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## **Understanding Politics of Education in the Colonial India: Quintessential Debates of Indian National Congress During 1885-1905**

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**Abstract:** *It was the British Government who has always controlled and umpired the politics of education motivated by 'separate and reign' law, and the Indian National Congress was the player of this power game. The Congress always demanded the expansion of scientific and technical education, which was not urgently needed and readily accepted by traditional Indian. The selfish middle-class, educated people were much wanted of jobs because they have paid high fees for their education. But these demands remain claims only. But why the INC adopted a politics of satisfaction or liberal policy for the diffusion of knowledge in India? Since it had emerged in the colonial background, it lacked administrative power and experience, material resources and freedom of thought and action. The greatest obstacle was the clash of contrary interests of this national party and colonial government in India. At the same time, the following party was not homogenous and its operations not extended mostly to rural India – poor, illiterate and superstitious. At least, the INC created an environment for the development and extension of education in contemporary India.*

### **1. Introduction**

In almost all societies, education is a vital need for the better functioning and survival of the society like the role of the mind in our body. Education should be blessing to all; it might easily be a

cause for proper discharge of the simple duties that come nearest to them. It is a resource to create, develop and control the different line of thinking and behavior of members of the society. It used to irrigate and monitor the nerve of society up to many generations. In this way, whoever controls the diffusion of knowledge also controls the particular social and the particular country. The illiterates could be ruled more easily and uncompromisingly for more time than the educated men. The British Government in the colonial India was acutely aware of this social fact. It was the British Government who has always controlled and umpired the politics of education, and Indian National Congress (hereafter INC) was the player of this power game.

The paramount aim of the paper is to show inner dynamics of the politics of education in the colonial India between 1885-1905. In this way, it examines, on the one hand, the conscious illiteracy policy of the colonialist Englishmen and on the other side the efforts of INC to educate Indians. The focus will be the Congress's politics of education reflected from its passed resolutions, proceedings, and presidential addresses in its annual sessions revealed through the encyclopedia of Indian National Congress. In reality, these documents held together in this compilation to show a truly vibrant picture of the politics of ups and downs, the hopes and despair and the courage and fears of the Congress. As the largest democratic and legitimate party of the colonial India, the INC takes responsibility to represent Indians in all spheres and overall development of India. In this regard, the INC has taken some steps and raised their voice towards the education of Indians.

## **2. British Policy towards Indian Education before INC**

At the heart of the colonial enterprise was an adult-child relationship. The colonizer took the role of the adult, and the native became the child. The adult-child relationship entailed an

educational task. The core agenda of colonial rule and education was to train the native to become a citizen. In this regard the official point of view about education was mischievous. They believed that it was wrong to judge the knowledge of India merely by the development of the school system. The railways, the public works, the posts, and telegraphs were all educational agencies of the empire (Kumar, 1989). The colonial administration in India had shown little interest in education before 1813 when the Charter of the East India Company was renewed, and a modest provision was made for expenditure on institutions of learning (Sinha, 1964).

Instrumentalist view of colonial education as a factory producing clerks- does not help us distinguish between the ideas underlying an educational system and its practical purposes. Colonial education provided political leaders, professional men, and intellectuals, not just office clerks. It socialized many into imperial values; at the same time, it turned many of its products against those values. The concept of 'order' was central to colonial policy in all areas of administration, including education (Kumar, 1989). This idea was rooted in the liberal belief that the state's role is mainly to maintain suitable conditions for the enhancement of pleasure (of the man who had the means to enjoy himself). Emanating from this belief, 'order' stood for the state's contribution to the bourgeois' pleasure. The state was supposed to make this contribution by providing for a dual arrangement for education. The dual arrangement would consist, on the one hand, of a scheme of moral improvement of the masses, and, on the contrary, a different sort of provision for the intellectual and aesthetic enrichment of the propertied class.

The conscious British policy in India was to keep the people of India in more or less in a state of ignorance to retain the power of England over India that was the product of real utilitarian such as Macaulay, Malcolm, Mill, etc. Some viceroys such as Lord Lytton,

Ripon, etc. wanted to teach as much as that the people of India should be associated with the administration of this vast and unknown country. Another policy was to educate Indian through the medium of the English language and disseminate English ideas so that they value the English manufactures and buy. In other words, the limited British Government's educational policy was to produce Englishmen in Indian style through introducing Western education.

It is evident that we have to take care of the INC's stand for the spread of knowledge in the British India for the better understanding of education policy of the East India Company and British Government. Actually, in the beginning, the British Raj and the INC were interrelated but little later with the better understanding of British determination to always rule over India for always, the INC became reluctant. But in both cases, the fair and real idea of an educational policy of the British government represented by the INC. The Congress followed mainly the pre-structured patterns of the school planning of Englishmen in its first stage. The starting policy of Congress was either to request for some change or support any issue but within that predetermined extent of British Government. The early Congress leaders supposed that whatever the British Government has done and is doing in the field of educational development is just like bless from God or more than enough. They saw English education as a means through which modern western knowledge could become available for the reconstruction of a traditional India. It would hardly have been possible for him to have this attitude if he had rejected Western knowledge as an immoral force.

Panikkar illustrates that the educational ideas of Indian intellectuals of the nineteenth century were different both in purpose and details of the policy of the colonial rulers (Panikkar, 1975). He argues that the views held by Indians differed from the English system on three major counts: first, in the emphasis on science

education; secondly, in the realization of the need for mass education; and thirdly, in support for education in the vernacular. The fact is that colonial officers rarely missed an occasion to emphasize all three of these points. The similarity in the Indian and the English perceptions of education went deeper. We find it reflected not only in the choices advocated as policy steps but also in the understanding of the implications of these options. The most striking instance of this can be found in the justification of science. Science was expected not just to improve India materially, but intellectually and morally as well.

The British educational structure was specially marked by some modern characteristics, which were quite new to indigenous educational system such as rationalization of the processes of teaching and learning, introduction of the 'class' system in schools, grading children by age or achievement, use of standardized books and centralized examinations, use of full-time professional teachers for purposes of instruction, and articulation of curriculum between one stage and another (Shukla, 1983). The INC was a blind supporter of these useful features without knowing its suitability and implementations for the conservative and traditional society of the contemporary India and also they did not practice to spread this all over in this country.

### **3. Origin and Development of INC**

The birth of the INC marks the first comprehensive attempt at federal building in India. The history of the INC is a rich and long history of the service of the people's welfare and of suffering and sacrifice in the case of political emancipation, social freedom, and economic liberty. A.O. Hume regarded as the father of the INC and was full-time general secretary of the Congress for its first decade. In 1885, Hume rightly pointed out that, "the INC will form the germ of a national parliament and if properly conducted, will in a few

years constitute an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is unfit for any form of representative institutions" (Das, 1978). In fact, various circumstances and movements of the past prepared the ground for and culminated in the formation of an all-India political organization- the INC. The outburst of 1857 revolt almost shivers the base of the crown of the British Empire i.e. India. They came to know the deeply rooted higher degree of grievances of Indians for the British government. In the view of the growing impoverishment of the people under foreign rule, the formation of political association became necessary for ventilating the anger of the citizens. They acknowledged the existence of a new middle class of English-educated Indians within British-Indian society and to absorb its talents and influence within the structure of British-Indian administration (Briton, 1967). The British Raj thought to establish a safety valve that can regulate the storm of discontents of Indians in the establishment of INC. Regarding the number of members, the Congress of those days was like a small elitist club of the English educated and semi-educated Indian middle classes. But with each session its membership and support grew under the leadership of the founding fathers like A.O. Hume, W.C. Bonnerjee, Dadabhai Naroji, William Wedderburn, D. E. Wacha and others. Like an infant baby, in the earliest period it attracted very few people, in the later stage of development like a small child, it attracted many people but then like adolescence it attracted again few members whoever liked its ideology and behavior.

With the passage of time, the INC began to grow more militant in tone and critical in manners in which India was governed and exploited by British Government. Historically, the first change in the functions of the Congress took place in the 1890's when in addition to being a political movement; it also began showing signs of becoming an incipient party with demand for the Indianization and enlargement of the Raj government (Gautam, 1985). The British Government realized soon that this national organization was

tending to become more than a safety valve for public enthusiasm and they feared that it might develop into a seditious organization. The proceedings of INC can be classified into four stages according to the significant development in Indian freedom struggle till the independence of India i.e. 1885-1905, 1906-1929 and 1930-1947. We shall concentrate on the first step that is 1885-1905, which reflects the actual picture of functioning as a safety valve.

The history of the INC during 1885-1905 may be described as a period of petitions and prayers or peaceful and constitutional agitation for the immediate redress of urgent grievances in administration while motivated by an absolute idealism concerning India's political aspirations (Ghose, 1975). The early leaders of the Congress chose to be loyal to the empire and seek through gentle petition and memorials a few crumbs of reimbursement from the banquet of the overlords. Early members of Congress were moderate in their demands. They did not want to terminate British rule immediately; they wanted to liberalize that rule. These moderates believed in gradualism i.e. a policy of gradual reform rather than sudden change or revolution. They represented to some extent the prosperous and well-to-do who can afford to wait for *Swaraj*. The Congress resolutions of this period while emphasizing introduction of reforms in administration in respect of the constructive nation-building were also the full expansion of loyalty to the throne and a good will towards the British Empire. While good governance was the immediate aim, self-government was still a remote idea. Almost the Congress leaders in every session or every second session used to stress on that they are the faithful and consistent well-wishers of the ruling British Government which have done and doing great benefit of India. For example in the <sup>second</sup> session of the Congress, the President Dadabhai Naoroji said, "it is to British rule that we owe the education we possess, the new light .....turning us from darkness into light and teaching us new lesson.....kings are made for the people, not people for their kings.....amidst the

darkness of Asiatic despotism only by the light of free English education” (Saidi & Saidi, 1985). This type of satisfaction policy will enable us a better understanding of the educational policy of the INC.

#### **4. INC’s Policy of Education**

Although INC better understood the importance of diffusion of knowledge among mostly illiterate Indians, its overall policy was the negligence of spread of education in British India in the early years. The beginning of the leaders who were mostly English educated followed the British government's policy of the introduction of Western or English Education in India and supposed it as an inestimable blessing. We can see a significant shift in its attitude came in the 1900s, when the Congress passed resolution XII that at least half a day at each annual session of the Congress be devoted to the consideration and discussion of the Industrial and Educational problems of the country (Saidi & Saidi, 1977). It also not implemented efficiently till 1905 and mostly the discussions were concentrated around problems related to the industrial, expenditure and military. We can see that the Congress sessions of 1903, 1904 and 1905 are very little discussed on the issue of education and if they did little that was the only affirmation of the previous resolutions.

The INC was aware of the importance of the diffusion of knowledge for the progress of India. The Congress passed resolution IX in the fourth session that it is the duty of the British Government in India to foster and encourage general as well as technical education in all its branches (Saidi & Saidi, 1976). But the earliest two sessions of the Congress the issue of teaching was not taken into consideration. Although the start of leaders know that the Western English Education is entirely alien in many respect for the country yet they believed that it is essential for our proper national

development for which British Government has much responsibility. They proposed a joint Educational Commission for the appropriate evolution of a general system of education in India.

Broadly speaking, the early leaders of the INC proudly believe that it is one and only national party possesses the entire intelligence of the country. This small group of so-called elites whatever thought and did understand that thought and did for the educated middle class, not taken consideration of the mass. The social distance between them and the masses provided a fertile ground in which a sense of moral superiority, a concomitant of upper-caste status, would rapidly grow with the manure of English education and linkage with colonial administration thrown in. The distance was not a creation of the colonial rule. But the economic processes triggered by colonial rule undoubtedly accentuated it, and education gave it a new legitimacy (Kumar, 1989). The first INC, because it claimed to speak for all groups and all classes, decided to avoid issues, which would foster antagonism (Gordon, 1973). Anyway, within the light of western education, the Congress raised almost all matters related to the educational development of Indian and practice to do best for the country. Now it would be worth to mention these matters separately below.

## **5. The Universal Free Primary Education**

The universal and free elementary education is a question of the highest importance from the politico-administrative as well as the socio-economic point of view. It is significant that the poverty of the people under imperial rule engaged the attention of Congressmen from the very beginning and resolutions regarding the same were, in fact, passed as early as 1886 and 1887 (Ghose, 1975). Accordingly, for the first time resolution number XII of the ninth session of INC stated that, "looking to the great poverty of many classes of the community strongly recommends that in all types of the

Government or Municipal Schools and Colleges, all fees shall be reduced in proportion to the means of parents and relations and remitted universal opinion of Indian community that undue stress is being laid earnestly recommends that henceforth, in all grades and classes of schools and colleges at least equal attention should be devoted to physical development of the students" (Saidi & Saidi, 1977). It was the first and also the last resolution related to Primary Education and the Free Education for the mass, which was the most suitable option for this country. Babu Nibaran Chandra Das said in the discussion that, "the resolution looks tremendous on the paper but upon analysis, you will find it is a very simple one. We want a continuation of education, and we want for proper classes cheaper education, and we want a promise of physical education" (Saidi & Saidi, 1977).

In reality, universal and free Primary Education was the most neglected issue on the part of the INC. What happened when the Congress leaders better understood the politics of the Raj? They were withdrawing grants from the higher and secondary education professedly on the name of primary education. So the Congress leaders proposed that the primary education should be made free and compulsory. It was the right demand on the wrong time when the Government is withdrawing money from the educational sector how can it pour much funds on the primary education. It was the government politics of somehow not financing the education in India. The colonial state was, after all, no welfare agency. It existed to facilitate and expand exploitative trade. Funding a program of mass education was beyond its purview even if some generous soul like Munro passionately supported it. So 'mass education' became a program, which owing to its financially restrained expansion could only reach the upper classes, but it remained mostly a good program as was appropriate for a colony. Also, it is true that at least till 1905, the British Raj did not take any action towards this way.

## **6. Women Education**

Although it was not until the twentieth century that the INC sought the help for females in carrying out its programs, Indian women played a role in the meetings from the beginning. When the Congress met in Bombay in 1889, there were ten women in attendance only three from Bengal and seven from Bombay (Nanda, 1976). The first INC was a small group and its members not representative of Indian women as a whole. Indirectly, all the earliest women organizations had some connection, either through their members or their parent organization, to the Congress, and it is this connection that has bequeathed to history the notion of the inseparability of the women's movement and the INC.

The early INC decided to avoid issues, which would foster antagonism. It is sad to know that the topics related to women's status were also kept in this resentment category which means that with other issues of women also their education, the development of educational institutions for women, and elementary education for girls were not taken up by the INC (Low, 1988). These important subjects were left for the women's organization, which were also very less in number. While women were powerful inspirational figures, they did not have the political power necessary to influence the Congress policy or tactics.

## **7. Higher Education**

Very late, in the twelfth session of the INC, the Congress realized the greater facilities requirement for the Higher Education. Calcutta, Madras and Bombay University as the three oldest universities were founded in the 1850s on the charter of the London University 1830, which, enables no franchise to the graduates because none existed then (Mujib, 1953). These universities were mainly examination body but later 1889s onwards these universities

also started teaching job. The learning and teaching were concentrated on the study of literature and humanities, not on the study of sciences. Up to some extent, this was also according to the contemporary Indian mentality, which was not taking more interest in the scientific study and research. In this way, the resolution XIV of the Congress resolved that the Act of Incorporation of the Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay should be amended so as to provide for the introduction of teaching facilities and for a wider scope of learning and so as to suit generally demands of the present day (Saidi & Saidi, 1977).

On the part of the British Government, they have taken complete control of the university system in their hands. It means the government commanded the impartation of higher education through full authorization on all affiliated colleges in the sense of restricting their funding and formulation their curriculum. Naturally, the university senate became a source of domination of Englishmen. The Act of Incorporation of University also enables the Government to appoint fellows in two different ways. First, the Government or the chancellor of the university select individual fellows by pure nomination and second, these fellows recommends several gentlemen. For this reason, the sixteenth session of INC passed resolution IV to confer the privilege of electing fellows upon the graduates of Indian universities where it does not exist and of extending it where it does exist (Saidi & Saidi, 1977). The eighteenth session of the Congress passed a resolution which strongly objected some recommendations of the University Commission such as abolition of all existing Second Grade Colleges, the Syndicate for the minimum rates of the fees in colleges, a rigidly uniform course of study, the officialization of the Senate and the Syndicate, licensing of all secondary education by the Director of Public Instruction (Saidi & Saidi, 1978).

The above recommendations of the University Commission were a conscious plan to control and handicap the development of secondary and higher education in British India. British Raj's policy towards especially for higher education was the most repressive. They did not want to infuse higher education among Indian youths, which may lead to the mutation of nationalist feeling among them. For this reason, they first stopped funding higher education and then tried to abolish all colleges. But on another side the INC's view reflected from the sixteenth session's Welcome Address of Kali Prasanna Roy, "at least in the matters of education which relate more intimately to us than to our rulers we should be allowed to assist them to the best of our ability and means" (Saidi & Saidi, 1977).

It is also a matter of unpleasant surprise that in the view of the fact that the science course is taught little, if not at all in the aided and unaided colleges, the Government should not completely seize the diffusion of all scientific knowledge. In the fourteenth session of the INC, the President A.M. Bose tells that last year a memorial was presented to the Secretary of State for India for the establishment of a Central Scientific Laboratory for advance teaching and research in India signed by the leading scientist in England (Saidi, 1985). The Indian Government replied that he is unable to entertain such costly schemes. At the different sessions of the Congress Brojendra Nath Seal (Saidi & Saidi, 1977), A. M. Bose (Saidi & Saidi, 1977), N. R. Sarkar (Saidi & Saidi, 1977), G. Subramania Iyer (Saidi & Saidi, 1978) and others pointed out the shortcomings of the education.

## **8. Technical Education**

The spread of technical knowledge was the very concerned issue for the INC from its beginning. It seems unfair that why the technical education was so important for the early leaders of the Congress when even more than half of the Indian were not educated up to proper primary level. They have given justification that it will help

in the eradication of the acute poverty of Indians, which is very confusing in implementation. First time, the third session of the Congress passed resolution VIII that the Government be moved to elaborate a system of Technical Education, suitable to the condition of the country to encourage indigenous manufacturers by a more strict observance of the orders already existing in regard to utilizing such manufacturers for the state purposes and to employ more extensively than at present the skill and talents of the people of the country (Saidi & Saidi, 1976).

There were many practical difficulties of introducing a general system of technical education in the contemporary India. It has to deal concerning the changing conditions, cultures, and languages of the various parts of the country. Regarding this, the fourth session of INC adopted resolution X that the Government is moved no longer the appointment of a mixed Commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country (Saidi & Saidi, 1976). This resolution again got reconfirmation in the seventh session of the Congress (Saidi & Saidi, 1977). In the seventeenth session again the Congress gave assent to this resolution (Saidi & Saidi, 1978).

The mineral pool of India is extensive, and the developed facilities for acquiring these metals were almost nothing in the British India. In the sixteenth session, the Congress resolved that a Government College of Mining Engineering be established in some suitable place in India after the model of the Royal School of Mines of England and the Mining College of Japan and the Continent (Saidi & Saidi, 1978). The demand was repeated in the next year in resolution XVIII (Saidi & Saidi, 1978). Later it was conceded by the Raj, and a mining school was opened at Dhanbad in Bihar because it was related to its primary objective i.e. the exploitation of India as much as possible.

Even after the over emphasis on the introduction of technical education, the demands of INC were not clear, and these requests remained demands only. The Congress, again and again, asked the government, but they did not take it seriously, even they did not complete the survey of India for the actual status industrial education. The Congress did not resolve any plan for the introduction and expansion of the technical education in this country. Such as the professional training might be of the three grades, corresponding to the three categories of general education: (a) primary grade, comprising schools for handicraft and mechanical industry introduced by a course of elementary general introduction; (b) secondary grade, containing among others agriculture, industrial and commercial schools and led up to by a course of secondary public education; (c) University or facultative grade, comprising the faculty of law, medicine, engineering, technology and agricultural chemistry etc. and working through colleges, academics, poly-technique or technological institutes and other institutions. We do not hear a word however about the establishment of the technical institutes or even the agricultural, commercial and industrial schools.

It is little good for India that although one side the British Raj was taking away their funds yet another side some benefactors of this country has made furtherance for the cause of Higher Education especially technical education. Initially the Congress did not have any particular plan for scientific teaching and research; nevertheless, it was prompt and enthusiastic in welcoming and encouraging indigenous efforts in this area. Such as Mr. Tata donated thirty lakhs for the establishment of some scholarship for the encouragement of technical education by sending students to Europe, America or Japan (Saidi & Saidi, 1977). In the eighteenth session, the Congress also sought adequate support from Government in the proposed establishment of the Institute of Research by the private beneficence of Mr. Tata (Saidi & Saidi, 1978). Also, there must have been many

more Congress sympathizers or those associated with it, who might have tried to popularize science and utilize it in own ways. Kirloskar for example made efforts to introduce new farm equipment in South India (Rahman, 1984). Also with a view to popularizing modern industries, science, and technology, the Congress regularly organized an industrial exhibition at its annual session since 1901 (Pattabhi, 1969). A glance at the evolution of the Congress policy towards the education of Science and Technology between 1885-1905 shows that the attitude of the political party was mostly guided by a conflict of traditional vs. modern, small vs. big industries (Kumar, 1991). But it did not pay attention to basic science and fundamental research.

## **9. Medical Education**

In 1893, the INC realized that the time has arrived for the restructuring of public medical education and science in the country independent of the military service by such services in other civilized countries. And, in the ninth session passed Resolution IV that so as to give full effect to the educational policy of Government which is to encourage education for its own sake in every branch and to raise a scientific medical profession in India by throwing open fields for medical and scientific work to the best talent available and indigenous talent in particular (Saidi & Saidi, 1977). This resolution again re-passed in the tenth session of Congress (Saidi & Saidi, 1977).

The contemporary British India was having two types of interconnected medical services i.e. civilian and military health care services. The eleventh session of INC resolved that the Civil Medical Services of the country should be reconstituted as a distinct and independent medical service wholly detached from its present military connection and recruited from the open profession of medicine in India and elsewhere with a due learning of the

utilization of indigenous talent, other things being equal. Also, there should be one military service with two branches- one for the European Army and second for the Native troops, graduates of the Indian Colleges being employed to the latter with greater economy and the efficiency of the state (Saidi & Saidi, 1977). This resolution got again reaffirmations in the twelfth and the sixteenth session (Saidi & Saidi, 1977) and again in the seventeenth and the eighteenth session (Saidi & Saidi, 1978) of the Congress.

The concerned plan of INC for the reformulation of scientific medical education was quite relevant for the contemporary British India, where its development was of almost nominal resulted in the high mortality rate and the minimum average life expectancy. Many doctors came with the British colonizer, but they were mainly concerned with the health of Englishmen. On the other side, it is evident from the above continuous ascent of a single resolution in different sessions of INC that the British were not wishful to improve either the medical education or the medical condition in India. Three factors prevented a rapid move towards Indianization of Indian Medical services (Shepperdson & Simmons, 1988). Firstly, a military reserve was required, because the army could not usefully employ in peacetime all the doctors it needed in a time of war. Secondly, European doctors were in high demand by the European soldiers and the European civil servants. Thirdly, European doctors required high and secure prospects, especially for private practices, if they were to join the IMS.

## **10. Special Education for Muslims**

In the twelfth session of INC, the issues related to Muslim community were in the focus of debate. In this way, their educational problems are also discussed by then Congress President R. M. Sayani, but no resolution passed related to this. Hindu community urged by Raja Rammohan Roy were growing English

school and colleges, while Indian Muslims sat apart wrapped in memory of their traditions and held back by the conservatism of Islam. The vernacular schools did not recognize Persian or Arabic languages, and the system of public instruction made no provision for the religious education for the Muslim pupils (Das, 1978). In 1885-1886, in the Madras presidency out of every hundred school going boys, Muslim boys were up to twenty-two while the figure for Brahmin was seventy-three (Basu, 1973). They became cut off from Western Education and opposed those political movements to which western education has given rise. This community needed special encouragement, facilities, and privileges for the expansion of modern education with a determination that whatever their backwardness in the past they will not suffer themselves to be outstripped in the future. Sayani suggests that Education Commission is in itself an evil so what is wanted the voluntary performance on the part of each Indian Muslim (Saidi, 1985). Further, he mentioned that the present Muslim population in India is about five crores so they can collect thirty lakhs at the rate of one anna per annum per head. This sum will be used in the establishment and maintenance of the schools of primary, secondary and higher education and such schools' education as well as clothes and food would be freely given to the student. The Government will have to contribute to this sum under the grant-in-aid. It will bring out thousands and thousands educated Muslims every year.

The Muslim apathy towards the INC from its beginning, both from progressive and conservative sections, did cause concern to the founding fathers of that organization, though, they did not consider it either as final or likely to endanger the national cause (Das, 1978). But it was frequently used by the Raj from the 1890s onwards that the British government made continuous and particular efforts to encourage Muslim Education by individual grants, scholarship, free studentship, training and appointing Muslim teachers, encouragement of secular subjects, etc. After the Mutiny of 1857,

the British thought that a new threat was emerging in the shape of educated Hindus, and it was felt that the rightly guided Muslims might provide a counterpoise to it. For instance, in East Bengal, Muslim under an instruction of Public and private institutions increased 28.3% between 1901-2 and 1906-7 (Basu, 1973). It was conscious plan the 'Divide and Rule' policy of the British government where they used Muslims at the cost of Hindus. It resulted later in the mutation of conflict between Muslims and Hindus.

Here, the INC failed to identify reasons behind the conscious literacy policy of Muslims by the Raj. Also, this got indirect support from the INC announcement of voluntary efforts towards the education of Muslims, which was, in other words, a type of negligence or living them uneducated. In hard words and limited sense, we can say that this was an example of a double standard policy of the INC towards Muslims. The Congress would have passed special resolutions for the diffusion of education among the Muslim community, a minority section and highly illiterate member of the society. This behavior of INC left Muslims away from the Congress, or they did not become the member in many numbers, which lastly resulted in the growth of Muslim separatism and communal violence.

## **11. Educational Expenditure**

The British Government's expenditure and investment in the contemporary India were the highest controversial issue in the INC. The Congress continuously kept eyes on the expenses of the British Government and suggested the maximum use of Indian revenues for Indian causes. The debates and resolutions shows that the Congress took two stands on educational expenditures of the Raj, i.e.

(A) They prayed British Government to spend more on the education by comparison of India with other countries. G. K. Gokhale remarks the most backward country in Europe spends on education not less than 6.5% of the public revenue whereas, in India, the proposition is about 1%. About twenty years ago, it was 1.4%, and now it is 1% (Saidi & Saidi, 1977). The British Government is spending the least on the education sector in India, especially regarding the population. If we shall leave developed countries aside, Mauritius (population 71,655) is spending ten annas per head for education on the other side India (population 221,172,958) is spending seven pies per head on education in 1895. The early Congress leaders were very aware of this situation. When the British Government tried to take away even this less amount also from the education sector particularly higher education, they argued for not do so in many sessions by this contemporary situation. It became a highly debated issue.

(B) They also practiced drawing the attention of the Raj towards to increasing trend of the military expenditure and decreasing nature of disbursement on the education. They urged the necessity of reduction of in the continuously increasing military expenses of the country. They desired to secure outflow in all the branches of education should not diminish. In the fourth session of INC, the declaration made in the recent resolution of the Government of India on the subject of education is calculated to encourage the tendency to reduce imperial expenditure on the education and to withdraw from the control if it, respectfully urges upon Government the extreme importance of increasing or at any rate of not Government continuing to control the educational institutions of all kinds now existing (Saidi & Saidi, 1976). It got reaffirmation resolution again in the fifth and the sixth session of the Congress (Saidi & Saidi, 1976).

But instead of the implication of above resolution of the Congress, the withdrawn of funds from the higher and secondary education has been continuously made. In the Proceedings of the eighth session of the Congress, Brojendranath Seal throws some light on this issue (Saidi & Saidi, 1977). The politics of withdrawal from university education has been steadily pursued. The reduction of collegiate expenditure will appear from the fact that the cost of each student to Government has fallen by 20%. The Municipalities are everywhere told that they must curtail their grants for secondary education which must be left to take care of itself unsupported by state or local funds. The Raj also adopted the policy of not filling up vacancies and sometimes provided non-pensionable educational service, which will facilitate the abolition of the Government colleges. In this way, the Raj adopted the policy to restrict the diffusion of higher and secondary education on their part through two ways i.e. by stopping funding and further appointments.

## **12. Employment to Educated**

Although there were fewer educated people mostly from affluent classes in the contemporary India, so the earliest stage of INC represented these English educated Indians. Actually, in the beginning, the INC was a hub of these elites of the conservative Indian society. They were the originator, developer and the cause of unpopularity of the INC. This emerging selfish middle class was much wanted of jobs because they gained English education on very high fees. In this way in the INC has taken most seriously the issue of employment to educated primarily English educated. It is remarkable here that the British Government also wanted to incorporate educated Indian in government services for assistance. They offered the lowest posts i.e. peon, clerk, constable, chokidar, etc. to Indians and also did discriminate on the issue of salary and promotions. So it was the matter of conflict between the Raj and the INC. In this regard, the INC's opted to two types of resolutions like

the establishment of military colleges and appointment of more Indian in administrative areas like military, medical with no discrimination between Indian and British.

In the third session (1887) of INC, Babu Norendranath Sen proposed a resolution urging the establishment of Military Colleges in India at which the sons of Indian noblemen and gentlemen might be trained as officers of the Indian army, and it unanimously passed. This resolution got ratification again as resolution III in the fifth and as resolution IV in the sixth session (Saidi & Saidi, 1976), again in the eighth, the ninth, the tenth and the eleventh session (Saidi & Saidi, 1977) and again in the sixteenth session of the Congress (Saidi & Saidi, 1977).

In the ninth proceeding of INC, Dr. K. N. Bhadurji lamented that medical education on British methods and by teachers has been growing in the country for upwards of a half a century yet have not supplied with a purely Indian College career, anything better than an Assistant Surgeon on Rupees 100-200 a month or the ordinary General Practitioner (Saidi & Saidi, 1977). One of the leaders also suggested that if we employ Indian men who know social customs and manners of the people cause the disease, and they can do the duty more efficiently than the surgeons from outstations that are often inexperienced.

The twelfth session of the INC significantly resolved protest against the scheme of reorganizing the Educational Services which has just received the sanction of the secretary of state as being calculated to exclude natives of India, including those who have been educated in England from the superior grade of the educational service to which they have hitherto been admitted. The words of the resolution were in the future natives of India who are desirous of entering in the Educational Department will usually be appointed in India and not to the Provincial Service. The Congress prayed in

resolution VI that the scheme may be so recast as to afford facilities for the admission of Indian Graduates to the superior grade of the Educational Services (Saidi & Saidi, 1977). Again the seventeenth and nineteenth session of the Congress concur with it as resolution XIX and XIII (Saidi & Saidi, 1978).

### **13. Conclusion**

The INC was creation Britain by English educated middle class. The earliest period of the INC say up to 1905 witnessed the pinnacle of imperialism development in India. The widening educational structure of the colonial India with an extensive power system was a process of control by the colonial state. In this pre-Gandhian stage, the Congressmen could only make a request for some reform within the existing order. That is the reason why the role of the Congress in this politics of education was limited. In particular, as the mechanism of the Raj expanded considerably during 1885-1905, there was a growing need for educated workers in both the public and the private sector. Consequently, during the 1870s, there was a considerable increase in the production of English educated students as missionary colleges, and then Indian-controlled colleges expanded rapidly, but the supply of jobs was limited led to tension among the middle class. The first and foremost reaction of the Congress was demand for industrial progress and technical education. It was in also in response to the ongoing colonial exploitation, the consequent poverty, and general backwardness.

We can see the feeble and liberal policy of the INC which leads them to urge for a simple demand for years and years such as a Joint Educational Commission, technical education, military and medical services, the establishment of the military college, and, the increase in educational expenditure, etc. In the twenty-first session (1905), the Congress repeated its protest against the present policy of the Government and recounted the unfulfilled demands such as

individual grants for primary and secondary education, the beginning of the Free Primary Education, fully equipped poly technique College, and, the committee on the industrial education, etc. But why the INC adopted a politics of satisfaction or liberal policy for the diffusion of knowledge in India? It had emerged in the colonial background and had to work in distinct colonial circumstances till 1947. It lacked administrative powers, political experiences, material resources and freedom of thought and action. The greatest obstacle was the clash of almost contrary nature of interests between the INC and the Raj in India. At the same time, the political base of INC was not homogenous, and its operations do not extend up to rural India. It created a condition quite unfavorable for any mass program of educational development. But what was the result of this continuous politics of requesting? It is noteworthy that whatsoever the INC did for the progress of knowledge diffusion in the colonial India by whatever means either by constant pleading or demanding especially when the British Government was not willing. This constant urging always keeps striking the minds of British Government about their duty for this country. Actually, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the British Raj adopted a policy that whatever the Congress will demand, they will neglect but later in the 20<sup>th</sup> century as the Congress keep on demanding, they promised for giving but in ten years not instantly. Till 1905, the British government adopted the practical denial of the responsibilities for any degree of educational development whatever in contravention of the theory and practice of all civilized states. It made the history of INC full of failures and disparities, but it provided a base for the educational development later. When the British Raj was taking away grants from the higher education and they said, "Go and Educate Yourself." In reply, the President of the eighth session W. C. Bonnerjee asked a question to the government that "Why not Go and Protect Yourself." This statement indicates towards the seeds of a rise of nationalism.

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