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Autonomy and Consensus under the Raj: Presidency (Calcutta); Muir (Allahabad); M.A.-O. (Alligarh)

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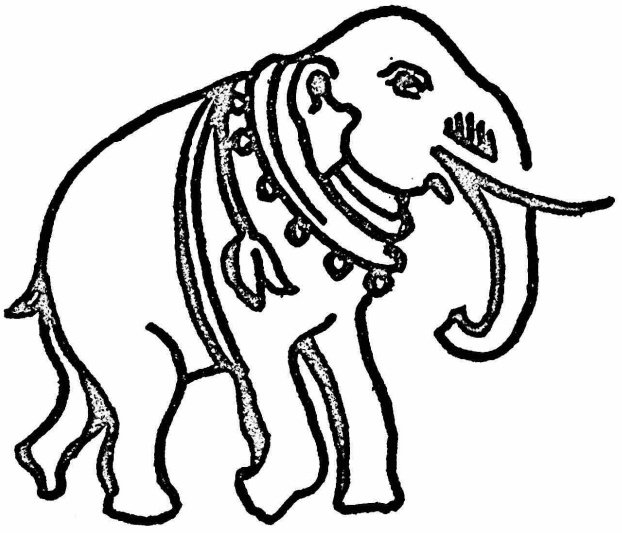

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Irene A. Gilbert

The efforts of professors at three Indian colleges, the Presidency College in Calcutta, the Muir Central College in Allahabad, and the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College in Aligarh, to approximate the autonomy of the British college system provide the subject matter for this chapter. Autonomy was easier to achieve in the nineteenth century, when British professors were left relatively free in their colleges, than in the twentieth, when the bases of Indian politics were changing, and the educated public was pushing the Indian university system toward new definitions. The emergence of new publics affected both a private college such as M.A.-O. and a government one such as Presidency, constraining principals and teachers alike by the more complex demands of multiplying constituencies. So long as there was a consensus about collegiate functions among faculty, college sponsors (public or private), and the educated public, as there was throughout much of the nineteenth century, autonomy was no issue. It became one when this consensus faded.

In 1857, universities were established at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras; some years later, two more were established, at Lahore in 1882 and Allahabad in 1888. These were the only universities in India until 1916.[1] The provincial governors, or in the instance of Calcutta, the governor-general, were the chancellors of the five universities, and through their powers, the institutions were legislatively enabled and reformed over time.[2] The government of the university was vested in the senate to which the chancellor belonged. It was a large public body designed to facilitate discussions of educational policy and university requirements. From among its membership were elected the members of the smaller university bodies, the syndicate (supreme governing body of the university), the faculties, and the

There were many persons in India and England who gave generously of their time, materials, and facilities, but I should especially like to thank those who made available to me materials and facilities not usually requested by visiting research scholars. In Uttar Pradesh, the director of education kindly permitted me to see the records in his office at Allahabad, as did the authorities at the university there. In the same state, Mr. Muzaffer Ali, the librarian at the Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, displayed the same generosity in making available the materials in the library's own collection. In Calcutta, my special thanks are due to Justice A. N. Ray, president of the governing body of Presidency College, Principal Bose, Professor A. Tripathi, as well as the librarian and his staff, for making available to me the principals' reports upon which I have drawn so freely. The authorities and the librarian of Calcutta University displayed the same generosity, and thanks are due to them. They are not responsible for the uses to which I have put the materials, and many would probably disagree.

boards of study. The senate, however, always retained the right to pass on the decisions of these executive and academic bodies. Significantly, the senate had no authority to determine the composition of its own membership: a number of government offices were specified in the original enabling legislation and their incumbents appointed fellows of the university in their ex-officio capacities, while the majority of fellows were the lifetime nominees of the chancellor. Succeeding chancellors used their powers responsibly, and missionary educators, Indian notables, and professional men joined government college professors, high court justices, civil surgeons, and chief engineers on the four faculties of arts and sciences, law, medicine, and engineering into which the senate was divided.

The executive arm of the university was the smaller syndicate. Some of its members were elected by the senate, and the rest were appointed in their ex-officio capacities, as was the senior educational official of the provincial government, the director of public instruction. Its chairman was the vice-chancellor of the university, whose position was honorific, without salary, and often filled by the chief justice of the provincial high court. The syndicate was primarily responsible for the organization and coordination of the university degree examinations. It also had the power to initiate major changes in university policy, subject to the senate's approval.

The colleges in the university were not research institutions, but vehicles for the diffusion of modern knowledge in India. Their purpose was to create a class of Indian professionals qualified to serve in the administration and modern professions. From the 1840's, college certificates were preferred for entrance to the public services, and after 1857, university degrees were required for admission to the law and medical colleges.[3] In consequence, many Indian managers were content to operate arts colleges merely to prepare boys for the university degree examinations and for the later vocations which required them. Other colleges, however, were maintained for special purposes. The missionaries maintained colleges in order to infuse a Christian morality into Indian society. The provincial governments maintained special colleges in the districts to supply local educational needs. They also maintained special colleges at the seat of the university, to serve as model or "premier" colleges setting standards and equipped on the whole with the finest teaching facilities to be had in the province. And some Indian leaders maintained colleges in order to regenerate the vitality of their religious communities.

British professors were often employed at these Indian colleges. They were members of their respective colleges rather than the university because Indian universities were not teaching institutions; they were merely affiliating bodies with the power to grant degrees and conduct examinations. The boards of study (into which the faculties were divided) stipulated curricula, courses, and books. After receiving the sanction of the appropriate faculty, the syndicate, and the senate, professors in the affiliated colleges were required to teach the stipulated courses. Professors were also

expected to prepare their students for the university-wide first arts,[4] bachelors, and masters first degree examinations. Although individual professors belonged to the senate and served on the boards of study and examination, the majority of college professors in India were obliged to teach and to prepare their students for examinations on the basis of academic decisions taken elsewhere.[5] Furthermore, these British professors were subject to the conditions of service laid down by their employers: the government on the one hand or Indian managers on the other. The efforts of the professors to secure autonomy in this new environment and to preserve it amidst the changes of the early twentieth century, will be explored in this chapter.

Presidency College, Calcutta

The most famed, and certainly the oldest, of the government arts colleges in India was Presidency College, Calcutta. It began as the Hindu College, founded in 1817 by the first generation of Hindu reformers in Bengal. They raised the necessary funds, joined the managing committee, and sent their sons to the new institution.[6] Their purpose was to diffuse modern knowledge among the Hindu community by encouraging the study of the English language, European history, and science.[7] Within three months of its founding, there were some sixty-nine students attending classes at the Hindu College, and in 1824, it employed its first British professor.[8]

But the managers soon had financial difficulties and turned to the British government for aid. The government helped financially, and increasingly granted funds to the college, enabling it to move to new quarters, appoint additional European professors to the staff, and extend the number of student scholarships.[9] By 1841, the Hindu College with its attached high school had grown to more than twelve times its original size, and the government's interest, as well as investment, in the institution had increased.[10] In the early 1850's, when the authorities decided that they should maintain a college of their own, open to all religious communities in India, their attention turned to the Hindu College as a likely possibility. The government entered into a long series of negotiations with the institution's managers, and in 1854 the transfer was consummated. One year later, the Bengal government's premier Presidency College opened its doors for the first time.[11]

With the founding of Calcutta University in 1857, Presidency soon became the only affiliated college in the province capable of teaching up to the full requirements of the university curriculum, and remained so. As the senate legislated new degree requirements, succeeding principals constantly approached the Bengal government for the increased budget allocations necessary for the expansion of staff, or the purchase of new equipment. The government usually responded generously. In 1874, the college was moved to expensive new quarters — which it still occupies today — and in 1910,

the size of its physical plant was doubled with the opening of the Baker science laboratories.[12] From a staff of sixteen and a student body of 430 in 1884 (teaching up to the newly formed masters degree level in English, history, mental and moral philosophy, and natural and physical science), Presidency had grown in 1916 to include a staff of nearly sixty instructors and a student body of over 950.[13] Furthermore, it was in that year the only college in the university offering courses in all postgraduate subjects — English, history, political economy, mixed mathematics, physics, chemistry, and physiology.[14] In 1919, the members of the Calcutta University Commission found the college unrivaled in eastern India: its facilities, the strengths of its staff, and the quality of its students all compared favorably with the finer collegiate institutions of Europe and America.[15]

Because of its staff, facilities, and reputation, Presidency attracted the best students in the province from shortly after its founding. James Sutcliffe, the first principal, noted that the college had grown from 285 students in 1866 to 338 in 1869, and that these were "the picked students of Bengal."[16] These students were not drawn from the landowning groups made rich by the permanent settlement, as the government had hoped. They came, instead, from a newly rising professional class of lawyers and doctors, government servants, and poorer zamindars (land owners).[17] And they were, as the director of public instruction, William S. Atkinson, noted, from the only class that seemed to be taking effective advantage of the opportunity for higher education in Bengal. He might have gone on to add that they were the only students who would have to earn their living by using that education.[18]

Presidency continued to draw its students from these "middle classes," as the principals termed them.[19] In what became an accepted educational pattern, the brighter boys from the districts and middle class Calcutta tended to seek admission to Presidency after gaining a first in their matriculation examinations or the later intermediate examinations (taken at the end of the second postschool year), and the college experienced a steady but controlled growth. By 1872, there were some 440 students on its rolls, most from the middle classes; in 1832, their number had expanded by only ten, but by 1896, student numbers had swelled to 620. Twenty years later, the student body had grown to nearly 1,000.[20] In consequence, the principal was able to use his discretion in admissions to advantage. By the turn of the century, it was known that the Presidency principal admitted "firsts" first, and others second — and tuition fees were never set so high as to keep these students away.[21]

At Presidency, students received the finest education, mainly because of the efforts of their professors. Like professors at other arts colleges, the members of the Presidency staff were compelled to prepare their students for the university examinations. But the Presidency professors were also dedicated to enhancing the intellectual qualities of college life. They strove to instill in their students a respect for the standards of excellence and an

appreciation for the discipline and skills they would need in later life.[22] Mostly they lectured — tutorials and seminars came much later in the twentieth century. They added personal and informal touches to their lectures, however, by interjecting questions, discussions, and exchange, and by being available for student inquiry and interview both in and after class. Presidency professors groomed their boys for firsts and seconds in the university lists by demanding first-rate work in class assignments and exercises, demonstrations of exactness and fluency in the use of English on essay and composition, and thoughtful answers to the questions on class and college exams. And they often used these as the criteria for admitting students to the university's degree-granting examinations and prize competitions. Of the thirty-two Premchand Roychand studentships, the highest prize in Calcutta University, awarded between 1860 and 1900, Presidency students took twenty-five.[23] The professors' efforts were also reflected in the repeated success of Presidency students on the university examinations, as well as the latters' success in the professions and government service. (See tables 46 and 47.)

The members of the small educated Indian public, who were also the potential political class, were grateful to the Presidency professors for the educational opportunities and results they provided. In consequence, they tended to respect their opinions on the senate and boards of the university. And so long as Presidency was producing a body of competent professionals loyal to the empire, the British authorities, too, were content to leave the professors to themselves, and to allow them to manage and reform the internal life of the college.

In line with their own educational traditions (generally those of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge), the British professors sought to make the college a community. At Presidency, they created a community in which staff and students might participate in continued traditions of excellence. The effort to reform the institution began slowly: a few attempts at organizing games in the 1870's, a debating club which met intermittently, occasional prize-giving days or gatherings with the old boys.[24] In 1905, the Eden Hindu Hostel was firmly placed under the supervision of the principal, and with that a number of organized activities began to appear. Games were played more often and the boys formed into teams; magazines were issued occasionally and then regularly; clubs and discussion groups were founded and later elaborated.[25] From the hostel, the activities became college-wide, and students had the opportunity to join any number of them. Principal Henry Rosher James set down the ends of his policy in the early years of the twentieth century. "[The college is] an independent commonwealth, which within the limits of the conditions of student-life offers all the elements of complete living. Its end is education for the ultimate purposes of life on a high plane; its means are the common-life in subordination to the interests of all its members. On the one side it is an enlargement of family life, which for the educational purpose is too

Table 46. Presidency College results compared to total results in Calcutta University B.A. examinations.

Year	College/university	Course	Candidates admitted	1st	2nd	3rd	Absent	Percentage passing
1869	Presidency College	–	46	7	13	7	0	59
	Calcutta University[a]	–	128	7	20	23	0	39
1876	Presidency College	–	102	11	9	7	7	28
	Calcutta University[a]	–	179	7	27	8	3	26
1882	Presidency College	Arts	42	3	6	4	0	31
	Calcutta University[a]	Arts	152	2	10	19	7	21
	Presidency College	Sciences	33	3	9	3	1	47
	Calcutta University[a]	Sciences	131	11	24	11	3	36
1886	Presidency College	Arts	46	2	3	27	3	74
	Calcutta University[a]	Arts	252	10	22	172	7	80
	Presidency College	Sciences	34	3	10	13	1	79
	Calcutta University[a]	Sciences	86	0	6	43	1	58
1891	Presidency College	Arts	114	3	29	35	7	63
	Calcutta University[a]	Arts	787	11	58	252	24	42
	Presidency College	Sciences	33	5	16	8	3	97
	Calcutta University[a]	Sciences	148	0	4	50	6	50
1896	Presidency College	Arts	75	4	20	25	4	69
	Calcutta University[a]	Arts	884	0	37	185	44	26
	Presidency College	Sciences	84	6	12	27	3	56
	Calcutta University[a]	Sciences	393	7	26	115	18	39
1901	Presidency College	Arts	94	1	23	23	7	54
	Calcutta University[a]	Arts	1,117	3	33	255	116	29
	Presidency College	Sciences	–[b]	–	–	–	–	–
	Calcutta University[a]	Sciences	–[b]	–	–	–	–	–
1906	Presidency College	Arts	139	3	25	27	5	49
	Calcutta University[a]	Arts	1,217	0	28	232	105	23
	Presidency College	Sciences	111	0	7	31	8	37
	Calcutta University[a]	Sciences	742	0	15	163	76	27

Source: Derived by subtracting the Presidency totals from all the university affiliates and dividing the gross number of examination passes by the number admitted to the examination, less those who failed to attend. They are drawn from the following volumes of the university minutes: University of Calcutta, *Minutes for the Year 1868–69* (Calcutta, 1869), p. 148; *Minutes for the Year 1875–76* (Calcutta, 1876), p. 59; *Minutes for the Year 1881–82* (Calcutta, 1882), pp. 162–163; *Minutes for the Year 1885–86* (Calcutta, 1886), pp. 106–107; *Minutes for the Year 1890–91* (Calcutta, 1891), pp. 114–115; *Minutes for the Year 1895–96* (Calcutta, 1896), pp. 47–48; *Minutes for the Year 1900–01* (Calcutta, 1901), pp. 93–94; *Minutes for the Year 1905–06* (Calcutta, 1906), pp. 285–286.

[a] Data for Calcutta University are exclusive of Presidency College figures.

[b] Page giving science results for the 1901 examinations is missing from the records.

narrow, too concentrated, too closely allied to personal interest; on the other, it is an intensified and more easily comprehended form of the life of the state or commonwealth. It should be at the same time a large family. Its wider aims and interest enlarge and ennoble the narrow intensity of family life. The work and play in common are a mimic representation of

Table 47. Career patterns of Presidency College graduates.

Career	1857–1884 No.	1885–1908 No.	1909–1917 No.
Training abroad[a]	15	90	70
Law:			
Bar	265	415	200
Bench, and other legal services for government	150	190	30
Government service in British and princely India	90	300	110
Education	80(40)[b]	250(130)[b]	210(65)[b]
Medicine	10 (5)[b]	30 (20)[b]	40(20)[b]
Engineering	2 (2)[b]	15 (10)[b]	10 (5)[b]
Commerce and management	15 (5)[c]	45 (15)[c]	45(15)[c]
Literature and journalism[d]	2	10	3 (1)[b]

Source: Surendrachnandra Majumdar and Gikilnath Dhar, eds., *Presidency College Register* (Calcutta, 1927).

Note: The table takes into account only the careers actually pursued by Presidency College graduates. (There were approximately 675 students who had taken the bachelors degree and reported no further careers during the seventy year period, 370 with the masters degree, and 615 more with the B.A. degree.) Thus, for example, a member of the civil service who had received a B.L. degree and did not pursue a judicial career is included under the government service category, while a member of the civil service who acted as a judge is included under the bench and other legal services category, along with public prosecutors and the like. All figures are rounded off to the nearest multiples of five, except in the obvious instances.

[a] Includes graduates who received their legal training at the Inns of Court, and thus is the only category which duplicates information found elsewhere on the table.

[b] The number in the parentheses is the total in British government employment.

[c] The number in the parentheses is the total managing their own estates.

[d] Includes only those who indicated no other sources of income.

the life of the state or nation, only in an intense and more concentrated form, comparable, we may fancy, to the life of the city-state of classical or medieval times. It is a working object lesson of the value of disinterestedness and public spirit. It should teach by example the uses of co-operation and the advantage of forming part of an integral whole." [26]

Muir Central College, Allahabad

The history of the Muir Central College in Allahabad is significantly different, in its way a reaction to diverging local conditions and the seeming unsuitability of the Calcutta University syllabus. Unlike Calcutta, which was one of the first centers of British dominion in India, the North-Western Provinces was a relatively late administrative creation. The lieutenant-governorship was not formed until 1834, and contained within its boundaries the last remnants of Moghul rule at Delhi and Agra, as well as the more important centers of the Hindu religion at Banaras and Allahabad. Its capital was located at Agra. The government maintained a small college there, two others at Delhi and Bareilly, and a lightly attended English class

at the Sanskrit College in Banaras. These were affiliated to the University of Calcutta after 1857.[27]

In the shock of the Sepoy Mutiny and the slow recovery of the province, all this changed. The Delhi districts were ceded to the Punjab, and the college there fell under the purview of that government's educational department. In 1860, the capital was moved from Agra to Allahabad — one of the few centers in the upper provinces to have resisted the mutineers — and virtually a whole new administrative city was planned. As yet, there were no provisions made for an English college at the new capital. Instead, the provincial educational authorities were straining to meet the exacting demands of the Calcutta University English curriculum. In the heartland of traditional India, Muslims were not coming to the government colleges, while Hindus, unlike their counterparts in Bengal, seemed to respond positively to educational efforts in the vernacular. In consequence, the colleges remained little more than high schools and their showing on university examinations remained poor. In 1868, Bareilly managed to pass only one student in the third division of the first arts degree examination, while Agra could pass only three in the first and second divisions, and at Banaras only four of eleven sent up managed to pass in the third division.[28] By 1869, it was felt that some compromise with the Calcutta system was necessary. The lieutenant-governor, Sir William Muir, expressed the consensus of opinion in the education department.

> The system of requiring certain proficiency in English as the condition of University training and University distinctions, is sound and unassailable; but it may be that the condition is pushed too far and made too stringent. By the present rules, no honors in Oriental literature can be secured until the student shall have passed the B. A. Standard. But to produce a beneficial action upon the national mind it is perhaps too much to require so severe a standard in English and in science. The great want of the people is a Vernacular literature: — works in History, Art, and Science, containing sound knowledge, written in an elegant style, and composed on models of thought and expression agreeable to the Native mind. For this end, a body of students is needed who, by the study of the Oriental classics, shall possess the faculty of composing in such a style; and high proficiency in Oriental literature, itself requiring much study, can hardly be looked for in combination with the very high standard in English and in science required for the B. A. Degree. It is therefore a matter for serious consideration whether a greater national benefit would not be secured by offering Honor Degrees in the Oriental languages to students of a certain lower standard in English and in science, than as now by insisting on the pre-requisite of a B. A. Degree.[29]

Sir William went on to suggest that a branch of the university senate be established at Allahabad, and the province's educational needs be met in locally formulated degree requirements. Both the vice-chancellor of the university and the Government of India rejected the idea.[30]

The provincial authorities were not content, and official opinion increasingly favored the establishment of a government college at Allahabad, leading, perhaps, to an independent university in the North-Western Provinces. After a long series of negotiations, a compromise was reached in 1872. The government of India consented to the founding of a government college at Allahabad, and so long as the English requirements of the Calcutta University curriculum were met, the provincial government might use the new institution to promote the development of higher education in the vernacular.[31] When the Muir Central College opened shortly thereafter, it was the task of Muir's first principal, Augustus Harrison, to organize and administer a new province-wide vernacular examination.[32]

By the time Muir moved into its permanent quarters in 1886, however, the vernacular exam was of minor proportions.[33] By then, classes in English had superseded it. Small at first, and composed in large part of young Kashmiris and Bengalis whose fathers had come to Allahabad to find employment in the new city, the classes in English grew as the administrative center, with its networks of courts and subsidiary services, expanded. As local Hindu groups began to take advantage of these increased opportunities, the new middle classes began to send their sons to the English language college, much as their predecessors had done in Bengal two generations before.[34]

Like Presidency, the Muir Central College provided its students with the finest instructional staff in the province, and as the establishment at Allahabad grew, the ones at Bareilly and Agra were reduced. (Eventually the latter were given over to private managers on the advice of the Educational Commission of 1882.)[35] Like his counterpart at Presidency, the Muir principal reaped the benefit: he was usually free to select the best students in the province for admission to the college. By 1883, it had become the second-ranking college in the University of Calcutta, its student body having increased from the meager 13 of 1872 to 105. Among its graduates it numbered fourteen high court pleaders, five holders of the B.L. degree, four of the M.A., and sixteen of the B.A. Only Presidency, which was much larger, surpassed it in university honors and awards: of the 156 honors and awards won between 1877 and 1883, Muir's students took 21 to Presidency's 78.[36]

On the strength of the Muir record, the provincial authorities once again approached the government of India, this time for permission to establish an independent university. The government of India agreed to the proposal, and in 1888, the University of Allahabad was formed.[37] The Muir College was its premier affiliate. In its enhanced position, the North-Western Provinces government treated the college with the same generosity that the Bengal government treated Presidency: budget allocations were slowly increased as the Muir principals repeatedly approached the government for more professors and facilities when new university requirements

necessitated them. From the modest curriculum of 1890, which offered courses at the masters level in the fields of English, philosophy, Sanskrit, mathematics, and physical science, Muir expanded to meet the demands of the more sophisticated curriculum of 1920, and offered courses in English, Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, philosophy, history, economics, physics, chemistry, zoology, and botany at the masters level.[38] In consequence, it continued to draw the best students in the province, and its rate of growth compared favorably with that of Presidency. Its staff of twelve in 1890 had expanded to forty by 1920, while its student body had more than doubled in size to 550.[39] And the Muir staff's success in sending students through the university examinations, and qualifying them for later careers (as the incomplete records show) was equally favorable. (See tables 48 and 49.)

With the support of the government and the educated Indian community, the British professors were left free to enact the same reforms at Muir as their colleagues at Presidency. Because Muir was smaller, they were able to create the same sense of community that existed at Presidency, but earlier and without the organizations needed at the larger Calcutta college. As a student of 1879 recalled, "No visitor, European or Indian, was seen to come and inspect the college. Quiet work was done and there was no display or demonstration — no prize distribution. There was however no lack of prizes. First-Divisioners got a scholarship each and the Principal never failed to give reward to a deserving student out of his own pocket. . . . Limited accommodation — and a limited number of pupils enabled the College to work smoothly — cheaply and effectively like a family — like a happy family." [40] In later years as the college grew, the same extracurricular activities and organizations were elaborated, each guided by an appropriate member of the staff. The first hostels were organized in 1906. In 1907, intramural athletic associations were formed, and clubs, literary societies, and a college magazine followed shortly thereafter.[41] But the English professors' first aims were still to enhance the intellectual aspects and disciplines of college life. Another student recalled the quality of the education he received from Muir's principal, J. G. Jennings, before the institution's conversion to a residential university in 1922: "He was an artist, and he had a great sense of technique, of proportion, of architectonics. He hated loose thought, vague vocabulary, mere showing off. In my first essay on the Lake poets, he cut off three of my last pages, in which I had brought in the minor writers of the school, Lamb, Lloyd, etc., simply saying, 'This is an essay, not a historical treatise.' When he gave me Beta minus at the end, I felt as if the spirit of an essay had been graven on my *tabula rasa* with a stylus of steel. I always got Alpha or Alpha plus from him ever after. He had a Black Book and he noted there what every one of his students did. And he never forgot it. He was very fond of Terminal Examinations and he had three each year for the undergraduates. But we graduates had an option. He left the matter to us. When

Table 48. Muir Central College results compared to total results in the Allahabad University B.A. and B.Sc. examinations.

Year	College/university	Course/ exam	Candidates admitted	1st	2nd	3rd	Absent	Percentage passing
1889	Muir College	Arts	26	1	15	4	1	80
	Allahabad University[a]	Arts	38	0	10	11	1	55
	Muir College	Sciences	4	0	1	0	0	25
	Allahabad University[a]	Sciences	10	1	4	2	0	70
1893	Muir College	Arts	54	2	19	7	1	53
	Allahabad University[a]	Arts	149	3	59	25	1	59
	Muir College	Sciences	14	2	5	2	1	69
	Allahabad University[a]	Sciences	31	1	10	6	0	55
1898[b]	Muir College	B.A.	51	1	21	6	0	55
	Allahabad University[a]	B.A.	274	2	86	57	5	54
1904	Muir College	B.A.	49	0	14	18	1	67
	Allahabad University[a]	B.A.	271	2	58	116	4	66
	Muir College	B.Sc.	13	0	4	6	0	77
	Allahabad University[a]	B.Sc.	6	0	2	2	0	67
1909	Muir College	B.A.	45	1	11	16	0	61
	Allahabad University[a]	B.Sc.	475	1	70	124	12	42
	Muir College	B.Sc.	38	1	10	8	0	50
	Allahabad University[a]	B.Sc.	103	0	6	15	3	21
1915	Muir College	B.A.	58	0	10	15	0	43
	Allahabad University[a]	B.A.	973	1	87	233	19	34
	Muir College	B.Sc.	40	1	6	10	0	43
	Allahabad University[a]	B.Sc.	122	3	17	43	4	53
1920	Muir College	B.A.	79	1	15	32	0	61
	Allahabad University[a]	B.A.	1,313	2	88	382	21	37
	Muir College	B.Sc.	33	4	16	9	0	88
	Allahabad University[a]	B.Sc.	162	2	31	51	4	53

Source: University of Allahabad, *Minutes for the Year 1889* (Allahabad, 1889), p. 95; *Minutes for the Year 1892–93* (Allahabad, 1893), pp. x–xi; *Minutes for the Year 1898–99* (Allahabad, 1899), pp. v–vi; *Minutes for the Year 1903–04* (Allahabad, 1904), pp. vi–ix; *Minutes for the Year 1909* (Allahabad, 1910), pp. vii–xi; *Minutes for the Year 1915* (Allahabad, 1916), pp. xiv–xix; *Minutes for the Year 1920* (Allahabad, 1921), pp. xiv–xvii, xx–xxi.

[a] Data for Allahabad University are exclusive of Muir College figures.

[b] Only one student, from Canning College, Lucknow, appeared for the new B.Sc. degree in this year, and he failed the examination.

we voted for it, he was obviously pleased. When we got back the examined books, the experience really proved valuable for the University examination." [42]

Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh

The Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College in Aligarh in the North-Western Provinces was nearly contemporary with the Muir Central College.

Table 49. Career patterns of Muir Central College graduates, 1872–1922.

Career	Number
Law:	
Bar	17
Bench, and other legal services for government	23
Government service in British and princely India	59
Education	61[a]
Medicine	4[b]
Engineering	10[b]
Commerce and management	7[c]

Source: W. H. Wright, *The Muir Central College, Allahabad, Its Origin, Foundation and Completion* (Allahabad, 1886), Appendix 1, *passim;* Jha, *A History of the Muir Central College;* Mehrottra, *University of Allahabad, Seventieth Anniversary Souvenir*, pp. 83–113; University of Allahabad, *Old Students' Who's Who* (Allahabad, 1958).

Note: There is no complete record for the careers of Muir College graduates, and the above has been drawn from varying, and scanty sources. Further, the distribution of information is uneven for the fifty year period, the more complete record covering the very early years. Suffice it to state, however, that the career patterns of the Muir students followed, in general outline, those of the Presidency students.

[a] Thirty of the sixty-one were in British government employment.

[b] In British government employment.

[c] One of the seven managed his own estates.

In 1873, Syed Ahmed (later Sir Syed Ahmed Khan) wished to found an English language school and college with which to regenerate the life of his religious community in India. Disturbed because so few Muslims seemed to be attending the government colleges, he sought to provide the members of his faith with modern learning, while yet assuring them of the continued sanctity of Islam. Like the Hindus in Bengal two generations before him, he thought the solution lay in a community-sponsored institution, offering instruction in secular subjects, without, at the same time, offending the group's religious sensibilities. Unlike the Hindu college, the Muslim college would therefore offer its students instruction in religious subjects. Sir Syed turned to the North-Western Provinces government for financial aid.[43]

The provincial authorities responded generously, agreeing to contribute to the support of the college's secular classes. The original grant of Rs. 350 per month was increased to Rs. 500 in 1878, and renewed again in 1882. It was the largest grant-in-aid accorded to a private institution in the province, and with increases over time, continued to remain so. The lieutenant-governor was named visitor and patron to the college.[44]

The institution's financial position assured, the board of trustees, dominated by Sir Syed, proceeded to draw up its plans. In May 1875, Aligarh's first school classes met, attended by sixty-six Muslim students. They were instructed by seven Indian masters, under the supervision of the college's first headmaster and principal, K. G. Siddons, formerly of the North-Western Provinces education department.[45] Under Siddons, the school was run like any other private institution in the province; it was affiliated to

the university at Calcutta and prepared its students for the university examinations. By 1881 when Aligarh was affiliated to the B.A. level, it had 259 students, and the staff had been expanded to include a second European professor and an increased number of Indian assistant professors and masters. Its results until then on university examinations had been respectable: thirty-five of the fifty-six students sent up for the entrance exam and nine of the seventeen sent up for the intermediate exam passed.[46] When Siddons retired from the principalship in 1882–83, there was little to distinguish the M.A.-O. College except for the personality of Sir Syed, the Muslim character of the board of trustees, and the religious training afforded both Sunni and Shia students.

All this changed with the appointment of Theodore Beck to the principalship in 1883. Unlike Siddons, Beck had been specially selected in England for the post, almost directly upon his graduation from Cambridge.[47] He was a young man who brought to his task a sense of dedication and enthusiasm — almost a sense of mission, to which Sir Syed and the board responded. In consequence, Beck was given the freedom to reform the internal life of the college. His model was the British public school and the character of its graduate. "Considering the needs of the country, we should at present I think devote our attention to the active, rather than the contemplative side of human nature, and work more at developing strength of character, a sense of public duty, and patriotism, than at cultivating the imagination, the emotions or the faculty of pure speculation. And thus hope to achieve success, we must reluctantly abandon the cultivation in the majority of our students, of the poetic, artistic, or philosophic temperament, and devote our attention to turning out men who in appearance are neatly dressed and clean, of robust constitution and well-trained muscles, energetic, honest, truthful, public spirited, courteous and modest in manner, loyal to the British government and friendly to individual English men, self-reliant and independent, endowed with common sense, with well-trained intellects, and in some cases scholarly habits." [48]

Reversing the order of priorities at the government colleges, Beck turned first to reorganizing student life at Aligarh. He managed to attract to the staff a number of young Englishmen as dedicated as he, and ready to participate in student activities, associations, and clubs. Theodore Morison, his successor, joined the college in 1889; T. W. Arnold, author of *The Preaching of Islam,* joined in 1888; and Walter Raleigh, later professor of English at Cambridge, joined in 1885.[49] They reformed the hostels into houses, and Aligarh became the first college in India to have a system of student prefects. Games became a required part of daily life, and cricket, tennis, and other teams were formed. The student body was organized into a college-wide union, and a number of clubs and magazines were founded, many of them dealing with aspects of Islamic faith and history.[50]

Beck attempted to disabuse the Aligarh students of their misplaced aris-

tocratic notions and to transform their new sense of corporate loyalties into the wider one of community service. He therefore directed student efforts toward work in the Muslim community. The *Duty* or *Anjuman-al-Farz* was founded to collect college funds for scholarships for poorer students, while other students collected information for the Mohammedan educational census, and still others contributed their labor to local famine relief drives.[51]

Beck and the British staff's goal was to have a regenerated Muslim community make a vital contribution to the empire. Sir Syed supported Beck when the latter stated, "I attach the utmost importance to implanting in the minds of our students a conviction of the inestimable benefits India has derived from the British rule, and to fostering in their hearts a sentiment of loyal devotion to the British Crown."[52] On the one hand, such a conviction was implanted by the relations of mutual confidence and trust which obtained between the European staff and Indian trustees and by the easy and respectful relations the students felt free to assume with their British teachers. On the other hand, it was implanted by the continued demonstrations of support the British government extended to the college authorities: financial aid, official attendance at college functions, and the yearly appearance of the lieutenant-governor as patron of the college at Aligarh's prize-giving day.

During Beck's tenure as principal, Aligarh achieved a respectable showing on the examinations of Allahabad University (to which the college was affiliated after Allahabad's foundation in 1888), but as opposed to the government colleges, its students succeeded in the easier arts courses rather than in the more difficult sciences. The graduates of the smaller college, however, were as successful as the government college graduates in gaining admission to the government services and modern professions. (See tables 50 and 51.)

Theodore Beck died one year after Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, in 1899. The same relation that had existed between Sir Syed and Beck obtained between Sir Syed's son, Justice Syed Mahmood, the new honorary secretary, and Theodore Morison, the new principal; and Morison was able to carry on with Beck's old authority in the college. Syed Mahmood soon resigned from the honorary secretaryship, however, and shortly after, Morison left India in 1905.

Through the nineteenth century, British professors were left relatively free in their colleges; the government was satisfied with the competence of the new professional class being trained in them, and religious communities such as the Muslims were glad of the opportunity to participate once again in the mainstream of a changing Indian life. For the quality of their work, European professors received the approbation of the modern educated Indian community generally; their opinions were respected on the senate and other bodies of the university, and in consequence, the academic organization of the colleges was little interfered with. But could the same relationship, the same trust, exist in the twentieth century, when

Table 50. M.A.-O. College results compared to total results in the Allahabad University B.A. and B.Sc. examinations.

Year	College/university	Course/ exam	Candidates admitted	1st	2nd	3rd	Absent	Percentage passing
1889[a]	M.A.-O. College	Arts	8	0	2	3	0	63
	Allahabad University[b]	Arts	56	1	23	12	2	67
1893[a]	M.A.-O. College	Arts	15	1	7	1	0	60
	Allahabad University[b]	Arts	188	4	71	31	2	57
	M.A.-O. College	Sciences	1	0	1	0	0	100
	Allahabad University[b]	Sciences	44	3	14	8	1	58
1898[a]	M.A.-O. College	Arts	36	1	14	5	0	56
	Allahabad University[b]	Arts	211	3	51	49	3	50
1900[c]	M.A.-O. College	B.A.	30	0	11	12	1	79
	Allahabad University[b]	B.A.	230	4	77	27	6	48

Source: University of Allahabad, *Minutes for the Year 1889* (Allahabad, 1889), p. 95; *Minutes for the Year 1892–93* (Allahabad, 1893), pp. x–xi; *Minutes for the Year 1897–98* (Allahabad, 1898), pp. v–vi; *Minutes for the Year 1899–1900* (Allahabad, 1900), pp. v–vi.

[a] No M.A.-O. College students took the Sciences examination this year.

[b] Data for Allahabad University are exclusive of M.A.-O. College figures.

[c] No M.A.-O. College students took the B.Sc. examination this year.

the bases of Indian politics were changing and the educated public was pushing the Indian university system toward new definitions?

The Decline of Consensus at Presidency: Government and University Intervention

By the time Henry Rosher James assumed the principalship of Presidency College in 1908, Bengal's new professional public had been effectively radicalized. The partition of the province in 1905 had raised a storm of protest, some violence, and had led the leaders of the Indian public to

Table 51. Career patterns of the M.A.-O. College graduates, 1890–1900.

Career[a]	Number
Law:	
Bar	30
Bench, and other legal services for government	7
Government service in British and princely India	57
Education	27[b]
Engineering	2[c]

Source: Theodore Morison, *The History of the M.A.-O. College, Aligarh, From its Foundation to the Year 1903* (Allahabad, 1903), pp. 68–73.

[a] Thirty-six students did not list any employment or further education after receiving their B.A. degrees.

[b] Seven of the twenty-seven were in British government employment.

[c] In British government employment.

extend the bases of their political appeals and organization. They chose for their platform and rallying point College Square, the intellectual heart of the city, directly opposite Presidency and its hostels. Inevitably, the students were drawn to the meetings, mingled with the crowds, and discussed political events among themselves on quieter evenings. For many, it was a period of romance and exhilaration. Some students joined the more radical organizations, recruiting members for them in the college hostels. The government of India tried to stop the students' activity in 1907 by threatening the disaffiliation of their different colleges from the University of Calcutta.[53] But some students maintained their contacts with radical political organizations after protest ebbed, and the Presidency students at the Eden Hostel were among them.[54]

Although the British eventually reamalgamated the province, the protest left a legacy of distrust in the community, even among its older and more conservative elements. Rather than cooperate easily with the British authorities as they had done before, some members of the public elected to secure control of the institutions afforded them. The University of Calcutta was one such institution. During the vice-chancellorship of Sir Asutosh Mukherji, efforts were made to expand the powers of the university and enhance its central organs with a real teaching authority.

Sir Asutosh was a brahman. As a youth, he had had a brilliant academic career at Presidency, and his exceptional mathematical talents won him the Premchand Roychand studentship, the highest prize in the university. (Later, he was elected to memberships in both the Royal Astronomical Society and the Royal Society of Edinburgh on the strength of his continued mathematic attainments.)[55] After his graduation, he took up the study of law and became one of the most eminent members of the Calcutta bar. When he was appointed to his first vice-chancellorship in 1906, he was justice of the Calcutta high court.[56] Sir Asutosh was the second Indian vice-chancellor of the university. It fell to his administration to enact the reforms called for by the Indian Universities Act of 1904. The purpose of the act was to improve the quality of teaching in the affiliated colleges by strengthening the affiliating powers of the university. Secondarily, it provided for the beginnings of postgraduate teaching in the university proper with the establishment of university professorships.[57] Sir Asutosh emphasized the latter purpose and used his new, more flexibly formulated affiliating powers to subvert the former purpose.

Sir Asutosh, a scholar in his own right, by tradition and achievement, came to feel a great respect for learning. He wished to make the University of Calcutta a great center of scholarship. Moreover, he wished to provide Bengali youth with the opportunity to pursue their studies further, as well as to develop their own scholarly abilities. The expansion of the new research departments of the university was a national and political aim for both Bengal and India. On retiring from the vice-chancellorship in 1914, Sir Asutosh stated in a convocation address: "Let us, therefore, ad-

vance the banner of progress in hand, with bold but not unwary steps, drawing confidence and inspiration from the consciousness that so many of the best and truest men of our people are in full sympathy with us; that the rising generation has availed itself with eagerness, nay enthusiasm, of the new opportunities we have created for higher students; that the sparks of the new inextinguishable fire kindled in our midst have already leapt to all parts of India, and that the sister universities are eager to imitate and emulate what we have boldly initiated. I feel that a mighty new spirit has been aroused, a spirit that will not be quenched; and this conviction, indeed, is a deep comfort to me for so many weighty reasons. I thus bid farewell to office and fellow workers, not without anxiety for the future of my University, but yet with a great measure of inward contentment: and — let this be my last word — from the depths of my soul, there rises a fervent prayer for the perennial welfare of our *Alma Mater* — for whom it was given to me to do much and suffer to some extent — and of that greater parental divinity to whom even our University is a mere hand-maiden as it were — my beloved Motherland." [58] During Sir Asutosh's vice-chancellorship, the fulltime staff of the university expanded to include approximately 100 members, and by 1916, there were 1,258 students enrolled in the university's postgraduate classes, as compared to the 326 at Presidency and the 25 at the Scottish Church College (the only other institutions offering advanced instruction in Calcutta).[59]

These policies increased Sir Asutosh's stature in the community as well as his powers for patronage. He was able to elicit substantial donations from Calcutta's wealthier citizens, and invested these in semiautonomous institutes administered by boards controlled by the vice-chancellor rather than the senate. The British professors in the senate protested this new mode of university organization, especially when the University College of Science was planned in 1916.[60] But Sir Asutosh was parliamentarily adept, and pursued his policy of expansion with the support of the Indian members of the senate. He frequently called meetings with little advance notice, or when his opponents were likely to be away, as Messrs. Archbold, Watson, and Biss claimed at a senate meeting in 1914.[61] In 1913, Principal James of Presidency commented upon the procedures which had come to characterize the decisions of the senate. "For the last two years the Senate has been giving their consent to sporadic proposals of this nature without detailed information and without a comprehensive scheme of Post Graduate teaching in the various subjects which the University had undertaken. He thought it would have been more satisfactory if the Senate were supplied with full and detailed information as regards organisation, staff, library and accommodation while they were asked to give their consent to the above proposals [to appoint two lecturers in economics]." [62] James was voted down, as he was a year later when he once again put forward the same suggestion.[63]

The government of Bengal acceded to these innovations, and, to the

chagrin of the government of India, repeatedly supported the vice-chancellor's requests for increased financial aid when Indian benefactions did not suffice.[64] Inevitably, these sanctioned extensions of the university's teaching powers impinged upon the postgraduate teaching being conducted in the colleges, raising the whole question of the structure of higher education. British professors found themselves in opposition to Indian aspirations.

James was a senior member of the Indian Educational Service and one of its most respected members. "Most members of the Indian Educational Service, are, I think," stated Sir George Anderson, "in agreement that Mr. James is about the best man in that service on the professorial side. He has written the most helpful book in recent times on the subject of Indian education." [65] A former Queen's scholar at Westminster, James had gone on to win the Westminster scholarship to Christ Church College, Oxford. At Oxford, he took a first in classical moderations and went on to take his greats degree in the first class in 1885. The quality of his examination and a beginning translation of the works of Boethius won him election to a junior tutorship at Christ Church. He joined the Indian Educational Service in 1890 and was appointed to the staff of Patna College. In 1905, he became its principal. Two years later when the Presidency College principalship fell vacant, James was appointed to the post; Sir A. H. Frazer, the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, named him, "the fittest man in the department for the permanent appointment." [66]

Meticulous and exacting, James gave himself up wholeheartedly to all the details of college administration. From the point of view of the secretariat, his inability to delegate authority to subordinates reflected poor executive talents. In 1913, a bureaucrat in the Bengal education department noted that "the duties of the Principal of the college are very heavy, but Mr. James certainly does take a degree of satisfaction in doing with his own hand unimportant matters of which he could be easily relieved by the Steward who is a competent assistant." [67] Many of his students, however, remembered these small efforts on their behalf with gratitude and affection. Writing some years later, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the historian, recalled James' attempts at "licking raw Indian lads into shape at Patna." He lectured, graded their class exercises, and even remained behind one hot season to catalogue the college library, "removing the books from the shelf himself and writing it out by hand." [68]

Putting much of himself into his work, James hoped, almost yearned, for public recognition. But his efforts went unrewarded. Independent and strong-willed, he persisted in making his case for a stronger educational policy: at the university, in the press, in his own monographs — even when the new governor, Lord Carmichael of Skirling, would have wished otherwise. Taking into account James' uncooperative behavior, the provincial government chose to look outside Bengal for its new director of public instruction. In 1913, W. W. Hornell, an assistant director of examinations

at the Board of Education in London, was selected for the directorship.[69] This was too much for the rather austere and reserved James, who by this time was taut and high-strung, his nerves on edge. In an unguarded moment, he penned the following in a letter to Hornell.

> You must also be fully aware of the extreme personal injury you have done me. I have, or at least I had, no reason to suppose that you nourished any malice against me, or that it would gratify you to see me brought down. If, however, you do you may have that gratification. Not only am I deprived of a recognition which I had every reason to suppose I had attained, but it is with the greatest difficulty that I can hold to what has long since been in my possession. For reasons strong enough to overcome the hatefulness of it, I force myself to the necessity of such official relations with you as are unavoidable. I pray you to spare me anything beyond that.
>
> I ask you, then, kindly to understand that our relations must be in the strictest sense of official. You have recently written two letters to me. I cannot prevent your writing demi-officially, if you think good, but I must ask you to refrain from addressing me personally by name. That at least you can avoid. I also hope that you will intervene as little as possible in Presidency College affairs. Officially I must endure you as best I can.[70]

From that time, relations between the government and the principal of its most important college were, to say the least, tense.

By any standard, James was a conservative. He believed in the need for empire, Englishmen, and modern education in India. He held the view that India's educational and political goals could be achieved in collegiate communities, organized on autonomous and residential lines. In his book *Education and Statesmanship in India,* he wrote: "When fully developed the sentiment called forth by the institution may be even more powerful in its sway over conduct than the influence of individual teachers. Here a departmental system is to some extent a hindrance, because to a department a college or school is necessarily not a self-contained whole, but one member of a group. Recent tendencies, however, have all been in the direction of giving fuller recognition to the organic unity of the institution and a measure of autonomy is already attained by the colleges within the bounds of the department. It is on this ground as well as on the ground that students living uncared for and insufficiently supervised in "messes" are exposed to dangers, physical and moral, that the immediate prospect of a large provision of hostels in Calcutta is so greatly a matter of congratulation. In order that the full benefit may be realized, it is essential that this provision of hostels should be based on the unity of the college as an institution. This is indeed part of the ideal of the complete residential college, now fully accepted by the University. The members of the college not only study in the same class rooms, but share a social life which extends to all three sides of education, intellectual, physical and moral."[71]

When he was appointed principal, James began to reconstruct the entire

Presidency organization. He wished to absorb student interests in college activities rather than political ones. He therefore proposed that the college's physical plant be expanded to include better residence halls, playing fields, and increased leisure time facilities for Presidency's students. (The government agreed, but was later compelled to postpone the proposed expansion because of the financial shortages caused by World War I.)[72] He also proposed that a student government be formed, so that each student might feel obliged to live up to the responsibilities of the delegation of trust. Thus Presidency became the first government college in India to have a representative student council with the authority to make its own recommendations to the principal. The Bengal government agreed to the suggestion reluctantly.[73]

James also believed that students derived their standards of conduct and probity from the model of their professors' behavior. "Only through the personal influence of the teacher can these great moral results be attained. A high moral tone cannot be communicated to an institution by any rescript, decree or ordinance of State. Rightly devised rules of life will do a great deal, but even these must be informed by the right spirit; a mere lifeless conformity will effect little; even the conformity is sure to be lax without a desire to conform. The right spirit must grow up among the body of students that can be communicated, so far as it is capable of communication, only by the teachers. So the ideals of the teachers and the faithfulness with which they live by them are the real source of moral vitality in school and college." [74] James felt that in the larger Presidency, with its nearly sixty staff members divided into some twelve academic departments, professors' efforts were too easily diffused among the student body of 1,000. To bring the members of the staff in closer touch with the students and coordinate their efforts, James formed an academic council. Composed of the senior British and Indian professors in the college's major departments, it met regularly with the principal to allocate the institution's teaching and extracurricular work. With the consent of the government, the council decided to expand the lecture system to include tutorials, to form special seminars for interested students, and to direct more attention to the students' own academic clubs.[75] James said of its working in 1913: "This at all events has been the policy undeviatingly followed: to devise means of making the College feel and act together, share common aims and interests. The chief instrument has been the College Council, the purpose of which is to keep the different sides and departments of the College in touch. That purpose is, I believe, accomplished, if what has been done is not let go again. Studies are now properly organized and held together through the close co-operation of the teaching staff, subject by subject, and through the apparatus of class exercises, tutorial work, college examinations and seminars." [76] Due to James' initiative, Presidency became the first government college in India to foster a real collegiality.

Like Sir Asutosh, James realized that academic institutions should be

responsive to the needs of the community and informed of the views of their educated members. To gain the support of the Bengali middle classes for a reformed Presidency, James suggested that some of its members be involved in the management of the institution and contribute to the formulation of its educational policies. The Bengal government responded to the suggestion and in 1909 sanctioned the creation of a governing body for Presidency. It was composed of the principal, some British and Indian staff members, Indian representatives of the university and of the legislative council, as well as some government officials. It was empowered as the institution's final policy-making body, and had the authority to decide on the allocation of funds within the college, the organization of its academic programs, and significantly, "to deal with all serious breaches of discipline." [77] Correspondingly, the government consolidated its diverse budget allocations into a single block grant for the college, also administered by the new governing body.[78] For James, the establishment of a governing body marked the beginning of Presidency's autonomy as an institution of higher learning in Bengal.[79]

Under James' management Presidency had grown, as the director of public instruction noted, into, "as it were, a small university; it [taught] a variety of subjects from the matriculation stage right through the M.A. or M.Sc. examination." [80] Presidency posed the one real challenge to the success of Sir Asutosh's policies and the university's newly formed postgraduate classes. Of the university's affiliates, it was virtually the only one that could offer advanced teaching in nearly every subject. And while Presidency's fees were higher, its teaching was better. In James' time, it offered smaller classes, tutorial instruction, seminars, and the finest laboratory and library facilities in the province. James made the following comparison of the origin and quality of the postgraduate instruction available at the two institutions:

> The Presidency College organization was also first in the field. Its classes, as now organized, date from 1908, and have been carried on without any complete break in continuity from a much earlier date, in fact from the time when definite M.A. *studies* were first instituted under Calcutta University (that is, 1885). There is thus attaching to the Presidency College classes that very valuable thing, an *academic tradition.*
>
> The organization of the Presidency College classes had not then to be brought into being for the first time in 1908; it already existed. It has been carefully modified and improved since. It is based on the principles of (1) the fitness of the student for the course of studies undertaken; (2) careful individual training; and (3) such a limitation of numbers as the conservation of these two principles render necessary.
>
> . . . The problem of what to do with B.A. graduates who wished to take up an M.A. course of study and could not be received into the Presidency College and Scottish Churches College classes began to command anxious attention in 1910. Although the *necessity* for providing higher teaching for

B.A.'s and B.Sc.'s *irrespective of their fitness for it* was not recognized at the Presidency College, the efforts of the University to meet the growing demand for M.A. instruction were sympathetically viewed, and . . . very substantial help . . . was given, voluntarily and gratuitously by members of the Presidency College staff, who delivered courses of lectures to the University classes apart from their work at the Presidency College. . . . At the same time the University organization was acknowledged to be defective. It was confined to lecture-courses; and the class room accommodation was also most inadequate. . . . For the University arrangements were based on large numbers, low fees, and a disregard of standards.[81] (Italics in the original.)

Located just opposite the university's own classrooms, Presidency tended to deter the better students from attending them.

Sir Asutosh sought to eliminate the competition of Presidency through the restriction of all postgraduate teaching in the city of Calcutta to the university. He used his influence in the senate to call into question the quality of the teaching at Presidency. Professor Wordsworth of the Presidency staff noted the following: "Certainly it has long been a cardinal belief among the staff of the Presidency College that there is in university policy a tendency to diminish the prestige, importance and efficiency of the college in the interests of easy administration. I may instance recent inspection reports, in which after a few hours' inspection the inspectors attacked the carefully considered policy of the governing body in the matter of numbers and the combination of subjects permitted; in one of which also they attacked by name, as not fitted for his position, a gentleman of considerable academic distinction and experience, whom one of the inspectors had himself recommended in the highest terms." [82] James protested vigorously. Defeated in the senate, he turned to his own solution. He thought the future lay in the evolution of Presidency from a college to a nonaffiliating university, independent in its own right; otherwise the strengths of its old traditions and new reforms would come to nothing.[83] Both Sir Asutosh and James were seeking educational reform and the reorganization of the Indian university system; the Bengal government had the authority to choose between their differing conceptions of what that system should be.

By 1914, the Bengal government had changed. Sir A. H. Frazer, the lieutenant-governor who had originally brought James to Presidency from Patna, was retired. In 1912, Lord Carmichael of Skirling, whose policy differed from that of Frazer, had been appointed to the newly raised governorship. His aim was to consolidate the position of the British government in the recently reamalgamated Bengal. He decided that this could best be done through a policy of appeasement. Seeking the support of influential allies among the rising Indian political classes, he attempted to recognize loyalty to his regime with concessions in lesser political arenas, one of which was education. In 1913, the Bengal government embarked

upon a policy of conciliating Sir Asutosh. In his position as rector of the university, Lord Carmichael acceded to the vice-chancellor's repeated requests for expansion and reform. In March 1916, Lord Carmichael's government found the opportunity to acknowledge the cooperation of the "Tiger of Bengal."

As James' critics were quick to point out, his administration of the college was flawed. He was not inclined, for example, to use the principal's coercive powers arbitrarily, but preferred to rely upon the use of reason. He called the students together once a term to address them, regularly visited their clubs and hostels, and was usually available for student interviews.[84] He met their requests when he could, and explained why when he could not. He attempted to gain the students' trust by listening to their complaints and treating them fairly; he expected the students, and the staff, to reciprocate with the same standards of behavior. The following incident, recounted by the first editor of the college magazine, was typical. "As editor I was faced with a great crisis. My Professor and Tutor Mr. E. F. Oaten who subsequently became Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, had in course of his speech, called certain students of the Eden Hostel "barbarians." I knew my Professor well; he was deeply versed in classical lore and he used the expression "barbarians" in the Greek sense of the term. He was however misunderstood. Our Eden Hostel correspondent strongly protested against the expression used by the Professor, in the columns of the College magazine. The correspondence was published under the authority of the editor. Mr. Oaten got very annoyed and went up to the Principal and asked for the deletion of the offending paragraph. He further demanded an apology from the correspondent. The veteran student-editor, following well-known journalistic etiquette, declined to disclose the name of the correspondent. He declined further to publish an apology. The Principal upheld the liberty of action on the part of the editor. He requested Mr. Oaten, if he chose, to insert a contradiction in the correspondence column." [85] When reason failed, James felt there was little he could do, and situations were often left unresolved — Oaten never inserted the contradiction because, as he put it, "the basic idea was so absurd, that I thought of my students as barbarians, students with whom I spend hours on the cricket field, and whom I in many cases made my friends. It was just too silly." [86] And the student editor continued to enjoy "absolute freedom." [87]

James was also constitutionally minded and conscious of the correctness of due procedures. He always recognized the authority of Presidency's governing body and put consultations with its members before quick, personal decisions, even when situations demanded them. These attitudes may have been to Presidency's ultimate good, but they appeared as a lack of firmness when a small, volatile group of student dissidents disrupted the life of the college.

On 10 January 1916 a number of students had been permitted to leave

their classes early to attend a prize-giving day ceremony, at the Hindu and Hare schools on the opposite side of the quadrangle, at which the governor was scheduled to appear.[88] On their way they milled noisily about the corridors chatting among themselves, some in front of Professor Oaten's door. His lecture disturbed, Oaten came out with his arms outstretched, in order to stop the students temporarily and to admonish them for breaking the college's rule of silence in the corridors.[89] Some students thought they had been pushed about. Subhas Chandra Bose (later president of the Indian National Congress and organizer of the Indian National Army), class representative on the Presidency students' consultative committee, formed a student delegation to lodge a complaint with the principal. The principal replied that it was the students' responsibility as gentlemen to approach the history professor themselves. Disturbed by James' seeming lack of sympathy, Bose and his friends organized the students instead. On January 11, the students in the Eden Hostel struck. They were firm in their resolve to stay away from classes and refused to accede to the pleas of their British and Indian professors.[90]

Unknown to the students, James had immediately contacted Professor Oaten and had advised him to discuss the matter with the affronted students. The professor did so the next day, and the dispute seemed to have come to an amicable end. Oaten, however, "sick to death" because the students in the advanced class to whom he had given his "best" had not lived up to the responsibilities of the authority delegated them, told his students that he chose not to lecture to them on that day.[91] With the approval of the governing body, the principal was compelled to intervene again.[92]

One month later, the incident was repeated.[93] A class was dismissed early and noisily passed by Professor Oaten's room. The history professor again came out, and was alleged this time to have grabbed a student by the scruff of the neck. Oaten denied the charge; the student, however, immediately went to the principal's office, where James asked him to set down his complaint in writing and then advised him to consult with his parents if he wished.[94] James also sent a note to Oaten, making arrangements to meet with Professor Oaten later in the day. But a small group of students had already rejected the procedures of delegation and constitutional protest as futile. "Meanwhile about two hours after this incident and shortly before 3 o'clock Mr. Oaten went to the ground floor of the college premises to post a notice on the notice board. He observed a number of students (his own estimate is from 10 to 15) who were assembled near the foot of the staircase. They at once surrounded him, threw him on the floor and brutally assaulted him. Mr. Gilchrist, who was on the first floor, heard a noise and rushed down to help Mr. Oaten, but the assailants disappeared before he could reach the spot."[95] James immediately informed the government of the assault on Professor Oaten and called a meeting of the college's governing body for the next day.

The meeting began at noon. When it was adjourned at 6:30 P.M., James was informed that the Bengal government had, "on its own initiative and without consulting the Governing Body of the college, issued orders closing the college from the afternoon of the 18th February." Responsibility was removed from the hands of Presidency's constituted authorities and given over to an independent committee of enquiry established by the provincial government. "It appeared to Government that the course of events at the college demanded an exhaustive enquiry by an authority free from any such attachment to the institution as might cause it unconsciously to hesitate in exposing the full extent of the evil or to fail to appreciate the necessity which might exist for radical measures of reform; . . . it became the more apparent that while the Governing Body might usefully continue to investigate the circumstances of the assault on Professor Oaten, it was not an authority which could be depended upon to deal with a larger enquiry into the state of discipline in the college with efficiency and weight." [96] Sir Asutosh Mukherji was appointed chairman of the committee of enquiry, and the director of public instruction, W. W. Hornell, was included among its members. James was also named to the committee.

Tired, upset, and feeling that both the institution and his efforts had been betrayed, James demanded an interview with P. C. Lyon, secretary to the Bengal government in the general department and controlling authority in educational affairs. A meeting was arranged for that evening. The exchange between the two men must have been heated, for Lyon claimed to have been "grossly insulted," and James withdrew his name from the planned committee.[97] Sir George Anderson, an educational service officer in Bombay, analyzed the situation. "In any case, it seems clear that in going to see Mr. Lyon, Mr. James had no intention of being abusive or rude. He went for the purpose of discussing the closing of the Eden Hindu Hostel. If he erred, it was in the heat of the moment. Human nature being as it is, such errors are regrettable, but not unpardonable. Moreover, Mr. James had been submitted to a very severe strain. Everybody admits that he was a sympathetic and efficient Principal of a college. Everyone who has been connected with a college knows how tedious is the task of dealing with serious disciplinary cases. Mr. James states that on the day of the interview he had presided over a meeting of the Governing Body of the College which lasted from 12 o'clock till half past six, at the close of which two students were expelled and two rusticated. There can be little wonder that his nerves were all wrong at the time of his interview with Mr. Lyon that evening." [98]

James submitted his formal resignation from the committee two days later, on February 22. "I shall be glad to forward the Committee's enquiry by every means in my power, but seeing that the subject of enquiry is in part, and even mainly, my administration of Presidency College, I hereby lodge an objection against two members, whose names are given

in the Resolution under reference, to that of the Hon'ble Sir Ashutosh Mukharji, President of the Committee, and to that of the Hon'ble Mr. W. W. Hornell, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal. I think it should suffice that in a matter in which my good name and reputation are at stake as well as the credit of the Governing Body and of Presidency College, such an objection should have validity on the mere statement. My reason for it, put generally, is that, I do not consider that either of these gentlemen could enter on the work of the Committee free from bias." [99] In reply, the Bengal government released the following public communique on February 24. "We are desired by Government to state that as soon as Mr. James, Principal of the Presidency College, received information of the appointment of the Committee of Enquiry into discipline at Presidency College, with a request that he would serve on the Committee, he paid a visit to the Hon'ble Mr. Lyon, Member of Council in charge of Education, and subjected him to gross personal insult. Mr. James also sent to the Secretary of the Committee, with the request that it should be placed before the Committee, a copy of the letter which he wrote to Government accusing two members of the Committee of bias against himself. The Governor in Council consider that Mr. James has shown himself to be unfit to retain the post of Principal of Presidency College; he has accordingly transferred him from that post, and placed him under suspension pending further orders. Mr. Wordsworth, Inspector of Schools, Presidency Division, has been appointed Principal of the Presidency College." [100]

James stayed on to submit his evidence before Sir Asutosh's committee of enquiry. When the committee finally presented its report, it not only vindicated James, but also suggested that a number of his reforms be instituted at the college on a permanent basis. The members of the committee approved James' reorganization of the college staff into stronger departments and the representation of staff on the academic council, and agreed with him as to the need for extended residential and leisure time facilities for the Presidency students. The report, however, stated little more about academic matters.[101] One year later — within six months of the intended sitting of the Calcutta University Commission in 1917 — all postgraduate teaching in the city of Calcutta was removed to the university's own classrooms. Presidency's principal at the time, William Christopher Wordsworth, offered this comment. "I believe whole heartedly in the value of the collegiate connection for students, and I believe that the Presidency College was doing well its share of the post-graduate work under the old arrangement. It limited its work to its resources, and the work was done with devotion. . . . I signed the report on post-graduate teaching with something of a wrench." [102]

The students' interpretation of Professor Oaten's behavior was the cause of much of the trouble at Presidency, and James' methods of discipline were clearly inadequate to cope with the trouble.[103] Communications between British professors and Indian students broke down as some students

confused the personal behavior of one man with the political issues of imperial dominance and racial slur. They followed their elders of a few years before in disregarding the slower methods of constitutional procedures for the more disruptive tactics of agitation and immediate reward. The government used the opportunity to rid itself of an obstinate employee, save its face at Presidency, and give in to Indian demands for an expanded university system under Indian control. The substantive educational questions of the nature of postgraduate study, its quality, and its proper place in the Indian university system had been bypassed in favor of an expedient political policy. The member of the Indian Educational Service who had raised these questions in Bengal was publicly humiliated and retired to England.

Classes resumed at Presidency shortly thereafter, and the college continued its work as the premier affiliate of the university. Future principals were rarely as innovative as James: rarely did they have to confront such challenges. In a redefined educational situation, the members of the staff could usually rely upon the government to provide financial support and to delegate educational authority to professors in a wholly undergraduate institution.[104] Members of the Indian middle classes still sent their sons to Presidency. Even though their support of the British empire might be growing hesitant, they still appreciated the quality of education and the opportunities offered at the government college. Thus, professors in the government colleges were able to carry on with their educational work. It was otherwise for their British colleagues at privately managed Indian institutions.

The Decline of Consensus at M.A.-O.: The Rise of Management and Its External Constituents

William A. J. Archbold succeeded Morison as the principal of the M.A.-O. College in 1905; he was specially recruited for the post in England. After taking his degrees from Cambridge, he had assisted Lord Acton in the organization of the *Cambridge Modern History,* and later had done the same work for the editors of the *Dictionary of National Biography.* When he was appointed to the Aligarh principalship he was nearly forty years of age and had already taught for a period in South Africa.[105] Unlike Beck, he had come to the position in his maturity, and unlike Morison, had come without the prior experience of Aligarh; his experience of education and scholarship had been profounder than that of Beck or Morison.

Like the citizens of Calcutta, the leaders of India's Muslim community were beginning to hold new political aims and aspirations. The change was observed by William S. Marris, the district commissioner, shortly after Archbold's arrival in India. "How far the Aligarh movement has taken on a political colour is plain to any onlooker. The prominence of Aftab Ahmad

among the trustees, and of demagogues like Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali; the inception of the university movement as a counterblast to the Hindu University scheme; the enlisting of all national leaders like the Aga Khan; its association with the All India Muslim League and All India Muslim Educational Conference — these are all symptoms of one policy. Aligarh is destined to be the focus of all Muhammadan intelligence and activity in India. Begun as a defensive move, it is already acquiring an offensive character. . . . It is an all Indian Muslim and distinctly anti-Hindu movement. It has already lost its reliance on Englishmen and its trust in English methods and ideals. The danger I foresee is that if it is indulged and uncontrolled it will develop rapidly on decidedly anti-English lines." [106]

The college had not yet found its new direction, however, and Archbold was able to establish confident relations with the members of the board of trustees and the honorary secretary, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk. He became the political advisor and confidant of the trustees, if not their ambassador to the British government. In 1906, he drafted the document which a delegation led by the Aga Khan presented to the Viceroy, Lord Minto. It argued the case for reserved Muslim electoral constituencies in India, and the Viceroy gave his consent to the proposal.

But functional alliances among the trustees were changing, and there was no one with the force of personality of Sir Syed to control the trustees. As the activities of the trustees gained more prominence in a politically awakening Muslim community, their activities only brought more attention to themselves and criticism of the administration of the college. Politically, the principal was already associated with the more conservative grouping around the Aga Khan, the group that still dominated at Aligarh. In 1907, an "old boy" complained of the dominant faction in the columns of the Indian *Daily Telegraph*. "In the first place [the trustees] have elected in the majority of cases such people only as were not qualified to give an opinion on matters educational; secondly the system in Aligarh was such that the outside trustees had nothing else to do but to say yes to the proposal sent to them. The 'family party' at Aligarh had the decision of everything. If one dared to disagree, he was a marked man, and was pronounced blind to the interests of the college; thirdly, even those out of the 70 trustees who wanted to take an active and intelligent part in the business of the college were not allowed to do so, unless they were prepared to face the whole of the dominant party, always ready to attack such as questioned their right to manage the affairs of the college. If there was a trustee who refused to accept the dictum of the party in power, he was removed; if there were any senior students who grumbled loudly and made complaints to the authorities, they were turned out bag and baggage; if there were any members of the Central Standing Committee of the Conference who were independent enough to express views antagonistic to the views of the clique, they were publicly insulted and turned out of the room, where the meeting

was being held in spite of all the rules and regulations: and the cry for redress up to now has been a cry in the wilderness." [107]

The trustees' greatest source of strength within the community was their control of the college and the opportunities they were therefore able to provide the more ambitious sons of their coreligionists. Increasingly, education was looked upon as being less regenerative and more instrumental than it had been in Sir Syed's day; Marris noted that the trustees were "not thinking of education in itself at all, but of more boys, more subscriptions, more candidates for government employment, more lawyers to fill seats in Council, and more political power generally." [108] To retain their support in the Muslim community, the conservative trustees involved themselves more frequently in campus affairs and student activities. As the director of public instruction commented, a system of "dual control" had grown up, which had "the fatal consequences of undermining the authority of the staff, by setting up the resident Trustees as a court of appeal against [the staff]." [109] Archbold, like James at Presidency, was the victim of his employers' aspirations when the Aligarh students struck in 1907.

In February, the town of Aligarh was celebrating its annual fair, which the students attended in large numbers. A small group of them pushed past a policeman in order to enter an enclave barred to the public. The constable remonstrated with them, and a student, Gulam Husain, assaulted him.[110] The injuries incurred by the constable were minor, but the deputy superintendent of police (DSP) thought the action serious enough to complain to the principal. The next day, Archbold called Gulam Husain to his office and informed him that the DSP contemplated court action; he advised the student to return to his home in the Punjab for three months for the student's own protection. Husain, however, thought he had been suspended. After some negotiations with the deputy superintendent, Archbold changed the student's punishment: Husain was fined twenty-five rupees, told to write a note of apology to the DSP, and required to report to the principal's office every evening. The students thought that an earlier intervention on their part had led to Husain's lighter punishment. "The complaint of the students that the orders about the punishment of Gulam Husain were issued in instalments by the Principal must be due to a misapprehension on their part. The desire of the Principal throughout was to save Gulam Husain from the disagreeable consequences of the latter's alleged assault on the constable." [111]

Some further incidents occurred with the police at the fair on the next day, and the students once again appealed to the principal. Archbold promised to look into the matter, but as at Presidency, communications between British professors and Indian students began to break down. Gulam Husain was confined to his hostel because he had violated his punishment and had earlier left the college grounds. The students thought Archbold had gone back on his word and, like their Hindu counterparts at Calcutta, attributed his supposed action to the racial snobbery of their

British teachers. They called a meeting for the night of February 15 and resolved to consider a student strike.

The situation deteriorated when the proctor, Gardner Brown, and his Indian assistant, Mir Wilayat Hussain, decided to attend the meeting. "Some boys asked Mr. Brown not to come to the meeting as it was private. Mr. Brown in spite of warning did go to the meeting and told the students to disperse within two minutes. This they did not do, but on the contrary used insulting language towards him and Mir Wilayat Hussain, Assistant Proctor, who was suspected of being in league with Mr. Brown. Mr. Towle, another professor was there. He said that certain students even threw missiles and stones at Mr. Brown which the students totally deny. In the meantime the Principal, Mr. Archbold, arrived on the scene. In the beginning the students were respectful to him; they asked him to rescind his order about Gulam Husain. On this being refused, certain offensive words were used towards the Principal." [112] Archbold decided to close the college.

Before the principal actually closed the college, the honorary secretary, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, intervened to contain the conflict. Without consulting Archbold, he promised the striking students they would be absolved of all guilt and punishment. The students submitted their apology to the principal on the twentieth. Not knowing of the Nawab's promises, Archbold promptly proceeded to take disciplinary action.[113] The students left in a body, the college was closed, and the trustees convened a committee of inquiry to save the reputation of the board in the Muslim community: both the Nawab and Principal Archbold were included among its members.

The committee made few substantial recommendations as to future relations between the British staff and the Muslim trustees; it only suggested that the college principal and the honorary secretary keep in closer touch. Instead of making recommendations, the Muslim members of the committee harkened back to the "golden" days of Beck, Morison, and Sir Syed. "[The students] were accustomed to free, frank, and almost familiar intercourse with the English teachers. Messrs. Beck, Arnold and Morison had accustomed them to such social relations and engendered a belief that the observance of social relations was a distinctive feature of the Mohammedan College and the principal means of promoting the three ideas mentioned above. The want of social intercourse between the staff and the students argued in the minds of the latter a want of sympathy and a departure from the policy of the Great Founder of the College and his no less great coadjutors Messrs. Beck, Arnold and Morison." [114]

But in earlier days, Sir Syed, the trustees, and the members of the British staff had all been taken with the idea of creating a revitalized Islam. Moreover, the British professors possessed a degree of knowledge and educational expertise not yet to be found among the Muslims. Sir Syed and the trustees were dependent upon the British professors. Confident of the lat-

ter's dedication to Muslim aspirations, they were willing to delegate educational authority to the British members of the staff. By 1907, the trustees were no longer willing to delegate that authority. In 1909, Archbold resigned over the issue. "My view is that the Principal ought to be the supreme and final authority in the internal affairs of the College. In particular that his authority should be unquestioned as regards discipline, as regards admissions, as regards promotions, as regards the number of hours that the staff ought to teach. He ought to be consulted before negotiations are entered into for engaging new members of the Staff. When I have said this and when I add that I do not consider that a man has the proper authority if he is obliged to refer to someone else before he comes to a decision, it will be at once evident to you how impossible it is for one to work under the present system." [115]

The very success of Beck, Morison and their generation of British professors had changed the situation at the college. Beck had transformed the college into a political instrument designed to produce a new Muslim political elite. As that elite grew in sophistication, some of its members began to question the need for cooperation with the British. The college became the board's means by which to gain support for its conservative position within the community: by offering enhanced admissions rates, easier student controls, and lighter academic standards. In consequence, students at Aligarh, as at Presidency, turned from the educational authority of their teachers to the political authority of their elders. At the same time, a body of educated Muslims was being produced in India, sufficient to meet the teaching needs of an affiliated college. British professors, like Archbold, tended to be too independent to accept the role of "an agent only," in mediating the trustees' relations with the Aligarh student body.[116] And as in Calcutta, pride in the community's accomplishments seemed to justify an increased Muslim staff as aspirations moved toward an independent Muslim university. In reply to Archbold, the members of the board cited the legal rights of the trustees to educational control of the institution. "According to rules 119 & 120 the Hony. Secretary was the chief executive officer of the Trustees and was responsible for management of their affairs. . . . It was also necessary to point out that the post of the Hony. Secretary of the College Trustees was not a ministerial office but so far as its occupant had been regarded as the leader of the community, which looked upon him as their chief representative. Thus, whether as the accredited representative of the governing body of the College or as the leader of the Indian Musalmans, it was the Hony. Secretary of the College that the Chief management and control of the institution was entrusted. For one holding such a responsible position as that of the Hony. Secretary of this College, the desire 'to obtain information in matters' connected with the functions of the Principal, was not only natural and reasonable but absolutely necessary. Whatever might be the scope of the Principal's jurisdiction it could not extend beyond the aims and objects of the College, which

it was the duty of the Trustees, through their accredited representative, to guide and control. So far as obtaining more information was concerned every Mohamedan was entitled to ask for it about any part of the management of the College, for, this institution was the property of the whole community." [117]

There were no such disturbances at the Muir Central College in Allahabad, and in 1922, the college was quietly converted into a new, unitary University of Allahabad.

Strains in Autonomy: Professors, Sponsors, and Public Diverge

There were three groups involved in the running of the Indian colleges: British professors, the college sponsors, and the educated Indian public. Professors were brought out to impart modern knowledge, and they saw that as their main role in India. When that role was questioned in 1910, Principal James defended the professors' work. "It will be for some of us a dismal result, if we have to confess that we have been wrong from the beginning; that we never should have attempted to introduce into India knowledge, as knowledge has been understood in Europe since the times of Descartes and Bacon; that we never should have encouraged the study of English literature and European science; and that we should have held fast to traditional learning and pre-Copernical sciences, and have based any more popular education which there was scope for strictly in the vernaculars: that it was a bad policy, and folly little short of a crime to introduce the races and people of Hindustan to the heights and depths of Western speculation, and to the principles that underlie discovery in natural science." [118] Their purpose was to bring the Indian students to a closer understanding of modernity and the assumptions on which it is built. In consequence, they thought that their students would come to appreciate the benefits of British rule in India. James believed that in at least one sense they were right. "Education has certainly not produced in India hatred of all things English; not obviously of English literature, English games, English standards of conduct, English institutions; because the political party which voices the aspirations of the educated classes in India, and is charged with being disaffected or allied with disaffection, is founded on almost slavish imitation of English standards and methods." [119] Professors hoped their students would eventually take their places alongside Europeans, participating together in the administration of the empire. In Britain, these professors would have accomplished their work in independent institutions; in India, they were employees of the government or of Indian communities.

The members of the civil service who composed the government tended to look less to new solutions than to traditional problems. Their perceptions of India were largely the outcome of their early training in the districts. Mindful of the need for decisive leadership in the countryside, they tended to stress the themes of ordered governance and paternal rule. In

members of society do not usually feel qualified to judge. Because the members of society feel that society might be enriched by the professors' discoveries, they delegate responsibility for the content of knowledge to them and generally restrict their interest to questions of its use, who shall receive it, for what purposes, and the like.

The Indian universities did not have these distinctions built into them. When they were formed, affiliation seemed a cheap and effective method to diffuse modern knowledge in India, and the first attempts at reform did not begin until the twentieth century. Professors were therefore compelled to derive their educational authority from other sources: from their connection to the colonial regime, from the knowledge they brought with them from foreign universities, from the quality of their teaching. When the professors' own purposes in the colleges were more instrumental, they were not able to approximate any of the safeguards of the European institution; that happened at Aligarh. Where they were able to infuse higher academic standards in their undergraduate instruction, they gained the respect of the Indian community and the approbation of government; that happened at Presidency in its restricted role as an affiliated institution, and at Muir. The standard was an elusive one, imported by small groups of professors to a few scattered colleges. Beyond the model of their own teaching, there were no structures in the university to engender habits of restraint and discipline on the part of the public and the government. Without the higher levels of instruction which organize professors in relation to their knowledge and establish them in traditions of learning for learning's own sake, the ambitions of the nonteaching community prevailed. The standards of national pride, public policy, and vocational opportunities prevailed in the nonteaching, undergraduate university in India. These standards continued to prevail in some even after their conversion to teaching, postgraduate institutions; as at Allahabad, Calcutta, and the Aligarh Muslim University.

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