

Education of a Special Class: Anglo Indians of British Bengal

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Abstract : *Anglo Indian or Eurasian community was unique as it was the product of the imperial enterprise and to that extent they were inimitable since their origin. The education of this class drew comparatively less attention of the historians as this community was not a mainstream category of population. The different layers between the 'pure white' and 'marginal white' made it a more intrinsic class to converse. The education especially the elementary education of this community of Bengal evolved in its own way leaving the void to investigate many a questions for extensive research. There were several official reports which show that Anglo Indians were treated as a special category that needed special attention and care in the segment of education. European schools which were established to cater for the need of this class were unique in their structure, management, composition and curriculum. The education especially the elementary education of this class was first left upon the philanthropy of the Evangelicals and eventually they were taken into the fold of the mainstream education providing it with a special consideration. This paper by using both qualitative and quantitative sources seeks to investigate the concealed agendas of educational policy of the Anglo Indians and how far these were guided by the imperial interest.*

Keywords : Education, Anglo-Indians, Eurasians, Colonial Bengal, European schools, Agenda, Imperialism.

Introduction: In the closing years of the eighteenth-century social life of the Europeans in India gradually started to change with the enlargement of their numbers, the prospect of a more settled and assured life in India and the political victory of the Europeans over the Indian rulers (Ghosh 1998, 148). In course of time, many European males formed alliance with the local Indian women and the off springs of such alliances were regarded as Anglo-Indians. This segment of population was unique as it was the direct product of the imperial enterprise and unique since their origin. There were also a number of agenda behind the formation of educational policy of the Anglo Indians of Bengal. The education especially the elementary education of this community in Bengal evolved in its own way. This resulted into immense scope for research.

Aims and Methodology: Objective of this paper is to identify the motives and aims behind the education of the Anglo Indian community of British Bengal. A number of questions come up, namely, why the education of the Anglo Indians were treated in a special way? Was this class homogenous in nature? Was there any special purpose for creation of the educational policies for this class? Whether the policy was guided by the imperial interest? This article intends to investigate development of the Anglo Indian schools with focus on composition, structure and distinctiveness of the schools. The present paper, therefore, would try to trace the changing principles and practices behind the elementary education of the Anglo Indians of Bengal. Both qualitative and quantitative methods are followed in this study.

Anglo-Indians of Colonial Bengal: First of all it is necessary to understand the position of the Anglo-Indians in the British regime. They were treated as a special class. Because of their European descent they used English as their mother tongue and were imbibed with British culture. Originally, they were treated as British, but gradually the 'pure white' British subjects distinguished themselves from the 'impure' Anglo-Indians. They were considered to be lower in status than the 'pure white' British residents in India. The term 'half-caste' was also used to refer to the Anglo Indians or the Eurasians because of their inferior position in the European society (Andrews 2005: 5).

At the beginning of British regime there was less amount of complication in the European society of Bengal and the terms 'European', 'Eurasian' and 'Anglo-Indian' were used interchangeably. After 1833 the term 'Eurasian' gained popularity (Andrews 2005: 5). The definition of Anglo-Indians varied over time. It became crucial to the Anglo-Indians to maintain their identity and continue to enjoy the privilege as 'white race' because of their British ancestry. Initially in the eighteenth century Warren Hastings used the term 'Anglo-Indian' to refer to 'both the British in India and their Indian-born

children' (D'Souza 1976: 5-6). A century later, the first official Code of Regulation for European Schools of 1883-85 defined Europeans in the following way, 'to signify any person of European descent, pure or mixed, who retained European habits and modes of life' (Andrews 2005: 5). There was a second definition, which sought to solve the complexities of the European society of the contemporary Bengal. In fact the term 'European' included a large variety of population in which there were many layers within the concept of pure and impure. However, on the whole 'European' referred to the people in India, who had some European descent and who maintained European mode of living. The term Anglo-Indian was officially adopted by Lord Hardinge in the Census of 1911 (Andrews 2005: 5). By this time there had been apparent class-based discrimination for designating the status of Europeans. Except for the high officials and well to do administrators, all other people of European descent or mixed blood were ranked down to the status of Anglo-Indians. The heterogeneity and resemblance with the ruling class made the Anglo-Indians an exceptional and significant section of population in British Bengal.

Education for the Anglo-Indians: It became necessary to educate the Anglo-Indians as a special class. Because of the heterogeneity of this class, the colonial authority had no choice but to treat them as a unique group. The salary which an educated native would find sufficient proved inadequate for the Anglo-Indian community because of their European social habits and traditions. More intimate knowledge of the languages, character and customs of the British gave these people further advantage over the natives in many occupations. On the other hand, the lack of proficiency in the Indian vernaculars became a disadvantage for the Eurasians and domiciled Europeans. At the same time there were many employments for which a well-educated young Eurasian or European was especially suited and were readily employed. While there was no lack of useful employment for the well-educated Europeans or Eurasians, livelihood depended entirely on their education. It was not expected that an uneducated European would support himself by working as a day labourer or a peasant. As a result he would turn into to an idle and mischievous member of the English community. This prompted the colonial state to take a special interest in the education of this class. As poverty and other disadvantages under which the domiciled European and Eurasian classes suffered, made it difficult or even impossible for them to provide adequate education to their children. It called for the state's assistance to resolve matters amicably (The Imperial Gazetteer of India 1909: 433-435).

European schools were established in Bengal in the middle of the eighteenth century. These schools were not only for the Europeans or English children, but were

predominantly for the children of Eurasians or Anglo-Indians. These schools taught with a foreign curriculum i.e. western literature and science in a foreign language. However, European schools in Bengal were slow to take deep root (D'Souza 1976: vii). The basic aim of these schools was two-fold, viz., to employ the educated Anglo-Indians in subordinate positions in the government services and to spread Christianity among the natives (Andrews 2005: 126-127). At the beginning the schools for the Anglo-Indians were invariably attached to the Church because of their religious undertone. These schools were of various types as the Anglo-Indians of Bengal did not form a homogenous group. There were many layers in them. Different schools were formed to serve different purposes. For example, there were evening schools serving the lower class of pupils; city and hill station boarding schools meant for the high-class pupils; and the city based schools, such as, La Martiniere, St. Xavier's, St. James, Loreto House, Pratt Memorial etc. were for the eminent Anglo-Indians of Bengal (De 2003: 7).

The British government initially was reluctant to their cause and left it to the philanthropy of the missionaries. Schools for the Europeans were opened in Bengal during the eighteenth century. Charity school was opened in 1731 at Cossipore and the great Calcutta Free School was established in 1800. Subjects taught at these institutions were Scripture, Latin, Mathematics, Indian History, Political Economy, Geography and English language, Grammar and Literature (Sen 2017: 88). These schools were for the children of converted Indian Christians, of the British, of the Anglo-Indians and the Portuguese. This type of education became popular not only with Anglo-Indian parents, but also with the native parents of all communities (D'Souza 1976: viii). The lack of complexities within the European society of eighteenth century Bengal kept the education of this class straight and simple. It is worth mentioning that Company officials often sent their mixed-blood offspring to England for education, especially those who could afford. The children of fair complexions had higher chances to mix with the colour-conscious English society.

With the beginning of the nineteenth century, a superior racist feeling was formed among the English people of Bengal and they often refused to accept the children of the Anglo-Indian community as Europeans (Gist and Wright 1973: 114). With the emergence of imperialism in Bengal the concept of 'pure white' and 'mixed white' started to come up. This constant conflict between the 'pure' and 'mixed' hindered the growth of education of this community in the first half of the nineteenth century.

European education received an impetus after the Indian Revolt of 1857, when the British government wanted to reward the Anglo-Indian community for their loyalty towards the Company. British in Bengal established political and economic monopoly in the nineteenth century and became conscious of their position in society and were

reluctant to accept any mixed people in their English society. As a result the Anglo-Indians were marginalized in Bengal.

Motivation behind the education of the Anglo-Indians had a number of agendas for different agencies. The church, the India Office, the Government of India, the Eurasians and Anglo-Indian Association had expressed their concern with separate but explicit rationales. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1909 suggested that the principles which prevailed at Home (England) had obvious influence on the administrative system in India. The Victorian era in Britain largely influenced the educational policies for India (Aziz 1976: 228). Education which the British desired to promote in the colonies had to be liberally supported by the authorities in their Home country first. The later years of the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth century witnessed a period of general apathy towards education in England in general, and among the English people in particular (Caldecott 1901: 237-240). The Victorian England initially failed to give due weightage to education and consequently education in India was not given importance by the Home government.

British commercial success was due to the industrial revolution in the middle of the nineteenth century. Gradually competition grew and monopoly of markets by the English disappeared quickly. At the end of the sixties of the nineteenth century, with the onset of great industrial depression, much distress was brought in to the working classes of England. Unemployment became a reality. By 1869 and 1870 there started an agitation for state-aided emigration of the unemployed people to the colonies. Such economic crises, it was argued, could reappear in future and such waves of emigration would not only relieve misery at home and benefit the colonies but would also help to persuade the working classes to share the general belief in imperialism (Aziz 1976, 6-8).

By the end of the nineteenth century it was no longer considered to be England's duty to train Asia and Africa in the arts of civilization and good governance (Aziz 1976: 2). They had become uncertain of themselves, afraid of their own opinions, doubtful of the true teaching of their consciences. They doubted if they had any longer any moral right to rule anyone (Townsend 1888). This constant conflict of viability of ruling the colonies and changing policies in England influenced the mindset of the colonial policy makers in India. The importance and significance of colonies like India changed over times and the policies altered accordingly. With the changing situation the English started to consider education as a means to control and maintain their hegemony over the colonies. It was no longer for the need or right of the Anglo-Indian community of Bengal but it was for the imperial interest which guided the Home Government to frame the educational policies of the Anglo-Indian community in accordance with the

changing situation and demand.

The British government in India had to deal with the actual situation in the country on one hand and on the other follow orders of the Home Government. The necessity of getting obedient and loyal servants for the administration became foremost. The India office wanted to train the children of the Anglo-Indian community in a manner which would give them the best opportunity of becoming good citizens in the land of their adoption (Danvers Report, 1878 cited in Anderson 2011). The colonial administrators having faith in Filtration theory depended much upon the English educated elite native and the Anglo-Indians. As long as the Anglo-Indian class served these interests they were in tune with the greater imperial concern. The Anglo-Indian class no longer was considered as harmless for the empire with the turn of the second half of the nineteenth century, when they started to demand more honour and individuality in the society.

Although the English East India Company had an initial reluctance towards education, but the missionaries pledged with an Evangelical mission wanted to convert the Indian heathens into Christianity by way of educating them. The missionaries saw education as one of the main ways to bring the natives under the Christian faith (Sarwar 2012: 37-47). To the missionaries education always meant Christian education rather than secular education. The overall goal of the Christian missionaries was proselytisation. The primary area and purpose included activities like working in day and boarding schools, training centres for different crafts and night classes for working boys and girls etc [Mukherjee (nee Ghosh) 2013: 33-34]. It had a wo far reaching influence and of deepest significance, especially in relation to evangelicalism of the upper classes and for building up of a new system of Christian thought process in India (Sanders 1917: 73-74).

Martin Carnoy, a labor economist with a special interest in the relation between the economy and the educational system, tried to prove that British administration succeeded in enforcing cultural imperialism through the missionaries (Carnoy 1974: 3). He argued that procuring of resources, developing manpower, harnessing energy, occupying new lands and building trading operations overseas were not possible without the ideology of the 'white man's burden' and it was the missionaries and their reformist zeal that confirmed this ideology (Rao 2014: 8). It became obligatory for the British administrators to add a notion of civilizing mission to the colonies for the purpose of easy retention of colonies and for providing an ideological justification for that. The alliances of the company's government and missionary enterprise had been celebrated in 1813 in the context of missionary educational programme through the Charter Act of 1813. The government started to provide educational grants towards

the assistance of missionaries in Bengal under the name of Grant-in Aid system (The Imperial Gazetteer of India 1909: 409-41). The Missionaries became the major influence in the field of education of the Anglo Indian community. They were a group of people who would openly embrace Christianity along with the Euro-centric education. The Evangelists realized that the other sections of population were reluctant to the conversion into Christianity. Conversion was the prime goal for the missionaries. Anglo Indian community was whole heartedly ready for conversion to become a 'true white' in every sense of the term. For this reason the missionaries never lost interest in imparting such education to this community in Bengal.

Between the 1830s and the 1860s, there had been a general consensus amongst missionaries that Christianity, western scholarship and European civilization were all intertwined with each other. During this period alliance between the missionaries and the imperial rulers was quite strong. Alexander Duff, being one of the prominent missionaries of the nineteenth century believed that 'Christianity has never taught rulers to oppress, so it will never teach subjects to rebel' (Bellenoit 2007: 25-26). This clearly points out the evangelical-imperial tie-up. This bond ran smooth until the missionaries started to sympathize with the cause of the natives.

Parimala V. Rao argued that from the very beginning missionaries often fought for the rights of the local population (Rao 2014, 9-10). Hayden Bellenoit emphasized that the missionaries often held up Indian socio-political realities and opposed the policies of the colonial state. After 1857, the imperial confidence was shaken, which also influenced the missionary realm. Missionaries became more conscious of their religious aims and involved in pursue of Indian tradition and knowledge (Proceedings of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal 1873: 113). The financial assistance came from the state with a rider attached to it. It became mandatory for schools receiving grants-in-aid to conform to the curriculum of fixed by the government. Although missionaries had high ambitions and vigor but they lacked in financial capacity. Without the financial support it was not possible for them to continue and broaden their mission. There was a constant tussle between the colonial government and the missionaries in respect to grant-in-aid for the missionary institutions (Martineau 1858: 112).

The Anglo Indians suffered for the repressive policies of the British, since they regarded themselves as English or 'pure white' community. The Anglo-Indian community formed East Indian Club in 1825 in order to unite and protest against this. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century most people of the Anglo-Indian Associations of Bengal protested against the facts that the colonial government recognized Anglo-Indians sometimes as Europeans and sometimes as natives. Depending on the purpose of the government they were debarred from all superior and coveted offices. They

insisted on equal status and privilege with equal educational opportunity as of the 'pure' Europeans. In fulfilling that aim they formed separate schools like Parental Academy and the Calcutta Grammar school for themselves. Nonetheless, these schools were not eligible for any financial assistance from the government (Preetham 2006: 220-225) and had to struggle for existence. By analyzing the needs and aims of different concerned agencies, it can be concluded that every group had their own interest, which made the progress of Anglo-Indian education in Bengal complicated and slow.

Anglo-Indian Schools: The European (Anglo-Indian) schools were distinct from the other schools in its formation, administration, student composition and curriculum. The Director of Public Instruction of Bengal in his Report for 1862–63 had listed many European schools and it became evident from the list, that there were more unaided schools than aided ones. Interestingly more girls' schools were aided compared to the boys' schools. The Roman Catholic institutions were entirely excluded from financial aid (D'Souza 1976: 30-31). From the census reports of Calcutta of 1877, it appears that on 31 March, 1877, there were about 3,500 European and East Indian children belonging to school-going age in the town. Out of which 2,942 children were attending schools aided by the Government (Home Department, Edn File Nos 45–48, 1878).

The term 'European Education' was not generally used to specify schools meant for the children of the European employees of the railways but there were also mentions of certain European Schools for the State-managed railway employees (Railway Department, File No. E34SC23/1-5, 1934). East Indian Railway Company tried to meet the need. At first most of the European schools were established on the plains until the company founded its own schools on the hills at Musoorie (Oak Grove) in 1888 and at Dow Hill in 1879. The hill schools provided education targeted for the children of wealthier railway men. European perspective supported the idea that the bracing air of the hills would improve the health and morality of the children. These hill schools being elite schools were originated to educate the 'pure whites' instead of the Anglo Indians. These hill schools with their high fees successfully maintained their elite nature of the students by eliminating the prospect of mixing the 'low' whites with the 'pure' ones.

In 1885-1886 the compulsory subjects taught at the elementary level at all European schools comprised reading, writing and arithmetic. In addition to this, some special subjects could be taught to individual students. The students studying the same elementary subjects formed one class. Three elementary subjects were compulsory for all pupils from standard I to standard VII. English was compulsory for boys and

needlework for the girls (Code of Regulations 1885:7). No grants were provided to any standard, unless English in boys' school and needlework in girls' schools were taken up. It was required for all standards to study diligently and it was expected that students in each successive year acquire increased fluency and excellence in the subjects studied. In standard III and upwards two sets of books were provided, of which one was to be on historical or biographical theme. The School Inspector could take examination on any of the subjects and could test the knowledge of the student by asking questions on any of the subjects studied (Code of Regulations 1885: 39-41). The detailed curriculum of the European schools confirms the unique and advanced standard of these schools in comparison to other schools of Bengal where rote learning was insisted.

In 1888 a European school was one in which at least four-fifths of the pupils were of European or of Indo-European descent. The standard of European Schools exhibited the following features. The Primary stage comprised standards I to IV. Standards V and VI were regarded as the Middle stage and finally standards VII to IX were treated as the High stage. Grants for girls were same as that of boys, but an additional grant of Rs. 5 was awarded for good plain needle work (Home Department, Edn Nos. 170 – 189, 1888).

The Bengal code for European schools was revised in 1895 to ensure that standards in the primary, middle and high school classes were satisfactory. The Committee drew up a new course of instruction and as the vast majority of European children in India were born, lived and died in India; the study of Indian history and an Indian vernacular was made compulsory in all European schools (D'Souza 1976, 132-133). However, this failed to reach out to the small or poor population, as it was not able to make arrangements for the schooling of their children even though assisted by the Government. The quality of the teaching was not always satisfactory and there was a dearth of adequate supply of well-qualified instructors. Sufficient attention was not paid to the important subject of vernacular languages even after the recommendation of the Committee (The Imperial Gazetteer of India 1909, 433-435).

The primary, middle and high school examinations were held for the purpose of judging the progress of students. They were rigorously tested at definite junctures of their school career, namely, on completion of the course of instruction for primary, middle, and high school standards respectively. At the primary school examination, questions were set for each subject, up to the standard IV. These examinations were held annually, and certificates were given to all those qualified in the examinations. A fee was charged for admission to the examinations and that amount was determined by the Department. There were provisions for the awarding special grants or for the

payment of fees for the poor scholars (Revised Code of Regulations 1897: 17-21). This distinct curriculum and examination standard are enough to confirm the distinctiveness and Euro-centric pattern of European school education.

In 1902 Lord Curzon, on the recommendation of a Conference of Directors of Public Instruction held at Simla (1901), appointed a Code Revision Committee to revise the Bengal Code for European Schools of 1895, so that it may be adapted for whole of India and Burma. This Committee advocated for a uniform policy for European schools similar to that outlined in the Government of India Resolution of 1904. Their views were included in the Revised Code for European Schools of 1905. This had a tremendous impact on the qualitative improvement of the education provided in European schools (D'Souza 1976, 137). An Inspector of School was appointed in each Province to inspect European schools. A training college was established to train teachers for these schools. Stipends were provided for the students taking the training. The systems of offering grants-in-aid and scholarships were revised on a more liberal basis (The Imperial Gazetteer of India 1909: 433-435).

Code of Regulation for European Schools in India and Burma, 1905 specified compulsory subjects like Spelling, Analysis and Grammar, Tables, Notation and Numeration, Arithmetic, Mental Arithmetic, Geography, History, Domestic Economy, Needlework (for girls only), Object lessons and Drill. Subjects like Latin, French, German and Vernacular were offered as Optional subjects (Proceedings of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, 1905: 318). Since many unskilled labourers failed to get a decent job in England and migrated to India, it therefore became necessary to provide vocational and technical training to their children. Otherwise they would be without the prospect of employment. The demand for vocational training was long cherished by the European community. That was first complied by the Code of the 1905, which guaranteed vocational and technical subjects for the boys of this community (D'Souza 1976: 144).

With the turn of the twentieth century vocational training became increasingly part of the European schools. For example, the Catholic Male Orphanage taught special subjects, such as, Typewriting, Shorthand and Telegraphy, which involved extra expenditure (Proceedings of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal 1905: 339). St. Joseph's Free School, Calcutta, had special classes teaching Typewriting, Shorthand and Telegraphy. At the Loreto Day School for Girls, Bow Bazar, Calcutta, instruction was given in Typewriting and Dressmaking. The Loreto Convent School for Girls at Entally had Typewriting and Shorthand classes. The girls were also taught Household work, Domestic economy and Dressmaking. The Gouldsmith Free Day School, Calcutta, had a special class for girls where Shorthand, Typewriting and Domestic economy

were taught. Extra time was given to introduce English and Commercial Arithmetic to the pupil. At the St. Helen's School for Girls, Kurseong, students were allowed to take up one or more of the following courses: (a) Practical Domestic Economy and Cookery, (b) Nursing, (c) Dress-making and Millinery. The senior boys at St. Andrew's Colonial Homes' School, Kalimpong, were also employed on the Farm. No servants were employed for the household duties, namely, washing, cooking, mending, etc. These were also taught in the school. The idea behind this was to equip the students for colonial life in the future. After the reorganization of the Victoria Boys' School in 1897 and subsequent foundation of the Girls' Schools at Dow Hill, a carpentry class was started at the Boys' School and a Domestic Science and Cookery class was introduced for the girls. These were attended by the more senior students. Still the government spent very small amount of money in the primary education in comparison to the secondary schools, which had to depend on private philanthropy for its sustenance (General Report of Public Instruction in Bengal 1904: 102-103).

In 1906 A Earle, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal communicated that the revised code of regulations for European schools would follow a particular structure of classes and curriculum as indicated below (Proceedings of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal 1906: 338):

- (a) Infant Classes (ages 5 to 8)
- (b) First Class (ages 8 to 9)
- (c) School Class (ages 9 to 10)
- (d) Third Class (ages 10 to 11)
- (e) Fourth Class (ages 11 to 12)
- (f) Fifth Class (ages 12 to 13)
- (g) Sixth Class (ages 13 to 14).

According to the Code of Regulations for European Schools of Bengal, 1908, it was laid down that for obtaining the recognition of an elementary or primary school, a school should at least enroll twenty to twenty-five students and should have the capability of providing efficient instruction in the subjects like Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English composition, English Grammar, English poetry and literature, Nature observation work, Geography, History, drawing, an Indian vernacular, hand work, needlework (for girls only) and Music. No recognized school was, however, allowed to offer instruction in any of these courses, unless it could match the standard of the Department that there was a demand for this supplementary instruction and that it could be carried on efficiently without prejudice to the work of the institution as an elementary school.

No student without passing the final examination of the elementary school was to be admitted to any of these supplementary courses without the express permission of the Inspector (Code of Regulations 1908: 5-6). The procedure and conditions of the elementary school certificate examination was also indicated in the Regulations. The standard of passing was to be determined by the examiners, who would be guided by the consideration that the candidate had been taught the subject knowledgeably and that at the same time he had derived substantial benefit from the study. Each school would have to submit its curriculum annually to the Inspector, and it would be the duty of the Inspector to see that the courses laid down in each subject were sufficient for the purpose of the certificate examination. The examination should be partly oral, and interestingly, no text-books in English or in the vernacular could be prescribed for examination (Code of Regulations 1908: 14).

The Code of Regulation of 1910 recommended that there was to be elementary and secondary schools for the Europeans of Bengal. The former planned to teach a boy up to 14 years of age (Article 18) and the latter up to 18 years of age (Article 20). The termination point for the secondary course was to be the Cambridge Senior school certificate examination (Article 95). The termination of the elementary education was to be through the Elementary School Certificate Examination that was to be held conjointly by the school and the department (Proceedings of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal 1911: 24). The Code of 1910 recommended that the examination should be of a simple nature and should be such that it would be possible to test whether a candidate had been taught the subject knowledgeably and at the same time derived substantial benefit from it or not (Proceedings of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal 1911: 39). In this way the British government started to manage the European schools and standardized them on their own aspiration. In 1911, a special grant of fifty lakhs of rupees was assigned for education by the British government in India following the visit of King George to India. Out of this three lakhs were set aside for the education of the Anglo-Indians. But the impact of the World War I brought many things to a standstill and the education of this community were no exception. The education of the Europeans suffered also as a result of lack of well-trained teachers and practical orientation (Sen 2017: 91).

Sir Spencer Harcourt Butler, summoned an All India Conference of European Education at Simla in 1912, where he accepted that the government of India had been indifferent to the education of the domiciled European community. Butler described the European education as 'half-sister of Indian education' (D'Souza 1976: 150). The Conference recommended that European education should cease to be a Provincial subject and that it should be taken under Central Control. The suggestion was repeatedly made in

the succeeding years with little results. The Domiciled Community in India submitted their report in 1912 under the president ship of Sir Harcourt Butler. The code made provisions for admission of a certain percentage of Indians to European schools and also suggested that free education should be provided in the European schools. But in the matter of compulsion, Butler felt some more time would be required (Report of the Conference of the Domiciled Community in India 1920, 2-3).

Interestingly, Anglo-Indian schools were not included in the purview of the Sadler Commission of 1917; yet the Commission referred to it in passing; a fact that easily sums up the importance of the European schools and their social and political importance in the population of the Bengal Presidency (D'Souza 1976, 161-162). During this time vocational training again sought attention of the government. On 31 March, 1918, there were seventy two students on the rolls of the Commercial and Technical classes attached to the Young Women's Christian Association in Calcutta. A commercial class affiliated to the Government Commercial Institute was started at the La Matrinieri for Boys' School in Calcutta in 1918. There were forty-nine students on the rolls of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway Apprentices' Night School at Kharagpur. At Dow Hill School a special Domestic Science Block was arranged and the subjects were made compulsory for all girls in the upper classes. It was felt that this training should be available to every girl in the school and that girls in the lower classes should be taught, at least, the rudiments of cookery, laundry work, dressmaking, needlework, household management, nursing of the sick etc. There were three students in the Dow Hill School undergoing a special training in domestic science and eleven at the St. Helen's Convent School. Special classes for probationary nurses for sick were held at the Entally Covent and at St. Andrew's Colonial Homes, Kalimpong. The Calcutta Free School and the St. Andrew's Colonial Homes, Kalimpong, also held special classes for the training of children's nurses (Proceedings of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal 1919: 16-17). All these vocational courses were aimed at increasing the employability of boys and making the girls conversant with feminine virtues. However, one of the greatest faults in the European schools, according to the Inspector of European schools, was that vocational courses had been generally organized, more in academic manner (D'Souza 1976: 161-162).

The Government of India Act in 1919 in general relegated the subject of education to the provinces. European education was reserved for the consideration of the central government. Mr. Ingels believed that as far as the education of Anglo-Indians was concerned, it was an Imperial matter and not a transferred subject. He was apprehensive of the fact whether the Bengal Government would be able deal with it. He was doubtful if the Corporation would be able to finance one side and not the other, unless they

asked the Government to make provision for it (Government of Bengal 1920: 30). The Enquiry Committee Reports (1919-1920) of Calcutta Domiciled Community saw this as an opportunity when efficient and the best possible education could be imparted to the 'low Europeans' in India, thereby helping them earn a wage for livelihood of persons with European habits and manners (De 2003: 237).

According to this report, in Calcutta a huge sum was spent through societies like the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor, the Indo-British Institution, the Roman Catholic, Institutions and Endowments for the benefit of the Poor White Community. Domiciled Enquiry Committee (1919-1920) reported that Rs. 1,12,017 annually was provided for the educational assistance of 643 children by these philanthropic societies (De 2003: 234-35). The report also advised some measures for improvement of the educational condition of this community. It recommended that Preparatory schools, especially at the moufossil stations may be established. The negligence in establishing such schools accounted for more than anything else for the educational backwardness of domiciled children as compared to children of the same age in England. It was suggested that the preparatory schools should appoint their ablest teachers in the lowest classes (Calcutta Domiciled Community Enquiry Committee Reports 1919-1920: 105). Primary education of a simple and practical kind was prescribed for the children of the domiciled community. Appropriate vocational training or workshop training for both boys and girls was to supplement the general education course. Often boys and girls from the poor white community had to quit schools at tender ages and take up jobs. Their general education was curtailed and the jobs that they secured at a younger age offered low salaries and had very little prospects too (De, 2003: 238). This justified the importance of the Preparatory schools as institutions of skill training, which the children of the domiciled community mostly needed. Interestingly, these schools were not meant for the children of the elite Europeans as they were seldom forced to quit education for employment or for earning a livelihood.

The privileged position enjoyed by the European schools, was challenged by the growth of a new type of privately owned and managed schools popularly known as the Indian Public School. These schools claimed to be much more closely modeled on the English Public Schools than the Anglo-Indian schools. The Doon School, the father of the Indian Public School, was opened with seventy boys in September, 1935 and was formally inaugurated by Lord Willingdon, the Viceroy, on 27 October, 1936 (D'Souza 1976: 40-41). Indian Public schools became popular ensuring a feeling of superiority among the English because the European schools had lost their race specific student composition and many white men were not willing to let their children study along with the non- European community (Railway Department, No. E34SC23/1-5: 1934).

The political and economic upheaval caused by the World War II unsettled the position of Europeans in Bengal. The Barnes Commission, constituted in 1944, recommended that the Anglo-Indian schools should be preserved as a separate entity, and should have a closer connection with the stream of Indian life and culture (D'Souza 1976: 217-220). The distinctive features of Anglo-Indian schools with regard to their social standing, ethos, tones, atmosphere, immediate goals, disciplines, school leaving examination, curricula and methods, syllabi and textbooks, medium of instruction and overall cultural pattern is to be maintained, so that they may be distinguished from the normal government schools. Problems with the education of the European schools were heterogeneous in many ways. European school was a race specific institution. But that did not imply that the pupils from the domiciled community were supposed to be transformed by education into legitimate members of the British colonizing community. By following the school curricula it could be argued that European schools did not intend to make European and domiciled European children 'European' in the usual sense of the term. It intended to relegate them into a social position that might be 'respectable' enough in some ways, but was essentially subaltern (Mizutani 2011: 117). Admission of children from middle and upper class families of India into the Anglo-Indian schools served as a blessing in many ways. They provided a much needed intellectual stimulus to the somewhat easy-going 'European' children. The fees collected from them helped the schools financially. They broke down the barrier between the European children from their native classmates and urged to incorporate the Indian languages and Indian culture in the schools (D'Souza 1976: 172).

Conclusion: The disadvantage faced by the Anglo-Indian schools was financial. They had to depend on fees and contributions. The absence of a pre-conceived plan for the establishment of schools, the lack of co-operation and often the unhealthy competition among Christian denominational sects had negative impact and adverse consequences for such schools. The overall education policy of the British was framed in colonial terms (Dey 2019: 44). The elementary education policy of the Anglo Indians of Bengal was also resolved to meet up the colonial interest. They were neither given equal status in the native society nor did they have any place in the European society. They were always slotted as a special category and education was one such tool that was used to preserve the uniqueness of the community, which was essential for the imperial concern.

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