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**Introduction of ‘Political Economy’ into
Colonial-Indian Education 1820-1840
-Vigilance against ‘Political Education,’ Subterfuges,
Quests for Power and Personal Relationships-**

Asuka NAGAO

人間文化研究機構地域研究推進事業 「南アジア地域研究」
NIHU Project Integrated Area Studies on South Asia (INDAS-South Asia)

Abstract

Frequent displays of appreciation by relatively small groups of Indian elites to political-economy education, to political economists and to some doctrines of political economy during the nineteenth century do not apparently fit well with a mainstream historiography which emphasizes Indian nationalist political leaders' roles as critics of British classical economics. This paper shows that keys to understand such apparent inconsistency lie in the contexts of the academic subject and of its education in UK and in Bombay during the 1820s and the 1830s and in the situations in which Indian residents in Bombay and in Poona came to know about such contexts during the same period, i.e. around the time of its first incorporation into colonial-Indian educational curriculums.

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Introduction of rudiments of political sciences, which then contained one of political economy,¹ into colonial-Indian educational syllabus was a part of wide-ranged reforms which were implemented in India during a decade which followed the British Liberal’s re-ascendency to power in November 1830. At Hindu College in Calcutta, a chair of Law and Political Economy was founded in 1833. In Bombay, the first instructions in British Constitutional History were conducted before 1835² and those of political economy followed a few years later.³ Opinions, however, of the British residents in western India concerning the addition of the latter subject were bitterly divided. As a result, many of its early lectures were short-lived. This paper is to describe the reactions to the inaugurations from colonial administrators and from professors in the Bombay Presidency and to locate them in the contexts of general feelings of unrest among the contemporary British in UK and in post-conquest western India, of preceded local events, of temporarily heightened popularity of Lord Brougham and of

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** Researcher, the Urban-Culture Research Centre, the Faculty of Arts, Osaka City University. Email: asuka.nagao@gmx.com.

¹ S. Collini, D. Winch and J. Burrow, *That Noble Science of Politics: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Intellectual History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. In this paper, the word ‘political economy’ stands for two distinct meanings. One is a school of early-modern British economics which was founded by Adam Smith and is generally called ‘classical’ or ‘Ricardian’ economics. Another is an educational subject which teaches rudimentary doctrines or principles of the said economics.

² R. V. Parulekar (ed.), *Selections from Educational Records (Bombay), Part II 1815-1840*, Bombay: Asia, 1955, p. 140.

³ *The Eleventh Report of the Proceedings of the Bombay Native Education Society 1838*, Bombay, 1839, pp. 7-8.

factionalism and personal relationships which dominated contemporary colonial-educational policies in India.

False Consciousness or *Compradores*?

The apparent inconsistency between the role which is assigned to nineteenth-century Indian political leaders in a mainstream historiography as critics of British political economy and evidences which we encounter in contemporary documents and publications of favours which were shown to British political economists, to political-economy education and to some doctrines of political economy by relatively small groups of Indian business- and educational elites is a puzzling phenomenon. Rammohan Roy, Dwarkanath Tagore and other early Bengali 'modernist' group's acquaintance with Adam Smith's economic doctrines and their application for denouncing the British East India Company's trade monopolies and UK's imposition of higher import duties on Indian products has long been recognized.⁴ They, however, are not the only instances when Indian people displayed appreciation to the academic subject, to its education or to political economist. It was on H. L. V. Derozio's request that the subject was inserted into the educational program of Hindu College.⁵ The Council of Education, which included three Indian members, under the Bengal Government explicitly denied a proposition that political economy as a science had not been 'sufficiently-settled' to be fit as educational subject of the Presidency College.⁶ Henry Green, who taught political economy at Surat English School and at Elphinstone Institution was beloved by the pupils and later became a superintendent of Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Parsi Benevolent Institution.⁷ The British Indian Association, the Bombay Association, the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, the Indian Association, the Bombay Presidency Association and other Indian political organizations appreciated Henry

⁴ B. N. Ganguli, *Indian Economic Thought: Nineteenth Century Perspectives*, New Delhi: Tata McGraw-Hill, 1977, pp. 35-42. Ganguli, however, states that there is no 'direct evidence that Roy or any of his Indian colleagues then or later, had studied *The Wealth of Nations*' (p. 52).

⁵ H. H. Wilson to General Committee of Public Instruction [GCPI], 31 Jan 1831, attached to Bengal Government to Court of Directors [CD], no. 29 of 1831 (General), 30 Aug 1831, BL, IOR/L/PJ/3/22).

⁶ F. J. Mouat to C. Beadon, no. 598 of 1854, 10 Mar 1854, para. 56, reprinted in *Papers Relating to the Establishment of the Presidency College of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1854, p. 53. It will be clear in the following paragraphs that this comment by the Council of Education was a refutation of T. B. Macaulay's argument in 1836, when the latter asserted that it was undesirable to teach political economy in India.

⁷ V. Naregal, *Language Politics, Elites, and the Public Sphere*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001, pp. 110-1.

Fawcett's service for India at the Parliament.⁸ The most well-known case is the reform of B.A. course of the University of Bombay in 1894 under its first Indian Vice-Chancellor, K. T. Telang, which made political economy as one of the compulsory subjects. It was long before Indian universities became a place of research and instruction. Functions of the universities then were mostly limited to organizing examinations and to conferring degrees to successful candidates. Textbooks which were prescribed for its political-economy examinations for B.A. degree did not change by the reform: in 1883/4 as well as in 1898/9, they were Fawcett's *Manual of Political Economy* and Adam Smith's the *Wealth of Nations*.⁹ The revision, however, of the B.A. course was hailed both by Indian senators and by Indian nationalists particularly for what was concerned with political economy.¹⁰

Previous studies described a part of the above phenomena as a tortuous path towards the discovery of the true economic doctrine, either nationalist economic thought, Nehruvian Socialism or communism. For example, Bipan Chandra states that '[e]arly-nineteenth-century Indian intellectuals took note of the many negative features of British rule' but expected that the colonial rule might have brighter sides in its facilitating transfers of western sciences and technology and British investments in India. It was only during the late nineteenth century, when Indian impoverishment, *deindustrialization* and foreign control of some of the major industries became more visible and Indian capitalist class and nationalist intellectuals emerged, serious analyses on the nature of colonial economy were conducted.¹¹ The result was the formation of nationalist economic thought during the last quarter of the century which was a refutation of British economic ideas, including those of John Stuart Mill and Fawcett, and anti-imperialistic in nature.¹²

The above approach, however, is not free from difficulties. First of all, it fails to explain the recurrent displays of appreciation to political-economy education and to

⁸ S. R. Mehrotra, *The Emergence of the Indian National Congress*, New York: Barnes & Noble, 1971, pp. 195, 275, 296; *Speeches and Writings of Dadabhai Naoroji*, 2nd edition, Madras: G. A. Natesen, 1917, pp. 172-3; *Minutes of Proceedings of the Fifth Annual General Meeting of the Bombay Association ... the 9th April 1873*, Bombay, 1873, pp. 17-22; *Minutes of Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bombay Association ... the 26th June 1875*, Bombay, 1875, pp. 18-9.

⁹ *The Bombay University Calendar for the Year 1883-4*, Bombay, 1883, p. 64; *The Bombay University Calendar for the Year 1898-99*, Bombay, 1898, p. 48.

¹⁰ S. R. Dongerkery, *A History of the University of Bombay 1857-1957*, Bombay: University of Bombay, 1957, pp. 28-9.

¹¹ B. Chandra, *Essays on Colonialism*, Himayatnagar: Orient Longman, pp. 238-9.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 174; B. Chandra, *Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India*, Himayatnagar: Orient Longman, 1979, p. 84. P. C. Joshi and K. Damodaran, *Marx Comes to India*, Delhi: Manohar, 1975, pp. 8-9 gives similar interpretation.

political economists by Indian political leaders, including fierce critics of British colonial economic and financial policies, from western India even after the development of nationalist economic ideas. Secondly, it does not give a reason for the circumstance that many of the said political gestures were employed by people who neither thought they could effectively participate in the process of formation of colonial 'economic policies' nor apparently were much absorbed in academic contents of the subject. In the Bombay Presidency, frequency of such demonstrations did not match poor circulation of basic treatises in political economy during the century. Both in *gujarati* and in *marathi*, translations of books in economics were nothing but vigorously prepared. A preface to *Arthashastrani Vato* (1889),¹³ which is an adaptation of M. G. Fawcett's *Tales in Political Economy*,¹⁴ referred to only two more *gujarati* publications in political economy.¹⁵ Di. Ke. Bedekar's *Car June Marathi Arthashastriya Granth* (1969) discloses that there were series of publications in the subject in *marathi* language between the 1840s and the early 1860s. Such translation projects, however, were nearly extinguished after the mid-1860s.¹⁶ There is neither an evidence to show that major textbooks in political economy in English language were widely purchased in western India.

Diverse Contexts of British Political Economy in the 1820s

Hints for explaining such curious phenomena in nineteenth-century western India are in contemporary local and extra-local contexts. During the 1820s and the following decade, when Indian residents in Bombay and Poona first became acquainted with political economy,¹⁷ its education and political economist, the academic subject

¹³ Ci. Ha. Setalavad and Ma. La. Munsif, *Arthashastrani Vato*, Mumbai, 1889.

¹⁴ They were Am. Sa. Desai, *Arthashastrana Mulatattva*, Amadavad, 1875, which is a translation of J. S. Mill's *Principles* and was funded by Gujarati Vernacular Society, and Ci. Ha. Setalavad, *Arthashastranan Mulatattvo*, Mumbai, 1888, which is an abridged translation of M. G. Fawcett's *Political Economy for Beginners* and was funded by Sir Jamashedaji Jijibhai.

¹⁵ Di. Ke. Bedekar, *Car June Marathi Arthashastriya Granth*, Pune: Gokhale Arthashastra Sanstha, 1969.

¹⁶ One of the direct causes may have been the Bombay University Senate's resolution in December 1862 to replace vernacular languages with classical ones at the matriculation examination. This made advanced-level vernacular reading books not necessary for governmental higher-secondary education ("Senate Minute, vol. 1," ff. 169-85, the University of Mumbai Archives, Mumbai). See Naregal, *Language Politics*, pp. 119-23, 142-3..

¹⁷ Political economy was not unknown among British civil servants in the Bombay Presidency before the 1810s. Graduates of Haileybury College, in which Malthus taught the subject, were gradually entering its civil service. Mackintosh stressed importance of the academic subject at his inaugural lecture of the Literacy Society of Bombay in 1804 (*Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, vol. I, reprint

was a part of diverse political trends mainly in Britain but also in the wider world.

From the conclusion of the American Revolutionary War till the mid-nineteenth-century, UK's foreign and domestic policies were gradually turning towards what is called 'free trade,' which combined tactics for regaining markets for her products in post-Napoleonic-War Continental Europe by mutually or unilaterally relaxing trade restrictions, for her expanding economic relationships with US and with newly independent states in Latin America by making reciprocal trade treaties, for maintaining competitive powers of her domestic industries by reducing import duties and for boosting her exports to Asia by negotiation with local chiefs, by founding entrepôts, by providing supports to private merchants and by gun-boat diplomacy.¹⁸ Abolishment of trade monopolies of the East India Company, one of the lasts of early-modern British chartered trade companies, took place during this period. In those processes, academic subject of political economy became cherished by some British politically influential aristocratic families and groups because it was mixed with 'honourable' episodes of the notable members. The Edens remembered William Eden's¹⁹ success in concluding with France the famous commercial treaty, which British liberals had fondly hoped to be a model for other reciprocal treaties with European countries.²⁰ The Grenvillites were proud that Lord William Grenville, a negotiator of the Anglo-American treaty of 1795, had been an influential voice in the field of economic policy.²¹ The Canningites stressed beneficial results of George Canning's political stance against Latin America, which were a blend of supports for national independence, of preventing French military interference in the region and of backing up expanding bilateral economic relationships.²² For those factions, political economy –especially its 'free trade' doctrine– was not simply an art of economic policies but a science which harmonises British commercial, industrial and fiscal interests, 'blue-water' policy,²³ piousness (seeing an 'invisible hand' of God in

edition, Bombay, 1877, pp. xxiv-xxvi). It, however, may be reasonably assumed that Indian residents' acquaintance with the subject occurred after their participation in Elphinstone's educational projects in the 1820s.

¹⁸ J. B. Williams, *British Commercial Policy and Trade Expansion 1750-1850*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1972.

¹⁹ Later the 1st Baron Auckland.

²⁰ Williams, *British Commercial Policy*, p. 190.

²¹ V. T. Harlow, *The Founding of the Second British Empire 1763-1793*, volume I, London: Longmans, Green, 1952, p. 488; B. Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, & Dangerous People?: England 1783-1846*, Oxford: Clarendon, 2006, p. 278.

²² H. Temperley, *The Foreign Policy of Canning 1822-1827*, London: G. Bell and Sons, 1925, chaps. V-IX; Hilton, *A Mad*, pp. 244, 292-3.

²³ D. Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, chs. 4-5.

economic activities²⁴) and appreciation of individual liberty and -though complacent, irregular and highly discriminatory- of national independence.

Political economy was further, due to its location in the wider tradition of liberalism, by human factors and in rhetoric, associated with political liberalism and with parliamentary reform during the 1820s. In spite of Smith having been more intimate with Tory statesmen than with Whigs,²⁵ political economy during the early decades of the nineteenth century was a favourite subject of Whigs rather than of Tories.²⁶ Particularly by Brougham, spreading knowledge of political economy among the classes which had traditionally been kept out from parliamentary politics was connected, at least in rhetoric, with practices of earlier political radical movements of John Wilkes and of Thomas Hardy.²⁷ In those late-eighteenth-century political campaigns, breaking aristocratic and higher-middle class's monopoly of 'political knowledge' by publishing genuine proceedings of the Parliament in newspapers, by the freedom of the press, by political meetings and by cheap enlightening publications had been regarded as keys to check unlimited extension of state- and aristocratic powers and to secure safe political spaces, in which bribes and terrors could not easily dominate, for the relatively unprivileged.²⁸ Bentham and Ricardo were vocal in stressing the necessity of guaranteeing freedom of vote by introducing ballot system in order to make the Parliament true representation of the people.²⁹ Ricardo further expressed his support for two-stage strategy for parliamentary reform in his letter to J. R. McCulloch which was posthumously published on the 24th April 1824. In it, he refuted an argument that the extension of suffrage would result in confiscations and redistributions of private properties because he thought by far the great majority of people find their interests in upholding the general principle of property rights. He, however, took account of a voice of caution and stated that if the 'knowledge and intelligence of the public' would increase rapidly after the first parliamentary reform, suffrage might be extended to

²⁴ Hilton, *A Mad*, p. 326.

²⁵ D. Winch, *Adam Smith's Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978, ch. 1.

²⁶ B. Hilton, *Corn, Cash, Commerce*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977, pp. 306-7.

²⁷ H. Brougham, *Practical Observations upon the Education of the People, Addressed to the Working Classes and their Employers*, 20th edition, London, 1825, p. 5.

²⁸ L. Namier (ed.), *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1754-1790* <<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/survey/iv-house-commons>>; H. T. Dickinson, *British Radicalism and the French Revolution 1798-1815*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985, pp. 18-20.

²⁹ J. Bentham, *Plan on Parliamentary Reform*, London, 1817; P. Sraffa (ed.), *The Works and Correspondence of David Ricardo*, volume V, Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2004, pp. 489-512; Ricardo's speeches in 'Reform of Parliament,' HCD, 18 April 1821, vol. 5, cc449-50 and 'Reform of Parliament,' HCD, 24 April 1823, vol. 8, cc1279-84.

‘every class of people’ with the ‘utmost safety.’³⁰ Publication of this correspondence may have been one of the backgrounds of Brougham’s recommending political-economy education through the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK) and the Mechanics’ Institutes during the late 1820s, though previous studies tend to see those middle-class campaigns as trials by the capitalist class to brainwash working-class children and youth in order to reduce violent industrial disputes or to check revolutionary movements.³¹

The birth and development of political economy as an academic subject occurred concurrently with increase in the importance of the middle class in various fields. It was them, as lawyers, doctors, accountants or other specialists, who gradually went outside of the patronage system and accelerated trends towards ‘meritocracy,’ or a social system in which educational qualifications could to a certain extent cover up disadvantages caused by lack of personal connection with the powerful few.³² The fact that ablest political economists –Smith, Malthus and Ricardo– had been from the middle class endorsed a claim that the class could make unique contributions to the state and the society independently from great landowners. Early British political economists’ interests in phenomena concerning international trade and commerce, combined with the reality that they were occupations of many of the middle class, further strengthened an impression that there was an affinity between the academic subject and that social stratum.³³ Political decisions concerning economic issues continued to be dominated by a relatively small number of landed elites for many more decades.³⁴ Such traditional ruling families were among the firsts in recognizing the worth of the new school of

³⁰ Sraffa (ed.), *The Works*, volume V, pp. 502-3.

³¹ A. Tyrell, “Political Economy, Whiggism and the Education of Working-class Adults in Scotland 1817-40,” *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 48, 1969, pp. 151-65; N. W. Thompson, *The People’s Science*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, pp. 23-4, 58-63, 152-5; J. M. Goldstorm, “Richard Whately and Political Economy in School Books, 1833-80,” *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. 15, no. 58, Sep 1966, pp. 131, 139; B. Simon, *Studies in the History of Education 1780-1870*, London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1960, pp. 153, 159-60. Simon attributes the resurgence of liberal educational movements in the late 1820s to the fall of Liverpool’s Tory government and to abolishment of Orders in Councils and the Combination Laws, which had kept down labour movements (pp. 152-3).

³² J. M. Bourne, *Patronage and Society in Nineteenth-Century England*, London: Edward Arnold, 1986, p. 29.

³³ Political economy was incorporated in curriculums of early academies for the middle class as a subject which would be useful for the pupils in their future careers either in business or in administration (Simon, *Studies*, pp. 107, 110).

³⁴ Hilton, *Corn*, pp. 168-9; P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion 1688-1914*, London: Longman, 1993, p. 29; D. C. M. Platt, *Finance, Trade, and Politics in British Foreign Policy 1815-1914*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1968, pp. xxv-xxvi, 74-5; C. D. W. Goodwin, “Economics and Economists in the Policy Process,” in W. J. Samuels, J. E. Biddle and J. B. Davis (eds.), *A Companion to the History of Economic Thought*, Malden [MA]: Blackwell, 2003, pp. 608-13.

economists founded by Smith. Yet during the nineteenth century, image of political economy was associated with economic, political and administrative ascendancy of the middle class partly because of British industrialists' preference for the free trade policies, of gradual incorporation of the subject into university curriculums and of 'free trade' becoming a trademark of the Liberal party, which attracted more votes from the urban middle class.

Vigilance against Political-Economy Education in Britain

Further, during the era of revolutions, 'economic lectures' for non-ruling class could have political connotations very distinct from those of instructions in political economy for upper- and higher-middle classes did. In Britain, it was partly a heritage of radical strategy taken by the London Corresponding Society: 'combining systematic education with mass political agitation.'³⁵ Teaching economic science to the working class was feared by many in ruling stratum that it might result in the increase of open discussions in economic issues by common people, which was then regarded as excessively dangerous.³⁶ Traditionally, there had been an aristocratic notion that nothing more than religious elementary education for the working class would be safe for the stability of the ruling structure.³⁷ The wariness became less only by degrees during the later years.

The great political wave which lasted well into the twentieth century which find in 'economic science' not only a hope for perpetual amelioration of people's economic conditions but theoretical foundations for political mobilizations and revolutions had not arrived. In spite of frequent financial crises, low standard of livings for vast majority of the population and difficulties of adjustments in industrializing post-war society, British people were seeking for prospects of their betterments in the contemporary world –expanding trade, economy, empire and chances of immigration and political and economic experiences of US and France- rather than in untried economic doctrines.³⁸ N. W. Thompson argued that the early English socialists'

³⁵ Simon, *Studies*, p. 183.

³⁶ J. F. C. Harrison, *Learning and Living 1790-1960*, Aldershot: Gregg Revivals, 1961, p. 83; K. Tribe, "Economic Societies in Great Britain and Ireland," in M. M. Aguello and M. E. L. Guidi (eds.), *The Spread of Political Economy and the Professionalisation of Economists*, London: Routledge, 2001, p. 32.

³⁷ Simon, *Studies*, pp. 132-5.

³⁸ M. Daunton, "Society and Economic Life," in C. Matthen (ed.), *The Nineteenth Century (The Short Oxford History of the British Isles)*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 50; Dickinson, *British Radicalism*, pp. 15-8.

criticisms against Ricardian economics resulted in the formation of ‘radical publics’ in the early 1830s. He, however, admitted that disenchantment with topics concerning economic science set in as early as in 1834.³⁹ *The Communist Manifesto* was published only in 1848. In spite of such overall political situations and of an existence of a relatively small number of middle-class activists who wanted aggressive educational campaigns to counter working-class discourses on economic issues, most of such contemplations remained abortive, small-scaled or short-lived.⁴⁰

Many of the above contemporary contexts of political economy and of its education made appearance in reactions to the introduction of its instructions of the British residents in Bombay during the 1830s. Such responses produced vivid impressions to a small group of Indian patrons of education, teachers and students. Though Indian people’s encounter with political-economy education and a political economist was embedded in local contexts, it was connected with the wider global trends.

Vigilance against Political-Economy Education in India

A lecture in political economy was first introduced to India by Hindu College [in Calcutta]’s obtaining sanction from the Court of Directors for founding a professorship of Law and Political Economy in 1832.⁴¹ The first professor, Theodore Dickens, was followed by Sir John Peter Grant, ex-puisne judge of the Bombay Supreme Court, and then by H. Jeffrey.⁴² Its delivery of lectures, however, in the subject was irregular during the first decade partly due to opposition by T. B. Macaulay, who had come to the town in 1834 as a Law Member of the Supreme Council of the Government of India and was an influential member of the General Committee of Public Instruction [GCPI] of the Bengal Presidency. In 1837, when he noticed two utilitarian members of GCPI’s submitting a proposal to organize lectures in Jurisprudence and Political Economy at institutions under GCPI’s management, he countered them by arguing that the theories of political economy had not academically been established and that it would be difficult for GCPI to control the contents of the lectures. He was alarmed at the possibility that teachers in political economy might turn

³⁹ Thompson, *The People’s Science*, pp. 20, 221.

⁴⁰ Simon, *Studies*, pp 160-1.

⁴¹ H. H. Wilson to GCPI, 31 Jan 1831; CD to Bengal Government, no. 74 of 1832 (Public), 24 Oct 1832, BL, IOR/E/4/735.

⁴² Grant left the College in 1833 and Jeffrey filled the post in 1835 (Managers of the Hindu College to J. C. C. Sutherland, 22 May 1835, no. 1099, BL, IOR/F/4/1908/81580, f. 28).

into a sort of political preachers.⁴³ In the same year, Hindu College stopped hiring a professor for Law and Political Economy.⁴⁴ In spite of his high fame as liberal statesman, Macaulay was absolutely against democracy, which he believed would not fail to destroy the propertied classes.⁴⁵ Regarding political-economy education in India, he was among those who most strongly expressed its potential danger in her colonial environment.

Similarly at the General Assembly's Institution in the same town, where lectures in political economy were launched by Alexander Duff,⁴⁶ a Scottish Missionary, and Horace William Clift, Duff's co-passenger to Calcutta, did not last long. Leading figures of the General Assembly in Scotland was not happy with Duff's decision to inaugurate such lectures. They thought it might inadvertently excite the Company for the subject's supposed proximity to political science.⁴⁷ After a textbook *Elements of Political Economy* had being published in 1835, Clift, the author, was recruited as a headmaster of the newly founded Patna school, an institution which was under the control of GCPI. The school gave Clift better salary but the level of instruction, which was supposed be operated under Lancastrian system, was too elementary for the headmaster to give any lecture in political economy. He resigned the post on September 1836 and started working at the Opium department under the Bengal Government.⁴⁸ Lectures in political economy were revived at the institution only in 1840.

There are good reasons to believe that political economy did attract attention in Calcutta during the 1830s. Derozio was willing to teach the subject at Hindu College.⁴⁹ Srigopal Mukerjea, one of its pupils, submitted a plan to translate 'Mill's Political Economy,' most probably James Mill's *Elements of Political Economy* (1821), into Bengali language and was allowed subscription of 100 copies in August 1832.⁵⁰ A news article in the *Englishman* testified in 1836 that its ex-students had acquired such fair knowledge of Smith's free trade theory that they knew that it is an anti-monopoly

⁴³ H. Woodrow, *Macaulay's Minutes on Education in India, Written in the Years 1835, 1836 and 1837*, Calcutta, 1862, pp. 52-3.

⁴⁴ *Report of GCPI of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, for the Year 1836*, Calcutta, 1837, p. 81.

⁴⁵ T. B. Macaulay, "Mill on Government," reprinted in T. Ball (ed.), *James Mill, Political Writings*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 294-5.

⁴⁶ Duff was ordained as a missionary by Thomas Chalmers (W. Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, D.D., LL.D., vol. III, Edinburgh, 1851, p. 202).

⁴⁷ G. Smith, *The Life of Alexander Duff*, vol. I, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1879, pp. 133-6.

⁴⁸ *Report of GCPI ... for the Year 1836*, p. 147.

⁴⁹ H. H. Wilson to GCPI, 31 Jan 1831.

⁵⁰ A. Coomer, "H.H. Wilson and the Hindu College (1823-32)," *The Calcutta Historical Journal*, vol. vi, no. 1, Jul-Dec 1981, p. 54. Mukerjea's project, however, does not seem to have borne fruit.

doctrine.⁵¹

Political economy, however, became a permanent part of educational curriculums in Bengal only after 1840, when the Educational Departments were established in all the three Presidencies and through which education in India came under stricter control of the colonial governments.

Conflicts between the Local Government and the Supreme Court in Bombay

In the Bombay Presidency, the problem of political-economy education became much more complicated and socially divisive because Sir Edward West, one of the Supreme Court judges who had been at the epicentre of conflicts between the court and the local government during the 1820s and had been regarded with hostility by many British residents in Bombay,⁵² had happened to be a political economist.⁵³ West was a distant relative of William Grenville and of Charles William Watkins Wynn, the latter being President of the Court of Directors between 1822 and 1827. Grenville's parliamentary speech in 1813, in which Grenville had provided support for India's future transition to the British Crown's direct rule and for the introduction of policies of free trade and of free entrance of the British in India,⁵⁴ mounting political pressures against the Company preceding the expiry of its charter in 1833 and other occurrences had resulted in the Company's local staffs' suspicion that the appointment of West as a judge in Bombay might have signified some political intention at home. Enthusiastic

⁵¹ Cited in B. B. Majumdar, *Indian Political Associations and Reform of Legislature (1818-1917)*, Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1965, p. 7.

⁵² The nature of confrontations between the Supreme Court and the Bombay Government during the 1820s and of the following events were discussed in A. Nagao, "Beginnings of Indian Participation in Colonial Urban Administration in the Age of the Great Reform Act (1832)," *Studies in Urban Cultures*, vol. 20 Mar 2018, pp. 3-17 (in Japanese) and in A. Nagao, "'To Prevent the Renewal of the Charter': Stress on Colonial 'Check and Balance' System in the Bombay Presidency during the 1820s" (in Japanese, forthcoming). See also F. D. Drewitt, *Bombay in the Days of George IV*, London: Longmans, Green, 1907; H. Inagaki, "The Rule of Law and Emergency in Colonial India: The Conflict between the King's Court and the Government of Bombay in the 1820s," (Ph.D. Thesis, King's College London, 2016).

⁵³ West was acquainted with Ricardo, Brougham and Mackintosh before his coming to Bombay (P. Sraffa [ed.], *The Works and Correspondence of David Ricardo*, volume VII, Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2004, pp. 297-8; Drewitt, *Bombay*, p. 20; '2 July [1822],' *Sir James Mackintosh Papers*, BL, ADD MS 52445, f. 91). On West as a political economist, see L. Robbins, *A History of Economic Thought*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 177-8; J. A. Schumpeter, *History of Economic Analysis*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, p. 476; Hilton, *Corn*, p. 117.

⁵⁴ H. H. Dodwell, "Imperial Legislation and the Superior Governments," in Dodwell (ed.), *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. VI, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932, pp. 1-2; *The Speech of Lord Grenville ... in the House of Lords, on Friday, the 9th of April, 1813*, London, 1813.

praise for West and virulent denunciations against the Bombay Government in the *Oriental Herald* [OH], a journal edited by James Silk Buckingham, who had been repatriated by John Adam –the late Acting Governor General of India and the contemporary Bombay governor’s cousin- and was advocating for the free entrance of the British and for the liberty of press in India, intensified the confrontation between West and the government.⁵⁵ West’s friendship with Sir Charles Forbes, a Scottish trader who had been a head of Forbes & Co. in Bombay, and his judgements at the court in favour of Indian plaintiffs helped him develop cordial relationships with Indian notables such as Hormazji Bamanji Vadia, a broker of Forbes & Co. He, however, could not affiliate well with most British inhabitants, by far the majority of who were working for the Company.

Mountstuart Elphinstone’s governorship was succeeded by one of Sir John Malcolm, which saw heavy mortality among high-profiled residents. Between Elphinstone’s leaving the island in November 1827 and arrival of Lord Clare, Malcolm’s successor, in March 1831, four Supreme Court justices (including West), an Advocate General, a Commander-in-Chief and a civil member of the government council died. Lawyers and high officers were not the only ones who met sudden demises. A few members of the Forbes family passed away.⁵⁶

West’s death in August 1828 and one of Sir C. H. Chambers (a puisne judge of the Supreme Court) in the following October was ensued by verbal fights between the Bombay Government and Grant, then was pusine judge of the Bombay Supreme Court. The latter’s claim was ostensibly for the Court’s power to issue writs of *habeas corpus* outside the Bombay Island. Yet it was seen by contemporary local spectators that he was protesting furthermore against what were then suspected as extralegal assassinations.⁵⁷

Shethias in Bombay made several important political gestures during this

⁵⁵ ‘Appendix,’ OH, Jan 1824, pp. iv-vii; ‘Recorder’s Court, Bombay, April 30, 1823,’ and ‘Letter of Cursetjee Monackjee,’ OH, Oct 1824, pp. 267-74; ‘Case of Cursetjee Monackjee,’ OH, Sep 1826, pp. 578-88; ‘Charge to the Grand Jury at Bombay,’ OH, May 1826, pp. 410-24; ‘Rejection of the Calcutta Press Regulation by the Supreme Court at Bombay,’ OH, Feb 1827, pp. 201-16; ‘Judgement of the Chief Justice Sir Edward West,’ OH, Jul 1827, pp. 11-40.

⁵⁶ George Forbes died in August 1828 and James Forbes, in Dec 1829. Although J. Douglas writes that John Forbes was killed by a fall at Salsette during the Christmas holidays of 1828, the author of this paper could not find any reference to it in contemporary newspapers (*Glimpses of Old Bombay and Western India*, London: Sampson Low, Marston, 1900, p. 55; Drewitt, *Bombay*, p. 301; J. Malcolm to T. S. Beckwith, 4 Jan 1830, BL, IOR/HM/734, f. 782; *Bombay Gazette* [BG], 6 Jan 1830).

⁵⁷ It was rumoured that West was assassinated because of his compassion for the Indian people (‘Freemasons,’ *Prabhakar*, 4 Jan 1845, quoted in J. V. Naik, “Bhau Mahajan and his *Prabhakar*, *Dhumketu* and *Dnyan Darshan*,” N. K. Wagle [ed.], *Writers, Editors and Reformers*, New Delhi: Manohar, 1999, p. 70).

“Reign of Terror on a small scale.”⁵⁸ The person who took the lead was Bamanaji Hormazji Vadia, a son of Hormazji Bamanji. He and other residents of Bombay declared the foundation of ‘West Scholarship’ for pupils of the future Elphinstone Institution.⁵⁹ Two farewell meetings were organized by Indian residents for Grant when the latter was leaving for Calcutta in September 1830. According to a newspaper report, more than seven thousand people gathered.⁶⁰ On that occasion, Rs. 16,000 was subscribed by affluent Indians to help the financially-distressed judge,⁶¹ though it was later proved to be illegal to give presents to a public figure.⁶² They submitted petitions to the Parliament, one calling for the right of non-Christians to sit as Grand Juries and another to confirm the power of judges of the Supreme Courts to issue writs of *habeas corpus* outside the Presidency Towns. Their appeals were read out by Forbes and Joseph Hume at the House of Commons on the 1st September 1831.⁶³ They further sent a plea to the British King, asking for leniency towards Grant and for the latter’s reappointment as a judge in India. This entreaty reached William IV through Lord Holland, a friend of Sir James Mackintosh, who had served as Recorder in Bombay between 1803 and 1811,⁶⁴ and helped Grant to find his job as a puisne judge of the Calcutta Supreme Court in 1833.⁶⁵

Shetias’ petitions, combined with Rammohan Roy and other Calcutta residents’ efforts to omit discriminatory clauses of the “Indian Jury Act” of 1826,⁶⁶ partially bore

⁵⁸ This phrase was used by C. E. Trevelyan in 1853 to express a political situation in Calcutta around the period when J S. Buckingham had been deported (Evidence by Trevelyan, no. 6870, *Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Select Committee of the House of Lords, Appointed to Inquire into the “Operation of the Act 3d & 4th Will. IV., cap. 85, for the Better Government of Her Majesty’s Indian Territories,”* Session 1853, p. 206). They, however, are likewise suitable for describing the conditions in Bombay during Malcolm’s governorship.

⁵⁹ Drewitt, *Bombay*, pp. 315-8.

⁶⁰ ‘The General Address of the Natives of Bombay to Sir John Peter Grant, Knt.,’ *Supplement to the BG*, 11 Sep 1830, p. 1.

⁶¹ ‘Sir John Peter Grant,’ *Bengal Hurukaru [BH] and Courier*, 4 Nov 1833, p. 2

⁶² ‘W. Newnham’s Minute,’ 16 Sep 1830, Bombay Political Consultations, 20 Oct 1830, no. 14, BL, IOR/L/PS/6/181, f. 1033.

⁶³ ‘Administration of Justice in India,’ House of Commons Debates [HCD], 1 Sep 1831, *Hansard*, vol. 6, cc956, 960-6.

⁶⁴ P. O’Leary, *Sir James Mackintosh: The Whig Chicero*, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989, ch. 4; A. L. Gust, “Empire, Exile, Identity: Locating Sir James Mackintosh’s Histories of England,” (Ph. D. Thesis, University College London, 2011).

⁶⁵ ‘Sir John Peter Grant,’ *The Asiatic Journal*, Jun 1831, p. 111. At the time of Grant’s appointment at the Calcutta Supreme Court, Indian residents of Bombay made an address to congratulate the judge (‘Sir John Peter Grant,’ *BH and Courier*, 9 Nov 1833, pp. 2-3).

⁶⁶ J. K. Majumdar, *Raja Rammohan Roy and Progressive Movements in India: A Selection from Records (1775-1845)*, Calcutta: Art Press, 1941, pp. lxviii-lxxvii; A. K. Sen, *Raja Rammohan Roy: The Representative Man*, Calcutta: Calcutta Text Book Society, 1954, ch. 5; S. C. Crawford, *Ram Mohan*

fruit when “An Act to Amend the Law Relating to the Appointment of Justices of the Peace, and of Juries, in the East-Indies” (2 & 3 Wm. IV, c. 117) was enacted on the 16th August 1832. The latter act enabled the Company’s governments to appoint Justices of the Peace from Indian residents of the Presidency Towns. Thirteen *shetias* of Bombay were appointed as the first Indian Justices of the Peace in March 1834.⁶⁷ Since Justices of the Peace of the Bombay Presidency had been conferred with the powers to hire staffs to clean streets, to supervise police, to decide which streets to be repaired, to assess the real property taxes and to control the sale of spirituous liquors in the town of Bombay by the Charter Act of 1793 (33, Geo. III, c. 52),⁶⁸ *shetias* became formally participated in municipal affairs as Justices of the Peace sitting in the Courts of Petty Sessions along with their British colleagues. This organization later developed into the Bombay Municipality Corporation, which became the first large-scale municipality to adopt representative system in colonial India.⁶⁹

During the two decades which followed the close of the Third Anglo-Maratha War, which made the Company the largest political power in the Indian Subcontinent, colonial high officers were talking about long-term prospect. Elphinstone and Thomas Munro’s argument which advocates an ‘early separation’ from India after conferring her western education was gathering supports from some of them.⁷⁰ In 1829, Mackintosh

Roy: *Social, Political, and Religious Reform in 19th Century India*, New York: Paragon, 1987, ch. 9; L. Zastoupil, *Rammohun Roy and the Making of Victorian Britain*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, pp. 116-8; C. A. Bayly, “Rammohan Roy and the Advent of Constitutional Liberalism in India, 1800-30,” in S. Kapila (ed.), *An Intellectual History for India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 27-9..

⁶⁷ The earliest Indian Justices of the Peace in Bombay were Dadabhai Pesatanaji, Md. Ibrahim Mukba, Jagananath Shankarsheth, Dhakaji Dadaji, Md. Ali Roghay, Navarozaji Jamashedaji, Faramaji Kavasaji Banaji, Bamanaji Horamazaji Wadia, Jamashedaji Jijibhai, Kharashedaji Kavasaji Banaji, Kharashedaji Aradesar Dadi, Horamazaji Bhikhaji Chinai, Kharashedaji Rusatamaji (from H. Roper, Bombay Judicial Consultations, 19 Mar 1834, no. 48, BL, IOR/P/400/73). In Madras, Vembakkam Raghavachariar was appointed as one in November 1834 (‘Memorial from the Native Inhabitants of Madras to Government, dated 20th December, 1837,’ in BL, IOR/F/4/1849/78128). The counterparts in Calcutta, who were appointed in March 1835, were Radakant Deb, Raja Kali Krishna, Dwarakanath Tagore, Prasanna Kumar Tagore, Kashiprasad Ghosh, Rassomoy Dutt, Kashinath Mullick Radhika Prasad Set, Ramkumar Sen, Rusatamaji Kavasaji, Raj Chandra Das, Radha Madhav Banaji (‘Minute by the Governor General,’ 17 March 1835, BC, IOR/F/4/1720/69358).

⁶⁸ R. P. Masani, *Evolution of Local Self-Government in Bombay*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929, pp. 82-5.

⁶⁹ Masani, *Evolution*, p. 249; H. Mody, *Sir Pherozeshah Mehta: A Political Biography*, New York: Asia, 1963, pp. 33-46; C. Dobbin, *Urban Leadership in Western India*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972, pp. 131-52, 172-85; J. Masselos, *Towards Nationalism*, Bombay: Popular, 1974, pp. 143-6.

⁷⁰ M. Elphinstone to J. Mackintosh, Jun 1829, in Masani, *Evolution*, p. 340; M. Elphinstone to J. Loch, 4 Sep 1823, in K. Ballhatchet, *Social Policy and Social Change in Western India 1817-1830*, London: Oxford University Press, 1957, p. 250; M. Elphinstone to C. Fleming, 6 Nov 1824, *Mountstuart*

made a speech in the House of Commons which stresses the desirability of India's constitution 'cautiously approaching' to one of a 'free Government.'⁷¹ *Shetias'* timely and courageous political actions bore fruits in such environment.

Developing Contacts with Brougham

The above conflict between Grant and the Bombay Government and *shetias'* actions made Brougham, a Whig statesman who enjoyed wide popularity among British liberal and radical public, slightly more associated with Indian affairs. Till that time, he does not seem to have much greater interest in Indian policies than average contemporary MPs did. The central topics of one of his first writings as a Whig publicist, *An Inquiry into the Colonial Policy of the European Powers*, are British and French strategies for their Caribbean colonies. In it, his arguments concerning India are confined to rather negligent criticism against the Company's trade monopoly. He was not a major participant in the Company's reform in 1813 or in 1833.⁷² When Buckingham had petitioned to the Privy Council in 1825 to prevent the enactment by the Bengal Government of a press license regulation, he was a Counsel on the Company's side, though he somewhat strangely kept his silence at the proceeding.⁷³ He was acquainted with West. According to Drewitt, it was he who had advised West to publish the latter's first pamphlet on rent theory anonymously in 1815.⁷⁴ Yet when West was in trouble with barristers in Bombay and their memorials came under discussion at the Lower House, he apparently maintained neutrality on the issue.⁷⁵ It was during the confrontation between Grant and the Bombay Government and as a response to approaches by residents in Bombay, he became more engaged in Indian affairs.

Among the earliest of such access was gained by the Bombay Native Education

Elphinstone Papers [MEP], BL, IOR/MSS Eur F88/301, f. 69; 'Minute by T. Munro,' 12 Apr 1822, para. 5, "Select Committee on Calcutta Journal, 1834, Minutes of Evidence," p. 121, BL, IOR/HM/536, f. 765; 'Minute by M. Elphinstone,' republished in *BH Weekly Supplementary Sheet*, 21 Nov 1846, p. 1, *MEP* 450, f. 60.

⁷¹ Speech by J. Mackintosh, 'Grand Juries in India,' 5 Jun 1829, *The Mirror of Parliament*, vol. III, London, 1829, p. 2065.

⁷² Brougham might have lent his moral support to his friend, James Mill, on the latter occasion, although the latter's biographer wrote that he saw only one letter from Mill to Brougham for the year 1833 (A. Bain, *James Mill*, London: Longmans, Green, 1882, p. 370).

⁷³ *Proceedings before HM's Most Honourable Privy Council in Relation to the Appeal by James Silk Buckingham, Esq., against Certain Regulations of the Bengal Government, on the Subject of the Press*, London, 1825, pp. 56, 113, BL, IOR/HM/535, ff. 401, 459.

⁷⁴ Drewitt, *Bombay*, p. 20.

⁷⁵ Drewitt, *Bombay*, p. 72; *OH*, Jul 1824, p. 460; 'Recorder's Court at Bombay,' *Supplement to Bombay Courier*, 20 Nov 1824, p. 1.

Society (BNES), an organization which had been founded by Elphinstone to prepare textbooks and to train teachers for government-subsidised schools. It was a semi-public association: members of the managing committee were composed of government officers, non-official British residents, Indian patrons, including *shetias*, and teachers. In late 1828, when the above 'judicial-executive' conflicts were at the height, George Jervis, then the Secretary to BNES, applied on behalf of the Society a subscription to publications of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK) so that schools under BNES's administration could use SDUK's textbooks. SDUK's General Committee, on the 25th February 1829, read the letter and decided to send four complete sets of SDUK's publications to BNES. Further it thanked Jervis and gave him another set. At this meeting, as in others, Brougham was in the Chair.⁷⁶

Before this period, standard of education at BNES's schools was mostly elementary and lower-secondary in nature. Indian and British teachers collaborated in preparing cheap vernacular treatises by abridging English textbooks and by translating vernacular books which had been compiled in other presidencies.⁷⁷ In 1826, the Bombay Government requested the East India House to furnish BNES's school libraries with more English works, including two volumes of Marcet's *Conversations on Political Economy*.⁷⁸ Their appeal was rejected. When a project for establishing Elphinstone Professorship was inaugurated in 1827, it was clear that level of instruction ought to be raised in order to bring up pupils fit for collegiate education. Thus new English readers were needed. SDUK was one of a few organizations which aimed to publish cheap secular educational books.

The person and the timing, however, of the above application by BNES are interesting. It was done through Jervis, who drafted *shetias*' address for the foundation of West Scholarship in accordance with their wishes. Devoting himself to the activities of BNES, he was a trusted figure by Indian elites in Bombay. He was also a nephew of Robert Scott, a powerful director of the Company during the late eighteenth century. In his letter to Elphinstone, he stressed that the initiative for setting up a scholarship in memory of West originated from *shetias*. He further disclosed that he could not 'enter into the feelings of their address in many points,' especially their will to honour West, who had certainly been one of the most abhorred persons by the British residents in Bombay during the 1820s.⁷⁹ Yet the draft was well written. Numerous official and

⁷⁶ SDUK 1 (*SDUK Papers*, Special Collections, UCL Library), f. 128.

⁷⁷ Parulekar (ed.), *Selections*, part II, pp. 81-3; BNES to G. Jervis, 14 Apr 1829, *Elphinstone College Records* (Maharashtra State Archives, Bombay), vol. 1.

⁷⁸ L. R. Reid to J. Dart, 9 Sep 1826, no. 89 (General), BL, IOR/F/4/1015/27843, ff. 141-6.

⁷⁹ G. Jervis to M. Elphinstone, 4 Oct 1828, *MEP* 70, ff. 52-3.

private correspondences, including BNES's above letter to SDUK, as well as newspaper reports on the foundation of West Scholarship were sent out from Bombay towards UK at the end of the monsoon in 1828. Once reaching the British shore, the *shetias*' address was widely republished in liberal and radical newspapers. The *Times*, whose editor at that time was in intimacy with Brougham, *Morning Chronicle* and *London Evening Standard* initiated such reporting on the 5th February 1829.⁸⁰ In short, by the time of SDUK's above meeting, Brougham ought to have been acquainted with the incidents in Bombay and the early reactions by *shetias*, who were the major management members and patrons of BNES. BNES's application preceded the foundation of SDUK's branch committee in Calcutta in 1833.⁸¹

The response, however, of Whig party against the unfortunate events in Bombay was nothing but immediate and was lukewarm. One reason was that they needed investigation before carrying out any operation. It was a period just before the first experiment of steamship connection between India and UK and was long before the era of Indo-British telegraphy. Overland postal service took at minimum two months between Bombay and London. More ordinary Cape route took four to six months. Finding out truth in consequence required much time. Second reason was that Wellington's government was willing to bring in the Catholic Emancipation Bill to the Parliament.⁸² Since most of Whig grandees had long advocated for the enactment, it was not deemed judicious to destabilize the already ill-supported government at least before the passing of the bill by pointing out that the Governor of Bombay had been a protégé of the head minister.⁸³ Third was that Wynn felt responsible for the situation in Bombay.

Thus the earliest acknowledgement of the incidents at the House of Commons

⁸⁰ 'Bombay Court of Judicature,' *The Times*, 5 Feb 1829, p. 2; 'India,' *Morning Chronicle*, 5 Feb 1829, p. 2; 'Bombay Court of Judicature,' *London Evening Standard*, 5 Feb 1829, p. 4. The earliest reports of two judges' demise had appeared in British newspapers about a week ago (*London Courier and Evening Gazette*, 28 Jan 1829, p. 2, *Morning Post*, 30 Jan 1829, p. 3 and *London Evening Standard*, 30 Jan 1829, p. 2). The memorial was reprinted in many other papers. *Norfolk Chronicle* reported it as a top story ('India,' 28 Feb 1829, p. 1).

⁸¹ In a General Meeting on the 8th May 1833, Lord William Bentinck, Sir Edward Ryan and James Young were appointed as members of committee of SDUK's branch society in Calcutta ('General Meeting of the Committee, ... 8 July 1830,' *Lord William Bentinck Papers [WBP]*, the Special Collections, the University of Nottingham, PwJf 2001).

⁸² G. I. T. Machin, *The Catholic Question in English Politics 1820 to 1830*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1964, ch. VIII.

⁸³ A. Mitchell, *The Whigs in Opposition 1815-1830*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967, pp. 212-5. It is clear from contemporary correspondences that Wellington did not know much about the backgrounds of the troubles in Bombay and was embarrassed at least till he received some reliable information before the end of 1829.

was prolonged till the 5th of May 1829, three weeks after the enactment of the Catholic Emancipation Bill, when Brougham and Mackintosh demanded from the Cabinet explanations on the conflicts between Grant and the Bombay Government. The former took the lead. According to the *Times*:

[Mr. Brougham] has seen with a great deal of concern and some surprise, an account of certain proceedings with respect to the judicial operation of the Court of Justice in Bombay. He alluded to the interference of the Governor with the proceedings of that court, and it certainly appeared to him wholly impossible that Parliament should let pass the earliest opportunity of obtaining an explanation of that most extraordinary proceeding.

The reply of Robert Peel, then the Home Secretary, was that the issue had been under investigation.⁸⁴

The ministry was assured that Grant's interpretation of laws concerning the power of judges of the Bombay Supreme Court to issue writs of *habeas corpus* outside Bombay was a wrong one. Further, some of directors of the Company genuinely believed that the judges had become serious risks for the stability of the Company's rule in western India. Many other directors and Lord Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control, were persuaded by them and by official information sent by the Bombay Government⁸⁵ to have similar opinion.⁸⁶ James Dewar, the Advocate General, and not Grant, was appointed to the post of Chief Justiceship succeeding West. Grant's plea was heard and was dismissed by the Privy Council in May 1829.⁸⁷

Yet before those official notices reaching Bombay, Brougham's above speech encouraged Grant.⁸⁸ When a copy of Ellenborough's private letter to Malcolm, in which the former displays warm appreciation of the latter, fell into his hand,⁸⁹ he sent the copies to Lord Holland, Lord Lauderdale, Lord Grey, Brougham and Mackintosh.⁹⁰

⁸⁴ *The Times*, 5 May 1829, p. 1.

⁸⁵ BL, IOR/L/PS/6/179-81.

⁸⁶ 'Copy of the Opinion of HM Attorney and Solicitor General,' 29 Mar 1829, WBP, PwJf 2748/14/2; Ellenborough to Bentinck, 19 May 1829, para. 6, *Lord Colchester Papers*, PRO 30/9/4/39.

⁸⁷ J. W. Knapp (ed.), *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined before the Committees of HM's Most Honourable Privy Council ... 1829-1831*, London: J. & W. T. Clarke, 1831, pp. 1-59.

⁸⁸ It seems that Grant was informed about the speech by his friends. In Calcutta, it was briefly reported in *BH and Courier* on the 16th Sep 1829 ('Bombay,' p. 3).

⁸⁹ Ellenborough to J. Malcolm, 21 Feb 1829, which became widely published in newspapers both in India and in Britain as will be described below.

⁹⁰ J. P. Grant to Holland, 5 Sep 1829, *Holland Papers*, BL, ADD MS 51834, ff. 12, 15. Grant received the copy from his friend in Calcutta (J. Malcolm to Bentinck, 22 Jul 1829, WBP, PwJf 1429/1).

Not only the letter was widely published and was criticised in newspapers both in India and in Britain,⁹¹ it triggered an onset of a series of censures by Whigs and Radicals on Ellenborough in both Houses.⁹²

The rapid circulation of copies of that private letter reflected a circumstance that it was not only Grant and shetias who were frustrated by the home government's sullen response. In Calcutta, where Lord William Bentinck, the Governor General, had recognized the seriousness of the situation in Bombay at least since October 1828,⁹³ and where local liberal newspapers constantly reported what was going on between the court and the government in Bombay, there was a thicker stratum of liberal British officers and private residents who deemed the hard-line attitude of the home government unreasonable and tyrannical. When Malcolm inadvertently tried to show a copy, which the governor thought would testify the ministry's uphold, to a limited number of friends in the town by trusting it to one of civil servants, it caused so much feverish excitements that within '24 hours' its contents became 'generally known.'⁹⁴ Some of the copies were soon delivered to editors of the press. After replacing proper nouns with pseudonym, one was published in *Bengal Hurukaru and Chronicle*.⁹⁵ The correspondence was derisively called 'Elephant Letter' after the simile it accommodated and made a great hit.

In Bombay, the administration was in a jumble. The stress beard by members of the Council and by high officers was severe. When Clare succeeded the governorship, he found twenty people had seen a copy of Ellenborough's private letter and many had taken one for themselves.⁹⁶ The residents still remembered about their troubles with West, but lamented the demise of his wife.⁹⁷

As stated above, Brougham was the first in taking up the issue at the Parliament. Backed up by strong sense of dissatisfaction among British liberal and

⁹¹ *The Times*, 28 Jan 1830, p. 2; *Morning Chronicle*, 29 Jan 1830, p. 2; *Morning Post*, 29 Jan 1830, p. 2; *Evening Mail*, 29 Jan 1830, p. 2; *Dublin Morning Register*, 29 Jan 1830, p. 4; 'Reasons for Indian Judgeships,' *The Examiner*, 31 Jan 1830, p. 3; *The Liverpool Mercury*, 5 Feb 1830, p. 2; *Carlisle Patriot*, 6 Feb 1830, p. 4; 'Morning Chronicle, -January 29,' *BG Extraordinary*, 5 Jun 1830, p. 1; etc.

⁹² 'East India Charter and Judicature –Lord Ellenborough's Letter,' HCD, 5 Feb 1830, *Hansard*, vol. 22, cc124-33; 'East-India Company and Trade,' House of Lords Debates [HLD], 9 Feb 1830, *Hansard*, vol. 22, cc248-64; 'East India Company's Charter,' HCD, 9 Feb 1830, *Hansard*, vol. 22, cc271-305; 'Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay,' HCD, 4 Mar 1830, *Hansard*, vol. 22, cc1292-304; 'Bombay Judicature,' HCD, 8 Mar 1830, *Hansard*, vol. 22 c1370-93.

⁹³ Bentinck to J. Malcolm (copy), 12 Oct 1828, WBP, PwJf 1401.

⁹⁴ Bentinck to Ellenborough, 6 Jul 1829, WBP, PwJf 2594/43/1..

⁹⁵ 'Mysterious Manifesto,' *BH and Chronicle*, 7 Jul 1829, p. 2.

⁹⁶ Clare to Ellenborough, 31 May 1831, *Lord Ellenborough Papers [EP]*, PRO 30/12/21, part II, f. 92.

⁹⁷ G. Jervis to M. Elphinstone, 4 Oct 1828.

radical residents in India against responses of the home government, the incidence made him still more visible in Indian newspapers. During and after the above conflicts in Bombay, his speeches and political activities were closely followed. This atmosphere as well as *shetias*' success in making contacts with Brougham and other British statesmen through their foundation of West Scholarship, BNES's prescription of SDUK's publications, their petitions to Parliament and their friendship with Forbes became backgrounds of their later expressing supports to the British Indian Association⁹⁸ and to other liberal educational and economic projects in western India.

Brougham's interest in Indian affairs lasted till later period. He entertained Rammohan Roy during the latter's visit to UK.⁹⁹ In 1834, he pushed Lord Auckland, his 'noble Kinsman,'¹⁰⁰ for the post of governor-generalship.¹⁰¹ At an inaugural meeting of the British India Society, the first political association in UK to represent interests relating to India, he served as president.¹⁰² As late as in 1843, when Ellenborough was the Governor General, he asked his former adversary to get his treatise on the political science –most certainly his *British Constitution*, which was going to be published in the following year- translated into Indian language and to present a copy to the King of Oudh.¹⁰³

Oppositions against Political-Economy Education in Bombay

BNES's subscription to SDUK's publications, the Court of Directors' approval for founding a chair of Law and Political Economy at Hindu College, Brougham's involvement in Indian affairs and confirmation of his popularity among the British liberal and radical groups in India were not necessarily followed by a launch of political-economy education in the Bombay Presidency. The memories of West's strained relationship with most British residents of the town and of conflicts between the Supreme Court and the local government deteriorated the image of political economy to such an extent that some became totally against the idea of teaching it to

⁹⁸ Masselos, *Towards Nationalism*, p. 17.

⁹⁹ Zastoupil, *Rammohan Roy*, p. 181, note 54.

¹⁰⁰ *Speeches, Delivered at a Public Meeting, for the Formation of a British India Society*, London, 1839, p. 18.

¹⁰¹ It was, however, not only Brougham who preferred Auckland. In 1830, Ellenborough wrote that Auckland would carry out his plan 'firmly & cautiously' if the latter succeeded him as President of the Board of Control (Ellenborough to Clare, 26 Nov 1830, *EP*, PRO 30/12/21, part II, f. 33).

¹⁰² Mehrotra, *The Emergence*, pp. 15-24.

¹⁰³ Later, the King of Oudh made Brougham's another work, *Advantages and Pleasures of Science*, translated (no. 6033, *Minutes of Evidence ... Inquire into the "Operation of the Act 3d & 4th Will. IV., cap. 85,"* p. 36).

Indian pupils. In 1833, Thomas Carr, a chaplain and a devoted senior member of BNES, expressed a sentiment similar to Macaulay's: instruction in political economy might be particularly harmful because of its alleged tendency to politicise the learners. He claimed that imparting its knowledge without teaching Christianity might result in serious consequences:

Instruction in the European Arts and Sciences, and History must necessarily embrace something of Political Economy, and subjects embraced by it. To give Instruction in these branches, and at the same time to neglect improvement in moral principles is to place power in the hands of people, which they are most likely to use to the injury of themselves and all connected with them.¹⁰⁴

Carr ought to have had in his mind West's reformist activities as a judge. Not only that West had been personally shunned. The deprivation of financial autonomy of Madras and Bombay Presidencies by the Charter Act of 1833 was most unpopular among the Company's servants in Bombay and some believed was an unfair punishment for the mess which had been made during the confrontations between the court and the government. There further was underlying fear that the Company's rule in India was inherently instable because it was a military rule by a numerical minority who lacked organic connections with the societies they conquered. The colonial imagining that Indian people might be one day awaken to their political rights by western education and banish their foreign rulers could only partially conceal a plain fact that communities in western India have had their own states just a few decades ago. Nevertheless the latter intensified the former imagination in some minds. James Farish, a member of the government council, concurred in Carr's notion that liberal education, including one in political economy, might have politically radicalizing tendency.¹⁰⁵

Military struggles by diverse groups of people to reclaim their political and economic powers from the colonial state were going on.¹⁰⁶ Archetypes of anti-colonial discourses already existed.¹⁰⁷ In October 1838, the *Bombay Gazette* refused to publish a public letter which discussed about the *drain of wealth* under the colonial rule.¹⁰⁸

Two Edinburgh Graduates

¹⁰⁴ T. Carr to Clare, 18 Jan 1833, para. 3, BL, IOR/F/4/1524/60267, f. 35.

¹⁰⁵ 'Minute by James Farish,' para. 3, BL, IOR/F/4/1524/60267, ff. 43-4.

¹⁰⁶ Inagaki, "The Rule of Law," pp. 156-60.

¹⁰⁷ Bayly, *Recovering Liberties*, pp. 101, 125.

¹⁰⁸ *BG*, 3 Oct 1828, p. 631.

While overall sentiments of British residents in Bombay were inclined against the introduction of political-economy education, its instructions were started by a small group of professors. The two who taught political economy in the Bombay Presidency during the late 1830s and the early 1840s were graduates of the University of Edinburgh, alma mater of Brougham and where Dugald Stewart had given one of the earliest university lectures in the subject in 1800-1.

During those years, three out of four prominent British professors in western India were graduates of the University of Edinburgh. The colligation was an unintended consequence of wishes of Indian patrons of BNES and of Elphinstone Professorship that Elphinstone might be personally involved in the selection of first professors of their schools and colleges. Requests for recommending suitable candidates for the posts of Elphinstone Professorships were sent to major British universities.¹⁰⁹ Among the aspirants, Elphinstone selected John Harkness, a graduate of Edinburgh, and Arthur Bedford Orlebar, of Oxford, as professors of the new college.¹¹⁰ The task of picking up teachers for BNES's Central English School was entrusted to John Mackay, who was a senior member of the General Assembly and had served in the past as a family tutor in the house of the 11th Lord Elphinstone, the ex-governor's father. Mackay not only had long experience in education but had in his youth once visited India.¹¹¹ After several interviews, Mackay recommended John Bell and William Henderson, both ex-teachers of Heriot's Hospital in Edinburgh, for the posts in Bombay. On introducing the latter to Elphinstone, Mackay wrote that the person was a native of Caithness, a 'gentleman by birth, education, and habits' and an Edinburgh graduate.¹¹² Their appointments were sanctioned by Elphinstone and by the East India House.

Henderson was the first teacher who gave lectures in political economy in Bombay. His and Bell's efforts to transform what had merely been practical English-language lessons into a course of general education had been highly praised. At an Anniversary Meeting of BNES in 1838, West Scholars debated on a relative excellence of Caecar and Cicero. He had under his superintendence nearly 350 boys, of

¹⁰⁹ Bain, *James Mill*, p. 369.

¹¹⁰ MEP 438, ff. 49-68; James Pillans, Professor of Humanity at the University of Edinburgh, was Elphinstone's co-member of the Friday Club, a literary club in Edinburgh which Elphinstone had joined in 1830 (H. Cockburn, *Life of Lord Jeffrey, with a Selection of his Correspondence*, vol. I, Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1852, p. 150).

¹¹¹ Parulekar (ed.), *Selections*, part II, p. 142; "Brief Sketch of the Life and Character of John Mackay, Esq., of Rockfield," in J. Mackay, *Life of Lieut.-Gen. Hugh Mackay of Scoury*, London: Edward Bull, 1842, pp. xiii, xvi, xx-xxi.

¹¹² J. Mackay to M. Elphinstone, 13 May 1834, in MEP 88, f. 66.

whom around 200 were learning the principles of British constitution. The West and Clare Scholars, ten in number, were further studying Political Economy, Statistics, Jurisprudence, Logic, Ethics and Natural Theology.¹¹³ Later in the year, on a sick leave of Harkness, he became an Acting Professor of History and General Literature at Elphinstone College.¹¹⁴ These were the years when Bal Shastri Jambhekar and Navrozji Faradunji taught at the institutions and Dadabhai Navrozji was one of the pupils.¹¹⁵

Henderson's career, however, in Bombay did not last much longer. In November 1839, he was assaulted in his house by unknown Europeans. In the following January, he was induced to stay at a Lunatic Asylum, where surgeons issued an medical certificate which said that he had been twice admitted there for insanity and that 'a removal to England, [was] absolutely necessary for his recovery.' The Medical Committee under the Bombay Government did not notice any 'symptoms of deranged intellect' and found that 'his replies and explanations [had] indicated competent reasoning faculties, and most retentive memory.' It, however, concluded, based on testimonies by the surgeons, that he '[had] been, and still [was] subject to aberrations of intellect' and that 'a change to Europe [was] essentially necessary for his recovery.' It further commented that 'he should [never] be allowed to return to [India] as a public teacher.' He was given a sick leave for two years. Once returning to his home country, he contacted Elphinstone, on whose advice he consulted a medical practitioner and received from the doctor a certificate that the latter did not discover any symptom that he had 'ever laboured under any affection of the "Liver."' Being granted by the Court of Directors a permission to go back to Bombay, he resumed his job. Dadabhai Navrozji was one of his last pupils whom he taught political economy.¹¹⁶ During those years, relationships between the Bombay Government, the Elphinstone College Council and the managing committee of BNES were affected by a dispute concerning the foundation

¹¹³ 'Anniversary Meeting of the Native Education Society,' *BG*, 29 Jan 1838, p. 58; *The Eleventh Report of the Proceedings of BNES*, pp. 7-8.

¹¹⁴ *BG*, 28 Nov 1838, p. 759.

¹¹⁵ G. G. Jambhekar (ed.), *Memoirs and Writings of Acharya Bal Gangadhar Shastri Jambhekar (1812-1846)*, Poona: G. G. Jambhekar, 1950, p. (30); Parulekar (ed.), *Selections*, part II, pp. 123, 180; R. V. Parulekar (ed.), *Selections from Educational Records (Bombay), Part III: 1826-1840*, Bombay: Asia, 1957, p. 252.

¹¹⁶ W. Henderson to M. Elphinstone, 20 Mar 1841, 23 Mar 1841; W. B. Bayly to M. Elphinstone, *MEP* 118, ff. 86-93, 118-20; W. Henderson to M. Elphinstone, 1 Apr 1841, 6 Apr 1841, *MEP* 119, ff. 2, 11-2; A. Robertson to M. Elphinstone, 19 Aug 1842; W. Henderson to M. Elphinstone, 14 Sep 1842, *MEP* 112, ff. 54, 78; W. Henderson to M. Elphinstone, 14 Sep 1842, *MEP* 122, f. 78; Secretary to the Elphinstone College Council to Bombay Government, 27 Mar 1840; Secretary to Medical Board to Bombay Government, 25 May 1840, F/4/1856/78549, ff. 1-2, 8-11; *Report of the Board of Education for the Year 1843*, no. III, Bombay, 1844, p. 6; M. Ranganathan (tr.), *Govind Narayan's Mumbai*, London: Anthem, 2009, p. 341.

of the Board of Education, which would put both Elphinstone College and BNES's schools under direct control of the government.¹¹⁷ Further, the tide in the Bombay Presidency was against liberal education. The report of Elphinstone College and BNES in 1839 paid compliment to Orlebar and Bell, but not to Henderson, that they had 'shown a judicious and praiseworthy inclination to direct the attention of their pupils, only to such subjects as promise to be of future benefit.'¹¹⁸

Another alumnus of the University of Edinburgh who used textbook in political economy during these nascent years of the instruction of the subject in the Bombay Presidency was David Anderson Eisdale.¹¹⁹ He matriculated the university in 1825 and again in 1827. By 1829, he started working in Bombay. In 1832, when he was recommended by Robert Cotton Money, then the Secretary to BNES, as a schoolmaster of newly established Poona English School, he had just left his previous work as a home tutor in Surat.¹²⁰ After teaching in Poona for several years, he went back to Scotland and obtained a MA degree from the same university.¹²¹ It seems that BNES had advised him to attend an academic course so that he could teach more advanced subjects to Indian pupils. By late 1838, he resumed his appointment in Poona. His academic carrier, i.e. being employed before obtaining a degree, seems to be a relatively fortunate one in his age, when graduation was a costly affair and many left universities without obtaining degree.¹²²

After returning to Poona, Eisdale started using *Catechism of Political Economy*¹²³ as an advanced-level prose reader for his senior pupils. Three mornings in

¹¹⁷ J. Farish and G. W. Anderson to CD, 27 Aug 1848, no. 58 of 1840 (General), BL, IOR/F/4/1881/79941.

¹¹⁸ Parulekar (ed.), *Selections*, part II: 1815-1840, p. 161.

¹¹⁹ On academic careers of D. A. Eisdale (b. 1805; d. 1881) and other professors, the author of this paper is grateful to Mr. Caspian Reid of the Centre for Research Collections, the University of Edinburgh, who afforded invaluable assistance in searching for their names in Matriculation Albums and in other records.

¹²⁰ Bombay Government to CD, 17 Oct 1832, No. 43 of 1832 (General), para. 4, BL, IOR/E/4/518.

¹²¹ *A Catalogue of the Graduates in the Faculties of Arts, Divinity and Law of the University of Edinburgh since its Foundation*, Edinburgh, 1858, p. 225.

¹²² R. D. Anderson, "The Construction of a Modern University," in Anderson, M. Lynch, and N. Phillipson, *The University of Edinburgh: An Illustrated History*, Edinburgh: the University of Edinburgh, 2003, p. 111.

¹²³ This could be Thomas Murray's *Catechism of Political Economy*, Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1835, which had been published when Eisdale was in Edinburgh. One of the features of this *Catechism* is that it says that 'the late Sir Gilbert West of Bombay' and Malthus had rediscovered the rent theory (p. 45). It is curious because it was not Gilbert's but Edward West's contribution. J. R. McCulloch, *A Discourse on the Rise, Progress, Peculiar Objects, and Importance of Political Economy*, Edinburgh, 1824, p. 65 and T. Chalmers, *On Political Economy in Connection with the Moral State and Moral Prospects of Society*, 2nd edition, Glasgow, 1832, p. 2 refer to West, but do not contain any hint that

a week were devoted for studying the first six chapters of the book and for examinations in history. He further made the pupils read Brougham's dissertation in the *Prose Reader* No. 6.¹²⁴ It seems that the above *Catechism* was read only in that year. He taught Gopal Hari Deshmukh for three years and wrote in his report in 1844 that Deshmukh 'distinguished himself.'¹²⁵ In 1846, he left India for good.

Henderson's trouble with the Bombay Government was a serious one. Yet reformist professors in western India were encouraged by Auckland's minute on education in which the latter expressed his appreciation of Hindu College's Indian managers' intention to include a treatise on the elements of political economy in the list of textbooks of its Pathshala division.¹²⁶ In the same minute, Auckland referred to efforts of Lancelot Wilkinson, Political Agent in the Bhopal State and a Bombay civilian, who was then trying to introduce liberal education in vernacular language at a school in Sihor. Wilkinson's plan was a radical one. He informed the Bengal Government that his plan of 'complete' vernacular instruction required Hindi and Urdu translations of "Essay on Punchayuts, Grand & Petty Juries and the duties of Municipal Authorities," "De Lolme's Constitution of England," a treatise on "the constitution of the United States, Republic of the Germanic Confederacy and the Swiss Republic," five titles in political economy and 163 other compositions. On recommending creation of a vernacular treatise on "Essay on Punchayuts, &c." he stressed that 'people must learn to take a share in bearing the load of Justice if they wish to secure justice.'¹²⁷ Auckland's minute was followed by GCPI's formally incorporating 'Jurisprudence and Political Economy' into educational curriculums of the schools under its control.¹²⁸ The General Assembly Institution in Calcutta reopened its lectures in political economy. An anonymous author of an article in the *Oriental Christian Spectator*, a missionary journal in Bombay, made it explicit that he was delighted for having received the news:

West served as a judge in Bombay. In the later library catalogues and list of textbooks which were prescribed for examinations in political economy in the Bombay Presidency, the author of this paper cannot find *Catechism*.

¹²⁴ D. A. Eisdale to J. Bird, 29 May 1840, BL, IOR/F/4/1881/79954, ff. 8-10.

¹²⁵ *Report of the Board of Education for the Year 1844*, no. IV, Bombay, 1845, p. 10.

¹²⁶ 'Minute by Lord Auckland,' 24 Nov 1839 (General), para 29 ('Appendix no. I,' *Report of GCPI ... for the Year 1839-40*, p. 28, reprinted in BL, Tr.176A[b]). A copy of the minute was sent to the Bombay Government when its trouble with the Elphinstone College Council and with BNES concerning the establishment of the Board of Education was aggravating (BL, IOR/F/4/1881/79941, ff. 84-141).

¹²⁷ 'List of Original Essays and Translations of Works,' by L. Wilkinson, 5 Nov 1840, BL, IOR/F/4/2067/79958, ff. 346-7.

¹²⁸ K. Zachariah, *History of Hooghly College 1836-1936*, Calcutta, 1936, p. 25.

We are glad to see the study of Political Economy resumed. It had been laid aside, we believe, from consideration for the scruples of some good people at home, who feared it was too nearly allied to Politics and popular excitement to be a safe thing in the Assembly's School. But that squeamishness appears to be gone; and we rejoice in it; for there is scarcely any portion of European science capable of more easy and beneficial application to Indian improvement, than this same Political Economy.¹²⁹

The Scottish teachers who taught political economy in western India during the 1830s were liberally-educated university graduates, who had sympathy for the parliamentary reform of 1832. British cotton-mill owners, who were getting benefit from colonial India's 'free trade' policy, did not have any part in their appointments. They transformed local English-language lessons and started teaching what they had been instructed at home. Much of the process was due to gradual maturing of the earliest pupils and to teachers' lack of flexibility. Their educational backgrounds in Scotland, which was a native country of many remarkable political economists including Smith and of eminent promoters of political-economy education such as Brougham, BNES's connections with SDUK, heightening popularity of that liberal statesman, the Court of Directors' permission to teach jurisprudence and political economy at Hindu College and reigns of liberal Governor-Generals in Bengal and Governors in Bombay after the Liberal re-ascendancy in 1830 enabled them to start lectures in political economy. Some influential figures, however, in the Bombay Presidency were, just like ones at home during the anti-French Revolutionary Wars, vigilant against the potential danger of providing 'economic lectures' to subdued people. Tory-Liberal rivalry on education was imported into western India. The first two political-economy professors were decidedly on the liberal side. As a result, one of them had very tough time when a liberal local governor was followed by more conservative ones.

Conclusion

The conflicts between the local Supreme Court and the Government, the violent 'repressions' and the Indian residents' protests and petition movements were remembered both in India and in Britain. An official paper states that the confrontations were reported in *Mumbai no Samacar*, the first *gujarati* newspaper, and caught much

¹²⁹ 'Ninth Annual Examination of the General Assembly's Institution, Calcutta, Following Article for the Friend of India,' *The Oriental Christian Spectator*, Second Series, I-3, Mar 1840, p. 128.

attentions of the readers.¹³⁰ J. V. Naik found in *Prabhakar* as late as of 1845 an article mentioning a rumour that West had been poisoned.¹³¹ *Mumbai no Bahar*, a *gujarati* directory which was published in 1874, gives details of Jagannath Sankarasheth's contributions in organizing Grant's farewell meeting.¹³² An early twentieth-century biographer of Faramaji Kavasaji Banaji, *shetia* and one of the first Indian Justices of the Peace, wrote that Faramaji participated in a petition movement in collaboration with Forbes for the right of Indians to sit as juries before Faramaji's being appointed as Justice of the Peace.¹³³ When we consider that this incidence was made a taboo under the colonial rule, the long memories of the participants and the descendants are noteworthy. Not only shocking nature of the occurrences in Bombay during the 1820s and the 1830s but their later influences must be acknowledged as the causes.

The participants reasonably thought that they made substantial contributions to the introduction of some liberal reforms such as Indian participation in jury system and in municipal administration in Bombay. It can scarcely be doubted that they were convinced that they were doing something good. Bombay was getting larger and busier during the century. *Shetias* collaborated in construction of municipal infrastructures such as dam, waterworks, tanks, drains and medical institutions.¹³⁴ Although the Cotton Boom turned out to be a financial disaster for many early *shetias*, donations made by Indian financial magnates before the final blow enabled various organizations to conduct public works, which resulted in the formation of landscape of the Fort area, which is still visible today. Then there was a development of cotton mill industry, which had indirectly been assisted by Hume's efforts to liberalize export of machineries from Britain.¹³⁵ They further supported education and journalism.¹³⁶ Their contributions in municipal activities opened the way for further development of municipality system, which, with all its faults and colonial deformations, grew into the first colonial administrative institutions with Indian representation.¹³⁷ *Shetias* could not be prouder.

¹³⁰ 'Minute by the Governor [J. Malcolm],' 10 Oct 1828, BL, IOR/L/PS/6/179, f. 655.

¹³¹ Naik, 'Bhau Mahajan,' p. 70.

¹³² Ra. Fa. Vachha, *Mumbai no Bahar*, Mumbai, 1874, p. 87.

¹³³ Sha. Ho. Jhabavala, *Marhum Sheth Faramaji Kavasaji Banajini Sahasik Paramarthi Jindagino Tunk Aheval*, Mumbai, 1918, p. 19.

¹³⁴ M. Dossal, *Indian Designs and Indian Realities*, Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1991; P. Chopra, *Joint Enterprise*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011; M. Ramanna, *Western Medicine and Public Health in Colonial Bombay 1845-1895*, Himayatnagar: Orient Longman, 2002.

¹³⁵ M. Berg, *The Machinery Question and the Making of Political Economy 1815-1848*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980, p. 206.

¹³⁶ E. Hirschmann, *Robert Knight: Reforming Editor in Victorian India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 34; Dossal, *Indian Designs*, p. 47.

¹³⁷ H. Tinker, *Foundations of Local Self-Government in India, Pakistan, and Burma*, New York: F. A.

Colonial-Indian Reforms of the 1830s, which are frequently denominated 'Bentinck Reforms,' were controversial ones even at the time of implementation because they were discussed and enforced when political confrontations between the Liberals and the Conservatives and between the Company and the Cabinet were tense. The reforms had closer relationships with Whigs and Radicals, who came back to power after a long period in 1830, than with other parties. Introduction of political-economy education in India was one of the most disputable parts of the reforms.

The academic subject of political economy in Britain during those years at once was an embodiment of British global strategy in the post-American Independence world, was a pride of some liberal political groups and was a symbol of political liberalism and of economic, political, and administrative ascendancy of the middle class. Its education among the general public was hoped by some to be a device for pacifying the working class but was dreaded by the others who believed that the results would be the exact opposite.

Many of the above aspects of political economy showed up during the early phase of its instructions in western India. As a result, contexts of political-economy education in nineteenth-century India became very different from ones in other countries. Meiji Japan's importation of political-economy education was nothing but a part of her 'modernization' project. In India, on the other hand, it was born out from complicated political structures and events which surrounded the British Liberal's re-ascendency to power in 1830. The reactions of British residents in Bombay against the first lectures were profoundly influenced by their sense of insecurity in post-conquest western India, by their memory of the local conflicts and by contemporary British fear against working-class movements in their home country. Formations and confirmations of political connections between British liberals and radical MPs and *shetias* during the local confrontations as well as the fact that the incident later became a political taboo both in Britain and in India produced a curious result: a term 'political economy' became a sort of secret code which signified that Indian people still remembered the concealed crisis and their forefathers' standing up against the 'violent governor' under dangerous situation. From such beginning of political-economy education in western India emanated its association with Indian moderate nationalists' version of political liberalism, which emphasized the necessity of fighting against 'despotism' of the colonial government, of the liberty of the press and of dissemination of political knowledge through newspapers, publications, education and political organizations.

Praeger, 1954; Dobbin, *Urban Leadership*; Masselos, *Towards Nationalism*, ch. V.

The later development of such connections between political-economy education and nineteenth-century Indian political liberalism was a result both of the local situations and of active selections by Indian economic- and educational elites. In the Bombay Presidency, Indian people's interest in European academic and philosophical traditions was little during the early half of the century. Mackintosh served as a Recorder at the local court between 1803 and 1811. He, however, was regarded as a learned judge by the local Indian society rather than as a philosopher. There was no Rammohan Roy, who personally contacted Bentham, William Wilberforce and Robert Owen. By far the major purpose of learning English was to get a better job or to use it in one's business. Expanding foreign-trade sector in Bombay provided white-collar employments ample enough to absorb relatively small number of pupils who picked up practical English. As a result of Elphinstone's policy to diffuse European knowledge through vernacular languages, of colonial government's demands for vernacular-educated Indian bureaucracy in revenue and judicial departments, of local administrators' wariness about political outcomes of promoting liberal education and of choices of Indian people, English higher education in western India did not become as widespread as in Bengal during the nineteenth century.¹³⁸ There further was no class of British free traders as politically important as in Calcutta, where their fight against the Company's trade monopolies became one of the major political issues before 1833. Consequently, academic contents of political economy never attracted as much attention in Bombay as in the eastern capital city.

On the other hand, local confrontations between the Supreme Court judges and the government, heroic protests by Indian residents in Bombay against the 'violent and despotic repression' by the local governor, formation of ties between *shetias* and British liberal and radical statesmen, *shetias*' becoming the first Indian Justices of the Peace, which resulted in the later development of municipal system, and high affinity between political economy's emphasis on capital accumulation as a source of economic development and the *drain of wealth* theory became backgrounds of political-economy education' retaining its original connection with political liberalism.

The apparently odd combination between the two, which bewilders many historians, was a trace of concealed political incidences in the western port town. Studying its origin discloses the fact that Indian people were not only witnesses but, in some points, active participants in the *bourgeoisie revolution*, in which the rule by direct violence and terror was criticised –although they were not totally overcome- and the

¹³⁸ A. J. Roberts, "Education and Society in the Bombay Presidency 1840-58," (Ph. D. Thesis, University of London, 1974), pp. 8, 15, 208.

roles of middle-class civil society and education were emphasized in the formation of stronger, wiser and felicitous national community. This can partially explain the backgrounds of the existence of 'liberal international' in mid-nineteenth century Bombay,¹³⁹ of the survival of Anglo-Baniya alliance after early-nineteenth century economic crises in the same city¹⁴⁰ and of the complexity of processes of transferring liberal ideology to western India.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Bayly, *Recovering Liberties*, p. 127.

¹⁴⁰ Subramanian, *Three Merchants*, chaps. 3, 4..

¹⁴¹ Naregal, *Language Politics*, p. 56.