphinstone High School.

The changes in the form and composition of the Elphinstone College, through mutations of the E.N.E.I., E.I. and back to the College, were occasioned as much by shifts in Government education policy as by the tussle for power between the Government and the Indian subscribers to the Elphinstone Professorships Fund and the Elphinstone Institution Fund. In 1831 the Court of Directors had contemplated only a general superintendence of the Elphinstone College, leaving its management to a Committee selected from the subscribers and associated with a Government Officer.[2] In the 1834 regulations for the College the Government continued to recognise the independent status of the N.E.S. and the College Council. The N.E.S. and the Council are described as being under a clearly limited patronage of the Court of Directors and the Government of Bombay; 'the general superintendence of Government, being a point agreed to, in consideration of the Government aid, but in no way essential to the existence

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1. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Acting Secy., E.I., Vol. of 5 Jan. 1857 to 12 March 1858 : Secy., E.I. to D.P.I., 27 July, 1857.

2. M.S.A., G.D., 1850, Vol.29, p.27 : Minute by Col. Jervis, 24 Feb., 1847.

of those institutions'.[1] Yet in 1840 the Government's attitude underwent a radical change; the Government asserted that the E.N.E.I. and the Board of Education were a part of the state education system and under Government's supreme control. This was no vain boast; three members of the Board plus its President and Secretary were the Government's nominees. Moreover, from this time the annual reports of the progress of education and of the proceedings of the Society, which had previously been laid before a general meeting for its consideration and approval, were replaced by reports to Government from the Board 'with all the formalities of a confidential communication from their servants to be made public or not, at their pleasure'.[2]

Col. Jervis, an associate of Elphinstone and Secretary of the old B.N.E.S., found the control exercised by the Government through its majority on the Board of Education objectionable because it destroyed the 'little remaining influence possessed by the body of subscribers in the person of their three native representatives in the Board'.[3] In addition Jervis pointed out that because Government 'supercede(d) the views or wishes of their very representatives, in detail, at pleasure, the Board (became) an unnecessary and cumbrous piece of machinery, having the forms of an administrative Body, but virtually performing at most the functions of the Professional advisers of Government'.[4] Such a state of affairs brought the cause of

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p.29.
4. Ibid., p.30.

education, not overly popular with the Indians of that period, into even greater disfavour. Indians, particularly the subscription-inclined Shetias, perceived that despite monetary support they were virtually without a voice in the education establishment. In an interesting development, it turned out that the President of the Board, although Government appointed, was as anxious as the Indian members to assert a measure of independence from Government in the field of education. Arbitrary government decisions, made without consulting the Board, had become irksome to the President.[1] The President held that 'Looking to the mode in which the Board is constituted they (the members) have a right to expect from Government a different mode of address and communication to that adopted towards ordinary Government servants'.[2]

Jagannath Shankarset, one of the three Indian members of the Board of Education and perhaps the most committed educationist among the subscribers, was equally aggrieved by the conduct of the Government. Shankarset complained bitterly that the Indian subscribers and the Board of Education had been reduced from a 'state of respectable independence to that of a mere subordinate department of Government. It may be asked why we the Natives suffered the changes without remonstrance, I may answer because they

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1850, Vol. 29, p.35 : Minute by the President of the Board of Education, 25 Feb., 1847.

2. Ibid., p.34.

were presented to our humble conception in a specious form'.[1]

The core of the conflict between the Government and the Indian members was over control of two money sources; the Elphinstone Professorships Fund and the Institution Fund. Whether or not the Government was justified in its appropriation of the Funds can best be assessed by examining the background to these Funds. To recapitulate some details; both Funds were created through public subscriptions but the E.P.F. had the grander origin. The E.P.F. was raised, by the 'Natives' of Bombay Presidency on the retirement of the Governor of Bombay, Mountstuart Elphinstone. The subscriptions had amounted to nearly three lakhs of rupees.

An Elphinstone Professorships Committee, consisting of English and Indian members was formed by Government for the purpose of working out the details about the Professors' classes. The plan presented by the Committee and sanctioned by the Government affirmed that the E.P.F. and the Institution Fund were to be 'vested in the College Council for the time being as Trustees'.[2] At the same time, in 1834, the Government granted an annual donation of Rs.22,000. In 1840, on the abolition of the College and its Council and the formation of the Board of Education,

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1850, Vol.29, p.47 : Minute by Jagannath Shankarset, concurred to by Framji Cowasji and Muhammed Ibrahim Muckba, 1 May, 1847.

2. M.S.A., G.D., 1852, Vol.8, p.13 : Minute by Lord Falkland, 19 Oct., 1852.

the Government decided that the trusteeship of the two funds would be held by the members of the Board.[1] Government did not at this point in time directly encroach on the authority of the Trustees. The Secretary to the Board of Education noted that 'Government have in no instance ever interfered with the expenditure of the Funds, but a statement of such expenditure is annually submitted'.[2]

The iron hand of the Government was to manifest itself, just some three years after the above statement, in an unequivocal show of authority. It asserted that 'the relation of the Government to the Trustees is simply thus, that if the Trustees administer the funds of the institution properly according to the views of the Government, the Government contribution will be continued, if not it will be withdrawn'.[3] In keeping with this line of argument Government went on to warn the Trustees that they could only expend the income from the Funds after receiving the sanction of Government.[4] This was an innovation on previous procedure.

The Trustees attempted to retain some modicum of control over the Funds but theirs was a losing battle against

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1856, Vol.22, pp.112-113 : Secy., Board of Education to D.P.I., 12 Nov., 1853.
2. Ibid.
3. M.S.A., G.D., 1856, Vol.22, p.268 : Resolutions of the Governor in Council, 17 Nov., 1856.
4. Ibid., p.269.

the superior powers of the Government. This was reemphasised in the disagreement over the Trustees' right to invest any balance from the Elphinstone College's annual expenditure. The matter went as high up as to the Governor General in Council. The Government of India maintained that the balance was to be carried to the credit of Government alone and ordered the Trustees to refund Rs.44,810, the balance for the years 1855 and 1856, which had been capitalised by the Trustees.[1] The Trustees contested the Government of India's authority on several grounds. The Elphinstone Institution, they argued, was not a public institution maintained by the State. 'On the contrary that by far the largest part of its capital as at present existing has been formed by private contributions of individuals'.[2] Moreover they held that the ratio of Government financial support could not make the Institution public. Its public or private status 'must be collected from the terms and circumstances upon which the contribution of Government was granted'.[3] In this context the Trustees clarified that the contribution of Government was not a grant-in-aid but a fixed yearly contribution originally calculated to equal the amount of the annual subscriptions.[4] They further asserted that the rules of the Funds, as approved of by Government on 18 January 1833, explicitly

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1857, Vol.30, p.15 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., G.D., 21 Jan., 1857.

2. M.S.A., G.D., 1857, Vol.30, p.21 : Secy. to the Trustees to the E.P.F. to D.P.I., 15 Jan., 1857.

3. Ibid., p.22.

4. Ibid.

'empowered (the Trustees) to issue the requisite instructions for Receipts and Disbursements, it being clearly understood that the Principal or Capital (was) inviolable, and the interest accruing thereon, alone to be considered at their disposal'.[1] Hence the Trustees believed themselves to be within their rights in adding to the capital of the Funds by investing the surplus of 1855 and 1856. They also maintained that they would not be justified in paying over to Government, without the sanction of a Court of Equity, any portion of the Funds which were vested in them as Trustees .[2]

The D.P.I., knowledgeable of the history of the Funds, supported the Trustees, however, obliquely. He pointed out to the Government of India that if the Trustees had misconceived the exact nature of the Government grant the misconception dated back to the very origin of the Funds and had, above all, received 'the sanction of the successive Governments who (had) passed the Trust amounts year after year without objecting to the system of capitalising the surplus Funds from time to time'. [3] The Government's stance was therefore a new one. Moreover, the D.P.I. noted that the Trustees in investing their savings 'could have no object in view but a wise economy to the Educational Resources of the Presidency'.[4] Therefore,

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1. Ibid., p.26.

2. Ibid., p.28.

3. M.S.A., G.D., 1857, Vol.30, p.16 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., G.D., 21 Jan.,1857.

4. Ibid., p.19.

he suggested, the Government's order of a refund ought to be reconsidered. Over the immediate issue of the refund of Rs.44,810 the Government of India beat a tactical retreat. Accordingly it consented to forgo its claim for a refund of the money already capitalised. But it remained determined that the 'connection between the Elphinstone Institution and the State must henceforth be regulated', [1] that is, control of the funds was henceforth to be vested firmly with the Government, and any balance from the annual expenditure was to be refunded by the Trustees to the Government.[2] Thus while the battle was conceded to the Trustees, the larger issue was emphatically won by the Government.

The Elphinstone Trust Deed signed by the Secretary of State for India and the three Trustees of the Fund,[3] Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Bhau Daji and V.J.Shankarset, on the 16 April, 1869, placed the interest of the Funds with the Public Treasury for expenditure by the Department of Public Instruction on the specified, original objects.[4] Thus the

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1857, Vol.30, p.55 : Secy., G.O.I. to Secy., Govt. of Bombay, 27 March, 1857.

2. M.S.A., G.D., 1858, Vol.26, pp. 57-58 : Resolution of the Governor in Council, 6 May, 1858.

3. Though the Board of Education was abolished in 1856, and no new appointments were made by the Government after that year, the three Indian Members of the defunct Board continued as Trustees. They perpetuated the Trusteeship of the Funds by appointing a new Trustee when a vacancy occured. Thus in 1869 Bhau Daji was the sole surviving member of the Board cum Trustee. Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy and V.J.Shankarset were coopted later.

   M.S.A., E.D., 1869, Vol.2, p.45 : Elphinstone Trust Deed, 16 April, 1869.

4. Ibid., pp. 45-47.

Elphinstone College became a Government institution in every sense, practical as well as legal, and the last vestiges of the authority of the Trustees were removed. The Trustees finally acquiesed to the takeover because they realised that the increasing college expenses, occasioned by an expansion in the teaching staff as well as the larger number of pensions that had to be paid, could not be met without further Government aid. This the Government was not prepared to give until it had the College entirely under its control. The Trustees, henceforth, to be termed the Elphinstone College Trustees, were thus reduced to mere shadows of their former selves and continued to hold office in name alone. They were given the right to appoint a new Trustee on a vacancy occuring amongst the three. If this right was not exercised within three months the nomination vested with the Government.[1]

The struggle between the Government and the Trustees for control over the Funds was significant not only because of the power conflict that was involved but also because of the implied shortage of funds available for education. This financial stringency can be better appreciated if examined in the context of the larger events that were taking place in Europe and India. The Home Government and the Government of India were both distracted, in the 1850s, by urgent demands on their coffers. Also, India was seen more as a source of revenue rather than as a recepient of Government largesse. Indeed, as Mountstuart

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1. M.S.A., E.D., 1877, Vol.3 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt. E.D., 19 Nov., 1877.

Elphinstone observed, 'India attracts little attention here at the moment, except as being held up by The Times and one set of politicians as an inexhaustible mine of genius and energy from which the alarming deficiencies which (according to them) exist in this country ought to be supplied'. [1] It is hardly surprising that the overwhelming concern of the Government of London was with its involvement in the Crimea, and for whom the financial necessities of education in Bombay Presidency were the least pressing of its problems. The correspondence for the period 1854 - 55 between the Governor of Bombay, Lord Elphinstone, and the India Office echoes this preoccupation with the war against Russia. While the Government of Bombay grappled with elaborate arrangements for transporting troops and their horses, by sea and overland, to the Crimea, the Government of India worried about the beleaguered position of Aden and the shifts in Persia's neutrality. [2]

Education was pushed further into the background by the uprisings in Lucknow and Delhi in 1857. Inevitably the security of British rule in India overrode all other considerations. Lord Elphinstone confirmed this in his statement; 'I regret that here also the restrictions upon expenditure necessitated by the Mutinies have cramped and impeded our endeavours'. [3] Education, however, continued

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1. Lord E. Coll., Mss. Eur. F 87/Box 11 B, No.17 : M.E. to Lord E., (In Bombay), 4 June, 1855.

2. Wood Coll., Mss. Eur. F. 78/28 : Lord E. to Sir Charles Wood, 14 March, 1854.

3. Lord E. Coll., Mss. Eur. F.87/Box 7 G, No.52 : Lord E.'s reply to a Farewell Address, approx. May, 1860.

to take secondary place even after the alarms and conflicts had passed. The Government of Bombay placed greater emphasis not only on the development of the railways which would open up the hinterland, increase commerce and revenues,[1] but also on the expansion of the Public Works Department, on the building of dams and water reservoirs. The day to day difficulties of life in a growing town like Bombay absorbed much of the time and energy of the Governor in Council. Lord Elphinstone wrote to Sir Charles Wood;

> I cannot tell you how terrible the want of water is in this island. At this moment there is actually hardly any <u>drinkable</u> water in the whole island - and very little even of the filthy green stuff, which forms the only beverage of the bulk of the population. There seem to be few springs[2] and the wells and tanks are generally nearly dry.

The complaint voiced in 1849 by the Board of Education that 'both extension and improvement of education are stopped at the present moment for want of funds'[3] was to be a recurrent one.[4] The Government tended to keep such a tight control on the purse strings that the Elphinstone College was, occasionally, forced into the most petty savings, such as over the nominal salary of the Secretary of the Trustees

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1. Wood Coll., Mss. Eur. F.78/28 : Lord E. to Sir Charles Wood, 27 Oct., 1854 and 31 Jan., 1855.
2. Wood Coll., Mss. Eur. F. 78/28 : Lord E. to Sir Charles Wood, 10 May, 1854.
3. M.S.A., G.D., 1850, Vol.28, p.180 : Secy., Board of Education to Secy., to Govt., 14 July, 1849.
4. M.S.A., E.D., 1862, Vol.1, p.313 : Minute by the Governor Sir Henry Bartle Frere, 6 Sept., 1862 ;

   'At any other time but the present one of severe and general distress, I should have earnestly applied for a liberal sum of money'.

   R.D.P.I. for 1877-78, p.23 : The Elphinstone College Principal's Report.

which Government wanted abolished so as to make a saving on a Professor's pay. As late as 1884 the D.P.I. still functioned under tremendous financial restraints, declaring that 'it would be cheaper to ask Government for a second Professor, but I really do not know where the money is to come from and how I can justify this second demand'.[1]

Since economy dominated official thinking, the Government hoped that centralisation of authority would lead to the curtailment of unnecessary expenditure in education. Concurrent with the Government's determined absorption of the Elphinstone College into the state educational system was the growth of the idea of a university, and its eventual founding with the College as its keystone. The Government saw that 'the University in its Examinations, its connection with and superintendence over affiliated institutions, its power of making rules for the whole, subject to the approval of Government, and its function of giving degrees'[2] would formalise and institutionalise education in Bombay. This it would do with barely any additional Government expenditure as the University was not, as yet, to be a teaching University. Government also hoped that the University, through the Vice-Chancellor and the Senate, would finally affirm Government control over all educational institutions, including the Elphinstone College.

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 18 April, 1884 to 21 March, 1885 : D.P.I. to the Principal, E.C., 22 July, 1884.

2. M.S.A., G.D., 1855, Vol.19, p.9 : Secy., G.O.I. to Secy., Govt. of Bengal, 26 Jan., 1855.

The College, as the major higher education institution in Bombay Presidency was involved from the very outset with the establishment of the University of Bombay. The College was, as it were, the parent to the University. When the Department of Public Instruction began seriously to work for such a University, it appointed, in 1856, John Harkness, the Principal of the Elphinstone Institution, and two of its professors, R. Sinclair and R. Reid, to be members of the Central Examination Committee. This Committee set the question papers which were sent out to the mofussil towns of Surat, Ahmedabad and Belgaum in April, 1856 and it received the answer papers and the results of the viva voce tests. The Committee then made the final decision about which candidates were suitable for Collegiate education. [1] Further, colleges which sought recognition from and affiliation to the University were required to send with their application the following details : A statement giving details about the teaching staff and the course of study in all branches for the previous two years at least. A declaration from the Principal that the institution had the means of educating upto the standard of the B.A. degree. Such a declaration before being sent for ratification by the Senate had to be countersigned by at least two members of the Senate. [2] It is worth noting that for some to come this selective process was undertaken

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1. E.C.R., Correspondence to the D.P.I., Vol. of 2 Jan. to 4 Dec., 1856 : D.P.I. to Principal, E.I., 29 Feb., 1856.

2. M.S.A., E.D., 1859, Vol.20, p.140 : University Registrar to Chief Secy. to Govt., 15 Sept., 1859.

by a Senate dominated by men connected to Elphinstone College, as either subscribers, professors or former students. One hundred and twenty nine students applied to sit for the Matriculation Examination in Bombay in October, 1859 and each of them paid a fee of Rs.5. [1] The Government thus not only introduced uniformity into the higher education structure in the Presidency but also achieved this object without much expenditure of Government funds.

The Elphinstone College was to be the 'nucleus'[2] of the University establishment as proposed by the Court of Directors, in that while Bombay University was not to be a teaching university, the senior members of the Elphinstone College were to be the mainstay of its examining authority. Moreover, the Elphinstone Professorships Fund it was suggested would be administered by the University Senate, as the Directors hoped all the Trustees of the Fund would be members of the Senate. The Directors' plans were shrewd and calculating; by binding the Institution so closely to the University the Directors hoped to make a clear saving on expenditure. They noted that 'there seems likely to be no difficulty in making these endowments (of the E.I.) available for the purposes of the University'.[3] But they had not calculated on the tenacity of the Trustees to see the benefits of the subscriber-raised Funds used exclusively

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1. Ibid., 26 Sept., 1859.

2. M.S.A., G.D., 1857, Vol.29, p.263 : Extract of a Despatch from the Court of Directors, 10 Dec., 1856.

3. Ibid., p.262.

for the benefit of the Elphinstone Institution.

Until the establishment of the University of Bombay, the Elphinstone College, though the major higher education institution in Western India, had no strictly defined perimeters within which it was expected to function. Upto 1860 students who attended the College for three years, and who obtained a reference from a College professor received a Diploma or Certificate from the College Council. Given the low student enrolment the College authorities were not eager to base the College leaving Certificate on a definitive examination. The absence of clearly stated qualifications obtainable at the College, prior to 1860, contributes to the muddled picture as to what kind of institution was the College. The College's amorphous condition was perhaps due to the contradictions between the Government's educational aims and the quality of the professors who actually carried out the aims. The academics were not always inclined to go along with the Government's moral and utilitarian objectives. However, this subject will be examined in more detail in another chapter.

In 1847, some twelve years after the Elphinstone Professors' arrival in Bombay, the Board of Education was still able to assert that it was 'a settled question that the time has not yet arrived for moulding their chief educational establishment on the type of a European University'.[1] Instead the Board emphasised that what was

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1847, Vol.21 : Secy., Board of Education to Chairman, Sub-Committee, E.N.E.I., 14 Nov., 1845.

required at the College was the personal instruction and superintendence of young Indians of respectable class by men of the highest education who could be obtained from Europe.[1] The Board hoped that such men would 'be able to impress upon the youthful mind the notions of morality, the love of learning and the most approved rules for the formation of character, which they themselves have imbibed in their respective Seats of instruction'.[2] Such an aim the Board believed would be of much more 'real benefit to this country'[3] than the pursuance of the 'unattainable end of raising up a class of Scholars in the higher walks of Science, who should be capable of competing with the Senior Wranglers and academicians of Europe'.[4]

Despite this emphasis on morality and character formation, the Elphinstone College with its gifted teaching staff tried to function as a superior kind of tutoring institution. However, the establishment of Bombay University in 1859, as a result of Wood's Educational Despatch of 1854, permitted the College to expand its professors' more serious academic interests. According to Wood's Despatch the Universities were 'not so much to be in themselves places of instruction, as to test the value of the education to be obtained elsewhere'.[5] Therefore 'the function of the

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Anon., Wood's Educational Despatch of 19 July, 1854, (Bombay, undated), p.13.

Universities will be to confer degrees upon such persons ..... (who) having pursued a regular course of study for a given time'[1] shall have passed the university examinations required of them. The University requirements systematised the College's courses of study as they were now to be geared to specific university examinations. It was, of course of considerable help to the College's attempt to become a University College that the majority of the University examiners were Elphinstone College Professors. Thus the College's relationship with Bombay University was a complex one ; the College predated the University and yet the formation of the University in its examining capacity gave the College the muscle that it required to establish a higher academic standard.

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1. Ibid., pp. 10-11.

Chapter IV

The Curriculum, 1850 - 1890.

Though the founding of Bombay University gave the academics, specifically the Elphinstone College professors, a stronger voice on the question of educational standards to be attained in the Presidency, the professors could not wrest control from the bureaucrats of educational issues involving Government expenditure. However, Government parsimony in the field of educatim was not the only cause for disagreement between the academics and the Government. Ultimately control over education was of considerable importance to the Government because it was the Government's intention that educational institutions like the Elphinstone College, should not only mould Native moral character but also provide efficient administrators. The Board of Education was quite clear about the aim of the College. Nor can it be denied that the majority of the College's students were only too willing to go along with at least the job objective. The Board stated:

> As the majority of the youths who attend the Institution have neither inclination nor means to acquire academical instruction, the main object of the Institution is that of the best conducted Schools of Europe, viz. to lay the foundation of a sound moral character, and to impart as much useful knowledge suited to the various positions in life, which the pupils are hereafter to occupy.

Such an attitude was to have a profound effect on the syllabus at the Institution and specifically on the teaching

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1. M.S.A.,G.D., 1847, Vol.21, p.15 : Secy., Board of Education to the Chairman, Sub-Committee of the E.N.E.I., 14 Nov., 1845.

of science at the E.I. as the science subjects fitted neither the moral nor the job objectives. Professor Giraud noted in his annual report that Chemistry was taught to first and second year classes in terms of a 'general, as distinguished from professional education'.[1] In addition, the D.P.I. asserted that as neither Chemistry nor Botany were 'necessary subjects'[2] and because the majority of students obtained only 'a smattering of knowledge'[3] in them, there was no need for an annual public examination in the two subjects. Such casual treatment continued to be meted out to the science subjects throughout the century. This was in contradiction of the original aim of the Elphinstone Professorships, which were endowed in 1827 for teaching the English language and the arts, sciences and literature of Europe.

Upto 1865 there had been a Professor of Chemistry at the Elphinstone College on a salary of Rs.400 a month. The original salary had been Rs.200, but in 1862 another Rs.200 was added from the Professorship of History which was in abeyance. In 1865, however, the Government ordered that the Professorship of Chemistry be abolished 'as it was thought that Chemistry could be taught with better advantage

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1. E.C.R., Correspondence of the D.P.I., Vol. of 2 Jan. to 4 Dec., 1856 : Report of Prof. Giraud, Prof. of Chemistry to Principal, E.I., 28 Dec., 1855.

2. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Principal, E.C., Vol. of 5 Feb., 1857 to 11 Aug., 1857 : Acting D.P.I. to Principal, E.C., 14 Jan., 1857.

3. Ibid.

by the Chemistry Professor of the Grant Medical College,[1] and it was proposed to assign to him ₨.200 of the Elphinstone Professor's pay'.[2] Thereby the Government made a saving of ₨.200 but at some cost to the Chemistry students of the College. The difficulty was that there was hardly any room for Elphinstone students in the Grant Medical College's lecture rooms which were already over-crowded. And, moreover, the Grant College course began at a time when the Elphinstone students were sitting for their university examinations. It was thus feared that Chemistry being merely a voluntary subject, if its study was made so inconvenient it would be abandoned altogether.[3] Not surprisingly, only five Elphinstone men attended Professor Lyon's Chemistry lectures at the Grant College in 1866. In 1868 Professor Lyon, notwithstanding the Government order, opened a class at the Elphinstone College, and '23 students entered their names for this class, nearly all of whom attended regularly, showed great intelligence and made extremely satisfactory progress in acquiring a knowledge of the Science'.[4] The proof of the Elphinstone students' interest and aptitude for science lay, all too clearly, in the enrolment figures and the Professor's

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1. The G.M.C. was established in 1845 to honour Sir Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay from 1835-38. Like E.C. a Government controlled college. The G.M.C. was independent of E.C. and only shared a Prof. of Chemistry with the latter.

   The Gazeteer, Vol.3, p.137.

2. M.S.A., E.D., 1875, Vol.6 : Govt. Memo. on the Professorship of Chemistry, undated.

3. Ibid.

4. E.C.R., Vol. of 8 April, 1868 to 14 March, 1868 : Prof. of Chemistry to Principal, E.C., 19 April, 1868.

assessment. Even the D.P.I. acknowledged that the Elphinstone College students attended Chemistry classes at the College 'out of a liking for the science and without any intention to take up the subject for the arts examination'.[1] Yet the teaching of Chemistry continued to be plagued by problems, mostly because of the need for economy and the fact that science was not taken very seriously by the authorities.

The College obtained a Chemistry laboratory of its own only in 1886.[2] But it was to be a disappointment. The laboratory could accommodate just fifteen students and was 'provided only with the means of instruction in simple, qualitative analysis'.[3] Moreover, despite the College having, by 1887, three full Professors of Science, the system of joint lectures with the Grant College continued so that their salaries could be shared between the two colleges. This was done, of course, to the detriment of the students. Once the Elphinstone College moved into its new building on the Esplanade, at some distance from the Grant College, it became extremely inconvenient for students to dash across town for lectures. The Principal repeated in 1891 a complaint first heard in 1868. 'The practical effect of the present system (of joint lectures) is that the study of science in this College is so discouraged that only a single student of this year's B.A.

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1. M.S.A., E.D., 1874, Vol.7 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., E.D., 23 June, 1874.

2. E.C.R., Vol. of 15 Nov., 1888 to 31 March, 1887 : Prof. of Chemistry to Principal, E.C., 16 March, 1886.

3. E.C.R., Vol. of 13 Feb., 1882 to series of receipts of 1911-13 (Vol. catalogued under 1880-89 decade) : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 28 Nov., 1887.

class has selected'[1] a science subject. Obviously Government economy, in this sphere at least, was proving counterproductive. The College, in contradiction of the Government's cavalier attitude to science, had acquired 'excellent apparatus in Physics'.[2] Because of the system of joint lectures this laboratory equipment was in danger of being carried back and forth between the two colleges and hence of being badly damaged. The Principal intervened; he urged the Principal of the Grant College to acquire another set of similar apparatus for his College. It appears that the Principal was permitted to take action because the Physics apparatus had monopolised Government grants,[3] and so had cost the Government a lot of money. It was unfortunate that the science students at Elphinstone did not seem to merit similar consideration.

The difficulties of teaching science at the Elphinstone College having been examined, it would be useful to consider the actual Science course that was taught at the College. John Harkness noted in 1853;

> The Course of Chemical Instruction is commenced with the consideration of the General Properties of Matter; Specific Gravity is then specially treated of. After which the phenomena and Laws of Light, Heat, Magnetism and Electricity (frictional and Voltari) are considered. Then the subjects of Chemical affinity, the Laws of Combination, and the atomic Hypothesis considered. [4]

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 10 Sept., 50 23 Oct., 1891 : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 4 March, 1891.

2. E.C.R., Vol. of 10 May, 1894 to 11 Jan., 1895 : Principal, E.C. to Principal, G.M.C., 21 Aug., 1894.

3. E.C.R., Vol. of 25 March, 1897 to 14 June, 1892 : E.C. Principal's Report for 1898-99.

4. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Principal, E.I., Vol. of 10 Jan., to 26 May, 1853 : Principal, E.I. to Secy., Board of Education, 24 Jan., 1853.

The object of such a course of Lectures was 'to impart a knowledge of the fundamental <u>principles</u> of Chemical Science and then to give such an amount of Chemical <u>facts</u> as shall introduce the student to a knowledge of those natural Phenomena in which Chemical principles are involved'.[1] Such a knowledge was meant to help the student understand Meteorology, Physical Geography, Mineralogy and Geology. All minute details, however, of chemical processes, tests and analyses were omitted from the course.[2]

As with Chemistry so too with Geology, the aim was to give a broad understanding of the subject. Geology was studied in relation to mining, engineering, architecture and agriculture. Also in terms of the origin and condition of the earth's surface, on the mineral ingredients of the earth's crust, the four classifications of rocks and their characteristic fossil organic remains, the causes and changes in physical geography and climate, and finally the theory of the development of organic matter at successive geological periods.[3] For Harkness Geology was an essential part of a liberal education because he believed it was particularly suited 'to exercise and improve the faculty of observation, to enlarge the mind by proofs of succession and causation.....and to lead to an examination of those processes by which general truths are obtained from particular facts'.[4] Thus science was to be taught basically as a means of training the mind in logical thought and reasoning.

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

Similarly the course in Mathematics was seen to 'strengthen'[1] the minds of students who, it was believed, were apt to fall too easily, into irrational, superstition-prone thought. In their earnest desire to prevent such a failing, the Professors at the Elphinstone College imposed on the College students a course in Mathematics so severe 'that it exceeds all but the courses gone through by Candidates for the highest honours in the Universities at Home',[2] and was, according to the Acting Principal 'a sheer intellectual impossibility'.[3] It was therefore, proposed that while the course ought not to be compromised by any lowering of its standard, it ought to be restricted to stipendary scholars who tended in any case to become teachers. The fee-paying students, on the other hand, were to be exempted from 'preparing anything in Mathematics beyond a sound knowledge of Arithmetic for Entrance, and perhaps a Course in Geometry, Algebra and the rudiments of Plane Trignometry'.[4] The principle was a pragmatic one; that is, to prevent a loss of fee-paying students who otherwise would have been unable to pass the tough Entrance Examination in Mathematics.

There was also some concern that young Indians may be deterred from joining the College by 'the very extended courses of History, Political Economy, Logic, Chemistry, Botany and

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1840, Vol.13/530, p.47 : Prof. Orlebar to Secy. to E.C. Council, (?) Jan., 1840.
2. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Acting Principal, E.I., Vol. of 4 Jan. to 20 Dec., 1850 : The Acting Principal, E.I., to Secy. to the Board of Education, 7 Feb.,1850.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

Mathematics'.[1] Professor Patton, therefore, suggested that since the students 'shew decided talents for particular branches' [2] they ought to be permitted to select a combination of subjects at the end of their second year at the College. This idea was never put into practise as the Professors were not agreed about the relative importance of the different branches of knowledge. Some indication is given, however, that the Professors attached the greatest value to English Language and Literature, Mathematics and History by the fact that at the examinations the value of answers in these subjects was the highest. The aggregate value of all the answer papers was 400 marks. This was distributed as follows : English Language and Literature 100, Translation 60, Mathematics 100, History 100, Physical Geography and Chemistry 40.[3] Language, Literature and Translation constituted the unit with the highest value, of 160 marks, while Chemistry was given a very ignoble position with a mere 40 marks. These figures tend to agree with the evidence in Chapter One that College Education was sought for English language proficiency in order to obtain Government jobs. As late as 1884 it was still possible for the Elphinstone College Lecturer in Physics to note that 'the prospects of employment in places of purely

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1. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Principal, E.I., Vol. of 2 Jan. to 10 Dec., 1851 : Report by Prof. Patton on the 'Mathematical & Physical Class', undated.
2. Ibid.
3. E.C.R., Correspondence of the D.P.I., Vol. of 2 Jan. to 4 Dec., 1856 : Principal, E.I. to D.P.I., 31 March, 1856.

scientific character are at present very few or none at all, and the public will always look upon a graduate in science with suspicion as being deficient in the subject of English Language and Literature - a subject perhaps the most important to Indian students for their success in life'.[1]

The emphasis even in the teaching of History was to expose the students to the excellences of the English Language. Indeed Professor Reid believed that 'considering the amount of good English read as History I did not think it necessary, nor indeed was there time, for reading any distinct course in Prose or Literature'.[2] Apart from seeking out works of 'pure, idiomatic English'[3] for the General Literature class, Professor Reid's selections were replete with a 'high tone of sentiment and moral reflection'.[4] The College syllabus was clearly very much in keeping with the practical and moral aims of the education authorities; that is not only to train minor government servants but also to raise up a class of Indian 'gentlemen' imbued with the excellences of European culture.

Thus the History course at the College was not only thorough but also extensive. Moreover an excellent grasp

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 18 April, 1884 to 21 March, 1885 : Lecturer in Physics to the Principal, E.C., 1 April, 1884.

2. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Principal, E.I., Vol. of 2 Jan. to 10 Dec., 1851, p.39 : Report by Prof. Reid on the History and General Literature Class, undated.

3. Ibid., p.37.

4. Ibid.

of the English language was a necessity to be able to keep up with a course that demanded a reading of Gibbon, Guizot, Schlegel, Schiller and Macaulay, among many others. In 1850 the third year scholars covered in that one academic year a history of the Middle Ages from 450 to 1453, as well as a history of Modern Europe from 1453 to 1748. The Middle Ages course dealt with : General Ethnology and Geography of the Teutonic and Slavonic nations which invaded the Roman Empire, and the Germanic Kingdoms of Southern and Western Europe (450 - 828 A.D.); the Restoration of the Western Empire, including Charlemagne, the foundation of the French monarchy and the Norman settlements; the Crusades; the Western Monarchies (1300-1461 A.D.), France till the accession of Louis XI, England till the Wars of the Roses, the Spanish Kingdoms; the Eastern Empire from the reign of Justinian till the fall of Constantinople; the Saracens, the Preachings of Mohammed, the Division of the Caliphate; the Turks, Ethnography of the Scythians, Tartars, Moghuls and Seljuks; and finally the Rise and progress of the Ottoman Empire.[1] The Modern History course was just as extensive. The emphasis being very much on European history, with only a 'brief view' [2] of Indian history before the arrival of the British.

Equally, the College authorities betrayed, in the teaching of a classical language, a bias in favour of the

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1. Ibid., pp. 40-41.

2. Ibid., p.37.

European language, Latin. Dr. Bühler, the College Professor of Latin, strongly advocated the study of Latin for its wider advantages:

> The Latin student.....gains an insight into the civilization of the West by becoming acquainted with its sources, which is denied both to the Vernacular and to the Sanskrit student, and consequently he will become more thoroughly imbued with Western ideas than the latter two. He learns also to analyse and to write a language which more than any other has proved itself efficacious in developing the mental faculties. 1

The essential advantage of Latin was, of course, that it would assist in a more thorough absorption of Western ideas and culture. The terms used by the Professors indicate a great deal as to what some of them at least thought of the 'Native' and what they hoped he would become as a result of English education. The Principal of the College added his support for Latin. He went further than Bühler in praising Latin for 'training the reason and humanizing the sentiments', [2] and for having a greater advantage over other branches of knowledge in that 'it never leaves the learner's mind in an attitude of passivity'. [3]

Such high praise was all very well but the College had still to convince the Government of India to sanction the cost of a Professorship of Latin. The Government while eager to foster the cultural improvement of the 'Native',

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 26 April, 1866 to 25 Oct., 1860 : Dr. Bühler's undated statement in response to a D.P.I. proposal of 22 Feb., 1864.

2. R.D.P.I. for 1863-64, p.101.

3. Ibid.

more often than not baulked at the cost of such endeavour. As it turned out a Professorship of Latin was never founded even though, by 1864, the teaching of both Latin and Sanskrit had been 'thoroughly established',[1] and by 1868 there were 89 students [2] studying Latin, at different levels, at the College. The Government obstinately continued to maintain that 'there is nothing before the Governor-General in Council to show the existence of any desire for a knowledge of Latin'. [3] Indeed the Government of India averred that there were already too many 'pressing demands for Expenditure on Educational objects' [4] to permit the financing of 'an object of comparatively remote importance'. [5] The Government's dismissal of the subject on grounds of economy did not prevent the College from teaching Latin. The College's determined stand on this issue was only possible because the Professors of History and English Literature taught the classical language as an unpaid, heavy addition to their teaching responsibilities. [6]

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 11 May to 13 Dec., 1864 : E.C.Principal's Annual Report for 1863/64, Memo. of 30 Aug., 1864.

2. E.C.R., Vol. of 8 April, 1868 to 14 March, 1868 : Officiating D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., E.D., 18 May, 1868.

3. Ibid., Secy. to G.O.I. to Secy., Govt. of Bombay, 25 April, 1868.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. R.D.P.I. for 1869-70, Appendix B-1, p.250.

The workload of the College Professors who taught Latin was further increased by the fact that students joining the College came with very little, if any, knowledge of Latin. [1] Their second language tended to be a vernacular language rather than a classical one. Few High Schools provided facilities for teaching Latin or Sanskrit. [2] This, despite the University's requirement that either Latin or Sanskrit had to be offered as a classical language at the First Examination in Arts, which came two years after matriculation. Inevitably the College professors were overworked and results at the University examination were disappointing. By 1876 the situation, however, had so far improved that there were five Elphinstone College students out of thirteen candidates who applied to sit for the Gilchrist Scholarship examination offered by London University to Indian students. The remarkable fact about the examination was that it was entirely on Latin grammar and literature. [3]

The teaching of Sanskrit, at the College, was from the outset less of a problem. By 1862 the College had a Professor of Oriental Languages, who in effect was never anything but a Professor of Sanskrit. The decision to have a

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 11 May to 13 Dec., 1864 : Acting Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 4 Feb., 1865.

2. Ibid., Headmaster of the Hyderabad English School to the Principal, E.C. quoted in letter of the Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 4 March, 1865 ; Acting Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 25 March, 1865.

3. E.C.R., Vol. of 3 Aug., 1875 to 25 July, 1875 : Statement from the University of London, Gilchrist Educational Trust with the names of candidates for the Gilchrist Scholarship Exam., (?) Jan., 1876.

Sanskrit Professor was very likely a political one, a sop, as it were, to the large number of Brahmin students at the College. [1] But these students were not inclined to be sentimental about their choice of subjects when it was a question of success or failure at the examinations. Thus, when the University decides in 1869 to allow Persian as a second language, in addition to Latin and Sanskrit, at the University examinations, many students abandoned Latin and Sanskrit for Persian. Why ? It was a hard-headed calculation. It was a well known fact that 'Persian is notoriously not a difficult language for beginners'. [2]

In 1869, just prior to the introduction of Persian into the syllabus, 25 Elphinstone students were studying Latin. They were 14 Parsis, 6 Marathi Hindus, 6 Gujerati Hindus (not further distinguished) and 1 Muslim. [3] When the Persian class was started in February, 1870 7 Parsis immediately moved from Latin to Persian because of the relative facility of acquiring the latter language. By about 1890 Persian had entirely displaced Latin and Sanskrit as the favourite Second Language at the College. There

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1. M.S.A., E.D., 1862, Vol.1, p.242 : Acting D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., E.D., 19 June, 1862.

2. R.D.P.I. for 1869-70, Appendix B-1, p.252.

3. E.C.R., Vol. of 1 Dec., 1874 to 16 Feb., 1878 : Report of the Jr. Dukshina Fellow at E.C. in the Acting Principal's Report on E.C. for 1869-70.

were 110 students studying Persian, 84 Sanskrit, 10 Latin, 6 French, 1 Hebrew and 7 had no second language. [1] Persian maintained its lead until the end of that decade. The only change being that French, a modern European language, replaced the classical Latin as the third most popular language. [2] French had become more popular for the same practical reason which had impelled greater support for Persian, that is 'because experience shews our students that it is easier to obtain high marks in French'. [3] This was despite the fact that even in 1899 there was no Professor of French at the Elphinstone College. Indeed, Latin and French, as well as Zhend-Avesta and Pehlavi, were unprovided with Professorships. The language teaching staff at the College in 1872 was one Professor of Oriental Languages, i.e. the Sanskrit Professor, an assistant Professor of Persian, a Reader in Arabic and a Shastri or assistant teacher in Sanskrit. [4] The College requirements in Latin and French continued throughout the century to be met by the voluntary labour of those members of the staff who happened to be qualified in the two European Languages. The arrangement for teaching Zhend-Avesta and Pehlavi was

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 10 Aug., 1897 to 17 Dec., 1884 (Vol. Catalogued under 1880-89 decade) : Statement of E.C. students studying a second language, undated, approx. 1890.

2. See Table 5.

3. E.C.R., Vol. of 21 July,1885 to 1 Nov., 1898 (Vol. catalogued under 1880-89 decade) : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 3 Feb., 1899.

4. M.S.A., E.D., 1872, Vol.2 : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 12 Jan., 1872 ; E.C.R., Vol. of 21 July,1885 to 1 Nov., 1898 (Vol. catalogued under 1880-89 decade) : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 25 June, 1898.

even more makeshift. The students, all Parsis, attended a Madarsa in the Fort area.[1] The Principal was not discomfited by such an arrangement. He pointed out that the 'Parsi Community (was) quite rich enough to endow its own Professorship of Avesta and Pehlavi'[2] at the College.

In addition to the regular subjects that were taught at the College during the four year B.A. course, that is, English Literature, Logic and Moral Philosophy, Geography, History, Political Economy, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry and Botany,[3] it was also possible to study Law, Photography and Drawing. It is worth noting that an interest in the teaching of Law at the College was expressed as early as 1835 when the College Council 'resolved to take steps for having lectures on Jurisprudence delivered at the Institution'.[4] The problems were manifold. Law was an entirely new subject and books on Jurisprudence were difficult to come by as the Hindu College, Calcutta, on the other side of the country, was the only 'Public institution here where lectures of Jurisprudence are delivered'.[5] Moreover, funds were short and the Board of Education was not in a position to bear the expense of a

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 31 March, 1894 to 21 May, 1897 : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 13 Jan., 1898. (Badly damaged early pages; first discernible date was of 31 March, 1894).

2. Ibid.

3. Report of the Board of Education for 1854, pp.7-9.

4. M.S.A., G.D., 1835, Vol.6/321, p.142 : Secy., E.C. Council to Secy., to Govt., 7 April, 1835.

5. Ibid., p.152 : Secy. to General Committee of Public Instruction, Calcutta to Secy., to Govt., Fort William, 28 June, 1835.

Law Professor at the College. The Government would have to provide the money.[1] Above all, the traditions of judicial practice in the country were not based on the idea of a professional training in Law. All Judicial matters in the Presidency were brought in the first instance, before 'Native' Judges. And 'Native' Pleaders conducted the business of advocacy in all the mofussil courts.[2] The Judges, without recourse to a systematic codification of legal principles, frequently decided an issue on arbitrary grounds.[3]

Sir Erskine Perry, as a Judge of the Bombay Supreme Court and President of the Board of Education, was in a strong position to bring about reform. He advocated the establishment of a Law Class at the Elphinstone College on the grounds that it would make an extended education monetarily worthwhile, and even positively attractive to young Indians, who were inclined to curtail their education at an early age and take on clerical jobs.[4] According to Perry a Law Class would be worth the three years of higher education as the aim of the course would be specifically the

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1848, Vol.29, p.51 : Secy., Board of Education to Secy., to Govt., 9 Oct., 1847.

2. M.S.A., G.D., 1848, Vol. 29, p.53 : Minute by the President of the Board of Education, Sir Erskine Perry, 13 Sept., 1847 ; S.M.Edwardes, The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island, Vol.II, p.225.

3. Ibid., Sir Erskine Perry's Minute, p.54.

4. Ibid.

'raising up (of) a Class of Wakeels and Native Judges very superior to any now to be seen in the Mofussil Courts'.[1] Perry also stated that a certificate of proficiency on completion of the Law Course 'shall be made a qualification for government employment in the Judicial line'.[2]

Given all the early spade work done by Perry it was fitting that the Professorship of Jurisprudence, when founded at the Elphinstone College, was named the Sir Erskine Perry Professorship. The endowment for the Professorship was raised by public subscriptions on the departure of Perry from India.[3] On the 29 May, 1855 R.I.Reid, formerly Professor of History and Political Economy at the Elphinstone College, was appointed the first Perry Professor of Jurisprudence. The Governor in Council at the same time intimated that a grant of Rs.140 a month from the Presidency's educational funds would be made to the Perry Professorship, which when added to the Rs.160 available from the interest on the endowment of Rs.48,000 would add upto a total salary of Rs.300 a month.[4] There was also the understanding given by the Government of Bombay that the Perry Professorship at the College would eventually be united to that of a Professorship of Law at Bombay University when it was established.[5]

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1. Ibid., p.56.

2. Ibid., p.57.

3. M.S.A., G.D., 1855, Vol.20, p.17 : Chairman, Committee of the Perry Testimonial to Secy. to Govt., 12 May, 1855.

4. M.S.A., G.D., 1855, Vol.20, p.55 : Secy. to G.O.I. to Secy., to Govt. of Bombay, 6 July, 1855.

5. Ibid.

The success of the Law Class, once instituted, was in marked contrast to the difficulties that the Elphinstone Professors' first lectures had to contend with. Clearly the young men at the Elphinstone College saw the professional and, of course, financial advantage of acquiring a degree in Jurisprudence. The legal profession gave an ambitious young man greater opportunities to rise to the top, a position which was unattainable to a 'Native' in Government service. In fact, many of those Elphinstonians who later rose to public eminence began their careers in the legal field. At the end of the year 1856-57, 36 students appeared at the examination which would enable them to join the Junior Law Class. Of the 36 a surprisingly large number passed the examination and only 10 had a repeat the course in the Candidate Law Class.[1] Of the 26 students who passed the examination, 12 were Hindus, 12 Parsis, 1 Portuguese and 1 Anglo-Indian. On completion of the Law Course 2 of the Parsis accompanied the 1857 Persian expedition as Munshis, 3 of the Hindus 'presented themselves for examination at the Sudder Adawlut, one for the grade of Sudder Ameen, and two for that of Moonsif'.[2] By 1877 the number of students on the Law Class rolls had grown considerably to a total of 139. They were divided into the following classes : Senior Law Students - 15; Junior Law Students - 30; Candidates for Pleaders' Examina-

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1. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Principal, E.C., Vol. of 5 Feb. to 11 Aug., 1857 : The Govt. Prof. of Law & the Perry Prof. of Jurisprudence to the D.P.I., 7 Feb., 1857.

2. Ibid.

tion - 4 ; Candidate Law Students - 90.[1] At all these classes Law was studied in terms of Roman and English Law with only a cursory glance at Indian legal norms.[2]

At the same time as encouraging an education which would fulfil not only the employment hopes of the students but also the Government's plans for expansion and improvement of its administration, the College sought to provide a gentleman's education. In 1863 the Principal talked of Elphinstone College 'cultivating the gentlemanly accomplishments of gymnastics and drawing'.[3] Sir Alexander Grant also wished to have a class in European music added to the regular curriculum. He believed that 'such a class would have a humanizing effect. By the Parsees, who have no national music, it would be gladly received. And I think that even the Hindoos would not object to learning the European scale'.[4] The Hindus didn't, in fact, have an opportunity to object, as only a Drawing Class was established at the College. Mr. Schaumberg, temporarily attached to the Sir J. J. School of Art and a former student of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of Antwerp,[5] was appointed Drawing Master at the College in February,

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 12 Aug., 1875 to 23 Nov., 1874 : Perry Prof. of Jurisprudence to D.P.I., 18 July, 1877.

2. Op. Cit., the Govt. Prof. of Law, 7 Feb., 1857.

3. R.D.P.I. for 1863-64, p.99.

4. Ibid., p.101.

5. E.C.R., Vol. of 23 Feb., 1864 to 28 Jan., 1862 : Acting Superintendent, Sir J. J. School of Art to Principal, E.C., 10 Nov., 1863.

1864 [1] on a salary of ₨.100 a month. After an initial, short-lived success the attendance fell. Elphinstone men could ill afford the ₨.1 per month required for the Drawing Class.[2] Such gentlemanly luxuries were not for men whose purpose was to obtain lucrative, secure jobs after a college education. By 1882 the complaint of the Principal of the College was that the Drawing Class was of 'little use'.[3] Considering that the average attendance during each month for the year 1882-83 was four students, he was not far from the truth.[4]

The experiment of holding a Photography Class at the College met with the same fate as the Drawing Class. An instructor of photography was appointed in August, 1855 on a salary of ₨.150 a month. Initially 62 students enrolled themselves. Each student paid a fee of ₨.10 a term.[5] Of the 62 students 6 were Europeans, 13 Parsis, 31 Hindus, 2 Muslims and 10 Anglo-Indians.[6] These students were given instruction in the Daguerrotype, Talbotype, wax-paper and albumenized-glass processes. They were

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1. Ibid., D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., E.D., 9 March, 1862.

2. E.C.R., Vol. of 22 May, 1863 to 29 June, 1861 : D.P.I. to Officiating Secy., to Govt., E.D., 29 Dec., 1863.

3. E.C.R., Vol. of 9 April, 1882 to 10 March, 1886 : Extract from the D.P.I.,'s Memo. No.162 of 20 April, 1882.

4. Ibid., Principal, E.C. to Superintendent, Sir.J. J. School of Art, 29 April, 1882.

5. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Principal, E.C., Vol. of 5 Feb. to 11 Aug., 1857 : Stanley Crawford to the Principal, E.C., 17 Sept., 1857.

6. Ibid.

required to provide their own chemicals and paper for practice.[1] The Course with the required materials and the relatively high fees, was an expensive one. What is surprising is that so many students attended at the beginning. Was it from the hope of receiving a vocational training ? It is even more surprising that the Class was established by the Government,[2] on the express advice of the Court of Directors in their Despatch of 29 December, 1854.[3] Rarely did Government and student support to a project coincide where the goal was not the achievement of jobs. However, in January, 1857 the Government acted quickly to stem wasteful expenditure of Government funds. It found that the 'progressive deminution.....in the numbers of the students attending'[4] the photography class did not justify 'the continued employment, at the expense of the State, of an Instructor for a Photography Class at Elphinstone College'.[5]

Many of the College's problems, as witnessed by the failure of the Drawing and Photography Classes, were caused more often than not by the diverse strands in Government thinking. The Government wished to combine a gentleman's

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1. E.C.R., Correspondence of the D.P.I., Vol. of 2 Jan. to 4 Dec., 1856 : E.I.Principal's Notice, 7 Jan., 1856.

2. Govt.'s initial outlay on the Class was Rs.4,076. Op.Cit., Stanley Crawford, 17 Sept., 1857.

3. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Principal, E.C., Vol. of 5 Feb. to 11 Aug., 1857 : Secy. to Govt., G.D. to Acting D.P.I., No.112 of 1857, undated.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

education with the kind of instruction which would produce efficient administrators for the Raj. It is hardly surprising that, with so many of the College professors Oxford and Cambridge men, the former aim tended to prevail, despite the occasional disappointment and failure. The two old English universities were the models for the Elphinstone College. Any policy decision at the College tended to be supported by reference to education patterns found at either Oxford or Cambridge. This was true whether it was to persuade the Grant Medical College to join the Elphinstone College in inter-collegiate science instruction 'as prevails at Oxford'[1]; or for College essay prizes to be substantial enough to attract the better student as at Cambridge; [2] or for the topics to be taught by the new Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy to be identical to 'the course of reading laid down for the Final Classical School at Oxford'.[3] Indeed the Statutes of Balliol, Oriel, Queens, Lincoln and Merton were constantly consulted by the Elphinstone College.[4]

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1. E.C.R., Vol. beginning with 'Civil Stores Expenditure at E.C. for 1891-92' and ending on 25 Sept., 1874, (Vol. catalogued under 1870-79 decade) : D.P.I. to Principal, G.M.C., 22 July, 1879.

2. E.C.R., Vol. of 10 Sept. to 23 Oct., 1891 : Prof. Hathornthwaite's Memo., 15 Oct., 1891.

3. M.S.A., E.D., Vol.7 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., E.D., 4 Feb., 1878.

4. E.C.R., Vol. of 14 April, 1882 to 5 Jan., 1889 : D.P.I. to Principal, E.C., 13 Jan., 1882. (Badly damaged early pages ; first discernible date was of 14 April, 1882).

The end result of such a strong bias in favour of Oxford and Cambridge was that not only was the Bombay University affiliated to Cambridge University,[1] but that 'increasing numbers of our students annually resort to the English Universities',[2] specifically to the two oldest universities. This was emphasised by Professor Muller of Elphinstone College when he stated that an Elphinstone student 'can keep his Monsoon term here and then proceed to Cambridge or Oxford and begin the University course there in October'.[3] Such a pattern was accepted as worthy of emulation. So, by the end of the century, higher education at the Elphinstone College had come full circle. Elphinstone men were not only absorbed into an English educational system in India but were inclined to look for the furtherance of their education to the source of the system, though few, in fact, could afford to go to Oxford or Cambridge.

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 21 June, 1890 to 17 March, 1897 : Bombay University Notification of its affiliation with Cambridge University, undated, approx. 1896.

2. E.C.R., Vol. of 10 May, 1894 to 11 Jan., 1895 : Prof. O.V.Muller's Memo., 18 July, 1894.

3. Ibid.

Chapter V

The Professors, 1860-1890.

As the previous Chapter has examined the syllabus taught at the Elphinstone College, this Chapter will look more closely at the teaching staff of the College. What manner of men did the Government seek for its premier higher education institution in Western India ? It has already been noted that Oxford and Cambridge men were distinctly favoured from the outset by the education authorities. Even the individuals designated to select the College Professors tended to be from one of these two universities : 'some fit person connected with one of the Universities - probably Cambridge be invited to select Professors of the English Language and Literature and History'.[1] The principle of setting an Oxford man to find an Oxford man was continued from the 1850s' right through to the end of the nineteenth century. Most candidates for teaching positions at the College in the 1870s' were interviewed by Jowett, the Master of Balliol, and by Sir Alexander Grant, an Oxford graduate and a former Principal of the Elphinstone College.[2] They recommended those they believed to be the best qualified men to the Secretary of State for India who made the formal appointments. It was in fact common practice for Government to specify the qualifications for a Professorship at the College by stating that, for example, the new Professor of History

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1855, Vol.23, p.2 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., G.D., 4 Aug., 1855.

2. M.S.A., E.D., 1871, Vol.20 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., E.D., 30 Sept., 1871.

and Political Economy 'should be a First Class man, should have qualified in the Oxford School for History, the Classical Tripos at Cambridge or the Final Classical School at Oxford'.[1] Accordingly O.V.Muller, a graduate of Jesus College, Cambridge was appointed.[2] This was the formula followed whether it was for a Professor of History, Applied Science,[3] Moral Philosophy [4] or any other subject.

The lists of teaching staff at the Elphinstone College, giving their qualifications, provide useful information. In 1864 there were two Oxford men out of five European senior members of the College. Sir Alexander Grant, the Principal of the College, was an Oxford M.A.,; J.P.Hughlings the Professor of English Language and History was an Oxford B.A.[5] The other professors had degrees from Trinity College, Dublin (the Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy); Edinburgh (the Professor of Chemistry and Natural History); and Göttingen (the Professor of Oriental Languages).[6] However, with the founding of Bombay University the Elphinstone College became more firmly established as the Presidency College and it attracted more Oxbridge men.

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 10 Sept. to 23 Oct., 1891 : Notification of the Acting Secy. to Govt., E.D., 29 Jan., 1891.

2. Ibid.

3. M.S.A., G.D., 1857, Vol.28, p.2 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., G.D., 30 Sept., 1857.

4. M.S.A., E.D., 1878, Vol.7 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., E.D., 4 Feb., 1878.

5. E.C.R., Vol. of 11 May to 13 Dec., 1864 : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 25 Nov., 1864.

6. Ibid.

In 1876 out of eight European Professors six were graduates of Oxford or Cambridge. These were : William Wordsworth, B.A., Oxon, grandson of the poet and Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy; R.G.Oxenham, M.A., Oxon, acting Principal and Professor of English Literature; J.T.Hathornthwaite, M.A., Cantab, Professor of Mathematics; Peter Peterson, B.A., Oxon, M.A., Edinburgh, Professor of Oriental Languages ; Edward Giles, B.A., Oxon, Professor of History and Political Economy ; J.W.Pullen, M.A., Cantab, Acting Professor of History and Political Economy. [1] In 1887 there were three Oxford men and two Cambridge men out of a total of nine Europeans teaching at the College. [2] Of the others two had degrees from Edinburgh and two had no university degree. In 1891 while there was only one Cambridge graduate, there were four Oxford men among the teaching staff. Of the other Europeans one had a B.Sc. from Edinburgh and the other, the Acting Professor of Chemistry, had no university qualification. [3]

Oxford certainly seemed to have an edge over Cambridge in the number of its graduates that were employed throughout the nineteenth century at the Elphinstone College. This fact did not escape the notice of G.W.Forrest, a Mathematics graduate of St. John's College, Cambridge, who was Head Master of the Surat English School, prior to becoming an

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 3 Aug., 1875 to 25 July, 1875 : List of Teaching Staff at E.C. for 1876.

2. E.C.R., Vol. of 15 Nov., 1888 to 31 March, 1887 : Directory of the D.P.I., 1 Nov., 1887.

3. E.C.R., Vol. of 14 March, 1896 to 3 May, 1892 : Staff List, 1 Nov., 1891.

Acting Professor at the College. Forrest accused the Director of Public Instruction of favouring Oxford men. The Director's rejoinder was that the 'only foundation for the suggestion is the practice of getting an Oxford man to teach the Oxford subjects of History and Philosophy, just as we seek for a Cambridge wrangler to teach the Cambridge subjects of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy'.[1] Forrest's real grievance however was that he had been superseded and not placed in the Education Department grade that he believed was his due. The Director's rebuttal of Forrest's claim reveals the qualifications of the other members of the Department, most of whom at some point in their careers taught at the Elphinstone College. Out of seventeen Officers of the Education Department only four had no university degree. Forrest who had a 'third or the lowest class in Mathematics'[2] was placed above the four Officers without a degree, and above Oxenham who had 'a third and a fourth against Mr. Forrest's third'.[3] The other members of the Education Department, even though appointed after Forrest, had an advantage over him in having a more distinguished academic record. 'Of these Officers Mr.Shute was a First Class in the Oxford Classical or Philosophical School, and Fellow of Christ Church. Mr. Selby.....had the same degree and also a First Class in Moderations; and Mr. Macmillan obtained a Second Class degree in the same

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1. M.S.A., E.D., 1879, Vol.10 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., E.D., 20 Dec., 1878.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

School and also a First Class in Moderations'.[1] Dr. Bühler and Dr. Kielhorn held 'distinguished'[2] European degrees and were 'Scholars of European reputation'.[3] The Director, in continuing his catalogue of qualifications, noted that Mr. Cooke obtained 'high honours at Dublin and Mr.Peterson, after a distinguished career at Edinburgh, was a Balliol Exhibitioner and a University Scholar at Oxford.'[4]

Clearly the senior members of the Elphinstone College were by no means rejects of the English Universities. They were generally men with good First or Second Class degrees which were obtained more often than not from Oxford, Cambridge or Edinburgh. Indeed by the 1870s' the Principal of the Elphinstone College could confidently assert that he would not consider a candidate for the post of Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy who was not an 'Oxford First Class man',[5] as 'the College ought to get the best man possible'.[6] This was a far cry from the D.P.I.'s complaint of 1856 that his agent in England had had 'the greatest difficulty in finding suitable candidates for Professorships in the Elphinstone College'.[7]

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. M.S.A., E.D., 1878, Vol.7 : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 29 Nov., 1877.
6. Ibid.
7. E.C.R., Vol. of 11 June to 11 Nov., 1856 : D.P.I. to Secy. Board of Education, 5 July, 1856.

Whatever the difficulties, the preference from the beginning was to have European rather than Indian professors at the College. In 1885 the College Principal vigorously defended the principle of retaining Europeans to teach Indians. He believed that it would be a

> misfortune if the proportion of European Professors at Elphinstone College was suddenly or largely reduced. It seems desirable that the College in the capital of the Presidency should have a strong European staff in order to maintain in this important sphere that connection with the intellectual life of Europe, which the interests of India demand and which has wrought during the last quarter of a century so many salutary changes in Indian Society. 1

The subjects taught by the European professors at the Elphinstone College were by no means the exclusive preserve of European intellectual tradition. In 1885 the subjects taught by Europeans were Sanskrit, Mathematics, Logic and Moral Philosophy, Chemistry, Physiology and Botany, History and Political Economy, English Literature. That left only Persian and Experimental Physics to be taught by Indians.[2] It was therefore, hardly surprising that the Indians became 'impatient of the monopoly of Government appointments by Europeans'.[3] The monopoly had been permitted to continue for so long because of the belief that only European professors could be 'instruments of intellectual progress,

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 10 Aug., 1897 to 17 Dec., 1884 (Vol. catalogued under 1880-89 decade) : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 27 July, 1885.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

and in their own province disseminators of new ideas'.[1] The Principal of the College went on to demonstrate the extent of his prejudice when he stated that his point of view was in no way invalidated by the presence of Indian scholars of 'exceptional talent'.[2]

The Indians, though impatient, took a more balanced view of the situation. They were prepared to acknowledge the superiority of European understanding in certain branches of knowledge:

> For English Literature, for History and probably also for Political Economy, we ought to have in our Colleges first-rate European Professors. In the case of English Literature, I suppose the point is too clear for any difference of opinion. As to History and Political Economy.....a really good Professor of these subjects ought to have easy access to materials of study and sources of information which are not likely to be available to native scholars - at least for many years to come. 3

The Indians were however less able to understand why the other subjects could not be 'entrusted to Graduates of our own Universities whenever good ones among them are..... available'.[4] It was only in 1896 that some attempt was made to mollify Indian public opinion, and the Public Service Commission recommended that recruitment should be made in England only for Principals of Colleges and Professors in 'those branches of knowledge in which the

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. E.C.R., Vol. of 10 Aug., 1897 to 17 Dec., 1884 (Vol. catalogued under 1880-89 decade) : K.T.Telang to Principal, E.C., 14 July, 1885.

4. Ibid.

European standard of advancement has not been attained in India.'[1]

The appointment of Indians to teaching positions at the Elphinstone College had not always been a problem. In the College's early days the two Indians - Bal Gangadhur Shastri and Dadabhai Naoroji - who were appointed acting Professor and Professor respectively, were highly esteemed by the Government. In 1842, while Professor Orlebar was away in England, Bal Shastri was raised from Assistant Professor to Acting Professor of Mathematics.[2] In 1845 Shastri was made the Director of the Normal Class, at the Elphinstone Native Education Institution, which was specifically for the teaching of school masters.[3] Shastri's teaching career came to a sudden end with his untimely death at the age of thirty five in 1846. The Board of Education described his death as a 'public calamity',[4] and lamented that - 'No native in this Presidency, perhaps no native in either Presidency, ever distinguished himself by such an extensive learning or such varied accomplishments'.[5] Shastri had epitomised everything that the Government sought in its teachers. He 'united in an eminent degree the highest qualities which a paternal Government would look for.....

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1. E.C.R., Vol. beginning with 12 Aug., 1896 and ending with attendance rolls of 1903 (Vol. catalogued under 1890-99 decade) : Extract from the proceedings of the G.O.I., Home Department (Education), 23 July, 1896.
2. E.C.R., Correspondence of C. Morehead, Secy., Board of Education, Vol. of 4 Jan. to 13 Dec., 1842 : C. Morehead to B.G.Shastri, 28 April, 1842.
3. M.S.A., G.D., 1846, Vol.28/1047, p.62 : Secy., Board of Education to Secy. to Govt., 22 May, 1846.
4. Ibid., p.60.
5. Ibid., p.59.

His attainments in Science, his conversance with European Literature and his remarkable facility and elegance in English Composition enabled him to take a high place among the best Scholars of the day'.[1]

Dadabhai Naoroji was no less gifted academically. A scholar at the Elphinstone Institution from 1840-45, and later assistant master and assistant Professor, Naoroji was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at the College in 1854. The Board of Education noted that 'Much will depend upon the result of this first nomination of a Native of India to be a Professor in the Elphinstone Institution. The honor confered upon him is great but the responsibility attached to it is still greater'.[2] Naoroji did not fail the Board in its expectations. The Director of Public Instruction, a year after Naoroji's appointment, was lavish in his praise. 'The attainments, the abilities, and the personal character of Professor Dadabhai are all deservedly held in very high esteem by the Board, and by myself and by all who are acquainted with him'.[3]

The relationship between ruler and ruled had sufficiently changed by the 1860s' to make such an easy acceptance and indeed admiration of a 'Native', a rarity. With the spread of education, Indians of academic accomplishment were appearing on the scene in ever greater

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1847, Vol.25, p.70 : Report of the Board of Education for the year 1846.

2. Report of the Board of Education for 1856, p.25.

3. M.S.A., G.D., 1855, Vol.21, p.184 : D.P.I. to Secy., Board of Education, 14 June, 1855.

numbers, but they were noticeably absent in the higher teaching positions at prestigious institutions like the Elphinstone College. Indeed, it appears that the very increase of qualified Indian academics raised barriers against their employment as full professors. It was all very well, in the 1840s' and 1850s', to have Indian Professors when very few Indians were qualified to apply for the position. But within two decades it was feared that once the principle of Indian professors was accepted, the floodgates would be opened to the Indianisation of the higher ranks of the education service.

A case in point of the Government's determination to keep as many professorships as possible in the hands of Europeans is seen in the appointment of the Professor of Oriental Languages at the Elphinstone College, who in fact was nothing but the Professor of Sanskrit. In 1871 this professorship was offered to Peter Peterson, who was an M.A. in Sanskrit from Edinburgh, and the Boden Sanskrit Scholar at Oxford.[1] The Director of Public Instruction was aware of the 'dissatisfaction expressed in the native press' [2] at the appointment of a European professor instead of confirming the learned Indian Sanskritist, R.G.Bhandarkar, in the position he had held in an acting capacity. Nor was the Director ignorant of the hope expressed by the original subscribers to the Elphinstone Professorships' Fund

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1. M.S.A., E.D., 1872, Vol.2 : D.P.I. to Acting Secy. to Govt., E.D., 11 December, 1871.

2. Ibid.

in 1827, that the Professorships should be 'held by gentlemen from Great Britain until the happy period arrive when Natives shall be fully competent to hold them'.[1] From the D.P.I.'s point of view this 'happy period' was nowhere in sight, and therefore, he could not bring himself to 'recommend any Native Scholar for the vacant appointment'.[2] The hollowness of this assertion, and that of his claim that 'every first class European Sanskritist acquired for this country is of inestimable importance to its future literary progress',[3] can be quickly established once the limitations of Peterson's scholarship are revealed. Though Professor Max Müller recommended Peterson highly, the basis of his evaluation was the relative worth of Peterson in comparison with the other young Sanskritists at Oxford. Max Müller had noted that 'I know the average of young men at Oxford', [4] implying thereby that Peterson was above the average of Oxford Sanskritists and not of Sanskritists per se. Müller acknowledged that there were gaps in Peterson's knowledge of Sanskrit. But he hoped that 'with Dr. Kielhorn to advise and assist him, and with Native Shastris to read with him, he will soon make up for any deficiencies in his Knowledge of Sanskrit'.[5] It was natural

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. M.S.A., E.D., 1872, Vol.2 : Prof. Max Müller to D.P.I., 9 Nov., 1871.
5. Ibid.

enough for a young Oxford Scholar to have gaps in his learning but the Indians questioned whether it was just to consider the young, inexperienced Peterson's qualifications superior to those of Bhandarkar, an established Sanskrit scholar, albeit a 'native' one.[1]

Not only did European professors continue to be imported throughout the nineteenth century, but the Government, normally so eager to practise economy, continued to pay the recruits from overseas a higher salary. Thus, in 1865, when the highest salary to a European professor was Rs.750 a month, the Sanskrit teacher (not professor) at the College, Raghunath Shastri, received a salary of Rs.66 a month.[2] And in 1875 when the highest paid European Professor at the Elphinstone College earned Rs.1,500 a month, the only Indian Professor, Mirza Hairat, the Professor of Persian, was paid Rs.350 a month. The other Indians on the teaching staff were the acting professor of Mathematics, G.V.Karkare, who received Rs.437 a month, and the Assistant Professor of Sanskrit, R.G.Bhandarkar, whose salary was Rs.450

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1. Bhandarkar was not made a full fledged Professor of Oriental Languages until 1882, but the appointment was to the Deccan College and not Elphinstone College. After D. Naoroji, the first Indian to be given a regular professorship at the College was S.G.Sathe. He was appointed Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy in 1899.

   E.C.R., Correspondence of the D.P.I., Vol. of 25 March, 1899 to 7 March, 1900 (Vol. catalogued under 1890-99 decade): Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 31 May, 1899.

2. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Acting Principal and Principal, E.C., Vol. of 1 May to 9 Sept., 1867 : Abstract of the Pay of the Establishment of the E.C. for the month of May, 1865.

a month.[1] Hairat, though a full Professor, received a lower salary than the latter two because his appointment was a more recent one. The higher salaries to the European professors were justified by Government on the grounds that financial inducements were needed to persuade Europeans to come out to teach in Bombay.

The fact of the matter was that while there were gross discrepancies between the salaries of European recruits to the Government's Education Service and local employees of equal distinction, the salaries of the European Professors were generally regarded as 'insufficient and wholly inadequate.....to ensure the retention of the more able men attached to the Education Department'.[2] There were many complaints that the pay was insufficient for living in Bombay. This was not merely ill-natured grumbling by the professors. The D.P.I. himself concurred with their view. He pointed out that 'All the necessities of life have become much dearer since these incomes were settled, and I don't know how we can expect gentlemen of learning and abilities to remain contented with a bare maintenance without any prospects of increase in a rising city like Bombay'.[3] The incomes that were established in 1849 for the Elphinstone Institution, as it then was, were : the Principal

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1. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Principal, E.C., Vol. of 15 April, 187- (torn) to 24 Jan., 1876 : List showing staff incomes during the year 1875-76.

2. E.C.R., Vol. of 8 April, 1868 to 14 March, 1865 : Chief Secy. to Govt. to D.P.I., 7 May, 1864.

3. M.S.A., E.D., 1862, Vol.1, pp. 250-251 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., E.D., 26 Aug., 1862.

Rs.700 a month, a professor also Rs.700 a month ; and school teachers at the Institution Rs.300 each.[1] By 1856 the salaries had not registered an increase : the Professors of Logic and Moral Philosophy, English Literature, and Natural Philosophy were paid Rs.700 each a month, while the Professors of History and Political Economy and of Mathematics earned Rs.600 a month.[2]

Although a seniority allowance was sanctioned to the Professors, it gave them little financial relief. The seniority allowance worked as follows ; an allowance of Rs.100 a month was given after two years actual service, after seven years a further allowance of Rs.100, and after twelve years yet another Rs.100 a month.[3] An abstract of the pay of the College teaching staff for 1875 shows that very few professors benefitted from the seniority allowance. Only Professor Oxenham had been long enough at the College to get the full allowance of Rs.300.[4] It was not until 1896 that some slight improvement occurred in the salary scales of the professors. In 1875 just two professors, the Principal and the Acting Principal, had received salaries above Rs.750 a month. But in 1896 the Principal, the Professors of Oriental Languages, of English Literature and

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1849, Vol.17, p.126 : Secy., Board of Education to Secy. to Govt., G.D., date torn away.

2. E.C.R., Vol. of 11 June to 11 Nov., 1856 : Estimate of the Receipts and Disbursements of the E.P.F. for the year 1856-57.

3. E.C.R., Vol. of 8 April, 1868 to 14 March, 1865 : Chief Secy. to Govt. to D.P.I., 7 May, 1864.

4. See Table 6.

of Logic received salaries of Rs.1,250, 1,250, 1,000 and 900 respectively.[1] This was not only because the Principal and the Professors of Oriental Languages and of English Literature had each served more than twelve years and thus were eligible for the full seniority allowance, but also because a revised scale of pay for new appointments was beginning to have an effect on salaries, as in the case of the Professor of Logic.

The Government of India had agreed in August 1871, after three years of negotiations on the part of the D.P.I., to a revised scale for the higher education appointments in Bombay. The salaries of the new professors would be £ 600 per annum rising to £ 1,200 in the following manner;

> On first appointment the Professor will receive £ 600 per annum and will rise (sic) by a yearly increase of £ 60 in five years to £ 900. He will then be promoted if his services are approved to the senior grade on a vacancy occurring, and will rise from £ 900 by a yearly increase of £ 60 for two years and £ 90 for two years in four years to £ 1,200. [2]

Moreover, a professor on showing special merit was eligible for appointment to one of the principalships of the Arts Colleges. These were divided into two categories ; one, wherein the principal's salary rose from £ 1,200 to 1,500 and the other of £ 1,500 rising to £ 1,800.[3] The Elphinstone College belonged to the latter category. The Professors' salaries were, of course, not normally paid in pounds sterling

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1. See Table 7.
2. M.S.A., E.D., 1871, Vol.20 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., E.D., 30 Sept., 1871.
3. Ibid.

even when the calculation was made in sterling as above. The only exception to this rule was the case of Professor Peterson and Professor Giles. Their request to be paid in sterling was acceded to by the Government of Bombay, as the two professors' convenant with the Secretary of State for India had mistakenly included such a clause.[1]

The salary of an Elphinstone College professor was about the same as that of a superior commercial clerk, and far inferior to the profits of independent professions, as well as to the salaries of gentlemen in other branches of the Government Service.[2] College professors found their contemporaries of equal or even inferior academic distinction in the other Government branches established on a path of steady promotion to posts of Rs.2,000 to Rs.3,000 a month, while they themselves toiled on for a slow increase of salary from Rs.500 to Rs.1,250 at the highest.[3] Such unpleasant facts were, of course, not generally known to the young men who were selected and appointed in England to teaching positions in Bombay. The extent of their ignorance of conditions in India, and the purchasing power of their salaries is well illustrated by the case of Peter Peterson, the Professor of Oriental Languages. Peterson had not, in fact, applied for an appointment in the Bombay Education Service. His name had been given by

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1. M.S.A., E.D., 1876, Vol.29 : Chief Secy. to Govt. to D.P.I., 7 Aug., 1876.

2. M.S.A., E.D., 1864, Vol.4, p.8 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., E.D., 17 Oct., 1862.

3. Ibid.

Jowett to Professor Max Müller who had been asked by the Government of India to select a suitable man for the Sanskrit Chair at the Elphinstone College. Peterson declared that 'I had no connection of any kind with any persons in India, I had not contemplated living there myself. I had thus no special information about the country'.[1] In other words he was entirely unaware of the cost of living in Bombay. During this period the salaries of Bombay education officers who were sent out from England were 'calculated at an exchange of ₨.10 for every pound sterling'.[2] But Peterson's 'attention had never been called in any way to the Rupee question'.[3] So, if the salary was stated in rupees it appeared to be a much grander sum than, in fact, it was in real value. The Director of Public Instruction believed that young Englishmen accepted the offer of a teaching appointment in India in the hope of making a financial benefit of the physical discomfort of an India service. This expectation was, unhappily, a mistaken one.[4]

In 1862 the Director of Public Instruction had calculated that over a ten year period the purchasing power of the College professors' salaries, especially in terms of household expenses, had been reduced 'by as much as 40

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1. M.S.A., E.D., 1877, Vol.22 : Prof. Peterson to D.P.I., 9 June, 1877.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. M.S.A., E.D., 1879, Vol.10 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt. E.D., 20 Dec., 1878.

per cent',[1] and that this was most clearly manifested in the great increase in house rents in Bombay. Sir Alexander Grant, the Principal of the Elphinstone College, found that the rent for his 'very ordinary'[2] house had gone up to Rs.300 a month. The Government of Bombay therefore recommended that the Principal of the College ought to be given an allowance of Rs.200 a month for house-rent.[3] In 1872 the idea of the head of a college living in or at least near the college was suggested by the Government of India.[4] And in 1890 the sanction of the Secretary of State for India was sought for providing the Principal with free accomodation within the Elphinstone College building,[5] an arrangement which exists to this day. The Professors of the College were less fortunate. The only accommodation provided by the College was at the house 'Freelands'. Its one advantage was that it was near the College. Otherwise the Public Works Department charged the professors who occupied it the full market rate of Rs.250 per month.[6]

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1. M.S.A., E.D., 1864, Vol.4, p.8 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., E.D., 17 Oct., 1862.

2. M.S.A., E.D., 1864, Vol.4, p.12 : Memo. of the Principal, E.C., 8 Nov., 1862.

3. M.S.A., E.D., 1864, Vol.4, p.148 : Governor in Council to S.S.I., 13 Jan., 1866.

4. M.S.A., E.D., 1872, Vol.13 : Resolution of the G.O.I., 17 May, 1872.

5. E.C.R., Vol. of 19 April, 1890 to 25 Nov., 1893 : Memo. of Secy. to Govt., E.D., 12 Aug., 1890.

6. M.S.A., E.D., 1872, Vol.13 : D.P.I. to Acting Secy. to Govt., E.D., 9 Feb., 1872.

Such economy was not entirely necessary even considering the low position education occupied in the Government's priorities. Nor were the economic pressures on the Government of the same pitch throughout the century. In 1864 Sir Alexander Grant stated that there was no call for reductions in Government expenditure because 'The wealth and taxable income of the country are increasing most rapidly, and in no part of India so rapidly as in Bombay'.[1] Moreover, the salaries of the Elphinstone College professors were kept low despite the fact that the College was the least costly to Government among the Presidency Colleges. The cost to Government of the Calcutta Presidency College during 1859-60 was ₨.60,416 ; of the Madras College ₨.54,069 ; of the Elphinstone College a mere ₨.20,996.[2] While the Calcutta and Madras Colleges were maintained entirely at the cost of Government, the Elphinstone College was financed partly from the interest from the large private subscriptions to the Elphinstone Professorships' Fund in 1827.[3] This made no difference to the attitude and policy of the Government. Indeed Sir Alexander Grant complained that 'The fact that the people in Bombay have contributed largely to the foundation of the College ought surely not to be an argument for any

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1. M.S.A., E.D., 1864, Vol.4, p.11 : Memo. of the Principal E.C., 8 Nov., 1862.

2. M.S.A., E.D., 1862, Vol.1, p.252 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., E.D., 26 Aug., 1862.

3. ₨.18,000 of the annual income of the Elphinstone Fund was from interest derived from the private subscriptions.

   Ibid.

narrow dealing on the part of Government'.[1] The Director of Public Instruction added his voice to the dissatisfaction of the Principal and Professors of the College. He pointed out that 'the surviving donors of the Elphinstone Funds are aggrieved at what they consider the harshness and illiberality with which their noble Foundation has been treated'.[2] Despite the pleadings and complaints the College continued to be treated by the Government somewhat in the manner of a step-child whose alien birth had not entirely been forgiven.

The lot of the Elphinstone College professor was not an easy one, plagued as he was by an inadequate salary, ill health and uncertainty about his pension. Ill health from service in the tropics often enforced long spells of home leave for recuperation. This not only depleted the teaching staff of the College but affected the particular professor's pay claims. For instance Professor Candy, who was Professor of Mathematics at the College, had served by 1873 for thirteen years in the Bombay Education Service. He had had six months ordinary leave in 1867 but was compelled to take another six months leave in October, 1871 because of ill health. On his return in 1872 he continued to suffer from Malaria fever. The Presidency Surgeon believed Candy to be so ill that he advised not less than twenty months sick leave in England.[3] Eventually when Candy was forced to resign on account of his ill-health he was

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1. M.S.A., E.D., 1864, Vol.4, p.11 : Memo. of the Principal, E.C., 8 Nov., 1862.

2. M.S.A., E.D., 1862, Vol.1, pp.264-265 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., E.D., 26 Aug., 1862.

3. M.S.A., E.D., 1873, Vol.9 : Presidency Surgeon's Medical Report on Prof. Candy, 5 March, 1873.

granted an invalid's pension of ₨.2,000 per annum or ₨.166.10.8 per month.[1] This meagre sum was hardly sufficient to keep body and soul together.

Similarly Professor Best, the Acting Professor of History at the College was advised to take two years sick leave in Europe in order to recover from an 'impaired nervous tone and chronic dyspepsia, associated with hepatic derangement'.[2] Professor Best had come out to India in 1865 and had had no leave for ten and a half years. The uninterrupted service in India had been at the cost of his health. He had fallen ill in 1869, again in 1872 and disastrously so in 1875. Such ill-health not only made life in Bombay difficult for Professor Best but added to his financial problems. The Absentee Rules of 1847 stipulated that if a member of the teaching staff took extra leave he must during his absence lose half his salary.[3] This half was then divided among those who undertook his duties in his absence.[4]

Moreover, there was no question of a college professor receiving adequate monetary compensation for losing his job because of ill health. The Education Service which was the

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1. M.S.A., E.D., 1874, Vol.18 : Secy. to Govt., E.D., to Secy. to Finance Dept., 10 Aug., 1874.

2. M.S.A., E.D., 1876, Vol.2 : Presidency Surgeon's Medical Report on Mr. K. Best, 28 Dec., 1875.

3. Rather than take long sick leave, Prof. Orlebar, who had come out to India with Harkness in 1835, resigned in Feb., 1847.
   M.S.A., G.D., 1847, Vol.20, p.89 : Secy., Board of Education to Secy. to Govt., 19 Jan., 1847.

4. E.C.R., Correspondence of M. Stovell, Secy., Board of Education, Vol. of 3 Jan., 1846 to 31 Dec., 1847 : Stovell to Principal, E.I., (?) Jan., 1847.

Uncovenanted Service of the Government was governed by singularly unsympathetic rules. The most that an Elphinstone College professor, who resigned because of duly certified ill health, could expect from the Government was the inadequate invalid's pension of ₨.2,000 per annum, and a free passage home. The passage money, however, was claimable only within five years of the professor's arrival in India.[1] For the families of professors who died while in service in India the situation was one of dire distress. As the Elphinstone College professors were not men of private means, their families depended entirely on the earned income. Therefore, when death removed the income-earner before he was eligible for a pension, the family was left almost destitute. Professor Rawlinson, the Professor of Applied Science,[2] Dr. Sinclair, the Professor of Mathematics,[3] and Professor Hughlings, the Professor of History[4], all died while serving in the Educational Service and before they were eligible for a pension. Professor Rawlinson's sudden death in September, 1857 left his widow in Bombay in extremely straitened circumstances.[5] Dr. Sinclair who had taught at the

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1. M.S.A., E.D., 1873, Vol.1 : Secy., E.D., India Office to Edward Giles, 23 Jan., 1873.

2. M.S.A., G.D., 1857, Vol.28 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., G.D., 30 Sept., 1857.

3. M.S.A., E.D., 1876, Vol.16 : Secy. to Govt. of Bombay to Secy., G.O.I., 31 March, 1876.

4. M.S.A., E.D., 1871, Vol.17 : Mrs. Hughlings to D.P.I., 6 April, 1871.

5. Op.Cit., 1857, Vol.28.

Elphinstone College for eleven years died as D.P.I. in Hyderabad in May, 1875. He was a widower who, at the time of his death, had a mother of 72, an unmarried sister of 50, four children, two girls of 19 and 15 and two boys of 17 and 12, dependent upon him.[1] As their financial situation was made impossible by the death of Dr. Sinclair, the surviving Sinclairs appealed to the Government for a pension. The request was rejected by the Government on the grounds that claims to State pensions made by families of deceased public servants were considered only 'under exceptional circumstances'.[2]

Finally, the case of Professor Hughlings epitomizes all the difficulties and hardships of an Elphinstone College professor. Professor Hughlings died in May 1869 while in England on sick leave, and a bare four months before he would have become eligible to draw his retiring pension.[3] Hughlings had 'graduated at Oxford in the same class as Mr. Howard (former D.P.I., Bombay Presidency) and Sir Alexander Grant.'[4] According to his wife he would not have accepted a Professorship at Rs.500 a month if he had had any idea of the expense of living in Bombay. Professor Hughling's pay had been fixed before prices had risen in

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1. Op.Cit., 1876, Vol.16.
2. M.S.A., E.D., 1876, Vol.16 : Secretary to G.O.I. to the Resident at Hyderabad, 18 December, 1875.
3. M.S.A., E.D., 1871, Vol.17 : Mrs. Hughlings to D.P.I., 6 April, 1871.
4. Ibid.

Bombay. Therefore, the ₨.500, in a few years, had to be 'eked out by the seniority allowance and acting appointments, it was as much as we could do to pay our way and to make a small provision in the Form of a Life assurance'.[1] The Hughlings were so hard pressed financially that they found it difficult to pay even the premium of ₨.500 every six months on the insurance.[2] The extraordinary fact about Hughlings, and many of the other Elphinstone professors, was that, despite the low pay and the many hardships, their dedication to their job remained unimpaired. Hughlings, as Professor of History and Acting Principal, had assisted without remuneration in the preparation of text-books for the College students and in preparing a catalogue for the Royal Asiatic Society's Library in Bombay.[3] In addition, his relations with the college students were markedly cordial, those of a 'personal friend'.[4] But whatever Hughlings' qualities, and however much he was considered the 'mainstay'[5] of the College during his thirteen years service, the Government was not prepared to sanction a pension to his widow.

The question of retirement pensions for education officers in Bombay had not been viewed, from the out-set,

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. M.S.A., E.D., 1871, Vol.17 : Sir Alexander Grant to Prof. Hughlings, 2 Oct., 1867 quoted in letter of Mrs. Hughlings to D.P.I., 20 April, 1871.

with any enthusiasm by the Government. The Court of Directors, reluctant as it was to expend money on education, refused in 1852 to grant pensions to this particular class of public servants.[1] The Board of Education, however, was only too aware of the difficulty of retaining professors because of the absence of a retirement pension.[2] The Board, therefore, devised a plan to provide a retirement allowance for the Elphinstone College professors which would not involve the Government in any additional expenditure. The plan was to give a smaller salary to newly engaged professors, and to allow the difference between the reduced salary and that which had previously existed to accumulate 'at compound interest for the formation of a retiring allowance'.[3] Hitherto professors engaged in England received Rs.700 per month from the day of their arrival in Bombay. The Board of Education proposed that in future they ought to receive Rs.500 per month for the first seven years and Rs.600 subsequently.[4] A professor on completing seventeen years, furlough included, would be entitled on retiring to receive Rs.40,000.[5] Each professor engaged on this new plan was entitled to a holiday of one year, at the end of six years, on £ 250 for the year to be paid by the Court of Directors in England, or alternatively,

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1852, Vol.8, p.2 : Secy., Board of Education to Secy., G.D., 7 Sept., 1852.

2. Ibid., p.3.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

to a holiday of two years at the end of ten years on £ 300. This amount was to be repaid to the Court of Directors from the Elphinstone Professorships Fund.[1] The Board's plan was sanctioned by the Governor in Council in 1852.[2] In 1854, however, the rules were amended in so far as only Principals and Headmasters were to receive pensions equivalent to one third of their salary after fifteen years service, and equivalent to one half after twenty two years' service, while for all other education officers, including the Elphinstone College professors, twenty years' service was a necessary qualification for the minimum rate of pension.[3]

Government adhered rigidly to the amended rules. Consequently, not only did long-serving professors in ill-health suffer but, more importantly from the Government's point of view, the amended rules involved the Government on occasion, in greater expense. A case in point is that of Professor Harkness. When Harkness, after long and distinguished service as the first Elphinstone Professor and College Principal, sought early retirement by a year on account of chronic bad health, the Government refused to let him retire on the higher pension. Not surprisingly Harkness decided to retain his Principalship for another year so as to qualify for the higher pension, 'though his

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1852, Vol.8, p.5 : Plan for the Establishment of an Elphinstone Professors Retiring Fund, undated, approx. Sept., 1852.

2. M.S.A., G.D., 1852, Vol.8, p.13 : Minute by Lord Falkland, 19 Oct., 1852.

3. E.C.R., Vol. of 11 June to 11 November, 1856 : Secretary, Board of Education to D.P.I., 25 April, 1856.

state of health has been for a year and more such as to render him incapable of the activity',[1] of a head of College. Harkness's decision to stay on until April, 1862 increased Government expenditure. Sir Alexander Grant arrived in Bombay from Madras on 6 October, 1860 expecting to take charge as Principal and Professor of History and Political Economy.[2] As Grant had been engaged on the higher salary of a Principal he had to be paid according to that scale. Thus, for more than a year, the College had to pay both Harkness and Grant a Principal's salary. It would, of course, have been less expensive and easier for everyone if the Government had allowed Harkness to retire a year earlier. When eventually Harkness retired in 1862, one third of his pension was 'charged to the State, and two thirds to the Elphinstone Institution Fund'.[3]

General dissatisfaction with the pension regulations was spelt out by Professor William Wordsworth. Wordsworth had come out to India in 1861, and out of a total period of eighteen years in the Bombay Education Service, he had spent fifteen years as Principal of the Elphinstone and Deccan Colleges.[4] He was strongly of the opinion that the pension rules were originally

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1. M.S.A., E.D., 1861, Vol.2, p.216 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Government,, E.D., 12 July, 1861.

2. M.S.A., E.D., 1861, Vol.2, p.236 : D.P.I.'s Memo. relative to Profs. Burke & Grant, 27 Dec., 1861.

3. E.C.R., Vol. beginning with Vernacular School Accounts of 30 June, 1858 and ending on 22 Sept., 1903 (Vol. catalogued under 1860-69 decade) : Acting Secy. to Govt. to D.P.I., 13 May, 1862.

4. E.C.R., Vol. of 12 Aug., 1875 to 23 Nov., 1874 : William Wordsworth to D.P.I., 6 Dec., 1879.

> framed rather for the natives of the country than for Europeans, and they certainly contrast most unfavourably with the rules in force for the Civil Service or the Ecclesiastical Department. In my own case as these rules require twenty-seven years of actual service in India, and as I entered the service in my twenty-sixth year I shall be superannuated before I have completed the required period of service. 1

He pointed out that in contrast to the situation in India teaching in England 'is most efficiently carried on by men between the ages of 22 and 46'.[2] He himself was, at the time of the above letter to the D.P.I., in his forty-fifth year. He already found that he no longer possessed 'the physical energy and elasticity of mind which once made the work of instruction a pleasure'.[3] Therefore, Wordsworth believed that for any European professor in India to continue at his job until the age of fifty-five in order to receive a pension would benefit neither the College nor education. Wordsworth's plea for earlier retirement with a pension was not acceptable to the Government. And in 1879 when the Government introduced supposedly new pension rules, the changes were merely of a cosmetic nature. The 1879 rules maintained that after twelve years service, on the production of a medical certificate, a pension would be paid consisting of one-third of the average salary of the previous five years, but not exceeding £ 200 per annum. This sum was equivalent to Rs.200 per annum granted to Professor Candy as pension in 1873 after thirteen years service After twenty two years service, and the evidence of a medical certificate, a professor was eligible for a pension

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

of one half of the average salary of the previous five years but not exceeding £ 400 per annum. This same amount would be due to a professor after twenty-seven years but without the necessity of a medical certificate.[1]

While the pension rules, though harsh, did not distinguish between professors at the Elphinstone College or those at the other colleges in the Presidency, the Government made a half-hearted attempt to place Elphinstone professors on a higher salary scale. The officers of the Education Department were divided into two branches, the Graded and the Ungraded. The Graded branch was for Inspectors, Principals and Professors. The Ungraded was for school-masters and subordinate ranks.[2] The Government and the D.P.I. worked out a system under which particular offices were to be attached to the two highest grades within the Graded branch. This formula gave prime importance to the Elphinstone College. The Government designated the First Grade to the Inspector of the Central Education Division of the Presidency, and to the Principal of the Elphinstone College on a salary of Rs.1,250 to 1,500 per month. The Second Grade was to be for the Inspector of the Northern Division and the Principals of the Deccan College and the Engineering College, Poona on Rs.1,000 to 1,250.[3] The Third Grade was allotted

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1. M.S.A., E.D., 1872, Vol.2 : Govt. Memo. to Prof. Peterson undated, approx. Dec., 1871.

2. M.S.A., E.D., 1879, Vol.10 : Memo. of the Secy. to Govt., E.D., 14 Jan., 1879.

3. M.S.A., E.D., 1878, Vol.1 : Secy. to Govt., E.D. to D.P.I., 25 April, 1878.

to Professorships at the Elphinstone College on a scale of Rs.750 to Rs.1,000 per month, and the Fourth Grade to Professorships at the Deccan College on Rs.500 to 750. [1] But this form of grading within the Graded Branch was, ultimately, never sanctioned by the Government, 'though there was no reason apparent at the Time.....the government purposely omitted to bind itself by any rule on the subject'.[2] It is likely that the Goverrment did not care to have any particular education post, such as the Principalship of the Elphinstone College become so powerful as to vie for authority with the D.P.I. or the Secretary to Government in the Education Department. Government policy, of course, was consistently aimed at the centralisation of its authority rather than the relegation of power.

It was not sufficient that the professors had to contend with an unsympathetic Government but they also had to work hard to bring inadequately educated students upto the higher standards of college and university examinations. The term 'professor' as used at the Elphinstone College was 'declared to be used in its primary sense as public Teacher, and not according to the secondary academical signification which it has received in Europe'.[3] In 1845

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1. M.S.A., E.D., 1878, Vol.11 : D.P.I.'s Memo., undated, approx. Feb., 1878.

2. M.S.A., E.D., 1878, Vol.I : Secy. to Govt., E.D., to D.P.I., 25 April, 1878.

3. M.S.A., G.D., 1847, Vol.21, p.15 : Secy., Board of Education to Chairman, Sub-Committee, E.N.E.I., 14 Nov., 1845.

Professor Orlebar was sharply reprimanded by Government for the 'error' [1] of conceiving his position to be similar to that of a professor at an English University. When Harkness and Orlebar the first Elphinstone Professors, arrived in Bombay the concept of a College was found to be 'premature'.[2] The few students that there were, were so ill-prepared for higher education that the early professors, functioning as school-masters, found their work increased ten-fold. In 1850 the work pressure on the professors showed no sign of abating. The Institution had expanded so much beyond the capacity of the struggling teaching staff that the teaching arrangements were 'a perfect chaos'.[3] As late as 1884 the the Principal of the College continued to complain of the 'inadequate teaching power of the College'.[4]

The Principal objected to the Government proposal to increase the number of lectures delivered by each professor on the grounds that this would 'lower not raise the quality of the teaching'.[5] As it was College classes were rigidly defined as at a school; the classes were from 11 a.m. to 2 p.m.

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1. Ibid., p.4.

2. Ibid., p.6.

3. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Acting Principal, E.I., Vol. of 4 Jan. to 20 Dec., 1850 : Acting Principal, E.I. to Secy., Board of Education, 7 Feb., 1850.

4. E.C.R., Vol. of 18 April, 1884 to 21 March, 1885 : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., Annual Report for 1883-84, 20 June, 1884.

5. Ibid.

and from 3 to 5 p.m. [1] The two College terms were regarded by the professors as long and arduous. The cool weather term stretched from November to April, and the monsoon term from June to September. A proposal by Bombay University to extend each term by a couple of weeks was strongly opposed by the College professors.[2] That the professors were more than diligent in their duties is borne out by the attendance details of each professor. In the Return given below Saturdays are not included in the column 'Days from the Time-Table'. This is because lectures were not given on Saturdays. The College however was opened on Saturdays for revision work by students. Most professors attended regularly out of choice. This accounts for their attendance being in excess of the days required by the Time-Table. Dr. Giraud was the only exception because he took classes at the Grant Medical College on Saturdays.[3]

January 1863	Days from the Time-Table	Present
Sir Alexander Grant	20	25
Dr. Giraud	12	12
Prof. Hughlings	20	25
Prof. Candy	20	25
Prof. Bühler	-	-

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 4 March, 1889, ending with the Jr.B.A. Marks Sheet for 1886 : Time Table of June to September, 1886.

2. E.C.R., Vol. of 10 May, 1894 to 11 Jan., 1895 : Acting University Registrar to Principal, E.C., 5 July, 1894.

3. E.C.R., Vol. beginning with Vernacular Schools Accounts of 30 June, 1858 and ending on 22 Sept., 1903 (Vol. catalogued under 1860-69 decade) : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 30 April, 1863.

4. Ibid.

December 1864	Days from the Time-Table	Present
Sir Alexander Grant	18	21
Prof. Sinclair	18	18
Dr. Giraud	10	8
Prof. Hughlings	18	20
Prof. Bühler	18	21

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The number of students at the Elphinstone College in 1866-67 was 104. There was a jump in student numbers in 1867-68 when the figure went upto 164. The subjects taught, during these years were English, Latin, Sanskrit, Mathematics, History, Logic, Moral Philosophy, Political Economy, Chemistry and Higher Mathematics. In each of these subjects there were '3 or 4 different stages of attainment and a corresponding number of different classes to be taught separately, and as each class had to have at least 3 hours per week, 108 hours of actual lecturing or teaching had to be provided in each week'.[2] To meet this demand the College had four full-time professors, one half-time professor and six Dakshina fellows who were in fact students preparing for the M.A. or LL.B. examinations. Only 6 hours teaching was expected from each of them,

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 26 April, 1866 to 25 Oct., 1860 : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 30 Jan., 1864.

2. M.S.A., E.D., 1868, Vol.1, p.115 : D.P.I. to Secy., Govt. of Bombay, 18 Jan., 1868.

which gave a total of 36 hours. Thus 72 teaching hours had to be divided amongst five professors. Of these the Chemistry Professor, who was actually attached to the Grant Medical College, did only half-time teaching at the Elphinstone College, i.e. 6 hours per week, leaving 66 hours to be divided among 4 professors.[1] Grant, as Director of Public Instruction and former Principal of the Elphinstone College, believed that 12 hours teaching a week was the maximum which could be demanded of any professor. Thus the College had a deficiency of 18 teaching hours a week without making any allowance for sickness or absence of any professor during any time in the year.[2] The situation did not improve with the years. Even in 1884 the College professors were teaching an average of 15 hours a week.[3]

It was, however, not just the number of hours given to teaching which made all the difference to the students at the Elphinstone College, but rather the quality of the teaching. As the Principal pointed out;

> More lectures would not alone suffice. Instruction so imparted, even if adequately appreciated at the time, is apt to evaporate from the student's mind, unless followed up, fixed, condensed, so to speak, by other means. In this point of view viva voce and paper examinations and original essays to be written by each student and bearing more or less on the subject of the lectures are of obvious utility. Special help must occasionally be

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. E.C.R., Vol. of 18 April, 1884 to 21 March, 1885 : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., Annual Report for 1883-84, 20 June, 1884.

afforded to individuals, through many suggestions, correction of errors in essays etc.....

Much collaterally important information for which time cannot be found during the regular lecture hours, is inevitably relegated to voluntary and extra occasions of attendance. 1

The aim of the College professors, whether in 1857 or 1877, was to introduce the College students to habits of independent thought.[2] A process which was not traditionally inculcated at Indian schools. Elphinstone College was unique at the time, as it continues to be even today, in having a tutorial system. The Professor of History wrote in 1877 that he 'favoured exclusively the tutorial system',[3] wherein students were asked to prepare essays on portions of certain prescribed historical works for discussion later in a small class. A concerted attempt to check the habit of learning by rote was made by the Elphinstone professors who required 'every statement or criticism advanced on any occasion to be supported and verified by original reference to the text of the work itself to prevent mere second hand opinions being mouthed'.[4]

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1. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Principal, E.C., Vol. of 5 Feb. to 11 Aug., 1857 : Principal's Report, undated, approx. 1857.

2. 'I have tried in my classes to elicit as much independent effort on the part of the students as I could'.

   R.D.P.I. for 1876-77, p.167 : Extract from the Report of the Prof. of English.

3. E.C.R., Vol. of 26 Jan., 1876, ending with monthly exam. results, July, 1875 : Prof./History to Principal, E.C., 28 April, 1877.

4. Ibid., Professor of English Literature to Principal, E.C. undated.

That the College professors' efforts were valued is evident from the esteem and warm regard in which they were held by their students.[1] The professors in turn did not restrict their activities to the purely academic. Though few of the young men, who came out from England to teach at the Elphinstone College, had much knowledge of India, they did not hold themselves aloof from the social conditions that effected their students. The sympathy and understanding of the professors was in no small measure assisted by their own difficulties and their peripheral position within the rigidly hierarchical Raj structure. Thus the Students Literary and Scientific Society was established at the College on the instigation of Professor Patton in 1848.[2] It was intended by the students and teachers of the institution to be a mutual improvement society which would also aid the spread of knowledge through vernacular lectures and the publication of cheaply priced periodicals in the vernacular languages. In 1848 the Society maintained 16 vernacular schools with 1,132 pupils. More importantly, as a socially concerned association, the Society advocated female education, and it supported 9 vernacular free schools for girls.[3]

In another sphere Professor Müller was active in plague relief; at a time when the disease was causing many

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 29 Nov., 1880, ending with list of 'Stores purchased by E.C.,', April, 1895 (Vol. catalogued under 1890-99 decade) : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 25 Jan., 1896.

2. S.M.Edwardes, The Gazetteer, Vol.III, p.108.

3. Ibid.

deaths and even greater terror Müller 'worked at (fighting) the plague principally in the northern part of the island'.[1] Thereby he established a worthy precedent for his students at the College. The attitudes and actions of these young professors, most of whom were in their twenties when they began their teaching careers,[2] had a considerable influence on the College students. Their impact on the students, who were generally 18 or 19 years of age when they entered College was the greater because of the relatively small age difference between the teacher and taught. Moreover, students of all castes, in seeking through English education to improve their social status and economic prospects, were more vulnerable to the models of behaviour established by their youthful teachers.

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 21 July, 1886 to 1 Nov., 1898 (Vol. catalogued under 1880-89 decade) : Prof. Müller to Secy. to Govt., 25 June, 1898.

2. To cite a few examples, William Wordsworth was 25, J.T.Hathornthwaite 26, Peter Peterson 26 when they joined E.C.

E.C.R., Vol. of 18 Jan., 1878 to 16 Jan., 1875 : Statement of the Establishment of E.C. on 1 April, 1877 ; E.C.R., Vol. of 21 June, 1890 to 17 May, 1897 : Details of the Officers of the E.C. for insertion in the Education Directory of 1890-91, 1 April, 1890.

Chapter VI

The Students , 1855-1890.

Turning to the economic, caste, and geographic background of the Elphinstone College students, the question ought to be asked what changes, if any, had taken place since the 1840s'. In 1850 the Acting Principal of the Elphinstone Institution was in despair at the absence of rich students:

> It has always been a subject of lamentation that the richer classes of natives, show so little desire to avail themselves of the higher education which we offer them, that they are content to see their children acquire a mere smattering of English, and that they do not appreciate any extensive course of study and intellectual training. 1

The Government was determined to have rich students at the College because of its firm belief in their potential for loyal leadership. A scheme was, therefore, devised by the College Principal and professors, and sanctioned by Government, whereby rich students, on paying the College fees, were admitted 'to attend one or more of the courses in language, literature, and the natural sciences.....without the necessity of submitting to the ordeal (of an examination) by which it was alleged they had hitherto been deterred'.[2] The eventual result of the scheme was quite contrary to the Government's expectations. It was not the wealthy who made use of the

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1. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Acting Principal, E.I., Vol. of 4 Jan. to 20 Dec., 1850 : Acting Principal, E.I. to Secy., Board of Education, 7 Feb., 1850.
2. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Principal, E.C., Vol. of 5 Feb. to 11 Aug., 1857 : Report of the Principal, E.C. for the year 1855-56.

relaxed rules for paying students but those young men who had failed to obtain the requisite number of marks at the scholarship examinations. They joined the College as paying students.[1] The Government plan had boomeranged badly; this was because the Government had neither calculated on the depth of the indifference of the wealthy at the time to higher education nor on the deep commitment of the poorer classes to obtain college education at any cost, even that of paying for it.

The majority of the students at the Elphinstone College in 1850s' were described by the Director of Public Instruction, as being too poor to even buy books for study.[2] Indeed, the Director maintained that College education in the Presidency was 'entirely artificial',[3] and was only 'kept up by paying boys to accept it as a kind of Government appointment'.[4] It was not until 1863 that the Government could look on the student intake at the Elphinstone College with a measure of satisfaction. The rich students who began to attend the College were mainly Parsis from wealthy commercial families. The Principal of the College noted:

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1. Ibid.
2. M.S.A., G.D., 1856, Vol.27, p.106 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., G.D., 31 March, 1856.
3. M.S.A., G.D., 1858, Vol.26, p.16 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., G.D., 30 Jan., 1858.
4. Ibid.

> Four years ago not a single rich man's son attended Elphinstone College. Now there is quite an assemblage of respectable, and some handsome carriages at the evening hour of closing. The College used to be made up of poor Brahmins. Now, the tendency is rather to the place being exclusively filled by well-to-do Parsees.[1]

Despite an element of exaggeration in the Principal's report, there is no doubt that there were rich students at the College by 1863-64. This fact is registered in the jump in the fees received by the College. In 1862-63 the College had collected, from the paying students, Rs.980 in fees. In 1863-64, however, the fees received had risen considerably to Rs.1,725.[2] Such a large increase could not, by any means, have been brought about by poor students who had pinched the money together to pay for their education.

Why did the College become acceptable to the rich of Bombay ? After the re-establishment of the Elphinstone College in 1856, it was basically a matter of time before the rich, commercial families realised that it was not wealth alone which could achieve for the 'Native' a position of respectability in European society in Bombay, but that 'the acquisition of the various branches of Knowledge, which generates the ideas and tones of thought prevalent in such circles, is also indispensable'.[3] That the Parsis were loyal subjects of the Crown was never in

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of May 11 to 13 Dec., 1864 : Memo of Principal, E.C., 30 Aug., 1864 in Report of 1863-64.
2. Ibid.
3. M.S.A., G.D., 1847, Vol.21, p.6 : Secy., Board of Education to Chairman, Sub-Committee, E.N.E.I., 14 Nov., 1845.

doubt. They, in fact, were inclined not to lose any opportunity to reaffirm their allegiance to the Raj. After the Mutiny when the Governor-General called for public thanks to be given 'for the restoration of Peace to this Empire. On the 28th ultimo the day was observed in a manner which fully proved how well the Parsees of this side of India appreciated the Government Notification and how appropriate they felt it to be'.[1] Accordingly Sorabjee Jamsetjee composed a special prayer of thanksgiving in Gujerati which was read to a gathering of loyal Parsis at the Bombay Fire-Temple.[2] Similarly the Parsis sought, through active patronage of the Elphinstone College, which was in fact the Presidency College, to align themselves in deed and thought with the British, and in so doing to gain social prestige.

That is not to say that the majority of the College students after 1863 were from a wealthy back-ground. On the contrary, though rich students had begun to study at the College, it was the sons of Government employees and pensioners who were consistently the largest number of students at the College. Tables 10 and 11, which give the parentage of the College students, clearly show that Government employees were more than double the number of merchants, the second largest group of parents. Government employment had been the dominant profession of parents of Elphinstone men in 1851 and 1853, and it continued to be so throughout the nineteenth century. Moreover, merchants

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1. M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 15, No.21 B : Sorabjee Jamsetjee to M.E., 4 Aug., 1859.

2. Ibid.

were the second largest group of parents in 1851 and 1853, and they maintained that position throughout the ensuing decades. This suggests that those professions which, in the earlier part of the century, had turned to English education so as to improve their social and economic positions, tenaciously clung to the Raj. The increasing power of the Government also attracted other adherents. The figures for 1867, 1877 and 1883 indicate that an increasing number of sons of land-owners and persons of property joined the College. These occupational groups had been conspicuously absent in the earlier 1851 and 1853 lists. It was emphasised in 1884, by the Education Commission, that 'the classes which principally avail themselves of Government aided schools and colleges..... are the official, the mercantile, and professional classes'.[1] The Commission, however, failed to note that, in relation to Elphinstone College, an increasingly prestigious institution, the propertied class could no longer remain indifferent to English education. A chain-reaction had been set in motion which gradually gathered together, at the Elphinstone College, the upper and middle levels of Bombay society.[2]

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1. The Education Commission Report, Bombay, Vol.II, Evidence taken before the Bombay Provincial Committee and Memorials addressed to the Education Commission. (Calcutta, 1884) : Evidence of Prof. Wordsworth, Principal, E.C., p.514.

2. However, the parental background of students at the Calcutta Presidency College was much more moneyed. The 1865-66 Report of the College 'shows 109 students (out of 376) as sons of Zemindars, Talookdars, and other persons of independent income'.

   R.D.P.I. for 1866-67, p.32.

Consistent with this trend fewer students at the Elphinstone College after 1863 were from the lowest economic levels of society. Chapter Two has shown that in 1851 and 1853 a fair number of parents were artisans - 6 goldsmiths, 3 carpenters, 2 jewellers etc. and servants (12). The figures from 1867 onwards, however, do not have even one parent listed as an artisan, and only one who as 'cook' comes in the servant category. This suggests that as an increasing number of Indians obtained college education, there was a commensurate rise in the degree of education demanded by potential employers. In other words, there was an upward spiral in education and jobs which left certain poorer groups like the artisans and servants far behind. The Brahmin, on the other hand, though poor, did not suffer a similar fate. This was because the Brahmin traditionally held a unique position in Indian society.

> The upper classes of this country do not exactly correspond with the upper classes of England. The Brahmin are an upper class, so far as they enjoy, for special reasons, the veneration of the people.....But they have not the influence which springs from wealth. They are generally poor, and they undoubtedly possess great intellectual aptitudes.[1]

The Brahmins were the single largest Hindu caste at the Elphinstone College from 1867.[2] They had effectively replaced the Pathare Prabhu who dominated English education in the 1840s'. In fact, the Prabhus had steadily dwindled

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1. Education Commission Report, Bombay. Vol.II, p.514.

2. See Tables 8 and 9.

until in 1890, out of a total number of 218 students, there were only 12 Prabhus to 65 Brahmins. The reduction, however, is somewhat deceptive as far as College attendance is concerned. The earlier figures for 1827 to 1842 [1] and 1840 to 1844 [2] are for the entire Elphinstone Institution, school and college sections taken together. After the separation of the College from the School in 1856, the first available list of students, according to their caste, shows a decline in Prabhus, that is, while there were 49 Brahmins in 1867 only 18 Prabhus joined the College in that year. Clearly the larger number of Prabhus in the earlier but not in the later years indicates that Prabhu interest in education was not very deep and did not extend beyond the High School level. Moreover, the Elphinstone College had acquired by 1867 a scholarly reputation which was likely to prove a deterrent to a caste which had the reputation not for scholarship, as did the Brahmins, but for high living. It was observed that 'among the Hindus of Bombay the Pathare Prabhus have always set the fashion in dress, food and mode of living'.[3] Elphinstone College was not so much for the fashionable as for the scholarly and professionally ambitious.

The Brahmins who formed, in 1901, 4.1 percent [4] of the population of Bombay city, were in close competition with the Parsis, who constituted 6.0 percent of the population, for the largest number of students at the College. The

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1. See Table 1.
2. See Table 2.
3. S.M.Edwardes, The Gazeteer, Vol.1, p.169.
4. Ibid., App. VII, pp. 272-273.

Government had encouraged this situation. It not only wanted rich students at the College, and the majority of the rich at Elphinstone were Parsis, but it also sought out Brahmin students. In 1851 the Government had stated that 'the most promising and influential pupils of the higher classes, and therefore the pupils to whose education the principal efforts of the Board should be directed are the children of indigent Brahmins'.[1] The Brahmins were favoured because of the Government's faith in the social influence 'they exercise and which would render them the most successful propogandists of enlightened views'.[2] There was yet another reason for the favoured treatment of the Brahmins. The education authorities looked to the Brahmins to raise the academic level of the College. In 1884 the Principal expressed his concern that the proportion of failures in the first year of the B.A. course was 'nearly twice as high in this College as in the Deccan College'.[3] The Principal believed that the reason for the poorer performance of the Elphinstone College at the examinations had to be

> looked for in the character and aptitudes of the students themselves. The Brahmanee element in the Deccan College constitutes, I understand, more than ninety per cent of the total, in this College the same element constitutes scarcely 40 per cent..... The Brahman who fill the lecture rooms at Poona have generally more developed intellectual tastes, and much more application.[4]

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1851, Vol.12, p.72 : Governor in Council to Board of Education, 6 Sept., 1851.

2. Ibid., p.74.

3. E.C.R., Vol. of 18 April, 1884 to 21 March, 1885 : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 18 June, 1884 in Annual Report of 1883-84.

4. Ibid.

The heavy Brahmin enrolment at the Deccan College, as well as at the Fergusson College, Poona, was only an extreme case of the general rule, which pertained also to the Elphinstone College. The fact was that the Brahmins constituted never less than 38 per cent, and usually accounted for 40 to 45 per cent of the student body of Government colleges in Bombay Presidency in the latter half of the century. The position at the two missionary colleges in Bombay city, Wilson and St. Xaviers, was not very different. As at the Elphinstone College Brahmins and Parsis dominated the latter two colleges too. Despite Wilson College being a Christian foundation it attracted a large number of poor Brahmins because its fees were lower than those at the Elphinstone College. Wilson charged Rs.6 a month while Elphinstone's fees were Rs.10 a month. [1] In 1882 Wilson College had out of a total of 64 students 34 Brahmins and only 16 Parsis. The ratio was virtually the reverse at St. Xaviers where out of 75 students 37 were Parsis and only 15 were Brahmins. [2] The richer Parsis, from the Proprietary and Fort High Schools, who preferred not to attend a college with such a scholarly reputation as the Elphinstone College, enrolled at St. Xaviers.[3] The poorer student however, was unlikely to chose St. Xaviers as, upto 1887, there were only two scholarships attached to that College. Elphinstone College,

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1. Education Commission Report, Bombay, Vol.I Report of the Bombay Provincial Committee. (Calcutta., 1884), p.142.

2. Ibid., p.136, Table 1.

3. C. Dobbin, Urban Leadership, p.163.

in striking contrast, had altogether forty-five scholarships while Wilson had fifteen.[1] In terms of caste background the Elphinstone College in 1882 had a much more balanced mixture of Brahmins and Parsis than was to be found at the other two Bombay colleges; 59 Brahmins to 47 Parsis out of a total of 181 students. Moreover, unlike Wilson College which had only 6 students from the trading castes (Bania and Bhatia) and St. Xaviers which had 5, the Elphinstone College had 38 Bania and Bhatia students.[2] It appears that a government college like the Elphinstone College offered greater opportunities for economic mobility for the non-Brahmin castes than a missionary college, with few official links with the Government, could hope to do.

Linked, inevitably, to the Government bias towards the higher castes was its indifference to the lower castes. In fact in 1851 the Government went so far as to assert that 'the claims of the lowest castes.....to participate in the blessings of education should be for the present disregarded'.[3] This was done so that the higher castes, fearing caste pollution from the lower castes, would not stay away from the College. It is little wonder that for much of the century the lowest castes of Sonars, Suttars, Mochis and Bangis had a negligible representation of one or two students a year at the Elphinstone College,[4] or for

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1. Education Commission Report, Bombay, Vol.I, p.143.

2. Ibid., p.136. See Table 1.

3. M.S.A., G.D., 1851, Vol.12, p.72 : Governor in Council to Board of Education, 6 Sept., 1851.

4. See Tables 8 and 9.

that matter at any of the higher education institutions in the Presidency. The one other detail in the caste and community figures after 1867 which requires some explanation is the very small number of Muslims at the College. The proportion of Muslims to Brahmins and Parsis in Bombay city for 1872, 1881 and 1901 was as following :

	1872 [1]	1881 [2]	1901 [3]
Muslim	21.36	20.44	20.1
Brahmin	4.0	4.58	4.1
Parsi	6.84	6.29	6.0

Thus Muslims were in large numbers in the city but hardly represented in higher education, be it at the Elphinstone, Wilson or St. Xaviers Colleges. Undoubtedly the general level of education of the Muslims was lower than that of the Brahmins or Parsis. [4] Why ? Few Muslims attended Government or other English schools, as these schools made no provision for teaching any of the Muslim languages, Urdu, Persian or Arabic. This was an important disadvantage :-

> The Muhammadans, and even those among them who do not speak the Urdu language, are so attached to that language that they will not

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1. Census of the City and Island of Bombay, 1881, (Bombay, 1883), p.40.
2. Ibid.
3. S.M.Edwardes, The Gazeteer, Vol.1, App. VII, pp.272-273.
4. R.D.P.I. for 1880-81, App. O, p.X : Remarks by the Education Officer, Central Division, on Mahomedan Schools.

> consent to discard it in favour of any other vernacular. This is so because Urdu, together with Persian and Arabic, forms a group of languages in which the whole of the Muhammadan religious and secular literature exists. 1

Even though the majority of Muslims in Bombay were Khojas, Memons and Bohras, that is by occupation merchants and traders, their allegiance to Muslim traditions and Muslim schools was stronger than the pull of English education.

A classification of Elphinstone College students of 1891 according to their place of residence indicates that, as in the earlier part of the century, the largest single group of students at Elphinstone were from Bombay City, that is 95 out of 245 students.[2] Caste taboos and social prejudices continued to deter the physical mobility of most classes and castes in the mofussil. It was known that 'Bombay (was) a place which all natives who live in the Mofussil dread from the difficulty they have of preserving religious purity'.[3] Parents in the mofussil were also reluctant to send 'their sons just upon their entrance into manhood to Bombay where without friends or relations to protect them, they would be exposed to all the temptations and dangers of a densely crowded Metropolis'.[4] An additional major problem was

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1. Education Commission Report. Bombay. Vol.II, p.57.

2. See Table 13.

3. M.S.A., G.D., 1854, Vol.21, p.81 : Acting Registrar, Sudder Adawlut to Secy. to Govt., G.D., 11 May, 1854.

4. M.S.A., G.D., 1846, Vol.31/1050, p.103 : Annual Report for 1845.

that Bombay was an expensive town, and the expense of boarding arrangements plus the College fees was beyond the capacity of most families in the districts.[1] It is therefore noteworthy that given the mobility of the trading castes and classes, Surat, a commercial town, and the Kathiawar States, home of the Bhatia trading castes,[2] were the only places, apart from Bombay, that gave a sizeable number of students to the Elphinstone College. Forty-two from Surat and twenty-five from Kathiawar. Poona, which was much closer to Bombay than either Surat or Kathiawar, had only five students at the College. This was because not only was Poona a Brahmin town, and Brahmins were notoriously more fastidious about travel and the loss of caste that it would entail, but higher education was well taken care of by the Deccan and Fergusson Colleges in Poona.

For much of the century the education authorities had shown a marked preference for the higher castes and the wealthy influential classes. It was only when higher education had been firmly established, near the close of the century, that the Government gave pause for thought to the less privileged. In 1892 the Director of Public Instruction expressed some concern over the inability of Muslims and lower caste Hindus to continue their education

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 8 April, 1868 to 14 March, 1868 : Majamundar Tohoarai to Principal, E.C., undated, approx. 1868.

2. S.M.Edwards, The Gazeteer, Vol. 1, p.168; J.C.Masselos, Towards Nationalism. Group affiliations and the politics of public associations in nineteenth century, Western India, (Bombay, 1974), p.7.

because they were so poor. Perhaps for the first time a Director of Public Instruction suggested that a greater mixture of students 'would benefit the College in every way, and you cannot continue to ignore the bulk of the community'. [1] To this end, the Director pointed out that the Government had issued new scholarship rules for schools involving the distribution of scholarships according to caste and communal distinctions.[2] The Principal and professors of the College were asked for their advice on a similar scheme being extended to Elphinstone College scholarships. The College staff as a body was entirely opposed to any recognition of caste distinctions. The scholarships at the Elphinstone College had always been open, they maintained, and they reaffirmed their faith in the old system. In fact, the Principal had declared earlier that to offer scholarships according to caste or race 'would be in principle retrograde and in practise pernicious to the College'. [3]

More importantly the Principal asserted that an artificial arrangement of reserved scholarships was unnecessary in the College as the 'various races and castes are represented in a manner which refutes the theory that Brahmins and Parsis secure any undue proportion of endowments'.[4] In corroboration of this assertion the Principal

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 14 March, 1896 to 3 May, 1892 : D.P.I. to Principal, Deccan College, 12 Dec., 1892.

2. Ibid.

3. E.C.R., Vol. of 14 March, 1896 to 3 May, 1892 : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 8 Dec., 1892.

4. E.C.R., Vol. of 14 March, 1896 to 3 May, 1892 : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 14 Jan., 1893.

provided a Table[1] which in fact shows that only the Parsis held a smaller proportion of scholarships in comparison to their numbers at the College. All other groups, already at the College, secured a proportionate share of the scholarships. In fact, the Muslims and Prabhus secured more than their proportionate share of scholarships. The figures in the Table however, show that the real problem was left untouched; the lowest castes were entirely excluded from the College. Their general education was so deprived that they could not hope to secure entry into higher education. It was only when reserved seats and reserved scholarships were introduced that there was some chance of the lowest castes obtaining collegiate education.

In the College's early years, however, the Principal and D.P.I.'s concern was not so much with the even distribution of scholarships among the various castes and communities, but rather through scholarships to get as many students as possible to enrol at the College. Given the general lack of interest in higher education, from 1835 well into the 1850s', the College hoped to survive by providing monetary incentives. That is, by paying handsomely any young man who was prepared to sit the simple scholarships examination and stay the course. The situation was as desperate as that. The Secretary of the Board of Education spelt it out thus;

> The various scholarships shall be hereafter considered exclusively as endowments to enable students of mature age to prosecute

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1. See Table 14.

> their studies, and not as rewards for precocious and advanced scholarship. 1

The Elphinstone College, from the outset, had three categories of students; the stipendary scholars, the free students and the paying students. In 1850 when the college and school divisions were units of one institution, the Elphinstone Institution, the highest class of the school division consisted exclusively of students preparing for the College Scholarships Examination. The examination was not at all as tough or grand as it sounded. Those students who achieved 60 percent and upwards at the examination qualified for a stipendary scholarship; and those who secured only 40 percent and upwards were eligible for a Free Studentship.[2] All students who held a scholarship or studentship were required to appear at the annual scholarships examination. What was extraordinary about the system was that, once obtained, the continuation of a scholarship or studentship depended not so much on the percentage of marks secured at the annual examination but rather on the extent to which the student had attempted to answer the questions. Thus, in order to secure a higher grade of a scholarship, a candidate was required to have answered not less than 60 percent of the questions. Answering less than 40 percent entitled the scholar to join the next higher class in the College division but with a scholarship of the grade immediately below. Finally, if a student

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1847, Vol.21, p.16 : Secy., Board of Education to Chairman, Sub-Committee, E.N.E.I., 14 Nov., 1845.

2. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Acting Principal, E.I., Vol. of 4 Jan. to 20 Dec., 1850 : Acting Principal, E.I. to Secy., Board of Education, 11 June, 1850.

answered less than 40 percent but more than 20 percent of the questions he was allowed to repeat the year's course as a free student and to recompete for the higher scholarship at the ensuing examination. [1]

In 1856-57 the College had 39 students of whom 7 were stipendary scholars, 18 free students and 14 paying students.[2] A stipendary scholar received a monthly allowance, varying between Rs.10 to Rs.30 a month depending on the scholarship, as well as exemption from the College Fees. A free student was only exempt from the College Fees. Most of the oldest scholarships at the College were derived from various subscription funds raised to honour departing government notables. The West Scholarships Fund, subscribed in 1828 in honour of the Chief Justice Sir Edward West, gave scholarships of a monthly value of Rs.15 each ; the Clare Scholarships Fund, established in 1835 to honour the Earl Clare, Governor of Bombay, gave grants of a monthly value of Rs.10 each.[3] In addition there were the First Class Normal Scholarships for a monthly value of Rs.30 and the Second Class Normal Scholarships of a monthly value of Rs.20. [4]

Few demands were made on the early scholars. For a brief period, during the College's early years, a scholar

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1. Ibid.

2. E.C.R., Vol. of 5 Aug., 1858 ending with badly damaged pages, last discernible date 4 May, 1858 : Principal's Report for 1856-57.

3. E.C.R., Vol. of 11 June to 11 Nov., 1856 : D.P.I. to Secy., Board of Education, 18 March, 1856.

4. Ibid.

was required to refund the amount received if he dropped out before the scholarship had expired. But the practice was quickly discontinued.[1] It is little wonder that eventually there was dissatisfaction among the professors at the Elphinstone College with such an open-handed scholarships policy. In being so eager to gain students who, it was hoped, would become teachers or writers in Government services, the Board of Education had virtually choked off student initiative. The Principal complained that scholarships at the College were regarded as 'almost a provision for life; or at least till the student could suit himself to his mind in the world'.[2] Given the easy terms of a scholarship, the scholars were reluctant to take a job which did not fit their 'general fastidiousness'.[3] Thus the Principal noted:

> Three months ago an appointment as head writer at Rupees 50 per mensem to the Sub-Collector at Nassick was hawked through the whole of the College without finding one among the 50 students who would accept it. The fact being that the Scholars are much more pleasantly provided for than they would be in the world - and also probably feel themselves safer.[4]

Another evil, according to the professors, of the scholarships system prevalent at the time was that the students

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1. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Principal, E.C., Vol. of 5 Feb. to 11 Aug., 1857 : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 11 July, 1857.

2. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Acting Principal, E.I., Vol. of 4 Jan. to 20 Dec., 1850 : Acting Principal, E.I. to Secy., Board of Education, 11 June, 1850.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

were under no pressure to improve themselves in their studies. Accordingly 'the number of idlers in each class'[1] grew. Clearly the College and the Government were at cross purposes. The professors wanted to raise academic standards at the College, while the Government looked to the institution to produce junior administrators for the Raj.

It was only in 1862-63 that a tighter control was extended over scholarship holders and a higher standard was enforced at the scholarship examinations. As the education structure became more centralised, scholarship rules were binding on all Government colleges and so were less haphazard. Above all, the increasing competition for Government and other jobs made college education that much more valuable. A scholarship ceased to be a sinecure and became a recognition of ability, though not as yet of scholarship. This was particularly the case with the newer scholarships. In addition to the various old, subscription-founded scholarships there were now also Junior and Senior and University scholarships. Candidates for the Junior scholarships had to pass two sets of examinations, the Previous examination and the Subsequent or Scholarship examination.[2] Only those boys who passed the former could appear for the latter which was held in several subjects, English, a Vernacular language, Arithmetic,

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1. Ibid.

2. See Appendix A.

Algebra and Euclid and specified, special subjects.[1] The successful candidates were arranged in three classes; the First Class were admitted as scholars, the Second class as free students, and the Third Class (if they wished) as paying students. Elphinstone College was allocated by the Government 10 Junior scholarships, each of Rs.10 per month and exemption from the College fees of Rs.60 per term, plus 10 free studentships, i.e. exemption of the College fees only.[2] Elphinstone College had the largest number of scholarships. The Poona College, in contrast, had 8 Junior scholarships of Rs.5 per month and 8 free studentships.[3]

Finally, there were the Senior Scholarships which were open to any student who had passed the First Examination in Arts and had been specially recommended by his College Professors. The Senior Scholarships were awarded for excellence in specific subjects which were distributed between the Elphinstone College and the Poona College. Elphinstone was given two First Class scholarships in Languages of Rs.25 a month, and three Second Class of Rs.20 a month; in Mathematics two First Class and one Second Class; and in Natural Science one First Class and one Second Class scholarship.[4] All these scholarships were tenable for only one year at a time. In 1877 out of 155 students

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 22 May, 1863 to 29 June, 1861 : Scholarships Notification to the Government Colleges, (?) April, 1862.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

at the Elphinstone College 45 were stipendary scholars, 8 free students, 9 university exhibitioners or scholars, plus 65 Bombay students paying the full College fees and 38 mofussil students paying half fees. [1]

1. E.C.R., Vol. of 26 Jan., 1876, ending with monthly exam. results, July, 1875 : Statement of fees collected from students attending E. C. from 1 May, 1877 to 30 Oct., 1877.

Chapter VII

Academic Standards, Examinations and Careers of Students.

As scholastic brilliance was not demanded from the scholars, and even less from the paying students, what in fact was the academic calibre of Elphinstone students during the nineteenth century ? At the outset the main problem that every college professor faced was to bring inadequately schooled boys upto the collegiate standard. In 1867 Sir Alexander Grant pointed out that 'The University is depressed because the High Schools are not better'.[1] He ought to have added that the High Schools were hard pressed as there were too few in number for the population of the Presidency. In 1869-70 there were only eight Government supported High Schools and ten ancillary schools or feeders in the Presidency.[2] A boy intended for higher education

> goes, after passing through a course of study in his Vernacular, to one of the English-teaching Schools which feed a High School. If the teaching staff of that school does not comprise a single Master possessed of any real scholarship or culture, how can the boy begin his training for College there ? [3]

In the context of the complaints of the Elphinstone professors, it ought to be noted that the majority of the students at the College came from Government High Schools. This therefore suggests that the faulty habits established at the pupil's first English-speaking school were difficult

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1. R.D.P.I. for 1867-68, p.74.
2. R.D.P.I. for 1869-70, p.87.
3. Ibid.

to eradicate at the High School level. A list of candidates for the Junior Scholarship Examination at the Elphinstone College in 1857 shows that out of 21 candidates 15 had come from the Elphinstone Institution School, 2 from the Ahmedabad Government English School, 1 from the Sattara Government English School, 1 from the Government School of Vingurla and 2 from unspecified private schools.[1]

The professors at the Elphinstone College, the majority of whom were Oxford and Cambridge men, perhaps expected a much higher standard from the college entrants than was attainable at the time. The professors complained of having to do 'school-master work'[2] because they found their students 'deficient in the knowledge and the mental training'[3] that college students ought to have. The students deficiencies were listed by the Principal in 1857 as, 'Faulty spelling, ungrammatical sentences, an almost total absence of literary taste, signally inaccurate habits of thought'.[4] Some professors, however, were aware that the lack of depth and thoroughness in their students was not due to a basic failing but because of bad training. The Professor of Mathematics, for instance, described his

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1. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Principal, E.C., Vol. of 5 Feb. to 11 Aug., 1857 : List of candidates for the Entrance Exam. for Junior Scholarships, E.C., 1857.

2. Ibid., Principal's Report, undated, approx. 1857.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

First Year students as 'very expert arithmeticians'.[1] Yet they had no knowledge of the Theory of Numbers nor of 'the power of the Indian Notation'.[2] Moreover, though the students were expected, on entering College, to have a knowledge of the first six books of the Elements of Euclid 'Many were unable to prove correctly even the simplest propositions of the first book'.[3]

The students of the Elphinstone College during the 1850s' were not just deficient in a knowledge of the European subjects, they were also 'very deficient'[4] in a knowledge of Indian History and their own vernacular languages. In fact the study of Indian History 'was at first very distasteful to the Parsi portion of the class'.[5] The Parsi students were also disinclined to study their own vernacular language, Gujerati. At the University Matriculation examination of October, 1859 all the Parsi students failed the Gujerati examination.[6] The Hindu Gujarati and Marathi speaking students also revealed an imperfect knowledge of their vernacular languages.

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1. E.C.R., Correspondence of the D.P.I., Vol. of 2 Jan. to 4 Dec., 1856 : Prof. Sinclair to Principal, E.I., 5 Jan., 1856.

2. Ibid.

3. E.C.R., Vol. of 5 Aug., 1858, ending with badly damaged pages, last discernible date 4 May, 1856 : Report of the Prof. of Maths and Natural Philosophy, 18 July, 1857.

4. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Acting Principal and Principal, E.I., Vol. of 2 Jan. to 10 Dec., 1851 : Report of Prof. Reid, Acting Prof. of History, undated.

5. Ibid.

6. M.S.A., E.D., 1859, Vol.20 : D.P.I. to Principal, E.C., 3 Nov., 1859.

The D.P.I. went so far as to assert that 'College students despise their own language'.[1] The education authorities, the D.P.I. included, were not entirely blameless for this state of affairs. From 1835 to 1859 Elphinstone students had not had the advantage of a Professor or even a tutor in Gujerati or Marathi. It was only in late 1859 that two Dakshina Fellows were appointed in each language.[2] Since neither Indian history nor the vernacular languages were valued by the education officers it is little wonder that the students paid scant attention to these subjects.

The other most frequent complaint of the Elphinstone College professors was of their students' tendency to plagiarise, to reproduce ideas rather than think for themselves.[3] This failing was not unique to Elphinstone students or to the 1850s' ; it was widespread among most students throughout the century. As the Governor of Bombay noted in 1878;

> Our University students are but too often addicted to rhetorical phraseology, not exactly applicable to the subject in hand, and without a sufficient basis of thought. This mental habit of theirs is unfavourable to original or independent thinking, and induces them to borrow ideas from others instead of forming their own ideas. [4]

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1. M.S.A., E.D., 1859, Vol.20, p.173 : D.P.I. to Principal, E.C., 3 Nov., 1859.

2. Ibid., pp. 172-173.

3. E.C.R., Correspondence of the D.P.I., Vol. of 2 Jan. to 4 Dec., 1856 : D.P.I. to Principal, E.I., 15 April, 1856 ; E.C.R., Vol. of 5 Aug., 1858 ending with badly damaged pages, last discernible date 4 May, 1858 : E.C.Principal's Report for 1856-57.

4. M.S.A., E.D., 1878, Vol.4 : Address to the University of Bombay by the Governor, Sir Richard Temple, 2 Feb., 1878.

Though learning by rote was part of the education tradition of India, there was also a more immediate cause for this tendency to reproduce rather than think out ideas. 'An insufficient command of English and an insufficient appreciation of the value of the words'[1] used was a major impediment to understanding the subjects taught at schools and at college. As college lectures were difficult to follow the students relied increasingly on their memory. The English language thus became an obstruction rather than a means to knowledge. Professors Lyon and Kirkham, at the Elphinstone College, held that the students in 1876 were 'less quick in understanding spoken English than was formerly the case'.[2] This implies that as student numbers at the schools increased, their standards fell. There was also a commensurate increase in each college professor's work load. Less individual attention could be given, leading in some cases to the anomaly of 'men well up in their books but unable to give expression to what they know without committing idiomatic improprieties often.....gross'.[3]

An assessment of the academic standards of the Elphinstone College students has to take into account the

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1. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Acting Principal and Principal, E.I., Vol. of 2 Jan. to 10 Dec., 1851 : Report by the Acting Principal on the classes in Political Economy and Logic, undated.

2. E.C.R., Vol. of 26 Jan., 1876, ending with monthly exam. results, July, 1875 (badly damaged Vol.) : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 28 Jan., 1876.

3. Ibid., Prof. of English Literature to Principal, E.C. in Report of 1876.

mechanical difficulties that college education had to contend with in the nineteenth century. Not only were many of the students 'too poor to buy books'[1] but the Government's tight control on expenditure denied the College for many years of a 'good College Library'[2] which would have been of great help to the poor students. Financial stringency also limited the number of professors at the College. The professors were therefore overworked, and despite their real ability and best intentions the desired individual attention could not always be given to the students.[3] In 1876 an Elphinstone College professor enthused over the unique experience of

> teaching a class of 11 students (the new Voluntary Class) in place of my usual large classes from 50 to 100 students or more . The greater intimacy which I have been able to enjoy with the members of the small class, and the insight which I have been able to gain into their individual peculiarities have made me feel what a loss, from an educational point of view, our large and unwieldy classes are. [4]

It was difficult enough to teach large classes but the problem was aggravated by the different levels of intellectual attainment within each class. As a result the

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1856, Vol.27, p.106 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., G.D., 31 March, 1856; M.S.A., G.D., 1838, Vol.17/444 : B.G.Shastri to Secy. to E.C.Council, 20 Aug., 1838.

2. M.S.A., G.D., 1856, Vol.27, p.117 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., G.D., 31 March, 1856.

3. E.C.R., Correspondence of the D.P.I., Vol. of 2 Jan. to 4 Dec., 1856 : D.P.I. to Principal, E.I., 15 April, 1856.

4. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Principal, E.C., Vol. of 15 April, 187 - (torn) to 24 Jan., 1876 : Unsigned, undated Memo., approx. 1876.

'talented and industrious lads (were) retarded',[1] by those less proficient and able. There were two causes for the wide academic disparities within a class at the College. The earlier cause arose from the education authorities having avidly sought out rich students for the College. In 1850 the Board of Education decided to permit students willing to pay for their education to attend the Elphinstone College without the necessity of submitting to any examinations.[2] It was not only rich students who took advantage of these relaxed rules. Students who failed at the scholarships examinations were allowed to enrol as paying students.[3] Thus a class at the College was composed of students who had passed according to the scholarship standard, of others who had failed to do so and of some who had not been examined at all.[4]

The other cause of the unequal standards within a class was placed squarely, by professors and Government alike, on the Matriculation Examination. It was argued that the Examination did not differentiate between the serious degree-seeker and the casual student. The Governor

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1. E.C.R., Correspondence of the D.P.I., Vol. of 2 Jan. to 4 Dec., 1856 : Report of Prof. Sinclair to Principal, E.I., 5 Jan., 1856.

2. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Principal, E.C., Vol. of 5 Feb. to 11 Aug., 1857 : E. C. Principal's Report for 1855-56.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

was critical of the fact that while 1,200 High School students appeared yearly for the Matriculation Examination, and 300 passed on average, only a few of the 300 studied for a degree. [1] The reason for this was not far to seek. As a B.A. degree took 3 years to achieve, and as government jobs at the higher levels were the preserve of the Europeans a student found one or two years at a College adequate for his necessarily limited ambitions. Some of the professors also contended that the Matriculation Examination had too low a standard, so that an 'annually increasing throng of incapable youth claim admission to our walls in virtue of having just escaped failure in the Matriculation'.[2] The only remedy for this situation, according to the Professor of Mathematics in 1884 and the Acting Principal in 1890, was the introduction of a college entrance examination.[3] The idea, however, was never implemented.

The negative view of some of the education officers ought perhaps to be treated with caution. Those who looked too darkly at their students' academic performance were inclined to make unfavourable comparisons between Indian students and those at English universities. The D.P.I. in 1859 described the students at the Elphinstone

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1. M.S.A., E.D., 1878, Vol.4 : Address to the University of Bombay by the Governor, Sir Richard Temple, 2 Feb., 1878.

2. E.C.R., Vol. of 18 April, 1884 to 21 March, 1885 : The Prof. of Maths. to the Principal, E.C., 17 April, 1884.

3. Ibid. ; E.C.R., Vol. of 25 March, 1897 to 14 June, 1892 : Acting Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 1 Feb., 1890.

College as 'unfurnished with the amount of Scholarship that young men are expected to bring with them to Oxford and Cambridge'.[1] It was hardly to be expected that the Indian student would have as thorough a knowledge of the English language or as wide a reading of the English classics as an English student. Both the language and the culture were of recent introduction in India. As a Dakshina Fellow at the Elphinstone College pointed out, 'to expect students who have yet to acquire a thorough knowledge of the English language and English History to master the Historical and Literary'[2] traditions of Europe was 'unjust'[3] to say the least. However, not every professor at the College made such unfavourable comparisons. Indeed some professors held that the best in India was more than equal to the best in England:

> With reference to the Students of Elphinstone College.....I need only repeat what has frequently been said by well qualified judges .....that it would be difficult to find in European Institutions more intelligence, or greater zeal and ardour in the prosecution of their studies than some of these young men display. [4]

Indeed Professor Orlebar, one of the first Elphinstone Professors, made an even greater claim for an Elphinstone College student, Waman Rao, whose knowledge, he said,

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1859, Vol.7, p.126 : Memo of the D.P.I., 20 Aug., 1859.

2. E.C.R., Vol. of 18 April, 1884 to 21 March, 1885 : M.V. Gokhale, Sr. Dakshina Fellow, E.C. to the Principal, E.C., 1 April, 1884.

3. Ibid.

4. M.S.A., G.D., 1840, Vol. 13/530, p.50 : Headmaster, B.N.E.S. English School to Secy., E.C., 28 Jan., 1840.

extended 'much beyond what has been attained by any Mathematical First Class man at Oxford'.[1]

It was not merely in the earlier part of the century that there were professors, at the College, who took a positive view of their students' academic ability. In 1876, while the Professor of English Literature recognised that his students' mastery of the English language was inadequate he praised them for showing 'much industry and intelligence in their private preparations for lectures'.[2] So great was their eagerness to learn and they were so enthusiastic about class exercises that the Professor found 'the work of lecturing has consequently been very pleasant'.[3] Confidence in the Elphinstone College students was not necessarily the result of arbitrary and personal assessment. In 1866 when 8 students out of 15 failed at the B.A. examination, the Principal was not unduly alarmed. This was because he was aware that the Bombay University standards were 'more than the ordinary pass standards of English Universities, and approach more nearly to the higher or class standards'.[4]

In terms of actual examination results, the Elphinstone College fared better than the other colleges in the Presidency.[5] The total number of students who

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1. Ibid.

2. E.C.R., Vol. of 26 Jan., 1876, ending with monthly exam. results, July, 1875 (badly damaged Vol.) : Prof. of Eng. Lit. to Principal, E.C., undated Report for 1876.

3. Ibid.

4. R.D.P.I. for 1866-67, App. B, p.2 : Report of the Principal, E.C., undated.

5. See Table 15.

passed the Previous Examination[1], in 1891, was less than a quarter of those who appeared for the examination, but for Elphinstone the number who passed was more than a quarter. At the final B.A. examination, in the same year, the total number of students who passed was less than half, while at Elphinstone it was more than half.[2] A more detailed breakdown of examination results in relation to each individual college shows that a decade earlier, in 1880, the Elphinstone College had a clear lead over the other colleges.[3] At the B.A. examination of 1880 while 40 percent of the Elphinstone students passed the examination, only 33 percent passed from St. Xaviers College, 27 percent from the Deccan College and just 25 percent from the Wilson College.[4] At the Previous Examination, however, St. Xaviers did better than the Elphinstone College.[5] This was perhaps because the Christian and rich Parsi students had a better grounding in English and so were more successful at the first university examination. This advantage was evened out by the Elphinstone students at the B.A. examination after three years of college education. This suggests that despite

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1. The first university examination after Matriculation.
2. E.C.R., Vol. of 14 March, 1896 to 3 May, 1892 : Results of the University Examinations, 1891.
3. See Table 16.
4. R.D.P.I. for 1880-81, p.23.
5. Ibid.

the anxieties of the concerned authorities, the quality of education at the Elphinstone College was such as to be able to counter the disadvantages of a poor schooling. In contrast,the Wilson College trailed behind the other colleges despite having as old a history as the Elphinstone College, and despite it being until 1880 a much smaller college which ought to have made for better teaching and better results.

The examination results for the Elphinstone College have to be seen in the context of the large number of students, at the College, taught by too small a teaching staff. Neither of the missionary colleges, St. Xaviers or Wilson, suffered from such a dearth of teachers. As early as 1864 Sir Alexander Grant had observed that student numbers at the Elphinstone College should not be allowed to exceed 150. According to him this would ensure not only efficiency within the College but would also confer 'distinction to an undergraduate to be admitted to the College'.[1] He asserted that the College 'ought to have the pick of the Matriculated students'.[2] Despite these assertions the student numbers steadily increased at the Elphinstone College, from 56 in 1860-61 to 82 in 1863-64.[3] The numbers, however, were kept relatively low until the 1870s'. This was because of the backward condition of the High Schools, as well as the great demand for young

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1. R.D.P.I. for 1878-79, p.24.
2. Ibid.
3. R.D.P.I. for 1863-64, p.28.

men of any education to fill a variety of situations.[1]

By 1877 the Principal of the College was seriously concerned by the jump in student numbers, as he feared that the imbalance of numbers between students and professors would lower academic standards at the College.[2] In 1877-78 there were 166 students, in 1878-79 the figure rose to 188 [3], and by 1898-99 the average daily attendance at the College was 262.[4] The last decades of the nineteenth century were a boom period for higher education with large numbers of students at all the city Colleges,[5] but at Elphinstone, the Government college, the difficulties were perceived to be the greatest perhaps because of the high standards of the Professors at the College. The Professors at the Elphinstone College complained of the difficulty of making 'any impression on a class of nearly 80 freshmen',[6] who had no previous acquaintance of many of the subjects taught at the College. It is ironic that the Elphinstone College which had almost closed down because of the small student intake at its inception, was by the 1870s'

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1. Ibid.

2. R.D.P.I. for 1878-79, p.23.

3. Ibid.

4. E.C.R., Vol. of 25 March, 1897 to 14 June, 1892 : Number of students and attendance for 1898.

5. In 1870-71 Wilson College had 18 and St. Xaviers 13 students. By 1890-91 Wilson had 223 and St. Xaviers 202 students.

   S.M.Edwardes, The Gazeteer, Vol. III, p.134.

6. R.D.P.I. for 1878-79, p.23.

struggling to close its doors against the flood of students. The pressure on the College was the result of increasing competition among the Indians for jobs and hence for better education.

Student numbers and examination results are not the only indication of the value given to higher education by those receiving such an education. The variations in the attendance figures show more directly the importance given to college education by the students. Interestingly enough attendance was never a problem at the College. Even though student numbers were exceedingly small in the beginning, those who enrolled as students were exceptionally regular. Absenteeism was a 'circumstance so unusual in the College classes'[1] that in April, 1856 when attendance suddenly dropped off, the Principal had no trouble in finding the cause, which was the widespread 'prevalence of fever'.[2] A comparison of the average daily attendance with the average monthly number on the rolls confirms that attendance remained high even after 1856.[3] Of course with the establishment of the University, attendance for a prescribed number of days became essential for keeping Terms. The College roll call was taken every day at 1 p.m.[4], and the Principal had it in his power to prevent a habitual absentee from appearing for a University

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1. E.C.R., Correspondence of the D.P.I., Vol. of 2 Jan. to 4 Dec., 1856 : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 16 April, 1856.
2. Ibid.
3. See Table 17.
4. E.C.R., Vol. of 25 March, 1897, to 14 June, 1892 : E.C. Principal's Notice, 7 Jan., 1896.

examination.[1]

As with attendance so too with general discipline in the College the Elphinstone professors had little to complain about. Indian students as a rule, not just those at the Elphinstone College, tended to be docile. Indeed, the Principal observed that 'the propriety, good behaviour and discipline of the students of the Elphinstone College have for years'[2] given 'the most entire satisfaction'.[3] Breaches of discipline when they did occur were usually of an innocuous nature as for 'inattention', 'imperfect preparation', and 'negligent work'.[4] For such cases of misconduct the punishment was a fine of two to eight annas.[5] More serious cases such as cheating were rare. When they occurred a heavier fine was imposed.[6] Thus it was possible for the Principal to assert in 1899, that the young men who 'pass through Elphinstone College emerge from it with an improved moral tone and with more gentlemanly personal habits and more polished deportment'.[7] In fact, the credit was due as much to the students as to their professors.

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 10 Aug., 1897 to 17 Dec., 1884, (Vol. catalogued under 1880-89 decade) : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 10 Oct., 1891.

2. E.C.R., Vol. of 15 Nov., 1888 to 31 March, 1887 : Principal, E.C. to (indecipherable), 10 March, 1888.

3. Ibid.

4. E.C.R., Vol. beginning with Vernacular Schools' Accounts of 30 June, 1858 and ending on 22 Sept., 1903 (Vol. catalogued under 1860-69 decade) : Statement of Fines imposed during the month of Sept., 1864.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. E.C.R., Vol. of 25 March, 1897 to 14 June, 1892 : E.C. Principal's Report for 1898-99.

For all the effort put in by the Elphinstone students and professors the educational experience was not an easy one for either group. Not only were the students poor and the professors badly paid but for much of the nineteenth century the Elphinstone College did not even have a home. The College had a peripatetic existence; it was moved from one set of inadequate, rented accommodation to another. It was only in 1888 that the College was finally installed in the building it occupies today. At the beginning, Sir John Malcolm, the Governor of Bombay and Mountstuart Elphinstone's friend, and successor, had generously designated 'accommodation in the Town Hall adjoining the Rooms of the Literary Society',[1] for the use of the Elphinstone Professors. The two rooms in the Town Hall, facing the harbour, were to be given free of charge so as to 'cause no expense to the Institution'.[2] They were placed at the disposal of the Elphinstone College Council in January, 1835 just prior to the arrival in Bombay of the first Elphinstone Professors, Harkness and Orlebar.[3] These rooms were more than sufficient for the Professors' purposes as there were hardly any students who attended. It was only when the Elphinstone College and the B.N.E.S. School were united in April, 1840, that the College Department's classes were moved to 'certain rooms

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1. M.S.A., G.D., 1830, Vol. 6/203 : Minute by Sir John Malcolm, 19 Oct., 1830.

2. Ibid.

3. M.S.A., G.D., 1835, Vol.6/321, p.129 : Secy., E.C. Council to Secy. to Govt., 23 Jan., 1835.

in the Society's building on the verge of the esplanade'.[1] By 1845 there were 46 pupils in the English Department of the Elphinstone Institution and 113 in the Vernacular.[2] Conditions were somewhat cramped but strict financial controls prevented the acquirement of better accomodation.[3]

It was finally in January, 1856 that the rapid expansion of the vernacular or school section of the Institution forced the collegiate classes to move into larger but by no means better accomodation. The Principal leased a house for two years near the Baboola Tank, in the neighbourhood of the Grant Medical College,[4] on a monthly rent of Rs.100.[5] The three-storeyed house covered an area 65 feet by 49 feet.[6] As the D.P.I. and Principal did not anticipate more than twenty fee paying students and an average of sixty scholars and free students for several years to come, the house afforded adequate space.[7] The Baboola Tank house was at a considerable distance from the school section of the Elphinstone Institution. This

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1. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Principal, E.C., Vol. of 5 Feb. to 11 Aug., 1857 : E.C.Principal's Report for 1855-56.

2. M.S.A., G.D., 1847, Vol.25, p.2 : Secy., Board of Education to Secy. to Govt., G.D., 20 Aug., 1846.

3. Ibid.

4. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Principal, E.C., Vol. of 5 Feb. to 11 Aug., 1857 : E.C.Principal's Report for 1855-56.

5. E.C.R., Vol. of 11 June to 11 Nov., 1856 : Principal, E.I. to D.P.I. 19 June, 1856.

6. M.S.A., G.D., 1856, Vol.22, p.2 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., G.D., 10 June, 1856.

7. M.S.A., G.D., 1858, Vol.26, p.4 : D.P.I.'s Report, undated, approx. Dec., 1857.

physical distance between the two sections of the Institution led, in the same year, to the actual separation of the college division from the school section and the re-emergence of the Elphinstone College as an entity in its own right.

The re-establishment of the College did not bring about a change in its chronic housing difficulties as they were caused by stringent Government of India control on the money supply to the College. The D.P.I. was only too aware that the Baboola Tank house was 'unworthy of the metropolitan seat of university education'.[1] As early as 1847, the Governor of Bombay, Sir George Clerk had proposed the erection of a new building for the Elphinstone Institution, as it then was. The Court of Directors had strongly objected to the idea and the scheme was dropped.[2] The Government's economy drive increased so greatly in the ensuing years that the Government even objected to the College's Baboola Tank house on the grounds that the rent, at Rs.100 a month, was too high.[3] The market rate for suitable accommodation can be gauged by the fact that the Principal failed to find 'even a moderately suitable house at a rent less than twice that which is now paid for the College building.'.[4]

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1. Ibid.

2. M.S.A., G.D., 1856, Vol.22, p.15 : Resolution of the Governor in Council, 6 Feb., 1856.

3. M.S.A., G.D., 1858, Vol.26, p.10 : Resolution of the Governor in Council, 15 Jan., 1858.

4. M.S.A., G.D., 1858, Vol.26, p.15 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., 30 Jan., 1858.

The College requirements were based not only on the number of students at the College but also on the number of different subjects taught and the different levels of classes. In addition, the College required a room for a Library, a Common Room for the professors, and a theatre for experimental lectures.[1] The Government did not fulfil the accommodation requirements of the College for a considerable period of time. In fact, the Government determinedly asserted its control by declaring that the lease for the house could not be renewed in the future without the prior agreement of the Government,[2] and by refusing permission for the erection of a new building.[3]

Matters, however, came to a head in 1861 when the landlord of the Baboola Tank house warned of an increase in rent to Rs.200 a month from March, 1862. The College authorities were forced to make a decision. The house had serious defects; 'its dilapidated and almost dangerous condition'[4] and 'the disreputable character of the neighbourhood',[5] but its greatest defect was that it could not accommodate more students.[6] The College at this time

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1. Ibid.

2. M.S.A., G.D., 1858, Vol.26, p.25 : D.P.I. to Secy., to Govt., G.D., 23 Feb., 1858.

3. E.C.R., Vol. of 5 Aug., 1858, ending with badly damaged pages, last discernible date, 4 May, 1858 : Secy. to Govt. to D.P.I., 19 Jan., 1858.

4. E.C.R., Vol. of 22 May, 1863 to 29 June, 1861 : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 10 Sept., 1861.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

was trying hard to attract more paying students as a means to increasing its income and balancing its books.[1] The financial advantage of moving to a larger bungalow ultimately decided the issue, and the College moved to Tankerville in March, 1862.[2] Though the rent was higher, at Rs.350 a month, the College authorities hoped to enrol more paying students to offset the rent increase.[3]

The College found itself in trouble when its expectations regarding the paying students were not realised. The higher rent had to be paid, but how was the additional cost to be met ? The Bombay Shetias came to the rescue, proving once again that they were only too willing to finance Government institutions, like the Elphinstone College, even if they did not actively patronise its education facilities. The financial assistance was timely as the rent for Tankerville was already three months in arrears. The four Shetias, Cowasji Jehangir, Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Jagannath Shankarset and Mangaldas Nathubhoy each subscribed Rs.25 a month towards the rent of Tankerville.[4] Another Rs.150 a month was to be obtained from the two Professors, Sir Alexander Grant and Professor

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 23 Feb., 1864 to 28 Jan., 1862 : D.P.I. to Acting Secy. to Govt., E.D., 10 Jan., 1862.

2. M.S.A., E.D., 1863, Vol.2 : Secy., Govt. of Bombay to Secy., G.O.I., 12 Feb., 1863.

3. M.S.A., E.D., 1862, Vol.1, p.240 : Acting D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., E.D., 19 June, 1862.

4. M.S.A., E.D., 1862, Vol.1, p.345 : Secy. to Govt., E.D., to Cowasji Jehangir, 3 Dec., 1862.

Hughlings, in rent for residential accommodation at Tankerville. The D.P.I. acknowledged that the rent from the professors was 'large considering the accommodation'[1] provided was less than satisfactory, but as the Government absolutely refused to increase its grant, 'a certain amount of sacrifice'[2] was demanded from the professors.

In an attempt to resolve the accommodation problem of the College the D.P.I. made a radical suggestion, that is to move the Elphinstone College out of the island of Bombay to a 'cheap and healthy situation'[3] in the country. Comparing the advantage Oxford and Cambridge had over London University in not being situated in a large metropolis, the D.P.I. suggested that the benefits would be even greater for the Elphinstone College to be outside Bombay city. He believed that 'College students should not be exposed to being mixed up with or distracted by political excitements',[4] and outside Bombay such dangers would be reduced. Public opinion, however, was not sympathetic to such a drastic change and the D.P.I. had no alternative but to try and resolve the College's accommodation. problem in Bombay itself.

The refusal of the owner of Tankerville to extend the College's lease beyond March, 1864 was turned to good

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 23 Feb., 1864 to 28 Jan., 1862 : D.P.I. to Acting Secy. to Govt., E.D., 10 Jan., 1862.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

purpose by the D.P.I. He appealed to the owner's son for an extension and obtained not a new lease but the offer of a new building.[1] The owner's son was none other than the Bombay Shetia, Cowasji Jehangir Readymoney, better known as simply Cowasji Jehangir. He donated a lakh of rupees (£ 10,000) in February, 1863 towards the construction of a building for the Elphinstone College. He stipulated the following conditions: that no other private individual was to be invited to subscribe, that the building was to commemorate Cowasji Jehangir's name and that the Government was to donate an equivalent sum of money.[2] Cowasji Jehangir's interest in the project was no different from those of the Shetias who subscribed to the Elphinstone Professorships' Fund in 1827; like the earlier subscribers Cowasji Jehangir sought an amicable and profitable relationship with the ruling power. It is worth noting that Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, newly elevated to a baronetcy, offered an exactly similar sum of money towards the construction of a new building for the Poona College.[3] Not to be outdone Cowasji Jehangir countered the Jeejeebhoy move by offering Rs.50,000 for a building for the Engineering College, Poona.[4] Needless to say the Government was only too pleased to accept these munificent donations together with the loyalty that was implicit in the gifts.

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1. M.S.A., E.D., 1863, Vol.2 : Secy., Govt. of Bombay to Secy., G.O.I., 12 Feb., 1863.
2. Ibid : Extract of a Letter from Sir Alexander Grant, 29 Jan., 1863.
3. M.S.A., E.D., 1864, Vol.6, p.27 : S.S.I. to Governor in Council, 29 Feb., 1864.
4. Ibid., p.37.

However, though the Government had accepted the conditions of Cowasji Jehangir's donation, it was not immediately forthcoming with its own contribution. Meanwhile 'the extraordinary influx of wealth into Bombay (has) caused so sudden a rise in prices',[1] that even though Cowasji Jehangir had doubled his original donation to two lakhs, the money was insufficient to begin construction of the building. It had been originally estimated, by the Civil Architects, to cost Rs.1,84,296[2] or £ 18,000 but by 1864 the estimate had gone up to at least four and a half lakhs.[3] The design submitted by Mr. Trubshawe, the Professor of Architecture at the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy School of Art, was in the Italian Gothic style and was approved by the Government.[4] Yet the Government continued to withhold its contribution. The Principal of the Elphinstone College noted in frustration:

> If the Government of India will only sanction for the Presidency College of Bombay the same sum which has been sanctioned for the Presidency College at Madras we shall be able to carry out Mr. Trubshawe's beautiful design.[5]

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 11 May to 13 Dec., 1864 : Untitled Memo. of 30 Aug., 1864 in E.C. Principal's Report for 1863-64.

2. M.S.A., E.D., 1863, Vol.2, p.66 : Sir Alexander Grant to Chief Secy., to Govt., 18 May, 1863.

3. M.S.A., E.D., 1865, Vol.1, p.271 : Secy., Govt. of Bombay to Secy., G.O.I., 23 March, 1865.

4. Op.Cit., Sir Alexander Grant, 18 May, 1863.

5. Op.Cit., Untitled Memo of 30 Aug., 1964.

The Government of India, after much hesitation over the expense of such an 'ornamental building'[1] finally sanctioned in June 1865 three and half lakhs towards the construction of the new Elphinstone College building.[2] However, it was not until April, 1888 that 'the new building next to the Secretariat'[3] was completed and the College moved from Parel to the Fort area of Bombay. It had been decided in 1863 that the building was to be named after Cowasji Jehangir, and to bear 'the same relation to Elphinstone College as "Neville's Buildings" do to Trinity College, Cambridge, or the "Canterbury" and "Peckwater" quadrangles do to Christ Church, Oxford'.[4] The Elphinstone College which was a 'National Institution'[5] was not to change its name.

Not only had the College, in 1888, finally found a home but the resident students' difficulties were considerably eased. The new accommodation had the great advantage of providing a separate building for the seventy five resident students.[6] The building was at Colaba Causeway.

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1. M.S.A., E.D., 1865, Vol.1, p.282 : Secy., G.O.I. to Secy., Govt. of Bombay, 12 June, 1865.

2. Ibid.

3. E.C.R., Vol. with badly damaged early pages, first discernible date, 14 April, 1882 on Marks Sheet to 5 Jan., 1889 : Principal, E.C. to the Postmaster, Fort, Bombay, 27 April, 1888.

4. M.S.A., E.D., 1863, Vol.2, p.57 : Sir Alexander Grant to Chief Secy. to Govt., 18 May, 1863.

5. Ibid.

6. E.C.R., Vol. of 14 March, 1896 to 3 May, 1892 : Superintendent of Resident Students to Principal, E.C., (?) April, 1891.

near 'the Tram Stables'.[1] From the outset the Elphinstone College had provided board and lodging facilities as part of an effort to attract mofussil students but living conditions, until 1888, had left much to be desired. The majority of the resident students slept on the floor as only a small number of beds were provided by the authorities.[2] The Superintendent pointed out that as the students were too poor to buy their own chairs and tables they had to study sitting on the floor or on their beds 'in the dim light of a small glass'.[3] In addition the accommodation was insufficient for the number of students who wished to be residents. In 1865 only 18 students out of a total 90 College students resided at Tankerville.[4] In 1883 out of 230 students 75 were residents.[5] The provision for resident students was so unequal to the demand, and the difficulty and expense of finding lodging near the College so great that according to the Principal, many students were deterred from joining the College.[6]

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1. E.C.R., Vol. beginning with a few pages of 1860-61, ending with 11 Aug., 1892, (Vol. catalogued under 1890-99 decade) : Principal E.C. to Principal, Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Parel, 20 July, 1897.

2. E.C.R., Vol. of 18 Jan., 1878 to 16 Jan., 1875 : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 9 July, 1877.

3. Ibid., Superintendent to Principal, E.C., 2 July, 1877.

4. E.C.R., Vol. of 11 May to 13 Dec., 1864 : Memo of Principal, E.C., 28 March, 1865.

5. E.C.R., Vol. with early pages damaged, first discernible date 14 April, 1882 on Marks Sheet, to 5 Jan., 1889 : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 26 Feb., 1883.

6. Ibid.

In 1874 a mofussil student had to pay Rs.1 a month for a room,[1] and food was an additional expense, costing him about Rs.10 a month.[2] Even though mofussil students had to pay a reduced college fee of Rs.5 a month,[3] the total cost of sending a mofussil student to the Elphinstone College was, at the very least, Rs.16 a month. This was not a small amount for families whose monthly income was anything between Rs.10 to Rs.200 a month.[4] The students from the mofussil who could afford the expense, and were prepared to brave possible caste pollution[5] from living with different castes were almost always non-Brahmins. Thus, of 75 resident students at the Elphinstone College in 1891, there were 33 Gujeratis, 22 Dakshinis, 10 Sindhis, 5 Parsis, 1 Jew and 1 Christian.[6] There were only a few

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1. E.C.R., Correspondence of the Principal, E.C., Vol. of 15 April, 187(?) to 24 Jan., 1876 : Rules for the guidance of Resident Students, undated, approx. 1874.

2. Ibid., Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 7 April, 1874.

3. E.C.R., Vol. of 26 Jan., 1876, ending with monthly exam. results, July, 1875 (badly damaged Vol.) : D.P.I. to Principal, E.C., 26 Feb., 1876.

4. E.C.R., Vol. of 13 Dec., 1875 to 5 July, 1878 : Certificates of applicants for Free Studentships, 1870-71 : E.C.R., Vol. of 4 March, 1889, ending with the Jr.B.A.Mark Sheets for 1886 : Details from Certificates for Free Studentships for 1886.

5. Caste sensitivities were taken care of, as far as possible, by providing in the new building separate cooking facilities for each caste.

   E.C.R., Vol. beginning with a few pages of 1860-61, ending with 11 Aug., 1892, (Vol. catalogued under 1890-99 decade) : Principal, E.C. to Principal, Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Parel, 20 July, 1897.

6. E.C.R., Vol. of 14 May, 1896 to 3 May, 1892 : Superintendent to Principal, E.C., (?) April, 1891.

Parsis resident in comparison to their large numbers at the College because the Parsi community was concentrated in Bombay city and not in the mofussil. The Sindhis who came to the Elphinstone College were on Sind scholarships specifically attached to the College.[1] The Gujeratis tended to be from the trading castes whose mobility and adaptability has been noted, and the Dakshinis were from non-Brahmin castes.

There was one housing problem that had not risen by the end of the century, namely the housing of women students. In 1897 there were merely 5 women to 271 men at the College.[2] In 1898-99 there were 7 women of whom 4 were Europeans and 2 Jews and 1 Parsi.[3] All of them were residents of Bombay city so that the College had to do no more than provide 'a small room which is exclusively their own and suffices for a private sitting room'.[4] The Principal of the Elphinstone College hoped for an increase in the number of women students[5] but this was not to occur until the 1920s', and even then it was to be mainly Parsi women, whose families had adopted European values and customs, who sought College education as an additional refinement. For the women students at least, college education was not regarded as a means to employment because there were no jobs open

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 3 Aug., 1875 to 25 July, 1875 : Education Inspector in Sind to Principal, E.C., 1 July, 1875.
2. E.C.R., Vol. of 8 April, 1896 to 9 Dec., 1898 : Statistical Return for E.C. for 1897-98.
3. E.C.R., Vol. of 25 March, 1897 to 14 June, 1892 : E.C. Principal's Report for 1898-99.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

to women.

There were, of course, employment opportunities for the men from the College. Throughout the century graduates from the Elphinstone College joined the Government Education Department in large numbers. The rapid expansion of Government school education in the Presidency provided the necessary openings. Indeed in 1864-65 out of 22 students who left the College, 8 joined the education Department, 2 went to England and 1 subsequently matriculated from London University, 6 became either brokers, merchants or bank clerks, and 1 became a master at the Jeejeebhoy Parsi Benevolent Institution. The other 5 are unaccounted for.[1] The D.P.I. noted in 1869 that out of the total number of M.A.s upto that year 14 held educational appointments, 5 were in the legal profession, 3 were in England, 2 were reading for the Bar, 2 were in business. Of the total number of B.A.s 35 were in the Education Department, 8 in the legal profession, 2 mamlatdars, 2 in other Government positions, 2 in business, 1 was a journalist, 1 a Government Scholar in England, 1 in the Covenanted Civil Service, 1 dead and 6 were continuing their studies.[2] Almost all the M.A.s and B.A.s upto 1869 were students of the Elphinstone College.

It may appear from the above figures that Government aims and student ambitions coincided as satisfactorily in

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1. R.D.P.I. for 1864-65, p.22.
2. R.D.P.I. for 1868-69, App. B, pp. 42-43.

the latter part of the nineteenth century as they had done in the 1850s'. This was not entirely true. Government certainly looked to the College as a major source of English teachers. [1] In fact the Principal of the College complained that the University (which was at the time synonymous with the College) served no other function 'than that of a Normal School for English teachers'.[2] While Elphinstone men joined the Education Department because of the great demand for teachers they were not happy with the salaries paid to them. It was well-known that the Education Department was the least remunerative of all branches of the public service.[3] While a Head Clerk in Government service earned Rs.350 a month, and a junior Clerk Rs.100, [4] a school master at a Government High School was paid between Rs.50 and Rs.125 a month[5] with little hope of a substantial increase to the level of a Government Head Clerk.

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1. M.S.A., E.D., 1864, Vol. 4, p.87 : Secy. to Govt., E.D., to Secy. to G.O.I., Home Dept., 3 Feb., 1864.

2. R.D.P.I. for 1868-69, pp. 42-43.

3. R.D.P.I. for 1860-61, App. A, p.15.

4. E.C.R., Correspondence of the D.P.I., Vol. of 2 Jan. to 4 Dec., 1856 : Secy. G.O.I., to Chief Secy., Govt. of Bombay, 14 March, 1856.

5. Op.Cit., R.D.P.I. for 1860-61.

It is little wonder that the College graduates looked for alternatives to the teaching profession. Few Indians in the nineteenth century could aspire to the Covenanted Civil Service as the obstacles to their candidacy were great. By 1885 only 12 Indians had entered the service.[1] The Government, however, acting on a number of motives, sought from the 1870s to increase the intake of educated Indians into the Uncovenanted Service.:

> With the view of encouraging high education, of securing to those who take University Degrees such reward as may lie within the power of Government, of obtaining for the executive branch of the services of well educated men. 2

The Government of Bombay introduced a system of examinations for entry into the higher branches of the public service and reserved certain positions for graduates.[3] Hitherto appointment to such positions as that of Head Karkun or Mamlatdar had been based on the Comadmar system. Its defects were manifold; 'persons of inferior education (were) introduced into the public service, a chain of family influence (was) kept up in each office'.[4] The English

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1. B. Spangenberg, British Bureaucracy in India. Status, Policy and the I.C.S. in the late 19th Century. (Delhi, 1976) p.x.

2. M.S.A., E.D., 1878, Vol.3 : Secy. to Govt., Revenue Dept., to D.P.I., 17 Dec., 1878.

3. Ibid.

4. M.S.A., G.D., 1855, Vol.17, p.8 : Memo. of Secy. to Govt. G.D., 11 Dec., 1854.

educated from the Elphinstone College had found it difficult to dislodge the beneficiaries of this system but the new rules now gave them the opportunity. Students from the other Bombay Colleges, St. Xaviers and Wilson, however, were not as fortunate. The Rector of St. Xaviers pointed out, in 1878, that the prospects of his students obtaining Government jobs were particularly poor. By 1876 St. Xaviers had 2 M.A.s and 11 B.A.s; of these only 2 B.A.s had succeeded in obtaining subordinate Government employment.[1]

Elphinstone men had other alternatives to the Education Department and the Uncovenanted Service. It has already been noted that law classes were initially established at the Elphinstone College, and they later gave rise to a Law School.[2] The practise of Law was perhaps the most respectable of professions open to the Indians, and, what is important, admission to it was not made difficult by political considerations. It is remarkable that many of those Elphinstonians who were later to play a political and social role established their authority first in the legal profession.

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1. M.S.A., E.D., 1880, Vol.8, p.20 : Rector, St. Xaviers College to Chairman, Committee of Inquiry, 8 Oct., 1878 in Committee Report to D.P.I., 4 July, 1879.

2. R.D.P.I. for 1863-64, p.23.

Chapter - VIII

Intellectual Attitudes and Social Reform.

By the end of the nineteenth century the Elphinstone College had proved to be a remarkable institution despite government obstruction, despite the difficulties experienced by the staff and students and despite the forebodings of many observers. The College's triumph lay primarily in the contribution of some of its students to voluntary associations and to political and social ideas. In Western India many of the associations and societies established at the time to propagate social and religious reform were founded and dominated by the more intellectual Elphinstonians. These organisations were linked to similar groups in the other Presidencies, sometimes creating and sometimes augmenting a climate of liberal ideas. They began by applying the rationalist principles of their western education to the social reform of their own society and ended by questioning the politics of the British Raj. Simultaneous, however, with the movement for change was the desire for continuity, seen in the retention of ties with not only their older associations within the indigenous social structure, but also with the more recent association with the British Crown. These traditionalist and loyalist sentiments, coupled with rationalist ideas, produced individuals who functioned at different levels and retained a multiplicity of allegiances.

Certainly English education gave the Elphinstone College graduates an intellectual training and a framework

of ideas and the professors at the college established extremely influential models of thought and conduct. Western methods of inquiry and critical evaluation as well as Western ethical concepts were learnt from them and applied to a diversity of issues. It must have been a heady experience to be a graduate of the College during the latter part of the nineteenth century, to belong to a small select group which shared an esoteric educational background and was caught up in an exciting exchange of ideas. Graduates met often at each other's homes, at various society meetings and debates and at the numerous newspaper offices that had sprung up in response to the burgeoning of ideas. Later as these Elphinstonians became more prominent in public activities they were a support to each other in the face of an antagonistic Establishment whether of caste, community or the Raj.

These leading Elphinstonians, who were later to be labelled 'Young Bombay'[1] by the traditional leaders of their communities because of their public activities, mirrored faithfully not only the strength of the various castes and communities in the College but also the parental background and the careers of the majority of the College students. Bal Gangadhar Shastri, Bhau Daji, R.G.Bhandarkar, K.T.Telang, V.N.Mandlik, M.G.Ranade, G.K.Gokhale, Narmadashankar Lalshankar, and Mahitpatram Rupram were all Brahmins. The dominance of the poor but learned Brahmin caste among the

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1. N.S.Bengalee, '<u>The Life of Sorabjee Shapoorjee Bengalee, C.I.E.</u>', (Bombay, 1936), p.14.

Hindu students at the College has already been noted in the earlier chapters. Like most of the Brahmin students in the College the 'Young Bombay' Brahmins were by no means from a monied background. Bhau Daji's family barely survived on the meagre earnings of the father who made and sold clay dolls and idols.[1] Bhandarkar's father was a petty revenue official. Gokhale's father was a clerk and later a sub-inspector of police. His sudden death, however, when Gokhale was barely thirteen, left the family dependent on the eldest son's salary of Rs.15 a month.[2] Ranade's father was a government clerk who later rose to be a secretary to the Maharaja of Kolhapur.[3] Bal Shastri came from a family of poor but learned Sanskrit scholars and reciters of the Puranas or Hindu holy scriptures.[4]

Mandlik alone, among these Brahmin graduates of the College, came from a wealthy, landed background. His family were aristocrats from the Ratnagiri district.[5]

Due to the involvement of Parsis in commerce the community, generally speaking, was not as poor as the

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1. D. Keer. 'Dr. Bhau Daji Lad, C.C.M.C.', in Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, Vol.38, 1963, p.1.
2. B.R.Nanda, Gokhale : The Indian Moderates and the British Raj, (Delhi, 1977), p.4.
3. J.Kellock, Mahadev Govind Ranade, (Calcutta,1926), p.2.
4. G.G.Jambhekar Vol.1, p.34.
5. S.P.Sen (ed.), Dictionary of National Biography, (Calcutta, 1974), Vol.3, p.40.

Brahmins. However, none of the leading Parsi Elphinstonians came from a Shetia background. This conforms to the general pattern up to the Sixties, at the College. It was only after 1864 that the Principal of the College could note, with satisfaction, that the sons of rich Parsis had begun to attend the College. [1] Naoroji Furdoonji, S.S.Bengalee, D. N. Wacha, K.R.Cama and Pherozeshah Mehta, all came from merchant families. Their fathers were either partners in a small business or owned a business, but the commercial enterprise was not of a scale to merit them the title of Shetia. Cama's family alone had a slight edge over the others through its commercial links outside India and the success these had achieved. [2]

In marked contrast to the Parsis mentioned, Dadabhai Naoroji's father was an impoverished priest. He died when Dadabhai was merely four years old, and his widowed mother had some difficulty in giving him his early education. [3] It is interesting that though Bal Shastri and Dadabhai Naoroji came from particularly indigent families, they proved to be two of the most accomplished teachers and dedicated reformers in the city. These two Elphinstonians suggest, as it were, a prototype for the other intellectual Elphinstonians. Poverty enforced a more rigorous pursuit of knowledge, of English education and the goals attainable through it.

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 11 May to 13 Dec., 1864 : Memo of Principal E.C., 30 Aug., 1864 in Report of 1863-64.

2. S.M.Edwardes, Kharshedji Cama 1831-1909. A Memoir. (Oxford, 1923), p.1.

3. C.E.Buckland, Dictionary of Indian Biography, (Delhi, 1971), p.311.

These goals, by the sharpened medium of their intellect, were not seen merely in personal terms but were extended to the achievement of a better society.

Turning finally to the three trader caste members of 'Young Bombay', it is once again worth noting that they too mirror the conclusions made in the earlier chapters. After the hereditary, literary Hindu castes and the Parsis, the mercantile Hindu castes were the most proficient at acquiring an English education.[1] The new learning was a means to social and economic advancement. However, Atmaram Pandurang and N.M.Parmanand both Vaishyas, and Karsondas Mulji a Kapol Bania, show themselves to be remarkable not only for their professional success but for their dedicated pursuit of reformist ideals. Equally Badruddin Tyabji, from a family which in one generation had moved literally from rags to riches, used his education for a dual purpose; his own establishment in the highly respectable profession of law and the esponsal of public causes. Tyabji's father, Bhoymeeah, a Sulaimani Bohra,[2] had started out in Bombay as a street hawker, selling onions and later haberdashery.[3] By 1863, however, he had amassed a fortune of 5 lakhs of rupees.[4] Lacking in a formal education, barely able to speak English, Bhoymeeah was ambitious to improve his family's social standing through the education of his sons

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1. R. Ranade, The Miscellaneous Writings of the late Hon'ble Mr. Justice M.G.Ranade, (Bombay, 1915), p.274.

2. Traditionally a business community among muslims of Western India.

3. A.A.A.Fyzee, 'The Autobiography of Tyabjee Bhoymeeah', in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, Vols.36-37, Supplement. 1961-62, (Bombay, 1964), p.9.

4. Ibid., p.12.

Badruddin and Camruddin first at the Elphinstone College and later at the Inns of Court in London. The rewards of education had begun to be recognised even among the mercantile muslims.

It has hitherto been assumed that the influence of western education was primarily an influence of new ideas and new philosophical concepts and critical methods. Certainly the intellectual impact of the new ideas was considerable, but the human agency through which these ideas were conveyed has not been given its due importance. The Indian student raised on a traditional respect of age and of the teacher, as best exemplified by the guru-disciple relationship, was more susceptible to his English professors' influence than perhaps would have been the case in another culture or society. In fact, those Indians who had a close association with the professors at the Elphinstone College, emphasise the influence of these professors on their development. The influence was even greater because the professors at the College were so accessible, so personal and, in effect, so vastly different to the aloof sahibs of the Raj who the Indians normally beheld. These professors could be said to resemble E.M.Forster's hero, Fielding,[1] who was based on the author's own educational experience in colonial India. Like Forster, in the 1920s , the Elphinstone College professors, in the nineteenth century, had a great measure of understanding, and indeed sympathy, for the Indians because they themselves existed in a

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1. E.M.Forster, A Passage to India, (London, 1976).

fractured world. They belonged neither to the colonial Establishment because of the nature of their work, nor were they a part of the lower stratas of white society in Bombay because of their education. Often better educated than the members of the Covenanted Service, and invariably better informed about the Indian condition because of their daily contact with their students, the professors provided these Indian students with their first and, more importantly, their most favourable impression of the colonising power. In that role they served as an extremely important bridge between the rulers and the ruled.

Moreover, in their ideas the Elphinstone College professors were far from being aligned to the Raj. Indeed as early as 1850 a missionary complained that the Principal of the Elphinstone College was 'an infidel (who) freely ridicules the Christian religion before his pupils'.[1] The College professors because of their education and their knowledge of ancient Indian history and its sacred texts were not inclined to uphold the Church by the denigration of the Indian religions, especially Hinduism. In fact men like Michael Macmillan, Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy at the College, emphasised that much of European philosophy was expounded many centuries earlier in the Hindu Sanskrit texts. He noted;

> Sanskrit philosophers, such as Kanada and Charvaka, at a very early age discovered for themselves atomism, materialism, and many other logical and metaphysical doctrines

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1. R.E.Speer, George Bowen of Bombay, Missionary, Scholar, Mystic, Saint, (New York, 1938), p.170 in Masselos, p.34.

> that have been rigorously defended and opposed again and again by successive generations of European philosophers. [1]

Far from assuming that Christianity was a superior ethical philosophy, Macmillan pointed out that throughout the Mahabharata 'we have wonderful anticipations of the highest precepts of European religion and philosophy'.[2] At a time when the British in India held the 'Native' to be wanting in ethical values it was remarkable that an Elphinstone College professor could boldly suggest that in fact ancient Hindu moral philosophy was a forerunner of European ideas and beliefs.

The more politically inclined Professor Selby saw the Church as an extension of an oppressive establishment. He quotes Tom Paine on the subject:

> Aristocracy also violates nature. It creates titular distinctions, and so sets up conventional inequalities between man and man.....It sets up a privileged Church which implies a right to dictate to the Creator what worship he shall receive.[3]

Clearly Selby's sympathies were not in line with those of the vast majority of Anglo-India. He also viewed with favour Paine's philosophy that propounded sovereignty to reside entirely in the people, and law to express the will

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1. M. Macmillan, 'Morality of the Mahabharata' in The Globe Trotter in India, Two Hundred Years Ago and Other Indian Studies, (London, 1895), p.193.

2. Ibid., p.199.

3. F.G.Selby, Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France, (London, 1890), p. xxx.

of the people, so that 'the force of the community is to be employed for the benefit of the community'.[1] Selby's approval of such ideas was clearly stated;

> With regard to these rights.....we may at once concede that they are moderate enough, and that a government which failed to enforce them would deserve condemnation.[2]

Selby thus questioned implicitly the very basis of colonial rule in India and the British belief 'in immutable principles of right and wrong'.[3] Given such views it is little wonder that G.K.Gokhale took Professor Selby to be his intellectual guide and mentor,[4] and that Ranade heaped praise on Selby. Ranade described Selby as belonging 'to the most advanced school of English speculation on moral philosophy'.[5] Further testimony of Selby's popularity with the Indians is found in his nomination to the Presidentship of the Governing Body of the Fergusson College. An independent, higher education institution Fergusson College was established in Poona by young intellectuals not entirely happy with the Government's education policy.[6]

Selby's advanced political views however were not unique among educationists in Bombay. Sir Erskine Perry, the head of the Bombay Education Department of Government during the 1850s observed that;

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1. Ibid., p. xxxii - xxxiii.
2. Ibid., p. xxxiii.
3. Ranade, p.65.
4. Nanda, p.64.
5. Ranade, p.65.
6. Nanda, p.64.

> Whether we desire it or not, our educational efforts undoubtedly tend to make the Hindus able to govern themselves. I think the object is a noble one, and to propose to ourselves anything more restricted would be a dereliction of duty.[1]

In entirely another sphere, dealing with the conditions in India, the Elphinstone College professors expressed strong views ahead of their times. Their ideas about the position of women in society were in advance of those that prevailed in England as much as in India. Moreover, their ideas did not emit from a critical position so much as a real concern that everything should be done to advance India and the Indians. In this context the Elphinstone Professors Patton and Green established the Students' Literary and Scientific Society in 1848 to advance, among other reformist ideas, the education of women. Macmillan had almost a missionary zeal about the subject. He believed:

> The practice of female seclusion must constantly tend to national deterioration, to the diminution of physical, intellectual and probably also moral strength in each successive generation[2]

His clarion call that 'any true patriot, who sincerely wishes for the regeneration of India, and has any care for the future of his country, should try to further female emancipation',[3] was anticipated and acted upon by the Elphinstone intellectuals.

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1. Sir Erskine Perry, 'Bird's Eye View of India', (London, 1855), p.96 in Priyolkar, p.49.

2. M.Macmillan, 'Heredity and the Regeneration of India' in The Globe Trotter, p.128.

3. Ibid., p.137.

Once again the College professors and the intellectuals from the College were in agreement. Macmillan, like Selby, and the other professors was enormously popular with his students. The impact of his ideas on his students was due as much to the liberal nature of his views as to the personal esteem in which he was held by his students. Indeed the prospect of his transfer from the Elphinstone College to Poona raised such an outcry among the students, that the Principal remarked;

> He (i.e. Macmillan) did not then realize that our students regarded him so highly and appreciated his labour so warmly, that it would be so serious a wrench to part from his old college in which he had won the esteem of his colleagues and affection, of successive generations of his pupils.

The popularity and influence of the professors had its effect in another way. The loyalists sentiments that the leading 'Elphinstonians adhered to throughout their lives, whatever the provocation, were in no small measure due to their first associations with the English professors at the College. Dadabhai Naoroji asserted;

> If there is one thing more than another which entitles Britain to the glory of the everlasting gratitude of the Indian people it is giving them (sic).....English education and knowledge of... British character, civilisation and efforts for Liberty in particular. [2]

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 29 Nov., 1880 ending with list of 'Stores Purchased by E.C.', April, 1895, (Vol. catalogued under 1890-99 decade) : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 25 Jan., 1896.

2. N.A., Dadabhai Naoroji Papers : Naoroji's letter of thanks to well-wishers on his eighty-seventh birthday, 5 Sept., 1911.

This assertion by Dadabhai is remarkable because it came near the end of his life when he was particularly disillusioned with the Raj, and had become extremely critical of the drain of resources from India and the consequent impoverishment of the country.[1] His appreciation of his educational experience however remained undimmed.

It could not have been otherwise because the professors were valued not only for their political views, D.E.Wacha describes Professor Green as an 'advanced Liberal',[2] but also for their great kindness to their students. Wacha refers to Professor Hughlings as 'an ideal teacher'[3] who was 'exceedingly popular with the students in whom he used to take a parental interest'.[4] Wacha tells us that Hughlings opened at his own expense a reading room for the students where many of the leading English weeklies and quarterlies were provided.[5] The attachment of these Elphinstonians to their professors and vice versa continued beyond their college association. R.G.Bhandarkar, on a visit to England in 1886, made it a point to call on his old professor, who was settled in Oxford. The welcome Bhandarkar received from Professor Sidney Owen[6] and his family was touchingly warm. Bhandarkar in describing his

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1. Naoroji elaborated these ideas in Poverty and Un-British Rule in India, (London, 1901).
2. E.D.Wacha, Shells from the Sands of Bombay, Being My Recollections and Reminiscences, 1860-1875, (Bombay, 1920), p.667.
3. Ibid., p.675.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Professor of History and Political Economy at E.C., 1857-1858.

feelings noted, 'I felt I was in the midst of persons who had, as it were, found in me a long lost son or brother'.[1] The development of such close ties between the teachers and the students was possible because student numbers remained exceedingly low during the Forties and Fifties. In fact even in 1865 there were just eighty-seven students at the College.[2]

Inevitably the Elphinstone College student's appreciation of his professor as an individual made the professor's role as teacher much more potent. Wacha links the intellectual development as well as the public commitments of these Elphinstonians to the influence of their College professors. He particularly emphasises the influence of Sir Alexander Grant, Principal of the College from 1862 to 1866, on Pherozeshah Mehta, Ranade and Telang:

> Under the gifted philosophic scholar, their mind underwent a severe discipline which eventually prepared them for the active public life they all subsequently led. A broad and deep foundation in higher learning was laid.[3]

The government was not unaware of the powerful affect the European professors could have on their students in India. This affect, however, was seen more in terms of the subjects they taught and little account was taken of the personality of the individual professor and its impact on the students.

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1. N.B.Utigkar (ed.), Collected Works of Sir R.G.Bhandarkar, (Poona, 1929), Vol.1, p.336.

2. R.D.P.I. for 1878-79, p.23.

3. C.Y.Chintamani, Speeches and Writings of the Honourable Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, K.C.I.E., (Allahabad, 1905), D.N.Wacha's Introduction, p.8.

English education was both a duty and a necessity for the Government; a duty which, well performed, would raise the moral tone of the country, and a necessity because it would provide the administrators for the vast colonial machinery in the country. The Government, however, failed to realise that the teachers at the College, who were by and large independent thinkers, would be unlikely to shackle their students to any particular dogma or philosophy. Gradually there arose a sense of unease, in government circles, about the independence of the academics. Professor Wordsworth in an illuminating statement refuted the idea in circulation at the time.

> That the intellectual culture of our Colleges exercises a demoralising influence on the young men who frequent them because it is not ostensibly connected with some system of dogmatic religion or philosophy. On this subject my own experience in this country has fully confirmed what I learned in Oxford. The principal and lasting advantage which young men gain from their University life is derived from the personal influence of their teacher, when they are fortunate enough to possess teachers who urge nothing on others which they do not rigorously exact from themselves.

The professors of the Elphinstone College by and large proved to be worthy models for their students. The students emerged from the College 'deeply read in Western literature and science..... and imbued with an earnest desire for inquiry and improvement'.[2] Inquiry and improvement were the twin principles on which the development of the leading Elphinstonians was based. A remarkable

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1. R.D.P.I. for 1880-81, App. A, p.ii.
2. Chintamani, Wacha's Introduction, p.16.

fact about these Elphinstone intellectuals was that not only did they share particular ideas because of their common education, but they also established amongst themselves an intellectuals only, as it were, old boy network. This was made possible by the fact that some of the older, eminent Elphinstonians taught those younger, and by the fact that the brilliant and talented didn't appear at the College in isolated ones or twos but in veritable waves. Thus in the Forties, Bal Shastri and Naoroji Furdoonji were instrumental in forging the first links of the network by their having taught Dadabhai Naoroji, Bhau Daji, Atmaram Pandurang, S.S.Bengallee and K.R.Cama. In the Fifties an even stronger wave of talent appeared in the form of R.G.Bhandarkar, Mahipatram Rupram, Narmada-shankar Lalshankar, Javerilal Umiashankar, V. N. Mandlik, Karsondas Mulji, N.M.Parmanand, M.G.Ranade, D.N.Wacha and Badruddin Tyabji, and many of them were taught by Dadabhai Naoroji. The Forties and Fifties were the most spectacular years for the Elphinstone College because more students from those two decades, than for any other period in the nineteenth century, were to make their mark in public life. Certainly the College continued to nurture men who were later to become active in one field or another, but the most abundant crop was harvested in the Forties and Fifties. In contrast, the names of only two notable intellec-tuals, that of Pherozeshah Mehta and K.T.Telang, can be recorded for the Sixties, and one for the Eighties, G.K. Gokhale.

However, whether they were at the College in the Forties or the Eighties they were intellectuals by incline-

tion and by the training they had received. They won awards at the College for their academic brilliance. Dadabhai Naoroji was awarded several scholarships, but of these the Clare Scholarship was the most coveted, and it was given to Dadabhai in 1840. [1] It must be noted that during this period, of the many scholarships at the College only two, the Clare and West, were awards for academic excellence, the others were meant as a monetary inducement for young men to attend the College. However, R.G.Bhandarkar, Javerilal Umiashankar and Atmaram Pandurang won that other prestigious award, the West Scholarship, [2] and Bhau Daji won a gold medal.[3] A more senior award given in recognition of markedly superior scholarship, the Dakshina fellowship was awarded to Ranade, Bhandarkar, Mehta and Telang. Each of them went on to get an M.A. degree from the University. Mehta, in fact, was singled out for particular praise by the Principal, Sir. Alexander Grant, who described him as 'the best student of all that I have had to do (sic) with in the Elphinstone College'.[4]

The interests of these Elphinstonians continued to be intellectual and scholarly even after completing their course of study at the College. Teaching was the favoured career for many of them, at least at the outset of their professional lives. Bal Shastri was Professor of Astronomy

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1. N.A., Dadabhai Naoroji Papers : D.Naoroji to Prof. O.V. Muller, 24 March, 1912.
2. R.D.P.I. for 1856-57, table 14, p.82.
3. A.K.Priyolkar, Doctor Bhau Daji, (Bombay, 1971), p.18.
4. J.N.M., Pherozeshah Mehta Papers; I Correspondence, S.No. 80 : A.Grant to N.Byramji, 28 Nov., 1864.

and Mathematics at the Elphinstone Institution from 1842 to 1844.[1] In that year Shastri was elevated to the Directorship of the Normal Class at the Institution. The purpose of the Normal Class was to train school teachers, and Shastri's appointment was no mean achievement, for as a member of the Board of Education noted, 'In Europe the conduct of a Normal Class is ordinarily confined to men of high educational ability'.[2] It is worth noting that the Normal Class folded up two years after Shastri's sudden death in 1846.[3]

Following closely in the footsteps of his teacher Bal Shastri, Dadabhai Naoroji was first appointed assistant Professor, and then in 1851 full Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at the College. Naoroji was described by the Board of Education as having 'attainments and abilities',[4] which were 'all deservedly held in very high esteem by the Board'.[5] Bhau Daji was yet another former student who taught at his old college. Daji was assistant Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy at the College during the year 1843.[6] Daji later qualified as a medical doctor, but he continued to apply his scholarly mind not only to medical matters but to such diverse subjects as ancient Indian archaeology and history. Max Muller, the renowned Sanskritist, praised Bhau Daji's writings on

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1. Jambhekar, Vol.1, p.56.
2. Ibid., p.60.
3. Ibid., p.62.
4. M.S.A., G.D., 1855, Vol.21 : D.P.I. to Secy., Board of Education, 14 June, 1855.
5. Ibid.
6. Keer, p.2.

Sanskrit literature and ancient Indian history, by observing;

> I always look upon Dr. Bhau Daji as a man who has done excellent work in his life and though he has written little, the little he has written is worth thousands of pages written by others. 1

In medical science Daji's research into the use of Indian herbal medicine won him more praise, and even the Lancet described him as 'being singularly learned'.[2] R. G. Bhandarkar was yet another Elphinstonian who made teaching his career. Bhandarkar was for many years assistant Professor of Oriental Languages at the Elphinstone College, he was later appointed Professor of Sanskrit at the Deccan College, Poona.[3] Ranade was for a time, in 1872, assistant Professor of English at the Elphinstone College, but later became a subordinate judge in the government service.[4] Wacha, a contemporary of Ranade's at the College, describes Ranade as being wholly absorbed in reading 'his Grote and Gibbon, his Hume and Macaulay, his Locke and Hamilton'.[5]

G. K. Gokhale's interest in education manifested itself soon after he graduated from the Elphinstone College in 1884. In 1885 Gokhale joined the New English School at Poona as an assistant master.[6] The school was part of an

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1. Ibid., p.11.
2. Priyolkar, p.54.
3. E.C.R., Vol. of 22 May, 1863 to 29 June, 1861 : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 4 Jan., 1869.
4. M.S.A., E.D., 1872, Vol.2 : D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt., E.D., 26 Jan., 1872.
5. Kellock, pp. 10-11.
6. Nanda, p.8.

imaginative scheme by young Poona Brahmins to establish English education in Poona independent of the Government. The success of the school led to the founding of the Deccan Education Society in 1884. The Society's proclaimed aim was 'to promote the cause of private education and to put it on a more extended basis in order to give permanence to it.' [1] The Society also sought to provide education 'adapted to the wants of the community and so cheapened as to come within the reach of children of even the lower middle class'.[2] The Governing Council of the Society brought together a number of well-known Elphinstone men, Ranade, Telang and Bhandarkar. These council members chose Principal Wordsworth of the Elphinstone College to inaugurate the Society's first college, the Fergusson College, in 1885.[3] Gokhale was eventually to become Professor of English and History at the Fergusson College,[4] and through him the close association between Elphinstone graduates and professors continued to dominate this new, independent college. In 1892 when Gokhale became Secretary of the Governing Council of the Deccan Education Society, its President was F. G. Selby, Principal of the Deccan College, and before that an extremely popular Professor at the Elphinstone College. Gokhale's friendship with Selby was

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1. P.M.Limaye (ed.), The History of the Deccan Education Society, 1880-1935, (Poona, 1935), Pt.I, p.54 in Nanda, p.30.
2. Ibid., p.31.
3. Ibid., p.31.
4. N.A., Gokhale Papers, File No.443, Item No.10 : M.G. Ranade to Sir William Wedderburn, 19 March, 1897.

long and formative. The extent of Selby's influence is made clear in a letter of Gokhale's to Selby:

> If my attitude of mind towards Englishmen generally is today more friendly and more appreciative than that of any of my countrymen it is largely due to what I have seen of Englishmen in you. The thought that what I said or wrote would perhaps meet your eye has always increased my sense of responsibility and exercised a sobering and restraining influence on my thoughts and words.....It is impossible to ever estimate the value of an influence, such as yours has proved to be in my case.[1]

The influence of the Elphinstone College professors was not restricted to the academic world; the professors influenced the opinions and actions of their students in the social, religious and political spheres. As has already been noted, in 1848, a society for the promotion of socially progressive ideas was established by Professor Patton.[2] Subsequently Professors Reid and Green joined Professor Patton on the managing committee of the society. The membership of this society, the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, was made up almost exclusively of past and present members of the Elphinstone College. Among the leading Elphinstonians, Dadabhai Naoroji, S. S. Bengallee, Naoroji Furdoonji, Bhau Daji and Atmaram Pandurang were active members of the society. Professor Green in describing the aims of the S.L.S.S., noted that it was the duty of the young members 'to those of your countrymen who are either too poor to be able to procure for their children the blessings of education, or too ignorant themselves to

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1. N.A., Gokhale Papers, File No.203, Part I. Item No.49 : Gokhale to Selby, 4 Jan., 1905.

2. S.M.Edwardes, The Gazeteer, Vol.3, p.108.

appreciate its advantages'[1] to spread education through the establishment of vernacular schools and the publication of periodicals in the vernacular languages.

The Society's efforts were also to be directed to 'the intellectual advancement of its own members'.[2] Green looked to the essays, the discussions and lectures organised by the Society to achieve this aim. The standards required of the members' essays and lectures were high. 'Simplicity, brevity'[3] were valued qualities. While the 'affectation of sentiment which you do not really feel, or the use of phraseology stolen or borrowed'[4] was to be shunned. In the discussions which followed the lectures 'candour and forbearance towards opponents'[5] and 'the exclusive desire to arrive at the truth'[6] were the clearly stated guidelines. Thus the S.L.S.S., with the joint membership of English Professors and Indian students, was a remarkable example of cooperation between the two races. The society also afforded the first training ground for the future social and political leaders of the nineteenth century. Moreover the S.L.S.S. spawned other education and reformist associations on linguistic and communal lines. Thus there was the Gujerati Dynan Prasarak Mandali, chiefly for Parsi

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1. Fourth Report of the S.L.S.S., (Bombay, 1853), p.3.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p.4.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.

reformers, the Marathi Dynan Prasarak Sabha, and from 1851 the Gujerati Hindu Buddhi Vardhak Sabha.[1] All the leading Elphinstonians of the period, Mandlik, Bhandarkar, Umiashankar, Mulji, Lalshankar, together with the original founders were active in these societies in organising meetings, lectures and in writing articles.

Though small in number these Elphinstonians were very conscious of their role as an intellectual elite. At the relatively young age of twenty-six Pherozeshah Mehta was able to confidently assert:

> The self-constituted leaders of popular movements have a two fold duty to perform. It is not sufficient for them to stand forth boldly to give loud utterance to the confused and incoherent popular cries.....There is another and a higher duty cast upon them, the duty of guiding and rolling the movement in its proper path.[2]

By their education and intellectual inclinations, Mehta saw the intelligentsia from Elphinstone College to be eminently suited to such a public role. Whether Hindu, Muslim or Parsi, these Elphinstone intellectuals sought reform of their respective social and religious institutions, traditions and ideas. Indeed, they have been accused of being radical in social reform and conservative in their politics. Of their moderation and their loyalty to the Crown there can be little doubt. The reasons for their loyalist views will be examined later in the chapter. Why, however, were they radical social reformers ?

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1. Fourth Report of the S.L.S.S., pp. 18-19.
2. Chintamani, Wacha's Introduction, p.20.

Certainly the traditional hierarchy, though apt to be a problem was less powerful, less of an immovable force than the Raj. Thus it was relatively easier for the Elphinstone intellectuals to urge wide-ranging changes within their own communities. Moreover, many of their reformist ideas had the implicit backing of the Government which on occasion, as with the Mulji libel case, made its support explicit. But above all, these Elphinstonians believed in the superiority of the ideas they had imbibed from their education, and looking around them they had found their respective communities wanting in these ideas. The Elphinstone intellectuals asserted that it was contact with Western civilisation through their English education 'that has led us to take interest in the concerns of Indian Society in general, and consider its good to be our good'.[1] Thus, they saw themselves as uniquely suited, because of their education, to lead Indians through a radical social transformation to the threshold of political activity. Bal Shastri, the earliest of the Elphinstone College intellectuals, raised a pointed question; 'Is it not to power of knowledge that we must trace back the vast superiority of England over this country....'.[2] Knowledge was the essential ingredient for reform. They further asserted:

> It is by an intelligent study of the history of England alone that a student can know

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1. Utgikar, Vol.II, p.487.

2. Jambhekar, Vol.II, p.56.

> what social changes must take place..... and how a nation's character should be formed.....before it becomes fit for such political institutions. 1

However, it was all very well to speak of the necessity of social change but what were to be the means by which the intellectuals could address themselves to a wider audiance. The proliferation of newspapers and local associations at this time was no mere coincidence. Many of the reformist journalists, editors and proprietors, as well as those active in the public associations that sprang up, were Elphinstonians. The intellectuals, however, did not hold a monopoly over newspaper comment. The Shetias had their own newspapers and participated in some of the associations with which the intelligentsia were connected. In fact the earliest Bombay city papers, the Bombay Samachar, begun in 1822, and the Jame Jamshed, begun in 1832, were in Gujerati and were dominated by the commercial interests of the Parsi business community. These papers had the financial backing of the Parsi Shetias. For instance, while Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy gave the Bombay Samachar his backing, the Jame Jamshed was regarded as the organ of Parsi orthodoxy.[2] It was not until Dadabhai Naoroji and Naoroji Furdoonji founded Rast Goftar in 1851, with the Elphinstonians K.R.Cama and S.S.Bengallee consecutively editing the paper, that there was a Gujerati counter to the voice of the Shetias.[3]

Vernacular journalism in Marathi, however, was earlier

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1. Utgikar, Vol.I, p.434.
2. Dobbin, p.54.
3. Wacha, p.664.

on the scene. Marathi newspapers were propagating the ideas of the intellectuals much before the appearance of Rast Goftar. The differences in the development of the first Marathi and Gujerati newspapers is an extension of the difference in the educational development of the Parsis and the Marathi-speaking Hindus. The Marathi-speaking Brahmins were the dominant communal group at the Elphinstone College in the early days of English higher education. The Parsis, basically a commercial community, were slower to turn to English education, though later in the nineteenth century they effectively challenged Brahmin dominance of the College's student numbers. Moreover, at an individual level it is worth noting that Bal Shastri, the first Marathi reform journalist, was Dadabhai's and Naoroji Furdoonji's teacher at the Elphinstone College. Bal Shastri thus preceeded in time and public activity the two Parsi reformers, who, however, quickly proved themselves to be worthy pupils of their teacher.

Bal Shastri, a student of the Elphinstone Institution, as it then was, and from 1834 to his early death in 1846 Assistant Professor of Mathematics at the institution, founded the first Marathi newspaper, the Bombay Durpan in 1832. In 1840 Shastri founded the first monthly magazine, the Dig-Durshan, and helped to promote the weekly, Prabhakar in 1841, and was involved in the publication of yet another monthly Upadesha Chandrika in 1844. [1] The object of the Bombay Durpan was to diffuse European knowledge and

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1. Masselos, p.31.

and so engender discussion on how to increase the wealth and progress of the country.[1] Similarly the aim of Dig Durshan was described as 'the imparting of European literary and scientific intelligence to the Native Community'.[2]

The number of vernacular newspapers and journals grew thick and fast with the intellectuals, conscious of the powerful instrument in their hands, taking the lead in both editorial and proprietorial roles. S.S.Bengallee started a monthly magazine in 1850 called the Jagat Mitra which published articles on scientific and religious matters, and critical discussions on social subjects.[3] The magazine's aim 'was to bring about a radical change in the prevailing ideas affecting social usages and customs such as had stood condemned by the civilised world'.[4] In 1851 Bengallee started yet another monthly magazine, the Jagat Premi which sought 'to remind the Parsis of the magnificence of ancient Iran, the land of their forefathers'.[5] Bengallee hoped for a regeneration of the Parsi community by turning, like the Hindu social reformers, to the distant past for inspiration.

The Brahmins, V.N.Mandlik, N.M.Parmanand and M.G. Ranade were involved in several ventures in journalism.

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1. Ibid., p.28.
2. Jambhekar, Vol.III, App. II, p.422.
3. Bengallee, p.7.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p.9.

Mandlik established a weekly newspaper in 1864, The Native Opinion with N.M.Parmanand as its first editor. The paper sought to air Indian views and opinions and so to promote a better understanding between the public and the Government.[1] Ranade was editor from 1864 to 1871 of the English column in Indu Prakash, an Anglo-Marathi daily advocating social reform. Later, from 1878 to 1896 Ranade wrote regularly for the Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha.[2] Ranade was, in fact, the leading light of the Sabha which was originally founded, in April, 1870, by the dispossessed landed gentry of the Deccan. Ranade as a government servant in the judicial department could not hold office in a political body but this did not prevent him from becoming the chief policy maker of the Sabha. Together with the Elphinstonian G.K.Gokhale, who was the Secretary of the Sabha, Ranade used the Sabha to agitate 'for the reform of the legislative councils, the holding of the I.C.S. examination simultaneously in England and India, easier credit facilities for the peasant, and protection for Indian industry'.[3]

These political ideas were, however, of the future, of the 1870s'. In the Fifties and Sixties the ideas propagated by the intellectuals in their newspapers were essentially the value of their English education; the need for internal reform, of the Hindu and Parsi communities,

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1. Sen, Vol.3, p.41.
2. Sen, Vol.3, p.479.
3. Nanda, p.42.

based on ancient tradition and a sloughing off of the false accretions of centuries; the elevation of the position of women; and , above all, the lack of fitness of Bombay's Shetias to lead any social reform movement or association.[1]

These ideas formed the basis of the earliest reformist association, the Students' Literary and Scientific Society. As education was the S.L.S.S.'s main field of activity, its members were most active in that neglected area of education, which was the education of females. The S.L.S.S. members not only advocated education for females but supported free schools for girls. Four Parsi girls' schools and three Marathi girls' schools were opened in October 1849, and the classes were conducted by two volunteer teachers for each school between seven and ten o'clock in the morning.[2] In March and July 1850 paid masters were appointed to these seven schools, and their salaries were paid for from funds provided by four Parsi gentlemen.[3] By the end of 1850 the number of girls was 203 at the Parsi schools and 125 at the Marathi schools. In 1851 a school was opened for Gujerati girls. At the end of 1851 the total number of girls attending the three S.L.S.S. supported schools was 545.[4] It is noteworthy that not only was Dadabhai Naoroji a volunteer teacher[5] but that

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1. Dobbin, p.55.
2. Ibid., p.26.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.27.
5. D.E.Wacha, p.688.

he, as well as Naoroji Furdoonji, Bhau Daji and Atmaram Pandurang were appointed Superintendents of the Society's girls' schools in recognition of their keen interest in the spread of education among Indian females.[1] Their task, however, was not an easy one. The old traditions of sequestering women in purdah and of child-marriage militated against the acceptance of female education by society generally. The opposition was strong and vociferous. Some Gujerati journalists warned that the introduction of young women to 'English Language and English manners'[2] or indeed to any formal education would 'subvert'[3] society.

The issue of female education may appear irrelevant in the present day when women far outnumber men in the urban liberal arts institutions in India. However, for the male graduates of the Elphinstone College in the mid-nineteenth century, education and particularly the education of women was regarded as an essential lever to bring about social change. English education in Bombay upto the 1850s had been exclusively for men. Female education, when it occurred in the seclusion of the home, was restricted to the basics of reading and writing in the vernacular and little arithmetic. The lives of these women were a round of household duties commenced at an early age, given the fact that girls were married at the age of ten or earlier.[4]

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1. Third Report of the S.L.S.S., (Bombay, 1852), App. No.8, p.45.
2. Fourth Report of the S.L.S.S., p.11.
3. Ibid.
4. Bengallee, p.15.

For the Elphinstone graduates, accustomed early in their education at the College to meeting the wives of their English professors,[1] and later to dealing socially with the wives of their English colleagues, the education of females was a touch-stone as much of their own development as the development of their society. In fact the Elphinstonian N.M.Parmanand referred to the 'sacred cause of female education'.[2] He underlined its social significance by noting that 'to educate a boy is only to bring up an individual, but to educate a girl is to train a whole family'.[3] In this context Parmanand urged that free primary and secondary schools for girls be opened and female education be encouraged by the creation of well-paid posts for female teachers.[4]

Other Elphinstonians were also interested and active in the sphere of female education. Karsondas Mulji was responsible for the supervision of the Buddhi Vardhak Hindu Sabha's girls' school in the Fort. Later at Rajkot Mulji was the President of the local girls' school.[5] S. S. Bengallee, yet another public spirited Elphinstonian, organised the publication of the first Parsi journal for women called the 'Streebodh'.[6] In addition Bengalee was an

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1. For instance, Prof. Giraud's wife was involved in the S.L.S.S. as an active donor of the Society.
   Third Report of the S.L.S.S., App.No.16,p.60.
2. N.M.Parmanand, Letters to an Indian Raja, from a Political Recluse, (Bombay, 1919), p.102.
3. Ibid., p.103.
4. Ibid., p.102.
5. B.N.Motivala, Karsondas Mulji. A Biographical Study. (Bombay, 1935), p.177.
6. Wacha, p.691.

enthusiastic member of the Parsi Girls' Schools' Association. In 1871 Bengallee, in collaboration with some rich, liberal-minded Parsis established a Normal School for girls, that is a school for the training of female school teachers. Bengallee was only too aware that there could be no female education of any worth if there were no trained female teachers. His commitment to the spread of female education was unswerving. Though not wealthy like some of the Parsi Shetias he donated generously to various girls' schools. He gave Rs.5,000 to the Normal School for girls.[1] He was also responsible for raising funds and establishing two girls' schools (not restricted to Parsis); one in Khetwadi in 1859 and the other in Bhendi Bazar in 1871. He was President of the latter until his death,[2] and a member of the managing committee of the Alexander Girls' English School which was founded in 1863.[3] Bengallee's biggest venture however in the field of female education, was the founding, in 1885, of a Parsi girls' school with a personal donation of Rs.66,000.[4] The school was dedicated to and named after his mother, Bai Bhikajee Shupurjee Bengallee.

There was an extraordinary cohesion of ideas and goals among the Elphinstone intellectuals, whatever their caste or community. Sometimes striving for universal

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1. Bengallee, p.19.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p.20.
4. Ibid.

principles, as over the question of female education, sometimes struggling for a particular reform unique to their community, they were invariably impelled by the values inculcated in them by their education and their professors at the Elphinstone College. As a contemporary of the time noted;

> It was an enthralling sight that Bombay witnessed those days - the professors of the Government College working hand-in-hand with their old boys, in their efforts for the public good.[1]

Enthralling certainly for a participant or sympathiser, but a less than enthusiastic view was taken by the conservative elements in Indian society. The Elphinstonians, who were active in social reform, were at first referred to contemptuously in these circles as the 'Society boys', from the fact that the College had originally been linked to the B.N.E.S.[2] Clearly the close association of the 'Society boys' with their European professors at the College did not necessarily work to their advantage. Their facility with the English language, their intellectual approach to social and religious issues, their refusal to accept on trust the authority of the traditional caste and community leaders heightened tensions between the English educated Elphinstonians and their social environment. They were compelled, on occasion, to find allies among the traditional hierarchy in order to bring about a specific social or religious reform, but these alliances were not

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1. Bengallee, p.18.
2. Ibid., p.14.

always successful. This was because though the chosen allies were relatively less conservative, they were nonetheless constrained by their position, and the need to protect this position within the traditional hierarchy and so ensure their authority. Ultimately there was no denying the fact that the traditional leaders as well as the Shetias, representing the new wealth, usually represented the majority view of the community. While the Elphinstonians held a minority view, however. an enlightened one it may have been .

It is interesting, however, that while so many of the social ideas espoused by these Elphinstonians had the support of only a minority in Bombay, and indeed in India, yet if transposed to the English scene these ideas would have met with general approval. Note for instance Bal Shastri's criticism of the Indian practice of having dancing and singing girls' perform at Nautchs. Shastri contended that these Nautchs pandered 'to the worst passions of the licentious and depraved, and contribute to render dissolute and immoral many who might otherwise have continued in the path of virtue'.[1] Thus it appears English education gave to the Elphinstonians not only knowledge of European learning which was objective and not fixed in any particular age, but the Elphinstonians acquired, at the same time, an overlay of Victorian values. The absorption of ethical values peculiar to a certain period of thought in England cannot but have been due to the direct and personal influence of the professors on their students.

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1. Jambhekar, Vol.2, p.58.

At any rate these values led some of the Elphinstonians to attack certain Indian social customs, dissociating themselves thereby from such practices and so establishing their credentials as one of the enlightened, English educated. There were other Elphinstonians who distanced themselves from such Indian customs, unacceptable in the West, by using their scholarship to show that in ancient India, the 'real' India as it were, such customs had no place. The latter reformist position had the added advantage of enabling the individual to retain his ties with his caste and community.

All this may suggest a certain degree of calculation or premeditation in the views expressed and actions taken by these Elphinstonians. This was not, in fact, the case. Their beliefs and actions, in the social and political spheres, emitted from an unarticulated desire to maintain their links with the two worlds, the world of their birth and the world of their education. The balancing act was never an easy one because they had to contend not only with the contrary pressures from each world but also with their own personal convictions. In some instances the moral values of their education were expressed in no uncertain terms as with N.M.Parmanand's attack on polygamy, which he held to be:

> The fertile source of evil, moral as well as physical in the East. It is a relic of barbarism and primeval necessity, affording a proof that ancient Asia is still young in knowledge. 1

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1. N.M.Parmanand, p.30.

In other cases as with R.G.Bhandarkar, scholarship was used to show that the education of women, widow-remarriage, the post-puberty marriage of girls were all sanctioned by ancient Hindu doctrine. And it was only the accretions of later years which brought about malpractices in these areas. Thus in support of female education Bhandarkar refers to the ancient prayer of the Rigvedic Brahmin which included the names of three female teachers.[1] Similarly in opposing female child-marriage he examines the ancient Hindu marriage-vows and proves that a child below the age of twelve would have been incapable of pronouncing them.[2] The scepticism and sense of inquiry instilled in him by his education led him to conclude

> Custom is a god whom our race devoutly worships, and religious sanction was accorded to these practices by the insertion of texts in the later books.[3]

M.G.Ranade too sought the authority of the ancient past to 'cleanse' society and religion of odious accretions which were unacceptable to the rationalist in him. A return to the past was additionally reassuring as it precluded the stigma of being a mere foreign imitator. He noted that 'those who advocate a return to the old order of things are thus in good company, and are not foreign imitators'.[4] Ranade, however, was inclined to go overboard

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1. Utgikar, p.488.
2. Ibid., p.506.
3. Ibid., p.513.
4. Ranade, p.72.

in emphasising the ancient past as being the 'best days'[1] of India. Unable to deal with a dissatisfactory present he retreats, as it were, into a romanticisation of the past.

There were other Elphinstone intellectuals, like Dadoba Pandurang who were made of tougher fibre. Dadoba found the social practices sanctioned by Hinduism so reprehensible that he founded a secret anti-caste society, the Parmahansa Sabha in 1850.[2] Dadoba's credentials as an intellectual were impeccable. A West scholar at the Elphinstone Institution, and later Director of the Normal Class for training school-masters, Dadoba quickly revealed himself to be a serious student of comparative religion. Of considerable help in his research was his knowledge of Sanskrit and Persian in addition to English. Dadoba's work entitled 'A Hindu Gentleman's Reflections respecting the Works of Emmanuel Swedenborg' established his scholarship in Christian Monasticism, Sufism and the teachings of Hindu philosophers.[3] So impressed was M.G.Ranade by Dadoba's intellectual attainments that he assigned to him 'a foremost place in the ranks of thoughtful inquirers after religious truth'.[4]

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1. Ibid., p.76.

2. Utgikar, Vol.II, p.479.

3. J.V.Naik, 'Early Anti-Caste Movement in Western India, The Paramahansa Sabha', reprint from the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, Vols. 49-50-51 / 1974-75-76 (New Series), Bombay, 1979, p.141.

4. Ibid.

Dadoba, however, did not confine himself to writing on esoteric subjects. He was directly involved in social reform, early in his career, in his capacity as President of the Marathi branch of the S.L.S.S. In addition, Dadoba, together with Ranade, was one of the founder members of the Society for the Promotion of Widow Marriage, established in 1865.[1] It was, however, the Paramahansa Sabha which absorbed most of Dadoba's energy. The objectives of the Sabha were : the abolition of the caste system, the renunciation of idolatory, the introduction of widow re-marriage, the promotion of female education and the education of the lowest castes.[2] Fearing high-caste persecution, the Sabha met in secrecy. When a new member was admitted he was required to read a prayer, and eat bread baked by a Christian and drink water from the hands of a Muslim, to indicate he had abandoned caste restrictions. Several times a year members of the Sabha, of different castes, dined together thereby breaking more caste taboos.[3] Many of the students from the Elphinstone Institution's Normal Class, during Dadoba's Directorship, became members of the Sabha and carried its message into the mofussil where they were posted as school-masters.[4]

Though the Sabha did little more than conduct discussions, it proliferated in membership until 1860 when

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1. Ibid., p.142.
2. Ibid., p.148.
3. Utgikar, Vol.II, p.479.
4. Ibid.

the book containing the members' names was stolen. Fearful of caste persecution the Sabha broke up.[1] However it was resurrected in another form. Some of the members of the old Paramahansa Sabha led by Dadoba's brother, Atmaram Pandurang, were convinced that social reform could not be effectively brought about unless based on religious reform. They therefore organised the Prarthana Samaj in 1867, modelled on Raja Rammohun Roy's ideas, and encouraged by K.C.Sen, President of Roy's Brahmo Samaj in Calcutta. The guiding principle of the two Samajs was 'the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of Man'.[2] Implicit in this principle was the obliteration of all caste and class distinctions. The Prarthana Samaj claimed to be a theistic movement, a product of Western learning and ancient Vedic literature and philosophy. In addition it forbade the worship of more than one god, idol worship and sacrifice.[3] However, despite its hoped for universalism, the Samaj never gained widespread public support. It was overwhelmingly composed of English educated Brahmins. Apart from its Vaishya founder and President, Atmaram Pandurang, its leading members were Elphinstone Brahmins such as R. G. Bhandarkar, M. G. Ranade, N.M.Parmanand and B. M. Wagle.

The Elphinstone intellectuals repeatedly faced this problem of not being able to gain wide public support for

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1. Ibid., p.480.
2. Ibid.
3. Census of the City of Bombay, taken 21 February, 1872, p.35.

their ideas. Karsondas Mulji, like the Prarthana Samajists, did not seek merely to alter certain social malpractices within Hindu society. He went further, he questioned the very moral premises of contemporary Hinduism. Mulji, like Dadoba Pandurang, was influenced by Christian precepts and morality. Unable to accept Hindu idolatry Mulji wrote a paper 'Ved Dharma and Sacred Books after the Vedas' in which he noted 'Nothing is written in the Vedas about the incarnation of Vishnu and nothing is written therein about idol worship.'[1] Mulji in fact believed many of the contemporary Hindu religious rituals to be not only immoral but contrary to Vedic ideals.

Mulji's essentially moral crusade began early. In 1851 at the age of nineteen he joined 'The Society for the Advancement of Mental Culture'. The society was dedicated to propagating ideas based on European values and precepts. Mulji also wrote for a number of journals whose titles indicate his strong commitment to a moral and cultural regeneration. These journals were Rast Goftar (Truth Seeker), Buddhi Vardhan (Promoter of intelligence), Dnyan Prasarak (Spreader of Knowledge). In addition Mulji wrote two books in the vernacular, Niti Vachan (Words of Morality) and Sansar Sukh (Social Happiness).[2] In 1855 Mulji started his own newspaper, Satya Prakash (The Light of Truth). The paper's aim was the destruction of 'the evil customs prevailing among the members of his community, of dispelling

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1. Motivala, pp. 73-74.

2. Ibid., p.24.

clouds of darkness, folly and superstition among them'.[1]

The paper appeared at an opportune moment. Mulji used its columns to attack the immorality of the Vallabhacharya[2] religious leaders, who called themselves Maharajas and were regarded by their followers as incarnations of God. Mulji, and his fellow Elphinstonian the poet and reformer Narmadashankar Lalshankar, saw the Vallabhacharya sect as

> fraudulent, their priests to be cheats, and their books to be morally poisoneus and thus utterly detrimental to the interests of religious-minded people.[3]

As evidence of such fraudulence Mulji in an article, dated 21 October, 1860 in the Satya Prakash, titled 'The Primitive Religion of the Hindus and the Present Heterodox Opinions' revealed the debauched behaviour of the Maharajas, who forced the wives and daughters of their devotees into adulterous relationships with them on the grounds that they were the incarnation of God. The article led to the famous libel suit of May, 1861 by Jadunathji Maharaj against Karsondas Mulji.[4]

The judgement given by Sir Joseph Arnold summed up everything that Karsondas Mulji was striving to achieve. Sir Joseph noted that the trial 'taught some to think, it must (also) have led many to inquire. It is not a question

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1. Ibid., p.25.
2. The religious Hindu sect into which Mulji was born.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.33.

of theology that has been before us : it is a question of morality'.[1] He believed that Mulji proved through the libel case that what was 'morally wrong (could) not be theologically right'.[2] The identity of views between the presiding judge and Mulji, one a European and the other an English educated Indian, indicates the extent to which Mulji's particular moral view was at divergence with that of the majority of his community who supported Jadunathji. The divergence was inevitable considering Mulji's Arnoldian identification of religion as morality and culture and his open assertion:

> I do not believe that among all religions, the Christian religion is the only revealed religion, but I believe firmly that the state of that religion is better than that of ours.[3]

Mulji was only too aware that as an intellectual, albeit a journalist, he had limited means to effect reform of his religious sect. He had therefore sought through the the libel case to mobilise a public outcry against the malpractices of the Vallabhacharya Maharajas. While the case got a great deal of publicity there was no widespread revulsion among the members of the sect. His support came from the already converted, that is other Elphinstonians and the colonial Establishment. Among the Elphinstonians who rallied to his side was Mandlik who described himself as a sepoy in Mulji's army of reform.[4]

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1. Ibid., p.36.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., pp. 245 - 246.
4. Ibid., p.53.

as well as Lalshankar, Bengallee and Bhau Daji who gave medical evidence against the Maharajas;[1] while from the Establishment he won plaudits from the Governor of Bombay, Sir Bartle Frere, who said of Mulji:

> I know of no more hopeful sign for the future of the races of Hindustan than the existence among them of men like Karsondas Mulji. 2

Just as Mulji sought British judicial support in his attempt to reform the Hindu Vallabhacharya sect, so too the early Parsi Elphinstonians, Naoroji Furdoonji, S. S. Bengallee and K.R.Cama, looked to the Government for legal sanction for reforms of the Parsi personal law. These Parsis first banded themselves into associations to educate the conservative majority by means of the publication of papers, lectures and discussions. The first of the Parsi reformist associations was the Rahanumai Mazdyasnan Association which was founded in 1851 with Naoroji Furdoonji as President, Bengallee as Honorary Secretary and Cama as an active member. Of these three Parsis, Bengallee and Naoroji Furdoonji made a major contribution to social reform by securing a code of laws to govern the social relations of the Parsis.[3] The Parsis, on settling in India, had adopted various Hindu customs, one of them was the council of elders called the Panchayat which functioned like a court of justice whose rulings were absolute and final. If its decisions

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1. Ibid., p.123.
2. Ibid., p.16.
3. Bengallee, p.25.

were questioned, the disputant was ex-communicated.[1] The Parsi Panchayat's authority however declined as its membership gradually became hereditary and a sharp distinction was made between rich and poor Parsis in the membership and the judgements made.

The Parsis had no written code of laws; their customs were based on common practice and precepts. In the 1830s' and 40s' fears were voiced by some Parsis that English law would be applied to the Parsis in the absence of a strong Panchayat. Therefore in 1855 the Parsi Law Association was founded to formulate social laws for the community. Furdoonji and Bengallee were joint Honorary Secretaries of the Association.[2] The two of them were also members of a sub-committee of the Association which prepared over a ten year period a code of inheritance and succession and petitioned the Legislative Council of India to enact the code as law. Eventually the Parsi Succession, Marriage and Divorce Acts were passed by the Government in 1868. The latter two acts were based upon the English Divorce Act of 1858.[3] Bengallee was proud that the Parsis were the only community in India

> who have voluntarily imposed upon themselves a law declaring bigamy a criminal offence and punishable as such after the manner of the English Law. On similar grounds they [the Parsis] may claim honour as the first of the Oriental peoples who by legally defining her individual marital rights have raised woman to a definitely higher social position.[4]

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., p.29.

3. Ibid., p.30.

4. Ibid., p.31.

Clearly Bengallee and Furdoonji were considerably comforted that in terms of morality and in terms of personal and social relationships their community had brought itself in line with English standards of conduct. For these Elphinstonians there seemed to be no desire to escape the juggernaut of Victorian morality.

K.R.Cama, however, dealt with, what were to him, unacceptable rituals in Zoroastrianism by attempting a 'purification' of the religion. Cama a former proprietor of the Gujerati, reform-minded newspaper the Rast Goftar,[1] turned increasingly to the use of scholarship to propagate his ideas. He asserted that the first Parsis in India had adopted certain Hindu customs in order to secure the protection and assistance of the Hindu princes,[2] and subsequent generations of Parsis had assumed these borrowed practices were sanctioned by their own religion.[3] Hitherto the study of the Zoroastrian religion, and the study of the ancient Iranian languages of Pahlavi and Avesta, in which the religious texts were written, was confined to the hereditary Parsi priests. The Parsi priests had declined in scholarship and barely understood the liturgy that they recited.[4] Therefore in 1861 Cama opened a private class at his residence to teach Avesta and

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1. The Newspaper was founded in 1851 by Dadabhai Naoroji and other members of the S.L.S.S.
   Edwardes, Kharshedji Cama, p.13.

2. Ibid., p.66.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p.69.

Pahlavi, and comparative grammar and philology.[1] At the end of the year Cama had a dozen young men attending the class. In 1864 Cama founded a society for the promotion of Zoroastrian religious research, the Zarthoshti Din-ni Khol Karnari Mandali. It was essentially a discussion group consisting of intellectuals and scholars. However, the conclusions they arrived at were used by the Rahnumai Mazdyasnan or Religious Reform Association, with which too Cama, Bengallee and Furdoonji were affiliated, to enforce the eradiction of Hindu accretions to the Parsi religious observances.[2]

While the Hindu and Parsi Elphinstone intellectuals sought to adapt their communities to the ethos of their education by the spread of reformist ideas, and on occasion by legislation enacting these ideas, the task of the sole, eminent Muslim from the College, Badruddin Tyabji, was a more difficult one. The Hindu and Parsi intellectuals from the Elphinstone College were from communities, the literary Hindu castes and the mercantile Hindus and Parsis, who recognised, with whatever reservations, the intrinsic benefits of English education. This was not the case with the traditional Muslim leaders and the vast majority of the community who were united in their sense of isolation from the benefits of English education. The Muslims, with the exception of such mercantile groups as Tyabji's Sulaimani Bohras, had withdrawn from contact with the British in India. Even though the Muslims of

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1. Ibid., p.70.
2. Ibid., p.80.

Western India were generally not in the position of rulers deposed by the Raj, as was the case with the Muslims of Northern India, yet they shared with their northern co-religionists

> a feeling of pride for the glories of their past empire and the consequent inability to reconcile themselves to the circumstances of the present. [1]

Thus Tyabji's ideas were more inimical to his fellow Muslims than were those, for instance, of Ranade or Dadabhai Naoroji's were to their respective communities.

Certainly the Elphinstone intellectuals of all three communities - Hindu, Parsi and Muslim - were often at odds with the innately conservative traditional leaders of their respective communities. However, these leaders, particularly if Shetias, were not always implacably opposed to the social reform ideas of the English educated. Nor did the Shetias consistently present a united front against the intelligentsia. A few Shetias actually gave monetary help to some of the radical newspapers of the intellectuals. In 1852, for instance, Karsondas Mulji established the Satya Prakash newspaper with the help of the Kapol Bania Shetia, Manguldas Nathubhai.[2] Nathubhai also supported the establishment of Gujerati Hindu schools for girls, just as the Marathi-speaking community's leading Shetia,

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1. N.A., B. Tyabji Papers, Vol.26, S. No. 992 : B. Tyabji's Evidence to the Education Commission of 1882.

2. Masselos, p.32.

Jagannath Shankarshet, gave financial help to Marathi Girls' schools. Shankerset was, in fact, unusual among the Shetias in that he had his own daughters instructed at a vernacular girls' school.[1]

The Shetias were pragmatists. They were inclined to weigh up the negative reaction of the community against any possible advantage to be gained from Government approval of their support of social reform, as well any material advantage that may accrue to them. The English educated intelligentsia, for their part, banded themselves with the Shetias in social reform associations inorder to give their views greater public authority and influence. Though the link with the Shetias was a temuous one given the essentially divergent interests and values of the two groups, nevertheless the uneasy partnership was often effective in that it strengthened the public voice of the intelligentsia. The alternative, decidedly unattractive, would have been for these Elphinstonians to remain a small coterie of intellectuals with no immediate means of propagating their ideas. As it was they had great difficulty in living down their reputation that they 'represented no one but themselves'.[2]

In social reform the Elphinstone intellectuals had the implicit support of the Government as there was a sharing of ideas and a mutual understanding about the way

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1. Dobbin, p.57.

2. J.N.M., Pherozeshah Mehta Papers, I Correspondence, S. No. 212 : William Wedderburn to P. Mehta, 1 Feb., 1891.

Indian society, of caste and community ought to develop. Government interest and support had made the collaboration of the Shetias with the intelligentsia, in the sphere of social reform, somewhat less difficult despite the conservatism of the traditional leaders. In the political sphere, however, the position of the intellectuals was more complicated and hedged in by differences with the Shetias. Though moderate and loyalist, the political ideas and aspirations of the intellectuals were regarded with suspicion and distrust by Anglo-India . This had a dual effect ; the attitude of the Anglo-Indians dismayed the Shetias and at the same time increased the dependence of the intellectuals on Shetia support. The Shetias in the 1850s because of their commercial dealings with the Government had greater leverage, than had the intellectuals, with the Government. The Shetias, moreover, were close to individual members of the Government. These magnates, however, were not easily prepared to put at risk the goodwill they had created through their close collaboration with the Raj. Nor, in fact, were they inclined to agree with the political ideas of the intellectuals. Given these tensions it is hardly surprising that the development of political associations in Bombay was not easily accomplished.

Chapter IX

Elphinstonians and Political Associations

In 1852 the first specifically political organisation in Western India[1] was established by three Elphinstonians; Naoroji Furdoonji, a translator at the High Court; Dr. Bhau Daji recently graduated from the Grant Medical College; and Dadabhai Naoroji who was, at the time, Assistant Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at the Elphinstone College.[2] The three men were in their late twenties or early thirties and had been active in social reform, first through the S.L.S.S., and then through the vernacular societies that grew out of the S.L.S.S. Given the loyalist aims of the Bombay Association, its establishment in no way diverged from the intelligentsia's social reform activities. Indeed, the Association was a natural development from these activities because once again the aim was to work with the government, not against it. Similarly the intellectuals sought the support of the Shetias for the Bombay Association, through membership and donations, just as they had done in the field of social reform. In fact the Shetias joined the Association in such numbers that they became numerically the dominant group.[3] The total membership of the Association grew from 56 to 75 between

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1. Seal, p.198.
2. Keer, p.6.
3. Masselos, p.52.

1852 and 1856.[1] The intellectuals, though the initiators of the Association, were reduced to a vocal minority. The support of the Shetiag was a chain reaction set in motion by Jagannath Shankarsett the leading Shetia agreeing to take on the Presidency of the Association. He was then able to persuade many of the other Shetias not only to join but to give donations to the new association.[2]

The aim of the Association as seen by Bhau Daji, who was its first Secretary, was to seek the support of the government 'to advance the welfare of the people of this country, which it is likewise the aim and object of the Government to promote'.[3] Not surprisingly the Association was seen by the Press to be one of 'reformers - not destroyers, whigs and something more - not red-hot republicans'. There was no question of the Association acting in opposition to the government. Rather the work of the Association was seen as one of mediation between the government and its subjects. With this object in view the Association prepared petitions to Parliament in England and the government in India, sought information on conditions in the mofussil and presented public lectures. The petitions prepared by the Association and presented to the British Parliament so impressed the British Press that the London paper, 'The Leader', noted,

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1. Dobbin, p.80.
2. Dobbin, p.79.
3. Priyolkar, p.63.

in its edition of 15 January, 1853, that the petitioners have

> totally altered the relation in which they have hitherto stood to the British Government. It cannot any longer be considered that they are in tutelage; for although their claims are preferred in the form of a Petition strikingly moderate in its tone, the very method of their proceeding shows, that they have already acquired a power which must enforce respect..... now we find the Natives of Bombay not begging like spaniels, at the feet of their master, but conducting a political agitation, with money and moderation, like the middle classes of Liverpool or Manchester. 1

The Shetias, however, were inclined to view the petitions written by the intellectuals with misgiving and even alarm. Through their petitions, intellectuals such as Bhau Daji and Naoroji Furdoonji sought to draw the government's attention to the political needs of India or rather of educated India. They emphasised the difficulties arising from the extreme centralisation of the Government of India, the expense and racial exclusiveness of the administration; the need for expansion and improvement of the education of Indians and the deficiencies in the legal education of the Company's servants.[2] The intelligentsia, it appears, sincerely and optimistically believed that the government would welcome accurate information of the state of the country as it would facilitate their task of administering India.[3] The Shetias, given their caution in their dealings with the

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1. Priyolkar, p.96.
2. Dobbin, p.82.
3. Dobbin, p.83.

government, preferred to draw the government's attention to neutral, non-political subjects which would not raise the hackles of any Company administrator. Given the Shetia preponderance their view prevailed. As their interests came to be rarely aired in the Association, the intellectuals ceased to work actively for the organisation. The Association meetings became less and less frequent as the Shetias were not enthusiasts for meetings and discussion. In 1863 the Joint Secretaries, Bhau Daji and Naoroji Furdoonji resigned their positions.[1]

Some of the intelligentsia having been driven out of the Association, it appeared for a time as if the Bombay Association would become a wholly Shetia body. This however proved to be a shortlived expectation as the Association underwent a revival with an influx of intellectuals in 1867. Their entry was made possible by the collapse of a number of Shetias in the share mania and other commercial excitements of the early sixties. Though in 1867 the Association continued to have a Shetia President and four Shetia Vice-Presidents, its Managing Committee of 40 members included several Elphinstonians. Of the ten representatives of Bombay's intelligentsia eight were Elphinstonians. Bhau Daji and Naoroji Furdoonji rejoined the Association in 1867 and they brought with them S. S. Bengallee, V. N. Mandlik, Kamruddin Tyabji (brother of Badruddin) and B.M.Wagle. In 1869 R.G.Bhandarkar and M.G.Ranade swelled the number of Elphinstonians on the Committee.[2]

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1. Priyolkar, p.103.

2. Dobbin, p.89.

The revived Bombay Association, with the urging of the intelligentsia, was to focus its attention on the issue of Indian admission to the higher grades of the Civil Service.[1] While Indians were technically not excluded from the Covenanted Civil Service, the obstacles to their candidacy, including appearing for the examinations in London and the age-limit, were so great as in effect to exclude Indians from the Service. They were thus restricted to the lower echelons of the administration. This, the intelligentsia asserted, resulted not only in an invidious racial division within the civil service but added considerably to its expense. An argument which was to be elaborated by Dadabhai Naoroji under the auspices of the East India Association.

The renewed activities of the Bombay Association coincided with the founding, by Dadabhai in London in 1867, of the East India Association. In 1869 Dadabhai Naoroji established the Bombay Branch of his association. It was intended that the East India Association would differ from the Bombay Association in that it would be a society controlled by the intelligentsia. Moreover, as an organisation of the English-educated, who increasingly saw themselves as an all-India social class, the association claimed to be concerned not merely with Bombay's needs but the interests as they saw them of the entire country. So Dadabhai's association was the first to transcend at least conceptually the narrow limitations of

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1. Masselos, p.64.

2. Dobbin, p.93.

community and region and to stake its claim to represent India as a whole. In actual fact the Bombay Branch mobilised not country-wide public opinion but that of the minority intelligentsia, and on occasion, the wealthy.[1] The concept,however, of being an association with all-India interests was an important development.

Another idea propagated by the East India Association was that it was the duty of India's intellectuals to present India's case, on whatever issue, in England before the English Parliament and the English public. Dadabhai believed that ultimately it was the India lobby, consisting mainly of English Liberals in Parliament, which held the key and hope to political change in India, for in Dadabhai's view all major India decisions were made in England and not in India.[2] Local associations in India, such as the Bombay Branch of the East India Association, were necessary, according to Dadabhai, to create a groundswell of public opinion which would strengthen the hands of the India lobby in England.

There was nothing surprising about Dadabhai's view given his long residence in England. He had resigned his professorship at the Elphinstone College and gone to England in 1855 to establish, with two other Parsis, a commercial venture. He had remained in England right through the 1870s with only long visits to India.[3] Thus

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1. Masselos, p.72.

2. Ibid., p.61.

3. R.P.Masani, Dadabhai Naoroji, the Grand Old Man of India, (London, 1939), pp. 71, 181, 195.

while the intellectuals in Bombay struggled with the Shetias on the one hand, and a generally antagonistic Raj on the other, Dadabhai through his close personal friendships and political association with the Liberals in England developed a different perspective on political possibilities. He placed his faith in the Liberals in England, and by so doing hoped to bypass the authorities in India on any issue of political importance. Dadabhai recognised the chain of command that underpinned the Raj in India and so geared his East India Association to an English audience. To this end he, and later the Elphinstone intellectuals in the Bombay Branch of the Association, cleverly focused their criticism on the Anglo-Indian bureaucrats who in any case were not held in high esteem by the Establishment in England. Thus they avoided attacking the British establishment directly while feeling free to air their grievances against the Raj in India.[1]

The Bombay Branch of the East India Association had as its Joint Secretaries the Elphinstonians K.T.Telang and Javerilal Umiashankar and its Committee members were the Elphinstone graduates, Dadabhai Naoroji, V.N.Mandlik, Atmaram Pandurang, R. G. Bhandarkar, B.M.Wagle, Naoroji Furdoonji and S. S. Bengallee. Two important Elphinstonians, however, were missing, Badruddin Tyabji and Pherozeshah Mehta. Tyabji was preoccupied with Muslim affairs and Mehta had temporarily fallen out with the other Elphinsto-

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1. Masselos, p.62.

nians over his support of Arthur Crawford, the Municipal Commissioner. However, for all Dadabhai's hopes and the talents of its membership the Association achieved very little by way of supplying information to the main branch in London, or in co-operating at a national level with similar bodies in other parts of India.[1] Essentially the East India Association succeeded only in the mobilisation of opinion among the already converted, that is the intelligentsia in Bombay and the Liberals in England. While the limited achievements of the Bombay Association could be ascribed to the restraints placed by the Shetias on the intellectuals, in the East India Association it was the preoccupation of many of the intellectuals with the affairs of their own communities which reduced the effectiveness of the Association.

Indeed, some of the intellectuals strongly believed that social reform must precede any political activity. This division of opinion within the ranks of the intellectuals was not due to any generational difference as much as one of inclination. K.R.Cama, S.S.Bengallee, R.G.Bhandarkar and N.M.Parmanand, though members of the political associations, were not very active in them as they believed their real work was in the reform of their own communities. Bhandarkar was emphatic about this, stating baldly that there could be 'no political advancement

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1. 'Native Opinion', 16 Jan., 1876, pp. 34-35 in Dobbin, p.191.

without social and moral advancement'.[1] He elaborated his views in the following terms:

> We may ask for powers and privileges. But before we do so we should take care to qualify ourselves for their exercise. We should learn to use them in the interests of the community at large, and rise superior to all considerations about self, caste or clique. 2

Bengallee too believed that the Indian hadn't transcended the narrow categories of caste and community, and therefore he refused to join the Indian National Congress when it was founded by his fellow Elphinstonians in 1885.[3] Parmanand also expressed his concern about political demands being made by 'a people disunited by race and caste, creed and tradition'.[4] His worry was that given the absence of a national view, one group could dominate in giving to itself the position of spokesman. Parmanand attacked what he called the Indian 'inordinate love of authority',[5] and did not spare his fellow intellectuals in his criticism:

> Even those who have received an English education and are imbued with a love of the free political institutions of Europe, the strange spectacle is seen of everyone wishing to rule and none inclined to obey, everyone laying down plans and none executing them.[6]

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1. Utgikar, Vol.1, p.451.
2. Ibid., p.448.
3. N.S.Bengallee, p.23.
4. N.M.Parmanand, p.98.
5. Ibid., p.83.
6. Ibid.

Neither Parmanand nor any of the other dissenting Elphinstonians expressed their doubts about any particular intellectual, nor is there anything to suggest that their fears were anything other than general. Parmanand's pessimism about political associations and activity can perhaps be ascribed to the fact that Parmanand, like Cama and Bhandarkar, was basically a scholar, made uneasy by the uneven development and absence of clear objectives in the Bombay Association and the East India Association.

There was, however, no mistaking the clarity of Dadabhai Naoroji's Drain Theory which he expounded first at a meeting in London of the East India Association in July, 1870,[1] and later refined over the years into a clearly argued case on the impoverishment of India by colonial rule. Dadabhai first pinpointed the stark contrast between the condition of England and that of India:

> While England has gone on increasing in wealth at a greater progress than in population, India at this moment is far poorer than even the misgoverned and oppressed Russia. 2

He ascribed the disparity between the two countries, not to a lack of resources or means of development in India, but to the unequal economic burden put on India by the Raj. Dadabhai believed that India was being systematically 'bled'[3] under the euphemism of taxation. Dadabhai

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1. Dobbin, p.191.
2. D. Naoroji, Speeches and Writings, p.326.
3. Ibid., p.219.

pointed out that in England the taxes

> go from the hands of the taxpayers into the hands of the Government, from which they flow back into the country again in various shapes, fertilising trade and returning to the people themselves. There is no diminution of wealth. [1]

In India, however, this was not the case. The Government managed expenditure and taxation in such a way that 'There is a continual bleeding of about twenty millions (of pounds) annually'[2] from a hundred million pounds paid annually in taxation in India.

In addition, part of the remaining Indian revenue did not serve India directly but was used for the maintenance of an 'immense European military and civil service'.[3] The armed forces which were such a drain on Indian revenue protected, according to Dadabhai, British not Indian interests:

> That India is protected from lawlessness and disorder is unquestionably a great boon and benefit to it. But orderly or disorderly India shall always remain and exist where it is, and will shape its own destiny somehow, well or badly. But without law and order British Rule will not be able to keep its existence in India.[4]

Dadabhai dismissed the 'bugbear of Russian invasion'[5] as he believed that if only Britain would 'pay honestly'[6] for

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1. Ibid., p.220.
2. Ibid., p.221.
3. Ibid., p.222.
4. Ibid., p.330.
5. Ibid., p.343.
6. Ibid.

what it took from India, then Britain would have an 'irresistable store of fighting power'.[1] Moreover, according to Dadabhai:

> With India Britain is great and invincible; without India Britain will be a small Power. Make India feel satisfaction, patriotism, and prosperity under your supremacy and you may sleep securely against the world.[2]

Dadabhai asserted that, in addition to the heavy taxation and extensive military expenditure, there was a further drain of Indian revenue through the employment of Europeans in the civil service. These Europeans were not only paid a higher salary but were also paid a large pension in sterling on their retirement. Dadabhai pointed out that as these Europeans were employed 'avowedly, entirely and solely owing to British Rule and for British purposes and British interests - to maintain British supremacy'[3] they should be paid from the British exchequer. Dadabhai pointed that there were distinct advantages to the employment of more Indians in the civil service. Not only would the country retain the knowledge and experience of its administrators after their retirement, but, equally importantly, these Indian civil servants were better suited to understanding and remedying the problems of their fellow countrymen.[4] As a conclusion to his argument, Dadabhai suggested that the effectiveness of the

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p.337.
4. Ibid., p.485.

Indian administrators could not help but benefit the Raj as it would gain 'the sympathy of the natives with (sic) the British Rulers'.[1]

Dadabhai was not the only Elphinstone intellectual to criticise India's economic relationship with Britain. Indeed, in the latter part of the nineteenth century the demand of these intellectuals was as much for a reduction of the economic burden of empire, as for some measure of representation. In 1877, at the early age of twenty-seven, Telang had taken on the Free Traders over the question of import duties on cotton goods from Manchester. He rejected the Free Traders' contention that import duties kept the price of cotton goods at a high level and so caused a loss to the consumer.[2] He pointed out that Western India was 'even better suited to the manufacture of cotton goods than England'.[3] With the raw material several thousand miles nearer and the labour cheaper, cotton goods from India would ultimately be cheaper. He, therefore firmly concluded that although a protection duty may in the first instance raise the cost of the manufactured article, in the long run the interests of the consumer and the indigenous industry were both best served by Protectionism rather than Free Trade.[4]

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1. Ibid.
2. K.T.Telang, Selected Writings and Speeches, (Bombay, 1916), p.106.
3. Ibid., pp. 106-107.
4. Ibid., p.109.

Further, in dealing with the Free Traders' contention that Protectionism prevented 'an increase of the aggregate production',[1] Telang pointed to the import and export figures for 1857-60 and 1868-71 for the three Presidencies as proof to the contrary. He showed that whereas Bombay was 'in advance of Bengal and Madras put together to the extent of two millions and upwards in the department of exports, we are only about nine hundred thousand pounds beyond them in the department of imports'.[2] Therefore Telang argued, the export figures for Protectionist Bombay indicate better production than in the other two Presidencies which breathe 'the free and bracing air of Free Trade'.[3]

Telang's ultimate concern was with India's economic progress. A progress which would effect not just one class or region but all of India, and in this wider application of his economic ideas Telang, like Dadabhai, was expressing, albeit not explicitly, a national view. Expressly in terms of Protectionism, Telang believed that, without Protectionism, India would be reduced to the condition of a nation of pure agriculturists, with no manufacture worth the name.[4] Telang quoted from Mill's 'Political Economy' to support his opposition to such a condition. 'A nation all engaged in the same or nearly

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1. Ibid., p.125.
2. Ibid., p.124.
3. Ibid., p.125.
4. Ibid., p.156.

the same pursuit - a nation all agricultural - cannot attain a high state of civilisation and culture'.[1] Thus, conscious of the dangers of Free Trade Telang denounced it no uncertain terms:

> It is a mockery and a delusion to speak of liberty, when the native endeavouring to develop the resources of his country, can be undersold and commercially ruined by the unlimited competition of the foreigner.[2]

Ranade was as concerned, as Dadabhai and Telang, about the economic difficulties caused by India's colonial status. Ranade pointed out that the extreme 'centralisation of Finance (was) at the bottom of all our present difficulties'.[3] Ranade's concern with the reduction of the economic burden was already linked in his mind with increasing the power of the public's, that is the intelligentsia's voice. He saw revenue as a means of influencing at least local governments. He was aware that while national public opinion did not exist, public opinion at the Presidency level would develop if the revenue contributions raised by each Presidency formed an important supplement to the Imperial revenue.[4] As an idea it could not be faulted, but Ranade lacked the means at the time of persuading the Government to reform its financial structure in such a way as to give the advantage to the burgeoning aspirations of the intelligentsia.

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1. Ibid., p.158.

2. Ibid., p.179.

3. N.A., Gokhale Papers, File No.203, Part I, Item No.4 : M.G.Ranade to D. Naoroji, 28 July, 1896.

4. Ibid.

The financial and economic concerns of the Elphinstone intellectuals are hardly surprising. Commerce dominated life in Bombay and not a few of the intellectuals combined a training in Western political thought with a first hand knowledge of the mercantile world. Dadabhai Naoroji had run a successful business in England for many years, and it has already been noted that Bengallee, Wacha and Javerilal Umiashankar were employed in commercial enterprises. Thus, these men not only observed the government's economic policies as intellectuals, but personally experienced the commercial impact of these policies. As the intellectuals were a close-knit group, prone to discussion and the exchange of ideas, the experience of those commercially employed helped mould the ideas of men like Ranade and Telang.

The intellectuals have been accused of being involved in issues that were primarily of concern to themselves. That is, however, to see the evolution of the English educated intelligentsia in moral terms. As it was the interests of the intellectuals were more often than not countered by the divergent interests of the Shetias. The resulting tension and clash of interests gave a certain impetus to the intellectuals and broadened their area of action as they had to seek support from other elements within society. This is certainly the case in the intellectuals' struggle to gain a voice in civic affairs. Thwarted by the Shetias, the intellectuals aligned themselves with the broad mass of ratepayers with whom they neither shared an education nor an interest in the principle of representation. The intellectuals were only

too aware that their involvement in municipal affairs was but a preparation for the ultimate goal of representation on the government's legislative councils. The Elphinstonian, V.N.Mandlik states the objective quite clearly. As editor of the Native Opinion, Mandlik noted in 1867;

> The municipal institutions of India are the nuclii (sic) from which will, under due nurture, be formed the tissues of which the future representative Governments must be composed. 1

In 1870, the agitation for involvement in civic matters arose from the public's dissatisfaction with the profligate expenditure of the Municipal Commissioner, Arthur Crawford, and the consequent heavy taxation he had imposed on the public.[2] Crawford wielded considerable power because the Municipal Act of 1865 had vested sole executive authority in the hands of a single official, the Commissioner himself. He was responsible only to a Bench of Justices appointed by Government for life.[3] The Justices numbered 300 to 400, over half of whom were Europeans.[4] The majority of the Indian members of the Bench were Parsi and Gujerati Shetias, 'most of whom were barely acquainted with English and consequently unable to

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1. Native Opinion, 1 Dec., 1867, p.369 in Dobbin, p.135.
2. H. Mody, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, A Political Biography, (London, 1963), p.33.
3. Ibid.
4. Proceedings of the Council of the Governor of Bombay, 1869, viii. 16. in Dobbin, p.132.

speak at meetings'.[1] By the late Sixties there were a few prominent Elphinstonians on the Bench, these were V. N. Mandlik, Naoroji Furdoonji and S. S. Bengallee.[2] Though unable to have an impact on the Corporation, given their minority position, the Elphinstonians did not desist from expressing their dissatisfaction with the structure and working of the Corporation. A position hardly guaranteed to win favour with the government which appointed members to the Bench of Justices.

Bengallee was the first to urge the principle of representation in the conduct of municipal affairs. In September, 1869 he wrote to Sir Andrew Scoble pointing out that the Bench was too unwieldy and unsuitable a body to discharge its municipal duties. Bengallee suggested:

> The duties would be better performed by a more compact body, say a Municipal Council of 12 members, six Indians and six Europeans, four members elected by the rate-payers, four by the Bench of Justices from among its own body and four nominated by Government.[3]

Bengallee held that the franchise should be given to every member of the public paying not less than one hundred rupees per annum in direct rates to the Municipal Fund.[4] This moderate demand for a measure of representation in

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1. Ibid., 1865, iv. 6. in Dobbin, p.132.
2. G. A. Natesan, (ed.), Famous Parsis, (Madras, 1930), p. 41 ; Bengallee, p.36
3. Bengallee, p.36.
4. Ibid.

the Corporation was supported in 1871 by Pherozeshah Mehta.[1] Mehta was, if anything, more emphatic than Bengallee about the need for a representative Bench of Justices. He believed;

> There never will be efficient municipal administration in Bombay, till there is a popular and responsible Bench of Justices elected at regular intervals by the ratepayers themselves, (and) a consultative Town Council elected out of it.[2]

The principle of representation was originally sought to protect the public from heavy taxation and the vagaries of an unrepresentative Municipal Corporation. However, the Shetias instead of joining with the intellectuals and the ratepayers in demanding that taxation and municipal expenditure be trimmed, attempted to shift the burden of taxation onto the general public.[3] The Shetias, who formed the majority of houseowners in Bombay city, wished municipal taxes on property to be reduced and indirect taxation on items of daily consumption to be increased.[4] Moreover, the Shetias realised only too well that a popularly elected Corporation would not view sympathetically their narrow interests. The counter-reform stance of the Shetias polarised the situation and galvanised the intellectuals into greater and more radical effort. Effort aimed as much at reducing taxation and obtaining the franchise as at the displacement of Shetia

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1. Ibid., p.47.
2. Mody, p.38.
3. Dobbin, p.143.
4. Ibid.

power on the Bench of Justices.

This was easier attempted than achieved. The simple fact was that the interests of the Shetias and Government coincided and together they were a formidable opposition to the aspirations of the intellectuals. Thus the Municipal Bill of 1872 was a severe disappointment to the intellectuals. The Bill reduced the Corporation to 64 members, half of whom were to be elected by the ratepayers, a quarter elected by the existing Bench of Justices and the remaining 16 nominated by the Government of Bombay.[1] The Bill moreover gave the franchise to a very limited number of people; to those persons paying Rs.50 per annum towards municipal revenues through house rates, lighting and police rates. Similarly the qualification for membership of the Corporation was settled on the payment of Rs.50 per annum in municipal rates and taxes.[2] Bengallee's demands in 1869 had, in fact, been pitched much lower, but in the intervening short period the position of the intellectuals had hardened in the face of Shetia obduracy. The Bill clearly vested power in the hands of the Government and the acquiescent Shetias as the rates qualification denied the majority of the intellectuals of both the vote and the right to sit in the Corporation. However, for all the immediate disappointment at their exclusion, the intellectuals had won on the larger issue, i.e. the principle of elected

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1. The Gazeteer, Vol.III, pp. 5-6.
2. Proceedings of the Council of the Governor of Bombay, 1872, xi. pp. 61-62 in Dobbin, p.146.

representatives.

The principle was not to become a reality, as far as the intellectuals were concerned, until 1888 when a New Municipal Bill was passed. The Bill, which extended the franchise to include those like many of the intellectuals in lower income groups, was secured as much due to the exertions of men like Telang and Mehta as due to the commitment of the Governor, Lord Reay, to a more progressive administration. That is, a municipality which gave more power, and in Reay's words greater 'security'[1] to the ratepayers who included the intellectuals.

The Municipal experience of the intellectuals had made clear to them that the Shetias were not to be trusted, that as the commercial gains of political quiescence increased with the growth of empire, so inevitably the polarisation between the Shetias and the intellectuals became more severe. The Elphinstonians' agitation for representation in civic affairs had also underlined their essential dependence on the individual Governor's and Viceroy's liberalism. Reay early showed his independence from Anglo-India by nominating to his Legislative Council Dadabhai Naoroji, M.G.Ranade, K.T.Telang, Badruddin Tyabji and Pherozeshah Mehta.[2] Equally Ripon's Local Self-Government Bill of 1882 had aroused the hopes and ambitions of the intelligentsia as much in Bombay as in the other Presidencies.

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1. Mody, p.113.

2. Nanda, p.51.

Two crises, that is the Ilbert Bill and the Crawford case, greatly enhanced the popularity of Ripon and Reay among the intellectuals. The Crawford case related directly to the Bombay administration of Lord Reay. Crawford, a corrupt senior member of the Civil Service, had escaped prosecution because successive Governors of Bombay had shrunk from exposing one of their own number. Reay, however, decided to prosecute, and more importantly refused to accept the "not guilty" judgement of the biased British judges.[1] The Ilbert Bill, in giving Indian judges in the mofussil the right to try Europeans had stirred up a great deal of heat and dust, with the intellectuals in the country united against Anglo-India in their determination to achieve honourable careers in their own country.

The Ilbert Bill controversy of 1883 and Ripon's departure from India in December, 1884 convinced the intellectuals that Anglo-India was a force that not even a Viceroy, however liberal, could easily neutralise. Thus frustrated by the opposition of Anglo-India to reforms, and at the same time impressed by its India-wide organisation in defence of its interests, the intellectuals sought an all-India counter to the entrenched forces of the Anglo-Indians. Moreover the issues tackled by Ripon and the ensuing questions raised in the minds of the intellectuals, about the future of India and the role of educated Indians in the administration of the country, had

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1. Ibid.

created a bond among intellectuals from different parts of the country. For the Elphinstone intellectuals particularly, an association at an all-India level had the added attraction of giving them a forum which was not bound to the Shetia- dominated city of Bombay.

Thus the Indian National Congress, when it met in its first session in Bombay in 1885, was dominated by those Elphinstone intellectuals who had been most active during the past decades in Bombay's social and political associations. They were Dadabhai Naoroji, K. T. Telang, Pherozeshah Mehta, D. N. Wacha, Badruddin Tyabji and Javerilal Umiashankar. The 17 delegates from the city to the Congress also included less well known Elphinstonians namely R. M. Sayani, B. M. Wagle and B. M. Malabari. For a variety of reasons, the other Elphinstone intellectuals considered in this thesis did not participate in the Congress. It has already been noted that Bhandarkar, Bengallee, Parmanand and Cama viewed national political activity with scepticism. They not only believed that the concept of nationhood was not strong among Indians but that social reform was the more urgent sphere for action. As far as the others were concerned, Mandlik, as a Government Pleader, could not become a member of an avowedly political organisation like the Congress. Nor could Ranade as a judicial officer, though he was a close confident of A.O.Hume, Dadabhai Naoroji, William Wedderburn and Pherozeshah Mehta.[1] However, Ranade's protege and

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1. Nanda, p.47.

fellow Elphinstonian, G. K. Gokhale, regarded himself as his guru's 'conduit pipe' [1] and spoke at the sessions of the Congress not only for himself but also for Ranade. Of the other Elphinstone intellectuals, Bhau Daji , Naoroji Furdoonji, Karsondas Mulji, Dadoba Pandurang and Bal Shastri were all dead by December, 1885.

It has not been possible to ascertain the exact number of Elphinstonians who were members of the Indian National Congress for the period 1885 to 1890. There is however clear evidence that 'the delegation lists (were) remarkable for the almost total absence of government employees, including clerical employees and teachers in government schools'.[2] Therefore, as a majority of the Elphinstone College graduates were employed as government clerks and school teachers [3] and had fathers who were in government employ [4], it is unlikely that Elphinstonians contributed greatly in numbers to the Congress. Political activity was thus clearly not the norm among the Elphinstonians, rather a secure government job was the objective for the vast majority of the College's graduates. This fact makes the domination of the early Congress by the small number of Elphinstone intellectuals even more remarkable.

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1. Ibid.
2. E.E.McDonald and C.M.Stark, English Education, Nationalist Politics & Elite Groups in Maharashtra, 1885-1915, (Berkeley, 1969), p.65.
3. See Tables 3 and 4.
4. See Table 10.

The domination was through ideas and intellectual stature rather than any other factor because in professional background the Elphinstone intellectuals conformed to the general pattern among the Bombay delegates. The liberal professions of lawyers, teachers and doctors constituted 44 per cent of the delegation from Bombay Presidency to the 1889 Congress session. A quarter of the delegates were merchants and another quarter were landowners.[1] It has already been established that Mehta, Tyabji and Telang were lawyers and Gokhale a professor at the independent Fergusson College, while Wacha and Naoroji were involved in Commerce.

The Elphinstone intellectuals, together with members of the intelligentsia from other parts of the country, dominated the Congress in its early sessions. Indeed, the intellectuals regarded 'the Congress as an association of the most intelligent leaders of the different communities of India, sent from the different parts of the empire to discuss questions affecting the whole of India'.[2] How did the intellectuals square their claim on the one hand to be an association of intellectuals with their other claim to be national and the representatives of the mass of the people? Gokhale, for one, asserted that the interests of the educated and the uneducated classes were not antagonistic:

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1. Ibid., McDonald.

2. N.A., B. Tyabji Papers, Vol.2, No.94 : B. Tyabji to Mohamed Ishaaq, 22 Sept., 1888.

> How could the masses be hurt by election, rather than nomination of some of the members of the Legislative Councils ? In whose interest, if not that of the masses, was the reduction of the salt duty, the establishment of the technical schools, the separation of the judiciary and the executive, and the reform of the police and revenue administrations ? [1]

Gokhale, with the other intellectuals in the Congress, claimed to be merely 'the spokesmen' [2] of their countrymen in representing the nation's aspirations.

This was the view of the intellectuals. What in fact was the reality ? In their social reform activities the Elphinstonians had very severely restricted themselves to their own communities. There had been no question of joint action for the reform of traditional communal practices. In their political activity the role of the Congress, as a national organisation, appeared at first to be uncomplicated. The demands for representation, for fiscal and administrative reforms, cut across communal lines, though they were of immediate reference to only the educated strata within the various communities. The facade of consensus, however, was already under pressure by 1888 despite the studious avoidance of communal issues which could divide the Congress.[3] The pressure came from the Muslims of the United Provinces who questioned the I.N.C.'s claim to represent all of India.

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1. Nanda, p.69.
2. Ibid.
3. 'A National Congress must confine itself to questions in which the entire nation has a direct participation, and it must leave the adjustment of social reforms and other class questions to class Congresses'.
   D. Naoroji, Writings and Speeches, p.8.

Badruddin Tyabji, as a founder member of the Congress and a muslim to boot, struggled to paper over the cracks that had begun to emerge in the national consensus claimed by the Congress. In answer to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's objections to the Congress's national claims, Tyabji found himself allaying the fears of Sir Syed Ahmad by suggesting that the Congress was only something of a 'talk-shop' :

> Now I am not aware of anyone regarding the whole of India as one Nation..... there are numerous communities or nations in India which had (sic) peculiar problems of its (sic) own to solve, but there were some questions which touched all these communities and that it was for the discussion of these latter questions only that the Congress was assembled. 1

If the Congress was to be only an association for discussion and debate then it was in danger of being yet another body without teeth. And it could only have 'bite' if it really had a national following. That was the dilemma that would exercise the minds of the Congressmen for some years to come.

Another important consideration that faced the intellectuals in Congress was the question of their loyalty to the British. The intellectuals were in fact self-proclaimed loyalists and, on occasion, acknowledged by the Raj to be so. Thus titles and positions were generously

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1. N.A., B. Tyabji Papers, Vol.2, S. No.91 : B. Tyabji to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, 18 Feb., 1888.

bestowed on many of the publically active Elphinstonians. R.G.Bhandarkar, V. N. Mandlik, Pherozeshah Mehta and D. N. Wacha were knighted and the C.I.E. was given to G.K. Gokhale. Curzon, writing to Gokhale on the occasion of this honour, noted that the C.I.E. was offered to him 'in recognition of abilities which are freely bestowed upon the service of your countrymen, and of which I would ask no more than that they should continue to be so employed. I only wish that India produced more such public men'.[1] High praise indeed, but such praise could easily become a pointed sword as Dadabhai Naoroji realised. Naoroji refused to accept a title from the British because he believed 'I would suffer in my influence in the cause of India'.[2]

Gokhale, Ranade, Mehta and Mandlik all served on the Viceroy's Imperial Council,[3] while Tyabji was made an additional member of the Governor's Council. These Elphinstonians were regarded by the British as among 'the leading gentlemen of India',[4] who during a liberal regime,

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1. N.A., Gokhale Papers, File No.203, Part III, Item No.239 : Lord Curzon to G.K.Gokhale, 31 Dec., 1903.

2. N.A., Naoroji Papers : D. Naoroji to Sir William Wedderburn, 23 Oct., 1906.

3. J.N.M., Mehta Papers, I Correspondence, S.No. 69 : G.K.Gokhale to P. Mehta, 23 April, approx. 1899.

4. J.N.M., Mehta Papers, I Correspondence, S. No.147 : H. W. Primrose, Secy. to the Viceroy to P. Mehta, 13 April, 1884.

like that of Lord Ripon, were consulted on issues of state, and under less sympathetic Viceroys were kept strictly in line. Thus while the carrot took the form of titles and consultations, the stick was wielded with no less effectiveness.

Clearly formulated government rules on the permissable level of public activity by Indians serving in government departments do not exist for the period upto 1890. The simple reason being that such public activity was still very much in its infancy, and posed no real threat to the Government. Nonetheless, when the Government believed that one of its servants was taking too many liberties, it was quick to assert its authority. Such was the case with Ranade who in 1880 was a judicial officer in the administration. Ranade was warned:

> The Governor thinks you would do well to consider that the liberty of expression which is permitted to its subjects may not always be suitable for one in judicial office.....From your connection with the Government you have opportunities for bringing to the notice of the authorities, through the usual channels, the wants and troubles of the people : of such opportunities you would do well to avail yourself, rather than to employ your talents and influence in such a way as to encourage agitation and discontent.[1]

Ranade was very active, indeed the leading light of the social reform organisation, the Sarvajanik Sabha based

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1. N.A., Gokhale Papers, File No.443, Item No.40 (a) : G.H.R. Hart, Private Secy. to Governor of Bombay, to M.G.Ranade, 9 June, 1880.

in Poona. Ranade's support of the ruler of Baroda in his conflict with the Government of India in 1875, and the Sabha's agitation for a fair trial for the ruler, who had been charged with the attempted murder of the Resident, led to Ranade being transferred from Poona to Nasik in 1878 as a mark of official disapproval.[1] Moreover the Sabha's continued criticism of the Government's administrative and financial policies, and the open secret that the Sabha was guided by Ranade led his official friends to warn him that 'the nature of his public activities was retarding his well deserved advancement in official rank'.[2]

Ranade's career, however, did not remain long in abeyance. In 1880 Sir Richard Temple was replaced, as Governor of Bombay, by the liberal-minded and conciliatory Sir James Fergusson. Under Fergusson's administration Ranade advanced in rapid succession from Presidency Magistrate, Bombay, to First Class Sub-Judge to Small Causes Judge to Additional Special Judge.[3] It appears that an easy working relationship was possible between the Elphinstone intelligentsia and the Raj as long as the Raj was prepared to concede that these men were loyalists and moderates who wished to work with the Raj, in bringing

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1. D. G. Karve, Ranade, The Prophet of Liberated India, Poona, 1942, p.xxiii.
2. Ibid., p. xxvi.
3. Ibid., p. xxxiii.

about certain changes, and were not against it. As Naoroji put it:

> Were we enemies of British rule, our best course would be, not to cry out, but remain silent, and let the mischief take its course till it ends in disaster as it must. But we do not want that disaster..... We desire that the British connection should endure for a long time to come for the sake of our material and political elevation. 1

The attitude of the Raj varied depending on the particular Viceroy and Governor's individual perception. Lord Reay, Governor of Bombay in 1888, was remarkably open to criticism of his administration:

> The Congress criticises the administration to which I belong and the administration of course must welcome any criticism which leads to improvement and eradication of abuses. Good administration is of course "republix suprema salus"(sic) That has always been my view and I am paid and sent here to make the administration better and stronger. 2

Lord Reay's sincerity was patent; he believed in the advantage of constructive criticism from the Indians, and would have none of the surveillance and restriction on their activities which was to be found under Sir Richard Temple. Reay writing to A. O. Hume vigorously asserted that he had never 'seen a Police Circular making enquiries about Congress members. I have never asked who belonged and who did not belong and I should not tolerate any

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1. D. Naoroji, Speeches and Writings, p.43.

2. N.A., Tyabji Papers, Vol. 17, S. No.705 : Lord Reay to A. O. Hume, 8 Sept., 1888.

intimidation direct or indirect'.[1] However Reay and Fergusson were exceptions rather than the rule among Governors of Bombay. Other Governors were more intolerant of criticism and were quick to show who held the whiphand. In 1891 the Bombay Government summarily dismissed the protests of the Elphinstonians Mehta, Wacha and Chandavarkar about a particular judicial appointment, and noted 'it is impossible for Government to admit of the responsibility passing from its judgement to that of popular opinion'.[2]

The Elphinstonians were aware that their role was as much to pinpoint defects in the Raj as to ensure a sympathetic hearing at the court of the Raj. The success of the former inevitably followed from the achievement of the latter aim, but that was easier said than done. The pressure from Anglo-India on the liberal Viceroys and Governors was intense and the Conservatives in England vociferously backed up the attacks by the Anglo-Indians on men like Ripon and Reay. Naoroji was a member of the Commons during the time that the Conservative press in England as well as the Tory M.P.s launched their attack on Ripon's policies in India as being too 'radical and mischievous'[3]. Naoroji appealed to Tyabji and other fellow Elphinstonians 'to show our approval of Lord Ripon's

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1. Ibid.

2. J.N.M., Mehta Papers, I Correspondence, S.No.31 : Secy. to Govt. to Mehta, Wacha and Chandavarkar, 30 June, 1891.

3. N.A., Tyabji Papers, Vol.14, S.No.621 : D. Naoroji to B. Tyabji, 8 Feb., 1883.

policy in the most emphatic way possible, by praying to have more of him, to strengthen the hands of those who will have to defend him'.[1]

The defenders of Ripon in Parliament were of course the Liberal members. The Indians were uneasy and distrustful of the Conservatives and this drew them closer to the Liberals. Gokhale describes a meeting he had in London with several Conservative M.P.s including Lords Percy and Mayo:

> I did not at all feel at home with these men. Their idea about India being derived mainly from official and Anglo-Indian sources. It is only when you talk to such men that you realize the advantage of having to deal with the Liberal, Radical or Labour representatives. 2

The Indian moderates and the English Liberals thus formed an informal alliance which strengthened the Indians in their belief that there were fair and just-minded Englishmen, and this faith in turn held them to the loyalist path.

Of their loyalty there can be little doubt. For a variety of reasons, Elphinstonians, whether intellectuals or not, were convinced that loyalty to the Crown was in their best interests. Ranade pointed out, 'Of one thing I feel certain that men will be governed by their callings, professions or interests'.[3] It has already been noted that

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1. Ibid.
2. N.A., Gokhale Papers, File No. 443 , Item No.21 : M. G. Ranade to G. K. Gokhale, 24 June, 1899.
3. N.A., Gokhale Papers, File No.443, Item No.21 : M. G. Ranade to G. K. Gokhale

English education at the Elphinstone College was seen by a majority of its students as a means of securing a government job, of maintaining or attaining a secure foothold in the social order that was taking shape under the Raj. However, apart from the practical advantage of working with the Raj, these English educated Indians sincerely admired and valued certain qualities of European culture and of English character. Ranade praised the 'discipline afforded us by the example and teaching of the most gifted and free nation in the world, whose rule guarantees to us a long continuance of these favourable conditions. The reign of law is supreme'.[1]

Over and over again, the advantages of justice and law under the Raj were reiterated by the Elphinstone intelligentsia. N. M. Parmanand wrote, 'no oath, hostage or fastness imparts that security which is enjoyed by one who is armed with the British guarantee'.[2] Even Dada-bhai Naoroji, though he was disillusioned, near the end of his life, with the Raj and angered by the poverty its economic policies had engendered in India, yet he was still able to defend the British role in the First World War. He saw it as a 'War of Right against Might',[3] with the British 'fighting the fight of Right against Might, of Liberty against Tyranny'.[4] This faith in British justice

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1. Miscellaneous Writings of Ranade, p.117.
2. Letters to an Indian Raja, p.66.
3. N.A., Naoroji Papers, D. Naoroji's Message to his friends in India, England and S. Africa on his 90th birthday, undated, approx. 1914.
4. Ibid.

and the supremacy of law was almost a creed with the English educated intelligentsia. What was its source, from where did it spring ? It was not merely due to their English education and their exposure to liberal European thought, nor was it entirely due to their close rapport, and indeed friendship, with their English professors and Liberal colleagues. It was something more.

It was, as it were, a collective unconscious, a sense of the turbulent, pre-Raj past which made them cling to the not always infallible rule of law under the British. Many of these articulate and active Elphinstonians were born in the 1820s and 1830s', not too distant in time, scarcely even a generation, away from the rule of the Peshwas. Bal Shastri, born in 1812, didn't mince his words when he wrote of this period in the Bombay Durpan:

> Bribery and corruption parvaded every department of the State.....but since the British have acquired possession of the country, a great change has taken place : public virtue has been encouraged, bribery and corruption have been denounced, and visited with severe punishment. 1

Bhandarkar, though born in 1837, echoed Shastri's senti-ments. He noted;

> 'We really were not free under the old native monarchs. Under them there was...: hardly much security of life and property'. 2

Bhandarkar, like Telang, Ranade and Naoroji, placed considerable value on the improvements in daily life which

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1. Jambhekar, Vol.II, p.66.
2. Utgikar, Vol.I, p.358.

the British had gradually introduced. Under the Indian rulers, according to Bhandarkar, they would have had 'no post-office or roads, or railways, or electric telegraphs or printing presses; and above all, that education which has now opened our eyes to our defects, and given birth to new aspiration '.[1]

Such praise and appreciation of the Raj ought not, however, to suggest that these Elphinstonians were completely lost either to the value of their own culture or to the shortcomings of the British in India. No, indeed. They derided servility and sycophancy among their countrymen, as much as they later would extremism within the Congress. Dadabhai Naoroji spoke despairingly of the collaborationist Bhownuggree, who he described as having

> sold his soul to his masters.....He must please his masters. There is not a speech he makes in which he does not betray this.....he will prove a calamity if he does not change his ways and be sincere towards India. His inclinations are towards the Anglo-Indians. [2]

Gokhale too was castigating of Indians who were prepared to align themselves with 'our Anglo-India opponents'.[3] Gokhale concluded that 'One of the curses of foreign subjection is that it provokes among the subject population a class of men who glory in their chains'.[4]

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1. Ibid.
2. J.N.M., Mehta Papers, I Correspondence, S.No.132 : Extract of a letter from D. Naoroji to unnamed person, 8 Oct., 1896.
3. N.A., Gokhale Papers, File No.203, Part I. Item No. 71 : G.K.Gokhale to Nateshrao, 1 June, 1906.
4. Ibid.

The Elphinestonians were not of that ilk. Rather in their circumspect, cautious way they were attempting to loosen, if not break, those chains. By inclination, education and pragmatic conviction they believed

> that moderation is better than exaggeration, and that persuasion is better than declamation or abuse..... (they) can not fail to obtain the respect and confidence of the people on the one hand, and also the attention and confidence of the Government on the other. 1

In the early days of social and political awareness this dual task, of the Elphinstone intelligentsia, to gain the confidence of their countrymen as well as of their rulers was not so complicated as it would become. The Moderates had to perform a difficult balancing act as the Extremists in the Congress became more vociferous. If the Moderates were too conciliatory towards the British they feared alienating their countrymen and strengthening the hands of the Extremists, if too radical they faced a clampdown from the Government. As it was, on Tilak's arrest in 1908, Gokhale feared a backlash on the Moderates:

> The conviction and sentence will really be a great blow to our party, for part of the resentment against the Government is likely to be directed also against us.

This problem was, however, yet to come; at least not during the period upto 1890.

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1. N.A., Tyabji Papers, Vol. 20, S. No.993 : B. Tyabji's address on the establishment of the Bombay Presidency Association, 1885.

Conclusion

In 1863 Sir Alexander Grant, Principal of the Elphinstone College and Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University, claimed for the College the title of a 'National Institution'[1], thereby suggesting as it were a monolithic, stable institution gratifying equally to the beholder as to the participant-teacher or student. This study it is hoped has revealed the monolith's feet of clay during its early history. The extraordinary confusion that plagued the founding of the Elphinstone Professorships and the growth of the College upto the 1860s was caused as much by the diverse and often conflicting aims of the British as due to a clash of motives between the Raj and the Indians.

On the British side the objective of higher education was thrown into disarray by the different points of view taken by the Orientalists, Anglicisers and Evangelicals. The facts of the extended war between the crusaders of the different views are too well-known to require recapitulation. What, however, has been of interest to this study is the way local skirmishes continued to be fought out in Bombay much after the battle had ceased in Calcutta. Thus bureaucratic infighting between adherents of the different points of view did not come to a halt in Bombay merely because of the roll of drums by a particular

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1. M.S.A., E.D., 1863, Vol.2, p. 56 ; Sir Alexander Grant to Chief Secy. to Govt., 18 May, 1863.

education war lord on the other side of India. Macaulay in Calcutta may have stated as emphatically as it was possible, in 1835, that 'English was preeminent even among the languages of the West',[1] and that it was the only means of propagating among the Natives a knowledge of European literature and the sciences. But neither Macaulay's Minute, nor Lord Bentinck's endorsement of it in the same year, was to deter Colonel Jervis, Secretary of the B.N.E.S. and a man of some authority and knowledge in the field of education, from stating as late as in 1847:

> The project of importing English Literature along with English cottons into India, and bringing it into universal use, must at once be felt by every reasonable mind as Chimerical and ridiculous. If the people are to have a literature it must be their own. [2]

The Court of Directors had, however, made it clear from 1823 onwards that its interests were not in Hindu or Muslim literature or learning but in spreading 'useful learning'.[3] Useful that is 'to raise up a body of persons qualified, by their intelligence and morality, for high employment in the civil service of India'.[4] So not

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1. Naik and Nurullah, p.71.
2. M.S.A., G.D., 1850, Vol.29 : Mimute by Col. Jervis, 24 Feb., 1847.
3. Op.Cit., M.E.Coll., Mss. Eur. F 88/Box 15, No.10/1A : Extract of a letter from the Court of Directors, 11 June, 1823.
4. Op.Cit., M.S.A., G.D., 1846, Vol.31/1050 : Annual Report of the Board of Education quoting Court of Directors' Despatch of 1830.

only was English education expected to provide Indian clerks as well as surveyors and engineers - for the fast expanding administrative service and public works department - in order to economise on administrative costs, but English education was also expected to launder the morals of the 'Natives', and so to promote the moral regeneration of 'degenerate' Hindu culture. Morality, of course, was Christian morality. In opposition to both Mountstuart Elphinstone and Sir John Malcolm, the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Mr. Warden, wished 'every encouragement'[1] to be given to the Christian missionaries in their education effort, hoping thereby to achieve both the education and the conversion of the 'Natives'. Elphinstone and Malcolm, with their long experience of India, believed the two aims to be incompatible and positively discouraged missionary activity.[2] Their reasoning was pragmatic and political, and certainly more consistently thought through than the views of their opposition. Elphinstone and Malcolm wished to draw the higher classes, in their view the defeated Brahmins, into English education and Raj employ as a means of guaranteeing the security and continuity of the Raj. The Evangelical-minded Wardens in Bombay were equally keen on involving the higher classes in English education. They however failed to realise that the Brahmins, as indeed all but the very poorest and lowest castes,[3] would take English education

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1. Op.Cit., M.S.A., G.D., 1824, Vol.8/63 : Mr. Warden's Observations, 29 Dec., 1824.
2. Education Minutes, pp. 31-32.
3. See Tables 1, 2, 8, 9.

but reject any attempt to spread Christianity with it.

Yet another contradiction between the two declared English aims is evident in the attempt on the one hand to seek, through English education, to provide the Raj with cheap clerical staff and at the same time to create among the Indian higher classes a new class of loyal and influential collaborators. A class who would be, according to Macaulay's measure, Indian in race and colour but English by education, morals and cultural affiliation. Did this imply that Indian clerks working for the Raj had to be brown, English gentlemen ? Moreover, was it possible for clerks to be the upperclass intermediaries who would give a lead to the masses in promoting, through English education, a moral and cultural regeneration of the Indians ? And how was English education for the spread of Christianity to be made compatible with the Utilitarian aspiration of using English education to introduce the Indian to scientific and rationalist thought ? These questions were never, in fact, asked, however much they were implicit in the various strands of government thinking. The idea, moreover, that any or all of these aims could be achieved by bringing out a few Oxbridge professors into an embryonic set of arrangements for English education in Bombay was itself somewhat fantastical. Though an act of faith, it was a leap in the dark, the results of which were beyond the power of policy to predetermine and in the end to control.

Policy which ran away in all directions was hardly conducive to the achievement of any goals. Thus, neither Christianity nor science won any adherents among the

students at the Elphinstone College. The science subjects would have had more of a following among the students but for the Education Department's deliberate negligence towards the teaching of science. The Raj after all had little need for scientists, but a great hunger for junior administrative staff who only required an unspecialised education. The education authority's confused thinking also led to what was in their terms perhaps their greatest failure, their inability to induce the wealthier classes of Bombay to send their sons to the Elphinstone College. Though the Bombay Government was initially muddled as to who were the higher classes, it eventually was evident that the Government's main interest was directed towards the commercially wealthy. The parental background of the students of the College, however, shows that far from the wealthier classes being drawn to English higher education at the College, it was the sons of Government employees, of small merchants and poor artisans who dominated student numbers at the College right through the nineteenth century.[1] Though some richer students began to attend the Elphinstone College after 1863, the sons of the Shetias remained markedly absent. Indeed the D.P.I. felt compelled to state that for the business community of Bombay 'Trade and money-making seem their only object of ambition'.[2]

The Government and the Shetias were working at cross-

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1. See above, 2 Lists of July 1851 and July 1853 cited in Chp. 2, p.54.

2. Op.Cit., R.D.P.I. for 1860-61, p.32.

purposes. The Government sought support for its education effort from the business magnates by the presence at the College of rich students-and future leaders it was hoped. The Shetias were not interested in giving their sons an English education, but were eager and only too willing to be benefactors of English higher education in Bombay if it would gain them plaudits and commercial gain from the British. The Shetias, in their self interest, adhered to this reasoning throughout the nineteenth century. They began by giving large contributions to the Elphinstone Professorships Fund in 1827, and continued to bail out the College when it was in financial difficulties. Many of the scholarships, given by the College to attract students, were created by Shetia subscriptions to honour one or other departing Raj notable. Even the splendid Victorian Gothic building, in which the College is housed to the present day, was made possible by a benefaction of 2 lakhs of rupees from the Shetia Cowasji Jehangir Readymoney.[1]

Shetia financial support, however, proved in the long term to be to the College's detriment. In Calcutta and Madras the economic burden of education had fallen almost exclusively on the Government. Though in relation to the Elphinstone College in Bombay this was not the case, the Government strove harder to further reduce its financial responsibility to the College, believing that the Shetias would meet expenses whenever necessary. This reliance on

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1. See above, p. 203.

voluntary, intermittent contributions from the wealthy of Bombay was to make the College poorer than the Presidency Colleges of Calcutta and Madras and impede its growth. In fact the D.P.I. was forced to complain to the Government that 'it has been a positive disadvantage to the Presidency College of Bombay, that it has received an endowment from the contributions of the people. Owing to this circumstance Elphinstone College.....has always been kept below the standard of the other two Presidency Colleges'.[1]

The D.P.I.'s complaint was a legitimate one. While revenue for education was not freely forthcoming from the Government at any time or for any institution, the disparity between the treatment meted out to the Elphinstone College on the one hand, and to the Calcutta and Madras Colleges on the other bordered on the scandalous. The Principal of the Elphinstone College angrily pointed out , in 1883, that while the annual grant for the Calcutta College Library was Rs.3,050 'ours is still only Rs.500 : the same as the grant given to the Deccan College and only one hundred higher than that given to the Kolhapur College.'[2] Furthermore, while the contingency expenditure allowed to the Calcutta College was Rs.1,400, the Elphinstone College got only Rs.600.[3] As a result the College was often placed in a pathetic situation, as in 1883 when it could not even

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1. E.C.R., Vol. of 23 Feb., 1864 to 28 Jan., 1862 : D.P.I. to Chief Secy. to Govt., E.D., 9 March, 1864.

2. E.C.R., Vol. with early pages damaged, first discernible date 14 April, 1882 on mark sheet, ending with 5 Jan., 1889 : Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 26 Feb., 1883.

3. Ibid.

afford to buy a clock and had to make do with a 'small timepiece'[1]. As late as 1890 the Principal of the College continued to complain of the Government's attitude 'to the leading college in Western India',[2] and the harm it was doing to the College.

Government financial stringency towards the College was inevitably to affect the working conditions of the College professors. From the very outset, when the first Elphinstone Professors were sent out to Bombay from England, the Government was not prepared to do more than the minimum for the professors.[3] Thus, poorly paid,[4] with salaries no higher than those an inferiorly educated commercial clerk earned,[5] badly housed,[6] and with no guarantee of a pension on retirement,[7] the professors had no difficulty in keeping their distance from official British India. By circumstance of their work, by character and inclination the professors had little in common with the Raj. It is therefore not surprising that the education given at the College did not square with most of the aims which the Government had in mind. For whatever the official

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1. Ibid.
2. E.C.R., Vol. of 19 April, 1890 to 25 Nov., 1893 : Principal, E.C. to Executive Engineer, 19 June, 1890.
3. See above, p. 36.
4. See above, p. 135.
5. See above, p. 138.
6. See above, p. 140.
7. See above, p. 144.

hopes were, the type of education given at the Elphinstone College was decided in effect by the character and beliefs of the professors. The professors moreover brought into play a British academic tradition which rejected any idea of civic or political indoctrination. The emphasis by the professors at the College was on free thinking, a liberal empiricism in the interpretation of fact, and inevitably a belief in mental experiment.[1]

These academic attitudes of the professors were not designed to manufacture loyal collaborators or to supply the Government with low cost clerks and technicians. Hence the education at the College fell heavily on advanced English literary education, in keeping with the kind of education the professors themselves had received. As might be expected therefore the College achieved its greatest success in producing a group, albeit small in number, of highly able, articulate and socially concerned intellectuals. An objective which had not figured at all among the original aims of the British and Indian founders of the College.

It was the intellectual cream, as defined by examination and prizes, of Elphinstone College graduates who as academics, lawyers and journalists initiated and led the growing number of reform associations that sprang up in Bombay in the mid-nineteenth century. There is ample evidence that these societies and reform-minded newspapers grew round a proliferating network of old boys. That there was such a network among the Elphinstone intellectuals was recognised by the anti-reform opposition which derisively

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1. See above, p.157.

labelled the intellectuals 'Society (referring to the B.N.E.S.) boys' and 'Young Bombay'.[1] The Elphinstone old boy network was originally based on teacher-pupil relations, many of the older intellectuals, Bal Shastri, Naoroji Furdoonji, Dadabhai Naoroji having taught the younger at the College. It was sustained by subsequent educational clientage and mutual academic achievement in English, and united by a kind of intellectual snobbery and the risks of being separated from their own caste and community by their knowledge of alien ideas. At the same time, old Elphinstonians, like the old boys of other schools, believed in the ideas which they had learned to such an extent that they believed that their English education gave them the right to take the lead in enlightening and reforming many aspects of Indian society. It may be that they concentrated on social reform rather than political confrontation with the Raj because they had little choice, given their isolation within their communities and Indian society. The essential point, however, remains that the various voluntary societies for legal and religious reform, and for female education, represented a claim to the leadership of their communities on the part of men of the new learning, who lacking wealth, political patronage and the necessary social status could only establish their claim on the basis of special enlightenment, as an aristocracy of intellect. The sample of the public activities of old Elphinstonians gives an impression of their motives which

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1. N.S.Bengallee, p.14.

is very different from that put forward by the Cambridge Indian school. It suggests that their reforming activities were inspired more by ideology than hopes of government patronage. Indeed it is difficult to see how their work for religious reform or female education held out any prospects of reward by the Government, or could have been inspired mainly by anything other than ideological conviction arising from their English education.

Similarly with the old Elphinstonians political activities; they were loyalist by conviction which is very different from being collaborationist. The intellectuals were enamoured by the ideas of their English education, by egalitarianism, the principle of representation and the rule of law. Not unusually for naive academics they did not immediately see the cruel discrepancy between the ideas and the reality as represented by the British Raj. It can be said in defence of the Elphinstone intellectuals that their faith in English intellectual ideas and their consequent loyalty was not to a small degree engendered by the very quality of their College teachers as well as their own troubled awareness of a chaotic past. Indeed, the past appears to have preyed upon their minds. Gokhale affirmed this in stating;

> It is not difficult at any time to create disorder in our country - it was our portion for centuries - but it is not so easy to substitute another form of order for that which has been evolved by Englishmen in the course of a century. [1]

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1. N.A., Gokhale Papers, File No.203, Part I, Item No.104 : Gokhale to Vamanrao, 15 May, 1908.

The political associations established by the Elphinstone intellectuals appear in retrospect to be markedly moderate in their ideas and activities. But at the time neither the Shetias nor, for the most part, the British Raj believed this to be so. The Shetias, fearful of alienating the Raj, obstructed the associations and thwarted even the mildest of criticism. This reveals the basic irony of the Government's English education enterprise in Bombay. The Government had intended that the Elphinstone College create a loyal, collaborationist class among the leaders of local society. In educating the sons of government employees the College was preaching to already converted loyalists who, moreover, lacked any social clout to spread English influence in indigenous society. The small minority of Elphinstone intellectuals attained public repute but their English education, their language and their ideas had isolated them from much of their caste and community and in addition they were distrusted by the Raj. The collaborationist class that fit the Government's specifications was, ironically enough, not created within the walls of the College, but existed all the time outside it, in the shape of the Shetias.

TABLE 1 : Caste and Community of Students who left the Elphinstone Institution from 1827 - 1842

Caste & Community	No. of students left
Prabhu	69
Parsi	29
Brahmin	16
Shenvi	10
Sonar	6
Khatri	5
Vyashya	3
Shimpee	2
Portuguese	2
Bhandari	2
Sutar	1
Kansar	1
Goundee	1
Kurwritaky	1
Total :	154

Source : M.S.A., G.D., 1843, Vol.24-A / 749-A, Report of the Board of Education for 1842, Appendix A, No.XI, pp. 185-91. List of the Boys of the Higher Classes who left the English Department of E.N.E.I. from 1827 to 1842.

TABLE 2 : **Caste and Community of the English Educated At the Elphinstone Institution 1840 - 1844.**

	1840-41	1842	1843	1844
Brahmin	34	43	35	58
Joshi	5	3	-	7
Shenvi	41	35	31	48
Prabhu	97	78	68	80
Khatri	14	18	18	26
Sonar	21	20	18	22
Sutar	13	8	8	7
Shimpee	11	10	9	9
Kansara	12	9	9	10
Vyashya	1	1	1	2
Bania	17	12	13	8
Marwari		1		1
Bhansali		2		
Bhandari		1	1	3
Kunbi		2	4	2
Pardeshi		1	3	1
Madrasi		1	1	
Bengali			1	
Sankara Jati		1	1	1
Gauli		1		
Goundi	1		1	1
Maratha	2		2	1
Rajput	2			
Agree				1
Desai				1
Bhatia			4	2
Lowana			4	5
Sawak			2	3
Kantare	1			
Pulsia			3	
Parsi	255	235	213	195

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TABLE 2 (Contd.) : Caste and Community of English Educated at the Elphinstone Institution 1840-1844.

		1840-41	1842	1843	1844
Muslims	Bohra	2			
	Mohammedans	31	23	26	18
East Indian		5		3	
Portuguese (Goan)		52	52	32	34
Jew		2		6	3
Total :		619	557	516	551

Source : M.S.A., G.D., Reports of the Board of Education for the relevant years.

TABLE 3 : Employment Figures for Students of the Elphinstone College

Year	1851	1852	1853-1854	1854-1855
Teachers at Institutions	3	7	7	4
Private Teachers	1		1	1
Govt. Service	5	4	6	5
Private Service in Commercial Offices	2	3	3	3
Trade		1		
Further Studies		3		1
Professional Trainees				7
Newspapers			1	1
Unknown	1		3	1
Unemployed				9
Total :	12	18	21	32

Source : Reports of the Board of Education for the relevant years.

TABLE 4 : List of the Boys who left the Higher Classes of the English Department of the E. N. E. I. 1827 - 1842

		1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1834	1835	1836	1838	1840	1841	1842	Unknown
Teachers at Institutions (Elphinstone & Free General Assembly)				1	2	1	1		1				4	
Private Teachers			1		1								1	
Govt. Service	Largely Clerical	4	3	8	3	13	9	9	3	5	6	12		23
Pvt. Service	Largely Clerical	1			1	3		4			1	1		3
Trade & Merchants		1		1			1	1		3	10			
Further Studies							2					1	1	
News Papers		1								4	3			
Unknown														26
Total		2	5	4	10	7	17	13	14	4	12	21	19	
													Grand Total :	154

Source : M.S.A., G.D., 1843, Vol.24-A / 749-A, Report of the Board of Education for 1842, Appendix A, No.XI, pp. 185-91.

TABLE 5 : **Languages studied at the Elphinstone College**

Undated , approximately 1897

	SANSKRIT	PERSIAN	LATIN	ARABIC	HEBREW	ZHEND & PHELAVI	FRENCH	TOTAL
1.Fellow	1	5						6
2.M.A.	3	5	2					10
3.Sr.B.A.	15	27	2	1			5	50
4.Jr.B.A.	17	20	1			3	6	47
5.Intermediate Arts	17	29	3			2	8	59
6.Intermediate Science			3					3
7.P.E.Senior	3	13	1				2	19
8.Freshman	22	33	9		2	4	15	85
Total:	78	129	21	1	2	9	36	276

Source : E.C.R. Vol. of 8 April, 1896 to 9 Dec., 1898.

TABLE - 6

Name	Designation	Date of appointment	Salary per month
K.M.Chatfield	Principal	29 March, 1866	Rs. 1500
R.G.Oxenham	Acting Principal	9 Sept., 1863	1250
H.T.Hathornth-waite	Professor of Mathematics	4 Oct., 1872	550
Peter Peterson	Professor of Oriental Languages	2 Jan., 1873	550
Edward Giles	Professor of History	15 May, 1873	550
T.B.Kirkham	Professor of English Literature	10 Nov., 1873	750
G.V.Karkare	Acting Professor of Mathematics	20 March, 1873	437
R.G.Bhandarkar	Asst. Professor of Sanskrit	4 Jan., 1869	450
Mirza Hairat	Professor of Persian	20 April, 1872	350
J.B.Lyon	Professor of Chemistry	21 April, 1869	200

Source : E.C.R., Correspondence of the Principal, E.C., Vol. of 15 April, 187- (torn) to 24 Jan., 1876 : List showing staff incomes in 1875-76.

TABLE - 7

Name	Designation	Salary	Period of residence in India while in the Educational Service		
		Per month	Yrs.	Mths.	Days
J.T.Hathornth-waite	Principal	Rs. 1250	23	5	8
Peter Peterson	Professor of Oriental Languages	1250	23	2	29
M. Macmillan	Professor of English Literature	1000	17	9	11
W.H.Sharp	Professor of Logic	900	4	10	27
O.V.Muller	Professor of History	700	4	1	20
I.G.Covernton	Professor of English History	530	1	10	5
Dr.Macdonald	Professor of Biology	300	16	4	4

Source : E.C.R., Vol. beginning with 12 Aug. 1896, ending with attendance rolls of 1903 (Vol. catalogued under 1890-99 decade) : 'List of Uncovenanted Civil Servants in the Office of the Elphinstone College on the 1 April, 1896.'

TABLE - 8

Caste and Community of Elphinstone College students during the year 1867-68 and 1874-75 :

1867 - 68 [1]		1874 - 75 [2]	
Brahmins	40	Deshasta Brahmins	43
Goud or Shenvi Brahmins	9	Goud Brahmins	19
		Gujarati Brahmins	26
Kshatriyas	3		- 88
Khatris	1	Kshatriya	21
Prabhus	18	Prabhu	13
Kayasthas	2	Bania	16
Banias	18	Maratha	2
Sonars	2	Bhatia	1
Kunbis	1	Sonar	1
Hindus Total	94	Parsis	86
Parsis	54	Muslim Borah	3
Muslims	5	" Khoja	4
Native Christian	1	Moghul	1
		European	9
Grand Total -	153	Grand Total -	245

1. R.D.P.I. for 1867-68, App. B., p.171.
2. E.C.R., Vol. of 3 Aug., 1875 to 25 July, 1875 : List of students according to caste for 1874-75.

TABLE - 9

Caste and Community of Elphinstone College students during the years 1880-81 and 1890

1880 - 81 [1]

Brahmins	58
Kshatriyas	8
Prabhus	19
Lingayats	-
Jains	1
Trading Caste - Banias, Bhatias	29
Cultivators - Kunbis etc.	2
Artisans - Sonars, Lohars, Suttars, Darzis	2
Shopkeepers - Ghanchi, Kachin, Tamboli etc.	-
Labourers and Menial Servants	-
Low Castes - Mochi, Bhangi	-
Hindu Total	109
Parsis	49
Muslims - Khojas, Memons, Mianas	5
Native Christians	2
Grand Total	175

Contd...

1. E.C.R., Vol. of 13 Feb., 1882 ending with various receipts of 1911-13 (Vol. catalogued under 1850-89 dec de) ; Annual Table of E.C. for the year 1880-81.

Table - 9 (Contd..)

1890 [2]

Brahmins	65
Kshatriyas	4
Prabhus	12
Lingayats	1
Jains	-
Banias	21
Kunbis	3
Sonars	2
Amil	2
Hindu Total	110
Parsis	96
Europeans	2
Native Christians	1
Portuguese	3
Jews	3
Grand Total	218

2. E.C.R., Vol. of 10 Aug., 1897 to 17 Dec., 1884 (Vol. catalogued under 1880-89) : Statistics of caste and religion of E.C. students, undated, approx. 1890.

TABLE - 10

Parentage of Elphinstone College Students

1867-68[1]		1872-73[2]	
Government employees & Pensioners	52	Government employees & Pensioners	56
Merchants	25	Merchants	28
Merchants' employees	22	Merchants' clerks	12
Petty traders & shopkeepers	23	Petty Merchants	10
		Persons of property	12
Landowners & persons of independent income	9	Professional men	3
		Priests	21
Professional men	8	Brokers	5
Others	14	Contractors	1
		Shroffs or money-lenders	5
		Clerks in Native States	5
		Cooks	1
		Clerks employed by Native Gentry	2
		Stamp Vendors	1
		Cultivators	13
		Others	9
Total	153		184

1. R.D.P.I. for 1867-68, App. B., p.172.
2. R.D.P.I. for 1872-73, App. B., p. 272.

TABLE - 11

Parentage of Elphinstone College Students (1883 - 84)

Government Officials and Pensioners	92
Merchants	35
Persons of property and landowners	21
Professional people	16
Priests	10
Brokers	5
Contractors	6
Shroffs or money-lenders	13
Clerks in Native States	18
Merchants clerks	14
Clerks employed by Native Gentry	14
Cultivators	7
Petty Merchants	15
State Pensioners	8
Total	274

Source : E.C.R., Vol. of 18 April 1884 to 21 March 1885 : Principal, E.C., to D.P.I., 20 June, 1884. Parentage of Students at E.C. during the year ending 31 March, 1884.

TABLE - 12

Parentage of students attending the Government Law Classes

1876 - 77

Government Officials and Pensioners	43
Merchants	16
Persons of property	5
Professional people	4
Cultivators	5
Persons employed by Native States	10
Priests	7
Contractors	1
Money-Lenders	4
Merchants' Clerks	11
Petty Merchants	7
Total	113

Source : E.C.R., Vol. of 12 Aug., 1875 to 23 Nov., 1874 :
Prof. of Jurisprudence to D.P.I., 18 July, 1877.

TABLE - 13

Classification of Elphinstone College Students according to their Birth-place, 1891

Collectorate or State	No. of Students	Native State	No. of Students
Bombay	94	Baroda	5
Poona	5	Kathiawar States	25
Sattara	2	Kolhapur	2
Khandesh	1	Sawantwadi	2
Nasik	1	Cambay	1
Ahmedabad	6	Italkaranji	3
Surat	42	Vishalgar	1
Broach	4	Miraz	1
Taenia	2		
Mahikatha Agency	4		
Belgaum	2		
Canara	7	Madras Presidency	2
Colaba	1	Foreign Territory	3
Ratnagiri	10	Europeans	1
Hyderabad	9	Eurasians	2
Karachi	3		
Berar	1		
Kunch Bhuj	3	Grand Total	245

Source : E.C.R., Vol. of 14 March, 1896 to 3 May, 1892 :
Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 16 Nov., 1891.

TABLE - 14

Scholarships according to Race and Caste, 1893.

Race or Castes Holding Fellowships or Scholarships	Percentage of the Total number on the rolls belonging to the race or caste	Percentage of the Fellowships or Scholarships held by the race or caste
Brahmins	22	28
Parsis	40	36
Banias	13	20
Prabhus	8	17
Muslims	1/3	4
Mahrattas	2 1/3	2
Sindhis	1/3	2
Native Christians	1/3	2

Source : E.C.R., Vol. of 14 March, 1896 to 3 May, 1892 :
Principal, E.C. to D.P.I., 14 Jan., 1893.

TABLE 15 : Results of the University Examinations, 1891

	P.E.	I.B.A.	II. B.A.
Total No. of Candidates	683	466	264
From E.C.	86	65	56
Total No. Passed	159 or less than ½	150 or rather more than 1/3	130 or rather less than ½
Passed from E.C.	22 or more than ½	18 or rather less than 1/3	29 or rather more than ½
Total Passed with Honours	10 or less than 1/9	23 or less than 1/6	32 or less than ½
Passed with Honours from E.C.	5 or more than ½	6 or 1/3	10 or more than 1/3, Including 1 - 1st Class, 2 Univ.Prizes.

Source : E.C.R., Vol. of 14 March, 1896 to 3 May, 1892 :
Results of the University Examination , 1891.

TABLE 16 : First Examination in Arts, April, 1880

College	No. of Candidates Sent Up	No. of Successful Candidates
E.C.	66	27
Deccan College	46	22
Free General Assembly Institution (Wilson College)	22	11
St. Xaviers College	10	9
Gujerat College	6	2
Total	150	71
Previous Examination, Dec., 1880		
E.C.	100	47
Deccan	59	30
Wilson	36	10
St. Xaviers	18	13
Gujerat	37	6
Rajaram	5	2
Total	255	108
Examination for the B.A.Degree		
E.C.	55	22
Deccan	30	8
Wilson	12	3
St. Xaviers	3	1
Total	100	34

Source : R.D.P.I. for 1880-81, p.23.

TABLE 17 : Daily attendance and average monthly number on the Rolls of the College.

Years	Average Daily Attendance	Average Monthly Number on the Rolls	Average percentage of daily attendance by my calculation
1865-66[1]	79	87	90.80 %
1878-79[2]	151	157	96.17 %
1880-81[3]	150	162	92.59 %
1890-91[4]	207.125	224.5	92.26 %

1. R.D.P.I. for 1878-79, p.23.

2. Ibid.

3. E.C.R., Vol. of 13 Feb., 1882 ending with various receipts of 1911-13, (Vol. catalogued under 1880-89 decade) : Annual Table of E.C., 1880-81, 4 April, 1881.

4. E.C.R., Vol. of 14 March, 1896 to 3 May, 1892 : D.P.I. to Principal, E.C., 11 April, 1891.

Appendix - A

Standard of Subsequent or Scholarship Examination at the Elphinstone College, 1862

A candidate had to satisfy the Examiners in two out of the four branches given below :-

I. English. 1. A paraphrase and analysis in English prose of a passage from Pope's Homer's Iliad.
2. Question in Grammar, Parsing, and Etymology.
3. Translation of English Prose and Poetry into the Vernacular.

II. Vernacular. 1. Translation into English. 2. Questions in Grammar and Etymology.

III. Mathematics. 1. Arithmetic from First Principle.
2. Algebra to Equations. 3. Euclid Books I-III.

IV. General Knowledge. Two of the following -
1. English History. 2. Indian History. 3. Ancient History (Greece, Rome, Asia). 4. Natural Philosophy.
5. Sanskrit. 6. Persian. 7. Latin.

Source : E.C.R., Vol. of 22 May, 1863 to 29 June, 1861 : Scholarships Notification to the Elphinstone, Poona and Grant Medical Colleges and the Engineering College, Poona, April, 1862.

Appendix B



Appendix C



Appendix D



Appendix B

Eminent Elphinstonians

R. G. Bhandarkar (1837-1925)

S. S. Bengallee (1831 - 93)

K. R. Cama (1831 - 1909)

Bhau Daji (1822 - 74)

Naoroji Furdoonji (1817 - 85)

G. K. Gokhale (1866 - 1915)

Narmadashankar Lalshankar (1833 - 86)

V. N. Mandlik (1833 - 89)

Pherozeshah Mehta (1845 - 1915)

Karsondas Mulji (1832 - 71)

Dadabhai Naoroji (1825 - 1917)

N. M. Parmanand (1838 - 93)

Atmaram Pandurang (1827 - 98)

Dadobha Pandurang (1814 - 82)

M. G. Ranade (1842 - 1901)

Mahipatram Rupram (1830 - 90)

Bal Gangadhar Shastri (1812 - 46)

K. T. Telang (1850 - 93)

Badruddin Tyabji (1844 - 1906)

D. N. Wacha (1844 - 1936)

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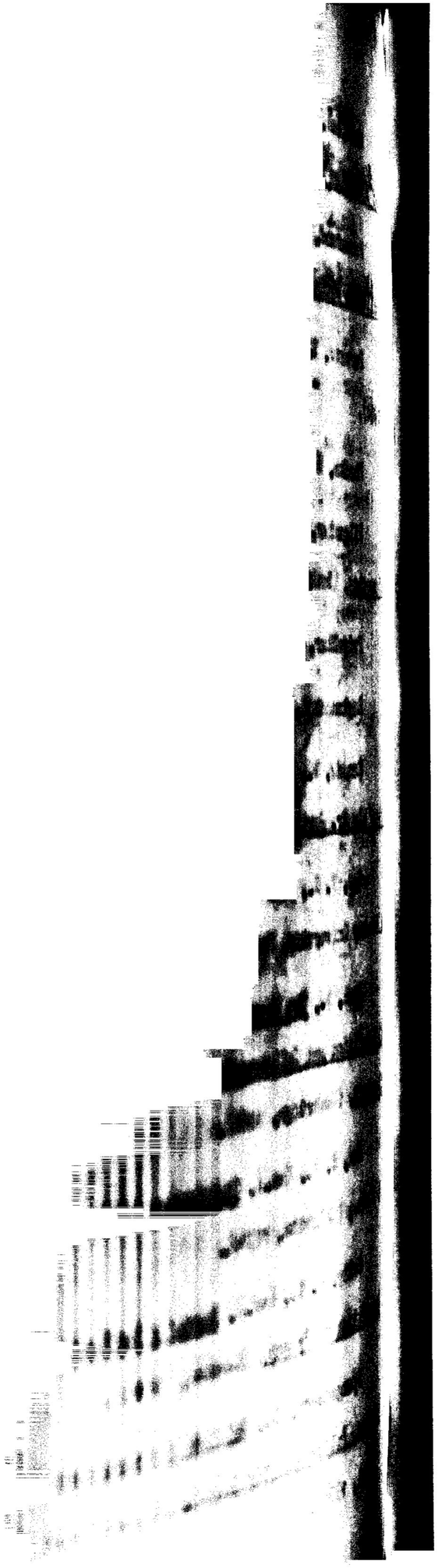
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